

QTMUN

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# United Nations Security Council

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## Content Disclaimer

At its core, Model United Nations (MUN) is a simulatory exercise of diplomatically embodying, presenting, hearing, dissecting, and negotiating various perspectives in debate. Such an exercise offers opportunities for delegates to meaningfully explore possibilities for conflict resolution on various issues and their complex, even controversial dimensions—which, we recognize, may be emotionally and intellectually challenging to engage with.

As UTMUN seeks to provide an enriching educational experience that facilitates understanding of the real-world implications of issues, our committees' contents may necessarily involve sensitive or controversial subject matter strictly for academic purposes. We ask for delegates to be respectful, professional, tactful, and diplomatic when engaging with all committee content, representing their assigned country's or character's position, communicating with staff and other delegates, and responding to opposing viewpoints.

The below content warning is meant to warn you of potentially sensitive or triggering topics that are present in the formal content of this background guide, as well as content that may appear in other aspects of committee (e.g., debate, crisis updates, directives), so that you can either prepare yourself before reading this background guide or opt-out of reading it entirely

The United Nations Security Council deals with some of the world's worst Humanitarian Crises. In this committee, we discuss gender based violence, including rape and sexual assault, forced captivity, violence, war, extreme malnourishment, religious disputes, and poverty amongst other topics that may be triggering to certain delegates.

If, because of this committee's content warning, you wish to request switching committees and you registered with UTMUN as

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## UTMUN Policies

We ask for your cooperation in maintaining order, both inside and outside of committee session, so that we may provide a professional, safe, inclusive, and educational conference.

Throughout the conference, please note that delegates shall only:

1. Wear Western Business Attire (i.e., no costumes, no casual wear)
2. Embody their assigned country's/character's position, not their mannerisms (e.g., no accents, no props)
3. Opt for diplomatic, respectful, and tactful speech and phrasing of ideas, including notes (e.g., no foul language, suggestive remarks, or obscene body language)
4. Make decisions that contribute to a professional, safe, inclusive, and educational space for debate

The rest of our conference policies can be found on our website.

By attending all or part of a UTMUN conference, attendees agree to abide by all of our conference policies.

Furthermore, delegates' efforts to contribute to a culture of collaboration, inclusivity, and equity at our conference, both inside and outside of committee session, will be considered by the dais and Secretariat when determining conference scholarships and committee awards.

In cases of failing to adhere to any of UTMUN's policies, the Secretariat reserves the right to take any action it deems necessary, including rendering delegates ineligible for awards, taking disciplinary action, and prohibiting delegates from participating further in the conference.

## Equity Concerns and Accessibility Needs

UTMUN 2021's Secretariat and Staff are committed to ensuring every attendee has an enjoyable, comfortable, and safe experience and is able to participate fully and positively at our conference.

If you have any equity concerns (e.g., concerns about barriers to participation) or accessibility needs now or during the conference, please do not hesitate to contact your committees' dais and/or our Director of Academics at [academics@utmun.org](mailto:academics@utmun.org).

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Dear Delegates,

During this tumultuous time, we are so excited to have you as a part of UTMUN and the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) 2021 committee! As we all adjust to the changing world climate, this committee will confront humanitarian aid, war crimes, as well as other relevant crises such as COVID-19.

This committee will primarily focus on the crises ensuing in Western Sahara and Yemen as well as analyze the dispute in Kashmir. We will analyze the effectiveness of previously enlisted UN referendums, as well as determine the best course of action in moving forward. The first topic we address has been largely overlooked by the media; Western Sahara is in a crisis influenced by the Moroccan Settlement and the Militarization of the Southern provinces. The second topic focuses on the violence of the Civil War in Yemen, which has impacted hundreds of thousands of lives; delegates must navigate the lack of humanitarian aid, insurgency, and destabilization in the area. And finally, India and Pakistan have been in a territorial dispute as to who has claim over Kashmir area, which has often resorted to violence. All of these topics are humanitarian issues as well as topics heavily discussed within UNSC.

You delegates are lucky to have not one, but two Directors this year! **Sarah Flinn** is a second year currently majoring in Political Science and Philosophy, and minoring in Buddhism, Psychology and Mental Health. She has participated in UTMUN both as a delegate and was a moderator last year. **Guilherme Patury** is a third year, specializing in Peace, Conflict and Justice, majoring in International Relations and minoring in Latin American Studies. This is his first time with UTMUN but has chaired other conferences including Uoft's NAMUN.

We are so excited to have you all a part of this committee! When submitting your position papers please compose an email to the BOTH of us, and attach your position paper as a PDF. This is a great time to make connections and the United Nations has a beautiful way of bringing people together. Keep your friends close and your opposing delegates closer. May the odds ever be in your favour.

Good debating delegates,

Sarah & Guilherme,

Directors; United Nations Security Council  
[sarah.flinn@mail.utoronto.ca](mailto:sarah.flinn@mail.utoronto.ca)

## Topic A: Western Sahara

### Introduction

The Western Sahara is a region in North Africa classified by the United Nations as a non-self-governing territory. It is the largest and most populated territory on that list, having an area of 266,000 square kilometers and a total population of over 650,000 people<sup>1</sup>. Since 1979, the territory has been occupied by Morocco, who claims the entire region and *de facto* governs most of it. Nonetheless, Western Sahara's native population, the **Shawari People**, do not accept this Moroccan occupation. Since 1973 a nationalist Shawari movement named *Frente Polisario*, or **Polisario Front**, has been fighting for the independence of the Western Sahara, originally from Spain and since 1976, from Morocco. While the armed struggle of the *Frente Polisario* against Moroccan forces ended with the 1991 ceasefire, there have been skirmishes along the Moroccan-controlled and Polisario-controlled border of Western Sahara, and in 2020, due to fresh clashes, the Polisario Front promises to renew its armed struggle<sup>2</sup>.

To truly understand the Western Sahara dispute, this section will discuss the history of the territory as a whole and introduce the main interest, particularly the Polisario Front, more in depth. Moreover, the current division of the territory, including the "**Sand Wall**", the Shawari People and Moroccan occupation will be explained. Past United Nations efforts to resolve the conflict and subsequent dispute will also be explored.

### History

At the 1884 Berlin Conference, where the European Great Powers famously divided the African continent among them, Spain seized control of Western Sahara and made it a Spanish colony. Now officially the Spanish Sahara, the region would remain under Spanish control until 1975. As the decolonization wave commenced following the Second World War, Spain resisted, and kept its control over the region. With Spain continuing to rule over the region, a nationalist group made up of the Shawari People formed to fight for the region's independence. Formed officially in 1973, they called themselves the *Frente Polisario* (an acronym for the *Frente Popular de Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y Río de Oro*, or the Popular Front for the Liberation of Saguia el-Hamra and Río de Oro)<sup>3</sup>.

