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Model UN

ON THE SITUATION IN MYANMAR 2017

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INTRODUCTION

This text is produced by the United Nations Association of Sweden. The UNA Sweden is an organization working for a better and stronger UN. If you have any questions regarding this text or our work in general, please visit our website www.fn.se. The author of this text is Ragnar Fahlin Strömberg, who has extensive experience of Model UN:s through his work as President and instructor on behalf of UNA Sweden.

This text is a guide for a Model United Nations (Model UN) on the subject of the Rohingya persecution in Rakhine State in Myanmar. The conflict in Rakhine State can be seen as an example of failure by the national government to meet the responsibility to protect its population. Consequently, this Model UN focuses on the measures that the United Nations can take if the national community fails.

The intended participants are Swedish students at the gymnasium-level. During the Model UN, they will represent the 15 member states of the United Nations Security Council (the Security Council) and debate three topics in relation to the Rakhine State conflict, namely sexual and gender-based violence, reconciliation and justice and humanitarian access. The purpose of the Model UN is to reach one or more resolutions that can be adopted by the Security Council.

The Model UN is based on the conditions that are current as of the end of November 2017. The Country Positions have been written to reflect the positions of the Security Council's members at this time. The participants should strive to reach a resolution to address the situation as it was at the end of November 2017. In a meeting on the 6 November 2017, the Security Council issued a statement condemning the use of excessive violence in Rakhine State. The statement reflects the latest actions of the Security Council on the issue and can be found at this webpage <https://www.un.org/press/en/2017/sc13055.doc.htm>, retrieved on the 30th of November 2017.

The guide has the following structure. Section 2 provides a set of instructions for the Model UN. In Section 3, we present a short background on the conflict and the current situation in Myanmar. In section 4, we present the three topics which are to be debated during this Model UN. Section 5 provides Country Positions that are to be used by the different participating countries. Finally, section 6 provides the suggested format for a draft resolution and section 7 lists a number of sources for suggested further reading.



INSTRUCTIONS

PREPARATIONS

The students should be informed that they will represent different states in the Security Council and that their task is to reach a resolution on the situation in Rakhine State. For the students to perform successfully, they need basic knowledge about the conflict and about the Security Council's Rules of Procedure, which you will find in this guide.

The guide provides a background description and a timeline of the conflict. In addition, it focuses on three essential issues in the conflict. We recommend that each topic is addressed in a separate resolution. You can decide how many issues you want to work with depending on the time you have at your disposal.

The students should be divided into groups of 2–3 students (delegations). Each delegation represents a country and works based on their country's position. The Country Positions provide a brief overview of the important positions of each country and the different strategies that each country should pursue.

A President chairing the Model UN is required. If it is your first time arranging a Model UN, we recommend that you contact the United Nations Association of Sweden (info@fn.se), in order to hire a professional President.

OPENING SPEECHES

During the preparations, the students should write opening speeches based on the country position. The time for each opening speech is a maximum of 1 minute. Each opening speech should address the most important views of the state on the topics that are to be debated during the Model UN.

WRITE RESOLUTIONS

The goal of the Model UN is to agree on and adopt a resolution. We recommend that each delegation during the preparations writes one draft resolution on each topic that will be debated during the Model UN.

LOBBYING

After the opening speeches, the Model UN enters the next phase, lobbying. During the lobbying the delegations are allowed to conduct informal negotiations which are not moderated by the President. The delegations should strive to form alliances with other delegations and merge their respective draft resolutions into new draft resolutions that command the support of as many countries as possible. It is important to be creative and to be able to compromise. Each draft resolution is presented by one particular coun-

try and must be co-sponsored by a minimum of four other countries to proceed to debate and voting. In other words, the support of five countries is required if a resolution is to proceed to debate and voting. Each country can present or co-sponsor no more than one resolution on each topic.

DEBATE

After the lobbying, the resolutions that command sufficient support should be debated. One delegate from the presenting country is asked by the President to read the operative clauses of the draft resolution. The delegate is then given the opportunity to speak in favour of the draft resolution. Subsequently, other delegations are given the opportunity to speak either in favour or against the draft resolution. The President distributes the speaking time and also has the important task of encouraging as many delegates as possible to participate in the debate and to ensure that different opinions and arguments are heard.

After each speech, the delegates have the opportunity to ask questions to the speaker, assuming that the speaker is open to answer questions.

VOTING

After the debate, the Security Council moves into voting procedure. Each member state has one vote and can vote either for, against or abstain. For a resolution to be adopted

nine votes in favour are required. It is also required that no permanent member of the Security Council votes against. The permanent members of the Security Council are China, France, Russia, the United Kingdom and the United States.

The entire procedure of debating and voting is repeated for each draft resolution that has been co-sponsored by the required number of countries.

FURTHER INFORMATION AND

ALTERNATIVE RULES OF PROCEDURE

The above Rules of Procedure provide an exhaustive guide for the Model UN. It can be mentioned that two separate sets of Rules of Procedure exist. The Rules of Procedure outlined above imply that the debate to a large extent is directed by the President. According to the alternative set of Rules of Procedure, the delegates decide how the debate should proceed through raising motions. These Rules of Procedure requires a higher degree of involvement from the students, but are more compatible with the authentic Rules of Procedure in the Security Council. For a detailed guide to the different Rules of Procedure, see the website <https://fn.se/fnskola/fn-rollspel/>.