By the end of the Francisco Franco dictatorship in Spain, it was clear that Madrid would not be able to maintain its suzerainty over the Spanish Sahara for much longer. As 1975 approached, the Spanish government promised to hold a referendum regarding the independence of Spanish Sahara. However, this caused the neighboring countries of Morocco and Mauritania to claim sovereignty over the territory<sup>4</sup>. To settle this dispute, the United Nations got involved through the International Court of Justice, which ruled although both Morocco and Mauritania had historic ties to Western Sahara, these were not sufficient to prove their sovereignty over the territory prior to Spanish colonization<sup>5</sup>. Thus, the ICJ ruled that the Shawari People of Western Sahara had the right to self determination.

Not accepting the ruling, the Royal Moroccan Army crossed the border into the western section of Western Sahara. A few days later, to pressure Spain to hand over sovereignty of Spanish Sahara to Morocco,

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1 "Western Sahara," CIA World Factbook,, accessed December 1, 2020. [https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/print\\_wi.html](https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/print_wi.html)

2 "Western Sahara independence leader declares the end of a 29 year ceasefire with Morocco," CNN, accessed December 1, 2020.

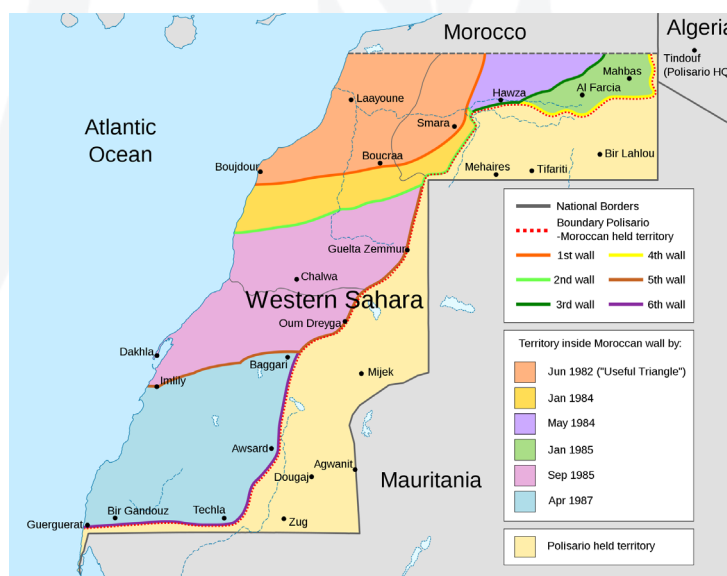
3 "Western Sahara," Encyclopedia Britannica, accessed December 1, 2020. <https://www.britannica.com/place/Western-Sahara>

4 Ibid.

5 Ibid.

the Moroccan government organized a peaceful march of over 350,000 Moroccans into the Spanish colony escorted by 20,000 Moroccan troops<sup>6</sup>. Pressured by this event, which would come to be known as the **Green March**, Spain held a summit in Madrid with Mauritania and Morocco to decide the future of the territory. The result of this was the **Madrid Accords**, signed on November 15 1975. This treaty, which the Polisario Front opposed, split the administration of Western Sahara between Mauritania and Morocco. While Morocco took control of most of the territories northeast as its "Southern Provinces," Mauritania took over the administration of the southern part of the region<sup>7</sup>. In 1976, Spain officially left and the Spanish Sahara was no more.

However, as previously mentioned, the Polisario opposed this treaty. Backed by Algeria, the *Frente Polisario* launched an aggressive guerilla campaign against Mauritania and Morocco, forcing Mauritania to withdraw from the region, and recognizing Shawari control over the region through a peace treaty signed with the Polisario in 1979<sup>8</sup>. The Polisario thus occupied the eastern sector of Western Sahara that was previously held by Mauritania. This caused Morocco to press on, claiming the former Mauritanian part of Western Sahara as its own<sup>9</sup>. To better contain the guerillas, Morocco constructed, during the mid-1980s, a massive sand wall separating its western "Southern Provinces" from the now Polisario-controlled eastern "Free zone." This sand wall is, as the name suggests, mostly made of sandstone, and includes landmines, bunkers, fences and landmines.



The Moroccan "Sand Wall System".

After another decade of warfare, a ceasefire between Morocco and the Polisario was signed through the 1991 **Settlement Plan**<sup>10</sup>. Under this initiative, the Polisario and Morocco agreed to conduct a referendum that would allow the people of Western Sahara to vote on either becoming an independent state or completely

6 "Western Sahara Profile," BBC, accessed December 1 2020. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-14115273#:~:text=Western%20Sahara%20is%20a%20sparsely,led%20by%20the%20Polisario%20Front.>

7 "Western Sahara," Encyclopedia Britannica, accessed December 1, 2020. <https://www.britannica.com/place/Western-Sahara>

8 Ibid.

9 Ibid.

10 "The Settlement Proposals," United Nations Peacemaker, accessed December 1 2020. <https://peacemaker.un.org/morocco-settlementproposals88>

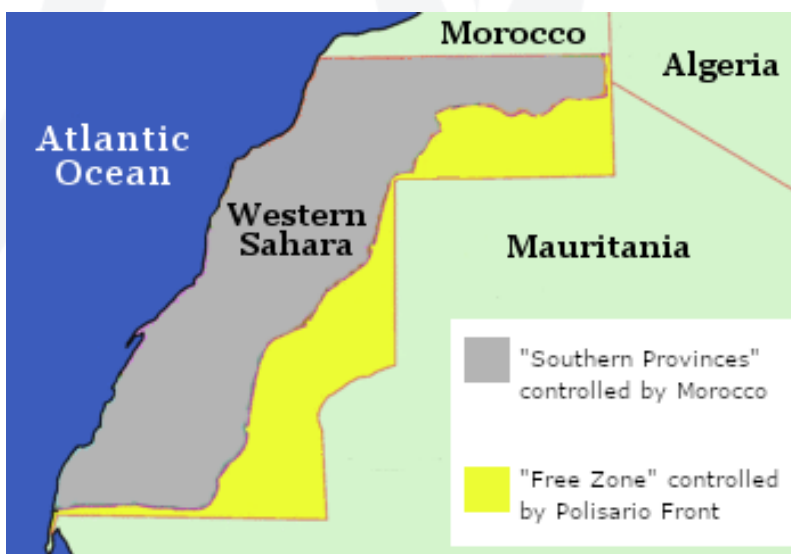


integrate with Morocco<sup>11</sup>. Additionally to the ceasefire, the Settlement Plan led to the United Nations to launch the **The United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara (MINURSO)** under Security Council Resolution 690. MINURSO would be tasked with maintaining the ceasefire and organizing the referendum in accordance to the previously agreed Settlement Plan<sup>12</sup>.

Nonetheless, disagreements from both sides (that will be better explored in the "Referendum Deadlock" subsection) contributed to the referendum never to take place. Because of this, MINURSO has been extended by the Security Council a whopping 47 times, most recently in October 2020<sup>13</sup>. As of date, there are no plans in motion for the organization of any sort of referendum, and as will be discussed later in this guide, relations between the Polisario and Morocco have reached a new low in November 2020 as the Polisario promises to break the ceasefire and resume fighting Morocco after nearly 30 years of continued peace.

### Current Status

The current status of Western Sahara is extremely complex. Due to disagreements between the Polisario and Morocco, all attempts and plans introduced by the United Nations to organize the referendum have been rejected. Thus, there are currently no plans for the holding of this referendum. This essentially means that Western Sahara is left in a situation of "limbo," internationally speaking. While Morocco holds most of the productive parts of the territory, the Polisario holds the mostly barren and harsh eastern region which is predominantly the Sahara Desert.



The division between the "Free Zone" and the "Southern Provinces".

Most of the population of the Western Sahara lives in the Moroccan region, the result of many complex

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> "Minurso," UN Missions, accessed December 1 2020. <https://minurso.unmissions.org/mandate>

<sup>13</sup> "Repertoire of the Practice of the Security Council 22nd Supplement," United Nations Security Council, accessed December 10 2020. [https://www.un.org/securitycouncil/sites/www.un.org.securitycouncil/files/22nd\\_supp\\_part\\_i\\_advance.pdf#page=4](https://www.un.org/securitycouncil/sites/www.un.org.securitycouncil/files/22nd_supp_part_i_advance.pdf#page=4).

reasons. The harsh climate of the “Free Zone” (officially called **Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic**) combined with the difficulty to access the region due to highly militarized sand walls and surrounding land mines means that only about 30,000 people reside in the Polisario-controlled east<sup>14</sup>. Of these, it is estimated that fewer than 10,000 compose the Polisario guerilla army. The largest settlement and capital of the “Free Zone” is the oasis town of Tifariti. In essence, most of the inhabitants of the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic are nomads that travel between the “Free Zone” settlements and Mauritania<sup>15</sup>.

In a stark contrast, the Moroccan “Southern Provinces” in Western Sahara have over 500,000 inhabitants<sup>16</sup>. Of these, Moroccan settlers make up over 300,000 people of the total population<sup>17</sup>. Since 1975, Morocco has sponsored settlement schemes to convince Moroccans to move to the “Southern Provinces.” As will be explained later on, this massive settlement scheme is one of the main causes for disagreement that puts a “deadlock” in the referendum. Very differently from the eastern “Free Zone,” around 80% of the population of the “Southern Provinces” lives in an urban setting<sup>18</sup>. Of these, 40% live in or near the city of Laayoune<sup>19</sup>. It is important to note that, however, that the settlement program promoted by Morocco is illegal under international law. Under the Geneva Convention, a state cannot transfer its own civilians into occupied territory.

The most important matter to consider of the current status of Western Sahara is that violence appears to be resuming. After nearly 30 years of the Morocco-Polisario ceasefire being generally respected, in November 2020, hostilities resumed. Accusing the Polisario of harassing MINURSO forces and halting the passage of people and goods, Morocco launched a military operation at the border between the “Southern Provinces” and the “Free Zone”<sup>20</sup>. While MINURSO denied its troops were harassed, the Polisario’s leader, Brahim Ghali, announced that the group would no longer abide by the ceasefire. The Sahara Press Service, the Polisario’s news agency, informed that on November 14th the Polisario Front launched attacks against the Royal Moroccan Army in Western Sahara thus “disrupting its military plans.”<sup>21</sup> Delegates should come to debate with this in mind. Time is of the essence, as the decades of deadlock in the organization of the referendum is now causing armed fighting to resume in the region.

## MINURSO and the Baker Plan

While MINURSO has had some success in keeping the ceasefire afloat (at least until November 2020), it is undeniable that it failed in organizing the referendum. While it is important to recognize that it was not necessarily the MINURSO’s fault that the referendum still has not taken place, it is clear that MINURSO must develop new plans and negotiate a referendum that would be acceptable to both sides. While delegates need to ask themselves how that can be achieved, it is necessary to understand the previous referendum plan that was rejected.

After holding talks with both sides in Houston, UN Special Envoy James Baker came up with a plan for

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14 “Western Sahara,” CIA World Factbook,, accessed December 1, 2020. [https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/print\\_wi.html](https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/print_wi.html)

15 Ibid.

16 Ibid.

17 Ibid.

18 Ibid.

19 Ibid.

20 “Western Sahara independence leader declares the end of a 29 year ceasefire with Morocco,” CNN, accessed December 1, 2020. <https://edition.cnn.com/2020/11/15/world/polisario-front-morocco-western-sahara-ceasefire-intl/index.html>.

21 Ibid.

the future of Western Sahara. Thus, in the early 2000s, he produced what was known as the Baker Plan<sup>22</sup>. This plan envisioned self-rule for the entirety of Western Sahara for five years under a Western Sahara Authority. After this period, a referendum on independence would be held, where the entirety of the population of Western Sahara would be allowed to vote. The interim government of this Western Sahara Authority would be chosen democratically, but only people identified as original inhabitants of the territory by MINURSO (thus excluding Moroccan settlers) would be allowed to vote. The Polisario was opposed to Moroccan settlers being entitled to vote on the independence referendum, but in the end, both Algeria and Polisario agreed to the Baker Plan as a starting point to start negotiating. In 2003, the Security Council unanimously endorsed the plan. However, Morocco rejected the plan and furthermore denied opening negotiations, stating it would no longer agree to holding a referendum that had independence as an option<sup>23</sup>.

Currently there is no replacement UN plan to hold a referendum. Thus, it is paramount for delegates to come up with a new plan to replace the failed Baker II. Without a solution regarding this referendum, it is unlikely that the issue of Western Sahara will be solved. Furthermore, as can be seen by the renewed hostilities in 2020, the longer a plan takes to be implemented, the worse the violence is likely to get in the region.

### Referendum Deadlock

As alluded to many times in this background guide, the main issue preventing a solution to the question of Western Sahara is the inability of both sides to organize a referendum to decide the future of the territory. Both Morocco and the Polisario signed the 1991 Settlement Plan, agreeing to hold a referendum in the region asking whether or not the population in the territory wanted outright independence or to be integrated into the Kingdom of Morocco. Originally scheduled for 1992, disagreements between both parties resulted in the referendum never taking place. The heart of the issue was: who gets to vote in the referendum? While the Polisario Front believes that only natives identified by the 1974 Spanish census should be allowed to vote, Morocco believed that the Spanish census was flawed and that Moroccan settlers then migrated to Western Sahara after the occupation should be allowed to vote as well. This created an impassable deadlock, as every attempt to find common ground failed<sup>24</sup>.

In 1997, the United Nations managed to organize negotiations between the *Frente Polisario* and Morocco in the American city of Houston, Texas. While the two parties signed and agreed to a framework that would see a referendum held in 1998, the question of “who will be allowed to vote?” was once more not resolved and the agreement fell through completely when the Baker II plan was rejected by Morocco in the early 2000s<sup>25</sup>. Essentially, neither side would agree to a model of voter registration where they would be likely to lose.

After the previously explained rejection of the Baker Plan, the Moroccan position in regard to the referendum changed dramatically. Whereas Morocco previously agreed to a referendum in principle, when King Mohammed VI took over the Moroccan crown, Morocco no longer accepted the organization of any referendum that included the option of independence<sup>26</sup>. Instead, Morocco now pushed for Western Sahara to be a self-governing autonomous community within the Kingdom of Morocco. For obvious reasons, this is completely unacceptable in the eyes of the Polisario, who wants full independence for the territory.