3. BACKGROUND

The factual statements in this section are largely based on reports by the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (the Office of the High Commissioner or OHCHR), a United Nations office tasked with protecting and promoting human rights.¹ The Office of the High Commissioner is not dependent on the views of particular member states in the same way as for example the Security Council.

THE ROHINGYA MINORITY

The Rohingya is an ethnic group living in Rakhine State of Myanmar. About 90 percent of the 50 million population of Myanmar is Buddhist, while the Muslims represent a religious minority of just over 4 percent of the population. The Rohingya is the largest Muslim group in Myanmar, although a fraction of the Rohingya are Hindu. The Rohingya have suffered longstanding marginalization. They have been denied Myanmar citizenship and have never been legally recognized in Myanmar as an ethnic group.² Many people in Myanmar hold the opinion and belief that the Rohingya are originally from Bangladesh, while many Bangladeshis similarly think that the Rohingyas originate from Myanmar. Neither Bangladesh nor Myanmar is willing to recognize them as citizens.

Myanmar is a highly ethnically diverse country. The Bamar is the largest ethnic group and represents a majority of the population. Since Myanmar's independence in 1948, the different ethnic minorities have been subject to various forms of systematic discrimination and deprivation, especially since the military coup and seizure of power in 1962. Ethnically driven internal armed conflicts have been recurring since the Myanmar independence.³

Rakhine State, where the Rohingya in Myanmar are concentrated, is found on the western coast of Myanmar, bordering the Bay of Bengal. To the north, Rakhine State borders Bangladesh. Rakhine State is characterized by

poverty and tension between different ethnic and religious groups. The Muslim Rohingya population in Rakhine State has been estimated to be slightly over 1 million. The Rakhine Buddhists, estimated to be around 2 million, have long harboured grievance against the Rohingya, regarding them as foreigners with no legitimate claim to reside in the state. Beyond the refusal of the Myanmar government to grant the Rohingya citizenship, the Rohingya have been denied access to higher education and suffered restrictions in their freedom of movement. Land owned by the Rohingya has been confiscated, Rohingya males have been exploited in forced labour and the Rohingya have been required to comply with restrictions on the number of children.⁴

The recent escalation of the conflict in Rakhine State should be seen against the background of the increased national prevalence of expressions of religious intolerance and hatred since 2012, during which Muslims have repeatedly been portrayed by ultra-nationalist Buddhist organizations as a “threat to race and religion”. In some instances, politicians have even publicly argued in favour of killing the Rohingya.⁵

RECENT POLITICAL TRANSFORMATION IN MYANMAR

Myanmar has recently experienced an extensive transfer of power from the military to the civil society. Open national elections were held in November 2015 for the first time in 25 years. A civilian government, under the leadership of Aung San Suu Kyi, assumed power in March 2016. It has, however, been pointed out that the political influence of the military remains strong through continued control of 25 percent of the seats in Parliament and the power of the Commander-in-Chief to appoint key government Ministers.

The new civilian government has stated its intention to pursue reconciliation between the different ethnic groups of Myanmar. In the national elections of Novem-

¹ For more information about the Office of the High Commissioner, see the following webpage: <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/AboutUs/Pages/WhatWeDo.aspx>, retrieved 30 November 2017.

² See Situation of human rights of Rohingya Muslims and other minorities in Myanmar, p. 2–4, and Interviews with Rohingyas fleeing from Myanmar since 9 October 2016, p. 5–7.

³ See Situation of human rights of Rohingya Muslims and other

minorities in Myanmar, p. 2–3.

⁴ See Situation of human rights of Rohingya Muslims and other minorities in Myanmar, p. 7–13, and Interviews with Rohingyas fleeing from Myanmar since 9 October 2016, pages 5–6.

⁵ See Situation of human rights of Rohingya Muslims and other minorities in Myanmar, p. 7, and Interviews with Rohingyas fleeing from Myanmar since 9 October 2016, p. 5.



Secretary-General António Guterres briefs the Security Council meeting on the situation in Rakhine state of Myanmar.

ber 2015, however, Muslim candidates were not allowed to participate, resulting in a Parliament with no Muslim members. The government has also opposed calls to grant the Rohingya minority citizenship.⁶

CURRENT SITUATION IN RAKHINE STATE

The situation in Rakhine State has escalated in the aftermath of the 9th of October 2016, when insurgents from the Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army (ARSA) reportedly attacked Myanmar border posts at the Myanmar-Bangladesh border. Myanmar security forces retaliated by conducting what they referred to as “area clearance operations”, where they claimed to have targeted militant Rohingya groups in the northern part of Rakhine State. It is still ongoing. The conflict has resulted in well over 620 000 Rohingya refugees fleeing the country, mostly to Bangladesh, although previously, Rohingyas have fled from Bangladesh to Myanmar. The access of humanitarian organizations in Myanmar has simultaneously with the increase of refugees

been severely limited. Reports of human rights abuses in the northern Rakhine State have been widespread.⁸

According to the Mission report by the Office of the High Commissioner, the Myanmar security forces in August 2017 began operations aimed at expelling the Rohingya from Myanmar. The report concluded that the operations constituted systematic human rights violations and that the perpetrators were Myanmar security forces, in many instances with collaboration from the local population of Rakhine Buddhists. Moreover, the report stated that civilian Rohingya were intentionally targeted. The findings contest the position of the Myanmar government that the operations have been targeted at Rohingya militants.⁹

Based on interviews with Rohingya refugees, the report detailed features of the ongoing persecution. According to the findings, Myanmar security forces have engaged in indiscriminate violence against Rohingya villages, shooting against the inhabitants and torching homes. Places of cultural significance to the Rohingya population have

⁶ See Situation of human rights of Rohingya Muslims and other minorities in Myanmar, p. 3.

⁸ See Mission report of OHCHR rapid mission to Cox's Bazar,

Bangladesh, 13–24 September 2017, p. 1–2, and <http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=58114#.Wi51wFXiZaQ>

⁹ Ibid.



Yanghee Lee, Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights in Myanmar, briefs journalists.

been deliberately destroyed and educated members of the communities have been arrested and arbitrarily detained. Summary executions and sexual violence have also been marked features of the ongoing persecution. According to the findings, the attackers have often stated that the Rohingya do not belong in Myanmar.¹⁰ The findings confirmed the conclusion of earlier reports that severe human rights violations have been prevalent in Rakhine State.¹¹ The actions described above are considered crimes against humanity, ethnic cleansing, and possible genocide according to UN definitions. The High Commissioner for Human Rights has described the actions of the Myanmar security forces as “a textbook example of ethnic cleansing”.¹²

The leader of the Myanmar Government, Aung San Suu Kyi, has denied the allegations that Myanmar forces engage in organized persecution of the Rohingya minority. She has stated that the Myanmar security forces have operated with the intent of neutralizing Rohingya militants.¹³ On 23 August 2016, the Myanmar Government

established the Advisory Commission on Rakhine State lead by former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan (the Annan Commission). The task of the Annan Commission is to find a solution to the situation in Rakhine State.¹⁴ Recently, Bangladesh and Myanmar have reached a principal agreement to enable the return of Rohingya refugees from Bangladesh to Myanmar.¹⁵

ROLE AND PREVIOUS ACTIONS BY THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL

The authority of the Security Council and the Responsibility to Protect

The Charter of the United Nations gives the Security Council the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. In fulfilling this responsibility, the Security Council has the authority to take military and non-military action to maintain or restore international peace and security.

The Responsibility to Protect (R2P) is a principle, based

¹⁰ Ibid. p. 3–11.

¹¹ Compare Interviews with Rohingyas fleeing from Myanmar since 9 October 2016, p. 40–43.

¹² Full statement at <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=22041>.

¹³ See <http://edition.cnn.com/2017/09/05/asia/rohingya-myanmar-bangladesh/index.html>.

¹⁴ See <http://www.statecounsellor.gov.mm/en/node/228>.

¹⁵ See <http://edition.cnn.com/2017/11/27/asia/rohingya-myanmar-bangladesh-agreement/index.html>.



on existing international law, to prevent and stop genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity. The principle was unanimously adopted by heads of state and governments at the UN World Summit in 2005.

According to R2P, all member states have a duty to prevent and halt genocide and mass atrocities. This duty lies first and foremost with the state, but the international community has a responsibility to assist if the state fails to protect its own population. The international community also has a responsibility to take action if it is the state that is responsible for the crimes. The principle is divided into three pillars to further the implementation of R2P;

Pillar I: The state bears the primary responsibility to protect its populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity. This responsibility entails the prevention of such crimes and violations, including their incitement;

Pillar II: The international community has a responsibility to assist and encourage the state in fulfilling its protection obligations;

Pillar III: The international community has a responsibility to take appropriate diplomatic, humanitarian and other peaceful means to help protect populations from these crimes. The international community must also be prepared to take collective action, in a timely and decisive manner, in accordance with the UN Charter, on a case-by-case basis and in cooperation with relevant regional organizations, if a state manifestly fails to protect its

populations or is in fact the perpetrator of crimes. Such action may entail coercive measures, including the use of force, where appropriate, and through the Security Council.

Alternatives to the use of military force

Military force remains a measure of last resort. Other measures that the Security Council could impose through a resolution include arms embargos and economic sanctions against Myanmar and against key figures. Human rights monitoring and humanitarian assistance are other tools. Further, the Security Council has the authority to refer a criminal investigation to the International Criminal Court (ICC). If the Security Council uses this authority, the ICC has jurisdiction regardless of whether the concerned state is party to the court's Statute.

Previous actions by the Security Council

On 6 November 2017 the Security Council issued a unanimous statement *inter alia* condemning the “widespread violence that has taken place in Rakhine State” and calling on the government of Myanmar to “ensure no further excessive use of military force in Rakhine State”. Simultaneously, the Security Council reaffirmed its “strong commitment to the sovereignty, political independence, territorial integrity and unity of Myanmar” and condemned the attacks carried out by ARSA.¹⁶ The Security Council has, however, not adopted any legally binding resolution regarding the conflict.

¹⁶ Full statement at <https://www.un.org/press/en/2017/sc13055.doc.htm>.

TOPICS

SEXUAL AND GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

Sexual and gender-based violence is considered a war crime if it is widespread and systematically executed. Hence, it is also a reason for the R2P principle to take effect, where other member states take action in order to ensure the protection of the people. According to the Office of the High Commissioner, sexual and gender-based violence against the Rohingya has been prevalent before the current crisis and has likely been underreported for decades.¹⁷ When the Office of the High Commissioner in January 2017 conducted interviews with Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh, more than 50 percent of the women stated that they had experienced rape or other forms of sexual violence. Moreover, the majority of rape victims stated that they had been raped by more than one perpetrator. The perpetrators were described as soldiers.¹⁸ The conclusions were confirmed by the findings of the Office of the High Commissioner in subsequent interviews with refugees during September 2017.¹⁹

The question for the Security Council is how sexual and gender-based violence can be stopped in this conflict. Furthermore the Security Council must consider how this best can be achieved, i.e. by enforcing accountability, reconciliation and/or transitional justice. The resolution should urge Myanmar to refrain from organizing, facilitating or in any way tolerating sexual and gender-based violence in the Rakhine State. The Security Council must also address concrete measures to ensure an end to these acts.