Thus, the two parties find themselves in complete deadlock. There haven’t been meaningful negotiations

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22 “Chronology of Events,” UN Missions, accessed December 1 2020. <https://minurso.unmissions.org/chronology-events>

23 Ibid.

24 “Western Sahara,” Encyclopedia Britannica, accessed December 1, 2020. <https://www.britannica.com/place/Western-Sahara>

25 Ibid.

26 Ibid.

since the **Houston Talks** and there appears to be a general lack of interest from the international community in pressuring both sides to talk. Instead, the Security Council seems content in renewing MINURSO year after year. But now, as after years of deadlock violence appears to loom over the territory once more, it is imperative that delegates find a solution to this deadlock to prevent further bloodshed in the region, and to solve the question of Western Sahara once and for all.

### Questions to Consider

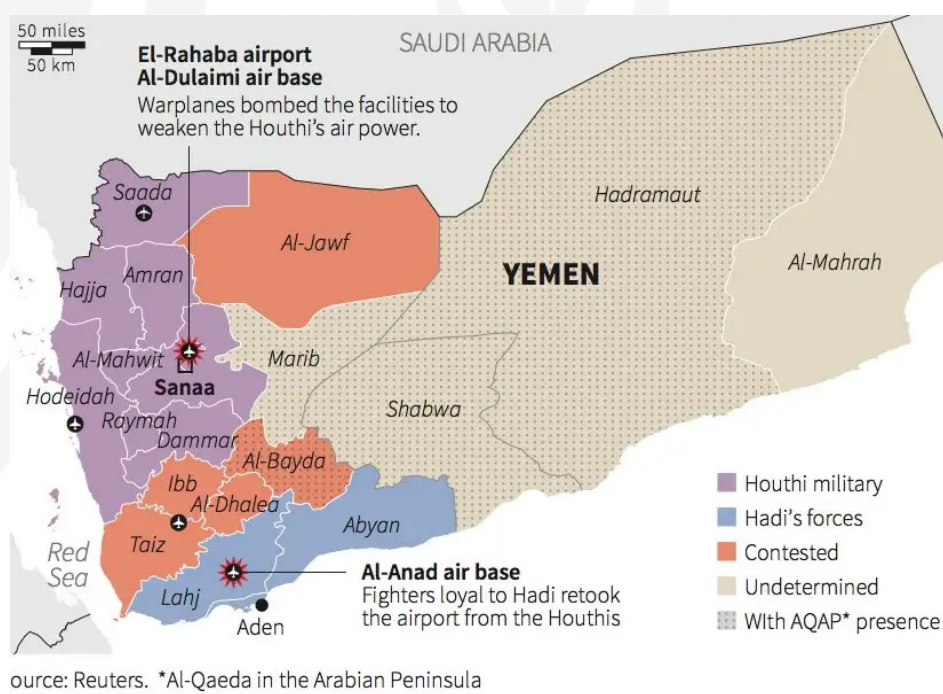
1. How can the border between the Southern Provinces and the Free Zone be truly demilitarized thus assuring that border actions such as the one Morocco took in November won't repeat itself?
2. In a possible referendum who should be allowed to vote? The entire population of Western Sahara? Only the Shawari peoples? How can this be managed?
3. Is a referendum the only way to solve the question of Western Sahara? What other alternatives can be explored? (This is particularly important given the 30-year referendum deadlock).
4. The Security Council has renovated MINURSO over 40 times since 1991. What steps can be taken to make the mission more effective? Perhaps changing its mandate should be considered?

## Topic B: Crisis in Yemen

### Introduction

Plastered through headlines, the crisis in Yemen is not overlooked by the public eye, yet there has been little to no change with the increased attention. Instability has plagued the region for decades, insurgency is on the rise, the government is in exile, and the humanitarian impacts are catastrophic. This delegation will analyze the humanitarian crisis, with a specific focus on food security, malnourishment, human trafficking and the response to the COVID-19 pandemic. Additionally, the insurgency developed in the Southern Regions, militarization forcing the exile of the government and another civil war.

International influences have also played their part in the crisis unfolding in Yemen with strategic placement along the Gulf of Aden in the Arabian Sea, it has the potential to control trade routes as its soils are rich with oil providing about 90% of the country's exports<sup>27</sup>. The Saudi Arabian led coalition has been actively working with the Yemeni government in action against the Iranian backed Houthis. The conflict between the two groups has been consistent and is ongoing. Tens of thousands of Yemenis, primarily civilians, have been killed with millions more displaced<sup>28</sup>. This conflict has been referred to by the United Nations and the world's worst humanitarian disaster.<sup>29</sup>



### History

Yemen has been a victim of colonization, which has led to many of the conflicts that are currently

27 "Transfer of Power to 'Abd Rabbuh Mansūr Hadi." Accessed December 2, 2020. <https://www.britannica.com/place/Yemen/Transfer-of-power-to-Abd-Rabbuh-Mansur-Hadi>.

28 "Yemen Emergency Dashboard, October 2020 - Yemen." ReliefWeb, n.d. <https://reliefweb.int/report/yemen/yemen-emergency-dashboard-october-2020>.

29Ibid



underway. Initially part of the Ottoman empire, and briefly a part of the British empire, democracy and independence has always been fragile in the north of the country. The first domestic ruler since colonization was Imam Yahya in 1918 who was then assassinated in 1948. His successor was none other than his own son Imam Ahmed who fought off opposition against the feudal rule to remain in power. When Ahmed passed away in 1962, his own son succeeded him but army officers seized power and established the Yemen Arab Republic which sparked a civil war. The republicans were backed by Egypt and Saudi Arabia garnered the support of the royalists within Yemen.<sup>30</sup>

At this time Britain was still in power in southern Yemen but in 1967 they withdrew following years of pro-independence protests and insurgency officially uniting Southern Yemen with Northern Yemen and its previous territories to form the People's Republic of Yemen. Only 2 years later the People's Democratic republic of Yemen fell victim to a communist Coup and it reorientated its political values towards the Soviet bloc all while the civil war is still underway. In 1972 a ceasefire was brokered by the Arab League shortly after Republican forces appeared to triumph in the North. Following a few years of relative peace Ali Abdallah Saleh became the president of North Yemen instigating fresh fighting between the North and the South. By 1986 thousands had died as a result of the power struggle in the south driving the first generation of leaders from the office and Haidar Abu Bakr al-Attas took over, and began to work towards unification of the two states.<sup>31</sup>

In May 1990 the two Yemens united as the Republic of Yemen with Ali Abdallah Saleh as President. With the Soviet bloc imploding. Tensions of the previous civil war starts reignite. Saleh remained in power until 2012. In 1994, following mass conflict in the southern region, Saleh declared a state of emergency and dismissed officials, including his own Vice President who advised and declared the secession of the south. Eventually they were defeated by the national army and remained as one country, however tensions were still high.<sup>32</sup>