RECONCILIATION AND JUSTICE

A reconciliation process is imperative to ensure that the society in Rakhine State will function in the future. It is also imperative that the perpetrators are brought to justice. The reconciliation process should be implemented according to the concept of transitional justice²⁰ and should aim to ensure accountability, serve justice and achieve reconciliation. In the resolution, the Security Council should address which reconciliation mechanisms that can be used in this conflict and how the perpetrators should be brought to justice.

One possible justice mechanism is the International Criminal Court (ICC) that can prosecute individuals for genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes. ICC has its own Statute and is independent of the UN. ICC has jurisdiction over crimes committed in the territory of a state that is party to the Statute or by a national of such a state. However, if the Security Council refers a situation to the ICC, the court enjoys jurisdiction and can investigate the suspected crime even if the concerned state is not a member of the ICC. As an alternative to ICC as a mechanism for justice, reconciliation mechanisms such as a truth commission or tribunal can be used.

The government of Myanmar could be urged to establish national courts specifically tasked with handling cases related to human rights violations perpetrated in this conflict.

HUMANITARIAN ACCESS

Humanitarian access refers to the ability by neutral humanitarian actors such as NGO's and the UN, to enter a conflict-area and provide humanitarian aid as well as monitor and promote human rights. In Myanmar, the northern Rakhine State has been restricted and hundreds of thousands of Rohingya remain in the state without any humanitarian assistance. In its statement on 6 November 2017, the Security Council welcomed the Government of Myanmar's "decision to establish 'the Union Enterprise Mechanism for Humanitarian Assistance, Resettlement, and Development in Rakhine'". According to the Government of Myanmar, this body shall allow both local and international organizations to participate in the future development of Rakhine State.

In its resolution, the Security Council should address possible mechanisms to ensure that humanitarian access is granted and reaches the intended receiver. In order to assess the actual humanitarian needs, humanitarian organizations must firstly be granted access to conduct fact-finding missions.

¹⁷ See Situation of human rights of Rohingya Muslims and other minorities in Myanmar, p. 9.

¹⁸ See Interviews with Rohingyas fleeing from Myanmar since 9 October 2016, p. 20–25.

¹⁹ See Mission report of OHCHR rapid mission to Cox's Bazar, Bangladesh, 13–24 September 2017, p. 7–8.

²⁰ Full definition on <https://www.ictj.org/about/transitional-justice>

COUNTRY POSITION: **BOLIVIA**

Traditionally, Bolivia has maintained close ties to the United States. These relations, however, have recently been strained. Bolivia has diplomatic ties of increasing importance with Myanmar's ally China.

Bolivia has vigorously condemned the violence in Rakhine State and in particular violence impacting the Rohingya minority. Incitement to religious hatred must stop and all acts of sexual violence must cease. The perpetrators must be brought to justice. Bolivia has stated that the United Nations Charter and international law must be upheld, but that the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of state must also be respected. The dispute should firstly be solved within the borders of Myanmar and, if that is not possible, through regional cooperation. Military force should not be used. It is also necessary to encourage the measures taken by the Myanmar Government to ensure stability in Rakhine State.

The Myanmar Government should grant humanitarian access and address the root-causes of the conflict. In the long-term, this involves that the Rohingya are granted Myanmar nationality. In the short-term, the Rohingya must be granted a legal status and civil rights such as the right to education and freedom of movement.

STRATEGY

Bolivia is likely to advocate compromise and negotiations as the means to resolve the conflict. Humanitarian access should be granted and the rights of the Rohingya promoted. However, the resolution must respect the principle of sovereignty.

IMPORTANT POSITIONS

- The Government of Myanmar bears the responsibility to protect all civilians, regardless of religion.
- Human right violations, including sexual and gender-based violence, must be duly investigated.
- The national sovereignty of Myanmar must simultaneously be respected.

SOURCES AND FURTHER READING

See the statement of Bolivia at the meeting of the Security Council 28 September 2017 (<https://www.un.org/press/en/2017/sc13012.doc.htm>), retrieved 30 November 2017.

General information about the foreign policy of Bolivia (in Swedish), see (<https://www-ui-se.ezp.sub.su.se/landguiden/lander-och-omraden/sydamerika/bolivia/utrikespolitik-och-forsvar/>), retrieved 30 November 2017.

COUNTRY POSITION: CHINA

China is a long-standing ally to Myanmar and has historically blocked or vetoed resolutions in the Security Council against Myanmar. China has important economic and defensive interests in Myanmar and is Myanmar's most important arms supplier. Recently, China has made major investments in the development of a deep-water port in Rakhine State. The port is expected to provide a connection for China to the Bay of Bengal, and points to the continued importance of the relations between the countries.

China has stated that the hostilities in Rakhine State have been growing for a long time and that the international community cannot expect a quick solution. The international community must recognize that the Myanmar Government faces challenges and view these challenges objectively. China has advocated a continued dialogue between Bangladesh and Myanmar and constructive, peaceful measures to address the refugee crisis.