1995 was the start of the conflict between Yemen and Eritrea over the disputed Hanish Islands in the Red Sea. By 1998 an archipelago was awarded to Yemen following international arbitration. By the early 2000's Yemen had become a stronghold for the terrorist group al-Qaeda causing the federal government to expel more than 100 foreign Islamic clerics in a crackdown attempt. By 2004 the Houthi insurgency, led by Hussein al-Houthi, had taken hold in the North, causing hundreds of troops to die. The Houthi led insurgency was primarily driven by their Shia beliefs and the Yemeni government's lack thereof. Following years of attacks, Saleh steps down as president and a unity government is formed between his successor, Abdrabbuh Manour Hadi, and a prime minister appointed by the opposition. The inauguration occurred in February of 2012, but no progress is made in countering the al-Qaeda attacks throughout Yemen and specifically within the capital, Sana'a.<sup>33</sup>

Come 2014, the Houthis seized control of most of Sana'a, and rejected deals presented by the president that are set to change the constitution to accommodate the Houthis and their problems in the south. With the dramatic change of power within the capital, it did not come as a surprise when the deal was rejected. In February of 2015; Houthis appointed a presidential council to replace President Hadi, who in turn fled the capital to the republic southern stronghold of Aden. In March of that same year, the Islamic State carried out its first major attack in Yemen involving suicide bombings that targeted Shia mosques in Sana'a. The Gulf Arab states, led by Saudi Arabia, began to target the Houthis in a series of Air strikes and established a naval blockade in order to halt their rapid advancements on Aden, the main city of the south. Flash forward to 2018, with the aid of the United Arab Emirates, Southern Yemen separatists seize control of Aden, and by November 2019, separatists

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30 "Yemen Profile - Timeline," November 6, 2019. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-14704951>.

31 Ibid

32 Ibid

33 Ibid

and the government agree to share power to end the conflict in southern Yemen.<sup>34</sup>

This war continues reaping terror amongst civilians, as well as mass droughts causing the death of a majority of the crops grown. Throughout the country, civilians have suffered from a lack of basic services, and many have lost a steady source of income. The crisis has left the economy crippled and worsened the humanitarian crisis. The use of child soldiers, indiscriminate artillery attacks, unlawful airstrikes, blocking and impeding on humanitarian access and violence against women all also occurred throughout Yemeni history, and still do today.<sup>35</sup>

## Current Status

Yemen is currently the largest humanitarian crisis in the world with almost 80 percent of the population (24 million people) in need of urgent humanitarian intervention.<sup>36</sup> Of those 24 million, more than 12 million are children.<sup>37</sup> Data coming out of Yemen is extremely difficult and cannot solely be trusted to be an exact replication of what is actually happening within the country.<sup>38</sup> As the COVID-19 pandemic rages on, hospitals are currently only operating at less than 50 percent, making it impossible to track the virus as the Houthi insurgency have targeted both medical facilities, but also health workers.<sup>39</sup> The Houthis have also severely diverted and obstructed international aid in their areas, which parties have claimed they are using starvation as a weapon of war. The country's very limited testing has only recovered approximately 2,150 with over a quarter of those numbers succumbing to the disease as the spread of the virus unknown and out of control.<sup>40</sup>

In June of 2020, the Secretary General of the UN removed the Saudi-led coalition from his list of countries responsible for grave violations against children in armed conflict, despite the current state of affairs and the crimes against child soldiers.<sup>41</sup> There have still been indiscriminate attacks from both the Houthis and the Saudi coalition. The main themes of concern to the UN have been, protection and human rights, recovery and reconstruction, refugee camps, health, and basic necessities such as sanitary water, food, and even education.<sup>42</sup>

The European Centre for Constitutional and Human right in coalition with 5 other non-governmental groups have pressured the International Criminal Court to investigate the role of Arm's companies and licensing officials who are selling weapons in violation of the international humanitarian law that could have potentially amounted to war crimes in Yemen halting many of the transactions. However, the United Kingdom, France, United States of America, Canada and Spain have resumed arms sales to Saudi Arabia despite documented evidence of continuing laws-of-war violations.<sup>43</sup>

As most of the world is dealing with their own pandemic crises, the situation in Yemen, so shortly after being brought to mass attention, is once again being forgotten and overlooked by the international community and primarily being supported by NGOs.<sup>44</sup>

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34 Ibid

35 Ibid

36 "War and COVID-19 in Yemen," November 5, 2020. <https://www.hrw.org/news/2020/10/14/war-and-covid-19-yemen>.

37 "Extension Yemen HRP 2020 Final (1)." OCHA, June 2020.

38 Ibid

39 "HE-76-Web-Resize." Humanitarian Practice Network, January 2020

40 France 24. "Saudi-Led Coalition Bombs Yemen Rebel Sites after Aramco Attack," November 27, 2020. <https://www.france24.com/en/live-news/20201127-saudi-led-coalition-bombs-yemen-rebel-sites-after-aramco-attack>

41 "HE-76-Web-Resize." Humanitarian Practice Network, January 2020

42 "Yemen | UN News." Accessed December 2, 2020. <https://news.un.org/en/tags/yemen>

43 "World Report 2020: Rights Trends in Yemen," January 14, 2020. <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2020/country-chapters/yemen>.

44 Ibid

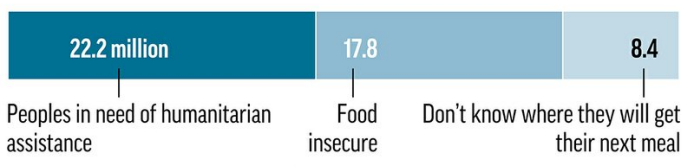
## Humanitarian Crisis

The humanitarian crisis that Yemen faces, remains the worst humanitarian crisis in the world with 20 million of the 30.5 million population are food insecure, 80% who are in need of humanitarian or protection assistance, 14.4 million are in need of urgent acute care and nearly 18 million Yemenis lack access to safe water and sanitation, many of which are suffering from extreme malnutrition.<sup>45</sup> The impacts of consistent instability are felt throughout the region as many people are not only struggling for the bare necessities, but have also been internally displaced, making it difficult to find a source of income to help provide for their families. There have been international efforts in Yemen to provide humanitarian aid and this will be elaborated in more detail in "Aid Missions". One of the most visible impacts that is in desperate need of correcting is the mass malnutrition throughout the state which has resulted in hundreds of thousands of preventable deaths.

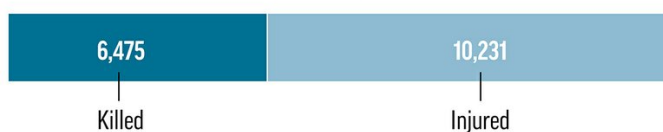
### Yemen's humanitarian crisis

Experts carried out a comprehensive examination of the suffering stemming from the ongoing conflict in Yemen.

**Humanitarian crisis:** Of 29.3 million Yemeni population



**Casualties in conflict:** From March 2015 to June 2018:



SOURCES: U.N. Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs; Human Rights Council

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## Gender Based Violence

According to the UN Population Fund (UNFPA), more than 3 million Yemeni women and girls are at risk of gender based violence and at least 60,000 at risk of sexual violence, including rape.<sup>46</sup> According to The UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), women are more likely than men to be victims of sexual exploitation.<sup>47</sup> Domestic violence has tended to increase during times of increased poverty and economic stress, which is currently prominent within the Yemeni society, but victims are not receiving aid.<sup>48</sup> There has also been an increased number of attacks within refugee camps of those who are fleeing the conflict. This inability to work, and exist without protection allows for gender based violence to be more prevalent as the years of civil war go on. Forms of gender based violence are also more common within forced and child marriages. Aside from protection, a key reason for early marriage is money, particularly in a precarious conflict-affected context in which so many people are looking for any way to make ends meet. It offers young women stability and protection as they are often wed into wealthier families. However, of course, this issue is cultural and not a lot of families are informed of the harmful nature of marrying off young daughters and occasionally sons. Due to the internal conflict and mass poverty girls are now being married off earlier than pre-civil war rates seeing as the most recent data is showing that 9% of girls married off before they were 15, and 32% of them married before they were 18 years old.<sup>49</sup> However this data is expected to be far under the exact amount due to the lack of ability to collect credible data across the country.

<sup>45</sup> "HE-76-Web-Resize." Humanitarian Practice Network, January 2020.

<sup>46</sup> "World Report 2020: Rights Trends in Yemen," January 14, 2020. <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2020/country-chapters/yemen>.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid

<sup>48</sup> Ibid

<sup>49</sup> "HE-76-Web-Resize." Humanitarian Practice Network, January 2020



## Internally Displaced People (IDP)

When the Houthis took over Sana'a in September of 2014, and the subsequent action taken by the Saudi led coalition, the number of internally displaced people (IDP) has increased from 430,000 in 2012 to 3.65 million in 2019.<sup>50</sup> As fighting for control of the city of Sana'a worsened in June of 2018, more than half a million people, predominantly women and children were displaced. Despite the UN-sponsored Stockholm Agreement, the ceasefire was broken and another 8,000 families were displaced. Over 3.6 million people have been displaced including the 375,000 in 2019.<sup>51</sup> Camps are growing, and are in need of both management and protection.<sup>52</sup> Over 1.1 million people are living within those camps and only some have access to humanitarian aid.<sup>53</sup> Others are having their humanitarian aid disrupted from delivery by the Houthi insurgents. Without a focus on IDP, people are not receiving the aid they need in order to help reestablish and rebuild in Yemen.

## Aid Missions

Interference in Aid operations increased ten times in 2019 compared to 2018.<sup>54</sup> The attacks on humanitarian aid convoys and workers amounted to be close to a third of all of the attacks within the country and over 90% of those attacks were executed by the authorities of Northern Yemen.<sup>55</sup> These acts of interference included manipulation of benefactory information, targeted attacks, obstruction of assessments and actively trying to divert aid. Many countries involved have claimed that they are using starvation and disease as a form of weapon against the Yemeni citizens.<sup>56</sup> Violence against humanitarian personnel and facilities experienced a sharp spike in frequency the second half of 2019 and 2020. This heavily being influenced by the Houthis and their anti-aid media campaign inciting hate speech and violence against any organization or aid workers. With this and the increased number of attacks, aid was suspended to the northern region.<sup>57</sup> The Saudi-led coalition's restrictions on imports have delayed and diverted fuel tankers, closed critical ports, and stopped goods from entering Houthi-controlled seaports as an act to control the resources that the Houthis are able to obtain.<sup>58</sup> The resources include the fuel needed to power generators in hospitals and pump water to homes. Aid missions have also received the blame for bringing Covid into the country.<sup>59</sup>

## COVID-19

Covid has made an already very fragile and difficult situation even harder to navigate. With cases

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50 "Yemen | UN News." Accessed December 2, 2020. <https://news.un.org/en/tags/yemen>

51 "World Report 2020: Rights Trends in Yemen," January 14, 2020. <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2020/country-chapters/yemen>.

52 France 24. "Saudi-Led Coalition Bombs Yemen Rebel Sites after Aramco Attack," November 27, 2020. <https://www.france24.com/en/live-news/20201127-saudi-led-coalition-bombs-yemen-rebel-sites-after-aramco-attack>

53 al-Batati, Saeed. "North Yemen Fighting Forces Thousands to Flee since January," November 26, 2020. <https://www.arabnews.com/node/1768901/middle-east>.

54 "World Report 2020: Rights Trends in Yemen," January 14, 2020. <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2020/country-chapters/yemen>.

55 Ibid

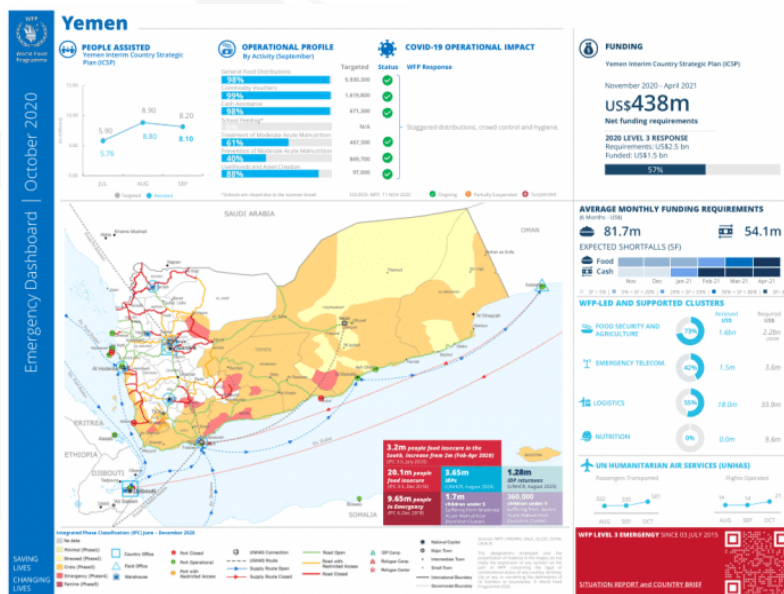
56 France 24. "Saudi-Led Coalition Bombs Yemen Rebel Sites after Aramco Attack," November 27, 2020. <https://www.france24.com/en/live-news/20201127-saudi-led-coalition-bombs-yemen-rebel-sites-after-aramco-attack>

57 al-Batati, Saeed. "North Yemen Fighting Forces Thousands to Flee since January," November 26, 2020. <https://www.arabnews.com/node/1768901/middle-east>.