STRATEGY

For China, it is crucial that the resolution respects the national sovereignty of Myanmar, and therefore diplomatic dialogue is preferred over interventions. China believes that the international community should support the Government of Myanmar in its efforts to safeguard stability.

IMPORTANT POSITIONS

- The national sovereignty of Myanmar and its territorial integrity should be respected.
- Reconciliation and justice should primarily be achieved at the national level, with a minimum of involvement from the international community.
- The international community should facilitate the dialogue between Bangladesh and Myanmar, so that the countries can address the refugee crisis.

SOURCES AND FURTHER READING

See the statement of China at the meeting of the Security Council 28 September 2017 (<https://www.un.org/press/en/2017/sc13012.doc.htm>), retrieved 30 November 2017.

General information about the foreign policy of China (in Swedish), see (<https://www-ui-se.ezp.sub.su.se/landguiden/lander-och-omraden/asien/kina/utrikespolitik-och-forsvar/>), retrieved 30 November 2017.

Information about the foreign relations between China and Myanmar (in Swedish), see (<https://www-ui-se.ezp.sub.su.se/landguiden/lander-och-omraden/asien/burma/utrikespolitik-och-forsvar/>), retrieved 30 November 2017.

COUNTRY POSITION: EGYPT

Egypt is traditionally an ally of the United States and has received extensive military contributions from the United States, even after the military coup of 2013. Egypt also maintains good relations with Russia and has sought closer cooperation with the EU. As a Muslim country, Egypt is disposed to support the Rohingya Muslim minority.

Egypt has condemned the violence in Rakhine State and has asserted its support for all regional and international efforts aiming to remedy of the humanitarian situation resulting from the crisis. Coexistence with people of different beliefs must be promoted and incitement to hatred must be rejected. The Government of Myanmar must end all violence and allow full humanitarian access and fact-finding missions.

Egypt has further stated that it does not support violence of other groups, but that the Rohingya may have been forced to take up arms in self-defence. The discrimination of the Rohingya minority must end and in the long-term they must be granted citizenship. Egypt has also expressed support for the efforts of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC). Egypt has required that Rohingya refugees are granted the right to return to Myanmar from Bangladesh.

STRATEGY

Egypt favours a strong resolution which explicitly requires the Government of Myanmar to safeguard the well-being of the Rohingya minority. Egypt is likely to cooperate with the United States, United Kingdom and France.

IMPORTANT POSITIONS

- The Government of Myanmar should be explicitly required to meet its responsibility to protect the civilians in Rakhine State.
- Full humanitarian access must be ensured.
- The Rohingya refugees should be granted the right to return to Myanmar from Bangladesh and in the long-term the Rohingya must be granted citizenship.

SOURCES AND FURTHER READING

See the statement of Egypt at the meeting of the Security Council 28 September 2017 (<https://www.un.org/press/en/2017/sc13012.doc.htm>), retrieved 30 November 2017.

General information about the foreign policy of Egypt (in Swedish), see (<https://www-ui-se.ezp.sub.su.se/landguiden/lander-och-omraden/afrika/egypten/utrikespolitik-och-forsvar/>), retrieved 30 November 2017.

COUNTRY POSITION: ETHIOPIA

Ethiopia is a regional power in Africa and has maintained close relations with the West. On the international scene, Ethiopia has kept an active profile.

Ethiopia has stated that the situation in Rakhine State is complex and must be solved through a comprehensive effort, involving diplomatic and developmental efforts. Further, Ethiopia has stated that all forms of hate speech that incite violence must end. Military operations by the Myanmar military in Rakhine State should be terminated, but the operations of ARSA are also to be condemned and have caused a deterioration of the humanitarian situation.

A mutual level of trust between the international community and Myanmar must be achieved. It is necessary to work closely with the Myanmar Government and the role of diplomacy must not be overlooked. The root causes of the violence must also be addressed.

STRATEGY

Ethiopia is likely to assume the middle ground in the negotiations and strive to reach a compromise solution.

IMPORTANT POSITIONS

- Military operations in Rakhine State should end.
- Diplomacy remains preferable to sanctions or interventions in order to influence the policy of the Government of Myanmar.

SOURCES AND FURTHER READING

See the statement of Ethiopia at the meeting of the Security Council 28 September 2017 (<https://www.un.org/press/en/2017/sc13012.doc.htm>), retrieved 30 November 2017.

General information about the foreign policy of Ethiopia (in Swedish), see (<https://www-ui-se.ezp.sub.su.se/landguiden/lander-och-omraden/afrika/etiopien/utrikespolitik-och-forsvar/>), retrieved 30 November 2017.

COUNTRY POSITION: FRANCE

The French President Emmanuel Macron has termed the ongoing violence as “genocide”. The French government has demanded that the Myanmar security forces ensure the protection of the civilian population and swiftly restore safe humanitarian access. The first priority, however, is to put an immediate end to the violence in Myanmar.

France has also called on Bangladesh to continue to accept the Rohingya refugees who reach the country. Once the violence has ceased, the safe return of the refugees must be guaranteed. The root causes of the violence must also be addressed, and in that context the systematic discrimination of the Rohingya must end.

STRATEGY

France supports a strong resolution that exercises pressure on the Myanmar Government. Access for international humanitarian organizations should be granted immediately. Moreover, France is likely to advocate that the perpetrators face justice before an international court, e.g. ICC.