58 Ibid

59 "World Report 2020: Rights Trends in Yemen," January 14, 2020. <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2020/country-chapters/yemen>.

uncontrolled and mass lack of both access to basic services and health care, the situation looks very grim.<sup>60</sup> The humanitarian aid and foreign intervention NGOs have mostly been suspended, leaving them to fight this disease without support from the international community. Food security and increased nutrition have been expected to plummet.<sup>61</sup>



## Arbitrary Detentions, Torture, and Enforced Disappearances

The theme of arbitrary detention appears to be consistent on both sides of the fighting. There have been forcibly abducted and often held in extremely poor conditions. Their disappearances have been people that have typically been perceived to be political opponents or security threats. In these detention centres there is torture, and high rates of sexual violence and assault. The Human Rights Watch have documented dozens of cases of arbitrary abuse enforced disappearances, leaving behind mothers, sisters and daughters fighting for their freedom or explanation of their disappearance. This group “Mothers of Abductees Association” has reported over 3,478 cases of disappearance and of which 128 of those were killed. The exact number is unknown.<sup>62</sup>

## Insurgency

The initial Houthi rebellion was established in 2004 in the far northern region. Yemen has been dealing with internal conflict for most of its independence. Fighting in the region has been ramping up in 2020 yet due to the COVID-19 circumstances, Saudi Arabia announced a ceasefire due to the uncertainty of oil prices, and the concern for Yemen’s ability to handle an outbreak in the country.<sup>63</sup> The conflict has annihilated what was already West Asia’s poorest and most underdeveloped country. Yemen is a geopolitical chessboard for Iran, Saudi

60 France 24. “Saudi-Led Coalition Bombs Yemen Rebel Sites after Aramco Attack,” November 27, 2020. <https://www.france24.com/en/live-news/20201127-saudi-led-coalition-bombs-yemen-rebel-sites-after-aramco-attack>

61 “War and COVID-19 in Yemen,” November 5, 2020. <https://www.hrw.org/news/2020/10/14/war-and-covid-19-yemen>.

62 al-Batati, Saeed. “North Yemen Fighting Forces Thousands to Flee since January,” November 26, 2020. <https://www.arabnews.com/node/1768901/middle-east>.

63 Keaten, Jamey. “UN Experts: Possible War Crimes by All Parties in Yemen,” August 28, 2018. <https://apnews.com/358660bf2da344cfb1c5b24136b4c029>.

Arabia and the Gulf states, and their foreign patrons. Iran, who backed the Houthi rebels, and Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states, who originally backed the feeble Hadi administration but now back their self-interest.<sup>64</sup> Both sides have been accused of indiscriminately attacking the civilian population of Yemen.<sup>65</sup>

### Questions to Consider

1. What is a reasonable way the security council could intervene in Yemen to solve the problems at hand?
2. What is crucial to consider in the foundation of the country for the success and long term development and stability?
3. How does the global pandemic influence the ability to intervene? And the ability for aid?
4. What past UN documents has your country supported or did not support that would give you a clear idea on what your stance is about this topic?

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<sup>64</sup> Ibid  
<sup>65</sup> Ibid

## Topic C: The Kashmir Crisis

### Introduction

The Kashmir Conflict is a territorial dispute between India, Pakistan, and to a lesser extent China, over the Himalayan region of Kashmir in northern India. The conflict is almost as old as the modern states of Pakistan and India, dating back to the 1947 partition of India by the British Empire.<sup>66</sup> There have been countless skirmishes at the border and harsh rhetoric between India and Pakistan for many decades, but in 2019, the situation evolved even further as the government of Narendra Modi revoked the special status of limited autonomy from the Kashmir and Jammu region (this being the largest part of the Kashmir region).<sup>67</sup> In the wake of this revocation, to halt insurgency from separatist groups, communications in the region were cut off and several local politicians were arrested.<sup>68</sup>

In essence, this revocation of autonomy transformed the Indian section of Kashmir into a “union territory” rather than a semi-autonomous region, putting Kashmir and Jammu under direct administration of the Central Government of India.<sup>69</sup> This caused a diplomatic crisis between Pakistan and India, as Islamabad was scandalized by this unilateral action by the part of the Indian government. Furthermore, Pakistan has promised to take the case of Kashmir to the International Court of Justice and has accused India of ethnic cleansing in the region, which would be a grave violation of human rights.<sup>70</sup>

### History

The Kashmir dispute dates back to the colonial past of the Indian subcontinent. After nearly a century of British dominance over India, nationalist movements started to gain traction, demanding that the colonizers leave the region.<sup>71</sup> Britain believed outright independence would inevitably cause a Civil War between the Muslim minority and the Hindu majority as violence between the sides was widespread, thus, it decided to partition the continent based on religion.<sup>72</sup> On August 1947, the independent Muslim-majority nation of Pakistan was created and soon after, the Hindu-majority, now independent, India was formed in the south.<sup>73</sup> Nonetheless, due to the “hasty” partition, 550 princely states within the British Raj could decide between joining India or Pakistan or remain independent altogether. One of the princely states given these choices were Jammu and Kashmir.<sup>74</sup>

In 1947, Jammu and Kashmir was governed by Maharaja Hari Singh, who was Hindu. Singh did not align with either India or Pakistan, and wanted independence. Thus, to not be pressured by Pakistan to join the Muslim-majority country, it signed an agreement with Pakistan that allowed travel and trade to continue between Pakistan, and Jammu and Kashmir.<sup>75</sup> However, no such agreement was signed with India. This attempt to avert pressure failed. Soon Pakistan aggressively started pushing for Jammu and Kashmir to be integrated

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66 “The Kashmir Conflict, how did it start?,” National Geographic, accessed December 1, 2020, <https://www.nationalgeographic.com/culture/2019/03/kashmir-conflict-how-did-it-start/#close>.

67 “Kashmir, One Year Later,” Foreign Policy, accessed December 1, 2020, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/08/04/kashmir-article-370-blackout-arrest-covid-pandemic-modi/>

68 “Kashmir,” Foreign Policy.

69 “Already Rajya Sabha Clears J&K as Union Territory instead of State,” NDTV, accessed December 1, 2020. <https://www.ndtv.com/india-news/bill-to-bifurcate-jammu-and-kashmir-into-2-union-territories-passed-by-rajya-sabha-2080688>

70 “Kashmir: Pakistan to seek International Court of Justice Ruling,” BBC, accessed December 1, 2020. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-49414213>

71 “Kashmir Conflict,” National Geographic.

72 “Kashmir Conflict,” National Geographic.

73 “Kashmir Conflict,” National Geographic.

74 “Kashmir Conflict,” National Geographic.

75 “Kashmir Conflict,” National Geographic.

within Pakistan, and started funding pro-Pakistani rebels that took over a large section of western Kashmir.<sup>76</sup> As Muslim violence increased, Singh asked Indian assistance in fighting off the rebels. Nonetheless, India informed Singh that it would only provide military assistance if Jammu and Kashmir became part of India. Thus, under increased pressure, Singh agreed. In October 1947, the Kashmir ruler signed the Instrument of Ascension, which aligned Kashmir with India.<sup>77</sup>

This “Ascension” of Kashmir caused the Indo-Pakistani war of 1947. Also known as the First Kashmir War, the conflict started as Pakistan launched an offensive to attempt to capture Kashmir. Originally, Jammu and Kashmir fought alone against the Pakistanis, but after Singh signed the Instrument of Ascension, India got involved, sending its troops to the region’s capital. After a year of fighting, and with UN involvement, a ceasefire was called in 1948.<sup>78</sup> The UN called for Pakistan to completely withdraw from the country and India to maintain a small contingent to promote law and order. After these two criteria had been met, a plebiscite would be organized to determine the future of the region. However, similarly to the case of Western Sahara, irreconcilable differences between the two parties prevented the plebiscite from ever taking place, as Pakistan and India could not reach a deal to demilitarize the region.