IMPORTANT POSITIONS

- The resolution must demand that the Myanmar Government immediately meets its responsibility to protect the civilians in Rakhine State. The resolution must result in sufficient pressure on the Myanmar Government to ensure that it complies with this demand. Economic sanctions and – as a measure of last resort – a military intervention may be on the table.
- International institutions – independent of Myanmar Government – should be involved in the process of reconciliation and justice.
- The Rohingya should be granted Myanmar citizenship.

SOURCES AND FURTHER READING

See the statement of France at the meeting of the Security Council 28 September 2017 (<https://www.un.org/press/en/2017/sc13012.doc.htm>), retrieved 30 November 2017.

General information about the foreign policy of France (in Swedish), see (<https://www-ui-se.ezp.sub.su.se/-/landguiden/lander-och-omraden/europa/frankrike/utrikespolitik-och-forsvar/>), retrieved 30 November 2017.

COUNTRY POSITION: ITALY

Italy has traditionally been an advocate of European cooperation and cooperation through the NATO. In the current conflict, Italy is likely to advocate for a strong international response. Italy has stated that the violence must end immediately, and that the Myanmar authorities must stop the attacks against civilians. It is imperative that the security response of the Myanmar forces respect human rights laws and it should be stressed that it is the responsibility of the national authorities to protect human lives.

Further, safe and unhindered humanitarian access must be ensured. The efforts of Bangladesh in receiving the refugees have been of great value. However, the safe and sustainable return of the refugees is critical for the future stability of the region.

STRATEGY

Italy is likely to cooperate with France, Sweden and the United Kingdom. The key priorities are that humanitarian access is granted and that the return of the refugees is ensured once the violence has ended.

IMPORTANT POSITIONS

- Humanitarian access for international organizations must be granted.
- The return of the Rohingya refugees must be ensured.
- The international community should assume an active role in the reconciliation process.

SOURCES AND FURTHER READING

See the statement of Italy at the meeting of the Security Council 28 September 2017 (<https://www.un.org/press/en/2017/sc13012.doc.htm>), retrieved 30 November 2017.

General information about the foreign policy of Italy (in Swedish), see (<https://www-ui-se.ezp.sub.su.se/landguiden/lander-och-omraden/europa/italien/utrikespolitik-och-forsvar/>), retrieved 30 November 2017.

COUNTRY POSITION: JAPAN

Japan has strongly condemned the attacks against the Myanmar security forces. Japan has further stated that it expects that the protection of the civilian population and humanitarian access are assured as soon as security has been restored.

Japan is committed to stability in Asia and will likely be sceptical to measures that might induce an escalation of the conflict. The Japanese strategy is to promote a resolution through dedicated diplomacy. Moreover, Japan has extended substantial financial assistance to Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh. A key issue for Japan is that the refugees who have fled to Bangladesh are allowed to return Myanmar.

STRATEGY

Key priorities are to assure immediate humanitarian access and that the Security Council establishes a framework for the safe return of the Rohingya refugees to Myanmar. Japan is likely to favour a resolution with concrete proposals concerning these key areas. The Security Council should, however, refrain from using strong and provocative language and focus on diplomatic means.

IMPORTANT POSITIONS

- Immediate humanitarian access must be granted.
- The return of the Rohingya refugees must be ensured.

SOURCES AND FURTHER READING

See the statement of Japan at the meeting of the Security Council 28 September 2017 (<https://www.un.org/press/en/2017/sc13012.doc.htm>), retrieved 30 November 2017.

General information about the foreign policy of Japan (in Swedish), see (<https://www-ui-se.ezp.sub.su.se/landguiden/lander-och-omraden/asien/japan/utrikespolitik-och-forsvar/>), retrieved 30 November 2017.

COUNTRY POSITION: KAZAKHSTAN

As a predominantly Muslim country, Kazakhstan has expressed its support for the work of the Organization for Islamic Cooperation on the issue. Simultaneously, Kazakhstan maintains a close relationship with Russia, an ally of Myanmar.

Kazakhstan has stressed that it is imperative to send a UN fact-finding team to Rakhine State to provide an objective assessment of the situation on the ground. The number of refugees who have fled Rakhine State is remarkable and is inconsistent with the claim of the Government of Myanmar that clearance operations have ceased.

The Myanmar Government must be urged to suspend all military operations and end the persecution and discrimination against the Rohingya Muslims. Further, humanitarian access must be granted. The safe return of the Rohingya refugees must also be ensured. As a long-term measure, the Rohingya should be granted citizenship in Myanmar. The Government of Myanmar should fully implement the recommendations of the Annan Commission.

STRATEGY

Kazakhstan is likely to favour a strong resolution. Kazakhstan is, however, simultaneously likely to advocate compromise and refrain from provocation against Russia.

IMPORTANT POSITIONS

- Full humanitarian access must be granted.
- A UN fact-finding mission should be allowed full access to Rakhine State.
- The safe return of the Rohingya refugees must be ensured and the Rohingya should be granted citizenship in Myanmar.

SOURCES AND FURTHER READING

See the statement of Kazakhstan at the meeting of the Security Council 28 September 2017 (<https://www.un.org/press/en/2017/sc13012.doc.htm>), retrieved 30 November 2017.

General information about the foreign policy of Kazakhstan (in Swedish), see (<https://www-ui-se.ezp.sub.su.se/landguiden/lander-och-omraden/asi-en/kazakstan/utrikespolitik-och-forsvar/>), retrieved 30 November 2017.

COUNTRY POSITION: RUSSIA

After China, Russia is Myanmar's second most important ally in the Security Council. The Russian Government has stated that interventions in Myanmar's internal affairs will worsen the conflict. The Russian Government has supported the efforts of the Myanmar Government to alleviate the situation in Rakhine State and has stated that ARSA is responsible for violence against civilians. Specifically, Russia has stated that ARSA is responsible for attacking civilians from the Hindu community.

According to Russia, the international community should refrain from labelling the ongoing violence as "genocide" or "ethnic cleansing". The violence and violent rhetoric from all sides must be condemned.

Simultaneously, Russia has expressed concern on the large number of refugees. Russia supports the efforts of Bangladesh and has stated that the international community should support the Myanmar Government in its effort to solve the situation in Rakhine State.

STRATEGY

The resolution must respect the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of Myanmar. The international community should support the Government of Myanmar in its efforts to safeguard stability.

IMPORTANT POSITIONS

- The international community should refrain from labelling the ongoing events as genocide.
- The national sovereignty of Myanmar and its territorial integrity should be respected.
- Reconciliation and justice should primarily be achieved at the national level, with a minimum of involvement from the international community.

SOURCES AND FURTHER READING

See the statement of Russia at the meeting of the Security Council 28 September 2017 (<https://www.un.org/press/en/2017/sc13012.doc.htm>), retrieved 30 November 2017.

General information about the foreign policy of Russia (in Swedish), see (<https://www-ui-se.ezp.sub.su.se/landguiden/lander-och-omraden/asien/ryssland/utrikespolitik-och-forsvar/>), retrieved 30 November 2017.

COUNTRY POSITION: **SENEGAL**

Traditionally, Senegal, a former French colony, has maintained a close cooperation with France. Senegal is likely to cooperate with Kazakhstan and Egypt, the other two predominantly Muslim countries in the Security Council.

Senegal has strongly condemned the ongoing violence and urged the Government of Myanmar to take decisive measures. All military violence must end, including sexual and gender-based violence. Senegal has further called for an independent investigation on violations of human rights. Further, international law must be respected in the conflict. Senegal has welcomed the cooperation between the Governments of Bangladesh and Myanmar. A root cause of the conflict, according to Senegal, is that the Rohingya have been denied citizenship.

STRATEGY

A strong resolution is desirable and an independent investigation, under the leadership of the international community, must be undertaken. Senegal is likely to seek cooperation with France and with fellow Muslim countries Egypt and Kazakhstan.

IMPORTANT POSITIONS

- The military operations of the Myanmar military should end.
- A UN fact-finding team must be granted access to Myanmar.
- The Rohingya Muslims must be granted citizenship in Myanmar.

SOURCES AND FURTHER READING

See the statement of Senegal at the meeting of the Security Council 28 September 2017 (<https://www.un.org/press/en/2017/sc13012.doc.htm>), retrieved 30 November 2017.

General information about the foreign policy of Senegal (in Swedish), see (<https://www-ui-se.ezp.sub.su.se/landguiden/lander-och-omraden/afrika/senegal/utrikespolitik-och-forsvar/>), retrieved 30 November 2017.

COUNTRY POSITION: SWEDEN

The Swedish Government has termed the ongoing violence as “barbarism” and demanded its immediate cessation. All military and security operations conducted by the Myanmar security forces must be terminated. It is essential that the Government of Myanmar, with the support of the international community, moves swiftly to ensure that those who have fled the country can return to their places of origin in a safe, voluntary, dignified and sustainable manner.

Sweden favours a strong resolution that exercises real pressure on the Government of Myanmar. The first priority, however, is to ensure humanitarian access to Rakhine State. Sweden demands that the Government of Myanmar grants immediate, full, safe and unhindered humanitarian access to the United Nations and its partners to all areas. Moreover, Sweden advocates full accountability for the perpetrators. It is likely that Sweden will advocate that the perpetrators should face justice before an international court such as the ICC.

STRATEGY

Sweden will advocate a strong resolution that exercises real pressure on the government of Myanmar. The first priority is to ensure humanitarian access for international organizations. Sweden will further advocate an active role for the international community in the reconciliation and justice process. Sweden is likely to cooperate with France and the United Kingdom.

IMPORTANT POSITIONS

- All violence from the Myanmar security forces must end.
- The Myanmar Government must grant immediate access for international humanitarian organizations.
- The international community should be actively involved in the reconciliation process.
- Economic sanctions are on the table.

SOURCES AND FURTHER READING

See the statement of Sweden at the meeting of the Security Council 28 September 2017 (<https://www.un.org/press/en/2017/sc13012.doc.htm>), retrieved 30 November 2017.

A comprehensive transcription of the above statement can be found at (<http://www.government.se/statements/2017/09/statement-by-sweden-at-the-security-council-briefing-on-myanmar/>), retrieved 30 November 2017.

General information about the foreign policy of Sweden (in Swedish), see (<https://www.ui-se.ezp.sub.su.se/landguiden/lander-och-omraden/europa/sverige/utrikespolitik-och-forsvar/>), retrieved 30 November 2017.

COUNTRY POSITION: UKRAINE

The foreign relations between Russia and Ukraine have been hostile since the Russian annexation of the Crimea in 2014. Ukraine has sought a close cooperation with the West and this cooperation is viewed as a guarantee for the future independence of Ukraine.