Nevertheless, the ceasefire signed between India and Pakistan in 1949 created a ceasefire line known as the Line of Control that essentially divided Kashmir and Jammu between India and Pakistan.<sup>79</sup> While the northeastern section is mostly administered by Pakistan, the south section is administered by India. Making matters even more complicated, the westernmost section is administered by China. Before the end of the 20th century another war would take place, however. The Indo-Pakistani War of 1965 was a series of skirmishes between August and September of that year which caused thousands of casualties on both sides. The conflict ended after the Soviet Union and the United States intervened diplomatically and the Security Council issued Resolution 211. The Tashkent Declaration officially brought back peace in January 1966. Other skirmishes followed in 1999.

Today, both Pakistan and India claim to be the rightful rulers of Kashmir. However, as exemplified by the map below, each country only controls parts of the region. It is important to keep in mind that both countries are nuclear powers - India since 1974 and Pakistan since 1998. This shows the severity of the dispute. Were a renewed serious conflict erupt between India and Pakistan once more, it is likely to quickly turn into a nuclear conflict. This is extremely worrisome especially due to India’s increasingly nationalistic actions in the region which have caused its section of the territory to be further integrated into India<sup>80</sup>.

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<sup>76</sup> “Kashmir Conflict,” National Geographic.

<sup>77</sup> “Kashmir Conflict,” National Geographic.

<sup>78</sup> “The Future of Kashmir,” BBC, accessed December 1 2020. [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/shared/spl/hi/south\\_asia/03/kashmir\\_future/html](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/shared/spl/hi/south_asia/03/kashmir_future/html).

<sup>79</sup> “The Future of Kashmir,” BBC.

<sup>80</sup> “Kashmir,” Foreign Policy.





## Current Status

To truly grasp the current status of Kashmir, it is first important to understand the region's demographics. In both the Indian and Pakistani administered zones, Muslims are overwhelmingly the majority.<sup>81</sup> Particularly in the case of India, that means the population is generally in the receiving end of Narendra Modi's Hindu nationalist policies.

Nonetheless, the most important recent event that transpired in Kashmir was India revoking the semi-autonomous special status the territory previously had under **Article 370** of the Indian Constitution. In early August 2019, the Indian Parliament officially made Jammu and Kashmir two "union territories," putting them under the direct control of the central Indian government through a lieutenant governor and a unicameral legislature.<sup>82</sup> This was extremely controversial and in doing so, India unilaterally annexed Kashmir, which had previously held some level of autonomy, causing a grave diplomatic crisis with Pakistan. Islamabad was outraged at this policy, calling it an illegal attempt to alter the current "disputed" status of the region. Furthermore, this caused Pakistan to downgrade its diplomatic relations with India and banned all imports and exports coming from India.<sup>83</sup> In a more controversial accusation, Pakistan stated that India was attempting to alter the current demographics in Kashmir (of a Muslim-majority) by ethnic cleansing.<sup>84</sup>

The other affected party, China, also expressed outrage. Beijing claimed this action undermined China's national sovereignty, and that India had no right to annex Ladakh Union Territory into its jurisdiction. China further stated that this "unacceptable" action would have no legal effects regarding the disputed territory along

<sup>81</sup> "The Future of Kashmir", BBC.

<sup>82</sup> "Already Rajya Sabha Clears J&K as Union Territory instead of State," NDTV.

<sup>83</sup> "Pakistan to Downgrade ties with India over Kashmir Move," Al Jazeera, accessed December 1, 2020. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/8/7/pakistan-to-downgrade-ties-with-india-over-kashmir-move>

<sup>84</sup> "Pakistan's Imran Khan Likens India's Actions in Kashmir to Nazism", CNN, accessed December 1 2020. <https://edition.cnn.com/2019/08/12/asia/kashmir-imran-khan-pakistan-hitler-intl-hnk/index.html>.

the India-China border. The Chinese Foreign Minister went as far as to declare that it would “support Pakistan in safeguarding its legitimate rights” over the region.

### Questions to Consider

1. How legal was India’s choice to revoke the special status of Kashmir and incorporate it into its own territory?
2. To what extent are India and Pakistan promoting human rights violations in Kashmir? How can the Security Council intervene if this is the case?
3. How can a plebiscite be organized? Is it possible to reach consensus for a referendum deciding the future of the territory to take place?
4. How can the Security Council ensure that no new conflict erupts in the region? How can the international community stop both nuclear powers from entering into a catastrophic confrontation?

## Advice for Research and Preparation

Hello again delegates, congrats on making it this far in the background guide! We just want to discuss some good approaches to your research, as well as preparation, for UTMUN 2021. As you will be taking on the mentality and beliefs of the countries of which you are assigned, be sure to familiarize yourself with their foreign policy, as you will be representing that country for the conference. You should familiarize yourself with their foreign policy, meaning that you should know how your country's stance on each topic. Your country's policy is your own responsibility research and we highly recommend writing a position paper. It is a great way to take all of the information we have provided, as well as your own research, and make the details concise and clear. This process will help you greatly in preparation for the conference. Beyond familiarizing yourself with your country's foreign policies, you should consider reviewing the operations of Model United Nations Procedure, and how the UNSC works. This will give you an idea of both what to expect and what the different roles will look like during the committee.

Overall, this MUN committee should be one that prompts ideas and has respectful debate. We are looking for individuals who have a comprehensive and unique approach to the topics at hand. All of these topics are very complex and have many layers that must be addressed before stability in these regions can be achieved. Review UN documents that have been used in the past and see how you could improve them to better address today's climate. Please, do not copy them, we are looking for unique and effective solutions, but use them as reference to see what approach the UN has taken.



## Topic A Key Resources

<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2020/11/13/morocco-launches-operation-in-western-sahara-border-zone>

<https://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/is-one-of-africas-oldest-conflicts-finally-nearing-its-end>

[https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/print\\_wi.html](https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/print_wi.html)

<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-14115273#:~:text=Western%20Sahara%20is%20a%20sparsely,led%20by%20the%20Polisario%20Front.>

<https://minurso.unmissions.org/>

## Topic B Key Resources

<https://theowp.org/reports/could-covid-19-end-the-bloody-war-in-yemen/>

<https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2020/country-chapters/yemen>

<https://reliefweb.int/report/yemen/yemen-emergency-dashboard-october-2020>

## Topic C Key Resources

<https://www.nationalgeographic.com/culture/2019/03/kashmir-conflict-how-did-it-start/#close>

[www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/2/27/the-kashmir-conflict-explained](http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/2/27/the-kashmir-conflict-explained)

[www.cnn.com/2016/09/30/asia/kashmir-explainer/index.html](http://www.cnn.com/2016/09/30/asia/kashmir-explainer/index.html)

[www.scmp.com/week-asia/geopolitics/article/2188041/kashmir-conflict-explained-what-brought-pakistan-and-india-air](http://www.scmp.com/week-asia/geopolitics/article/2188041/kashmir-conflict-explained-what-brought-pakistan-and-india-air)

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