Ukraine has stated that the violence against civilians is unacceptable and that the perpetrators must face justice. The Myanmar Government must immediately halt all military operations in Rakhine State. The Security Council must be more proactive in ensuring the human rights of the Rohingya. Further, humanitarian access must be granted to Rakhine State. The Government of Myanmar should follow the recommendations of the Annan Commission.

STRATEGY

Ukraine is likely to cooperate with the United Kingdom and France and advocate a strong resolution.

IMPORTANT POSITIONS

- The Government of Myanmar must immediately halt military operations.
- Humanitarian access must be ensured.
- The Security Council must contemplate the use of stronger measures, such as economic sanctions and the use of force, to put pressure on the Government of Myanmar.

SOURCES AND FURTHER READING

See the statement of Ukraine at the meeting of the Security Council 28 September 2017 (<https://www.un.org/press/en/2017/sc13012.doc.htm>), retrieved 30 November 2017.

General information about the foreign policy of Ukraine (in Swedish), see (<https://www-ui-se.ezp.sub.su.se/landguiden/lander-och-omraden/europa/ukraina/utrikespolitik-och-forsvar/>), retrieved 30 November 2017.

COUNTRY POSITION: UNITED KINGDOM

The United Kingdom has called for an end to the violence in Rakhine State. The situation has been described as a human tragedy and an acute humanitarian crisis that had exploded at an unprecedented speed. The United Kingdom has further stated that the military of Myanmar bears the primary responsibility for resolving the crisis. The military must immediately stop the violence and ensure the protection of all civilians. The hate speech and incitement to violence must also stop and the military must uphold the rule of law. Full humanitarian access to Rakhine State must be allowed for UN agencies and their partners. The humanitarian needs in Rakhine are beyond the capacity of the Red Cross and only the UN agencies can provide aid on the required scale. The Myanmar authorities must act to curb the rhetoric against the UN. The Government of Myanmar must also implement the recommendations of the Annan Commission.

Further, Myanmar must work with Bangladesh to establish a safe and sustainable way for those that had fled Rakhine to return home. The Myanmar authorities must cooperate with the UN fact-finding commission established by the Human Rights Council. The Security Council must be ready to act if the Myanmar Government does not meet its responsibilities.

STRATEGY

The United Kingdom is likely to advocate a strong resolution and may find common ground with countries such as France and Sweden.

IMPORTANT POSITIONS

- The military of Myanmar should cancel the ongoing operations in Rakhine State and focus on the maintenance of the rule of law.
- Full humanitarian access must be allowed.
- The Rohingya refugees must be guaranteed a safe return.
- A fact-finding mission of the UN must be granted access to Rakhine State.

SOURCES AND FURTHER READING

See the statement of the United Kingdom at the meeting of the Security Council 28 September 2017 (<https://www.un.org/press/en/2017/sc13012.doc.htm>), retrieved 30 November 2017.

General information about the foreign policy of the United Kingdom (in Swedish), see (<https://www-uis.se.ezp.sub.su.se/landguiden/lander-och-omraden/europa/storbritannien/utrikespolitik-och-forsvar/>), retrieved 30 November 2017.

COUNTRY POSITION: UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

The United States has blamed the Myanmar military for the ongoing violence, but has so far refrained from condemning the civilian government. The United States fears that undue pressure on the Myanmar Government may result in a backlash against the fragile democratization process. The United States has, however, been explicit in its condemnation of the ongoing violence and has cancelled planned military cooperation with the Myanmar military.

The United States ambassador to the United Nations has described the actions of the Myanmar authorities as a “brutal, sustained campaign to cleanse the country of an ethnic minority”. She further stated that the Government of Myanmar has refused to recognize the seriousness of the situation. The retaliation of the Myanmar security forces is disproportionate and undermines the democratic transition.

The Government of Myanmar must restore the order of law and the incitement to violence from military channels must cease. Individuals within the Myanmar military accused of committing abuses should be suspended from service and prosecuted. Any country that delivers weapons to the Myanmar military must suspend their deliveries. Further, Myanmar authorities must allow rapid humanitarian access to Rakhine State for UN agencies and other humanitarian organizations. Finally, the Government of Myanmar must commit to allowing the refugees to return to their homes when it is safe to do so.

STRATEGY

The United States favours a resolution that grants humanitarian access to Rakhine State and calls for the persecution of perpetrators. The United States may, however, oppose a resolution that explicitly condemns the Government of Myanmar.

IMPORTANT POSITIONS

- The violence in Rakhine State should be explicitly condemned, but the resolution should refrain from explicitly condemning the civilian Government of Myanmar.
- Humanitarian access for international organizations must be granted.
- The perpetrators must face justice. The United States has not ratified the Statute of the ICC and may advocate the use of other mechanisms to reach justice.

SOURCES AND FURTHER READING

See the statement of the United States at the meeting of the Security Council 28 September 2017 (<https://www.un.org/press/en/2017/sc13012.doc.htm>), retrieved 30 November 2017.

Information about the foreign policy of the United States (in Swedish), see (<https://www-ui-se.ezp.sub.su.se/landguiden/lander-och-omraden/nordamerika/usa/utrikespolitik-och-forsvar/>) retrieved 30 November 2017.

COUNTRY POSITION: URUGUAY

Uruguay has stated that a true national reconciliation is imperative. Myanmar must end impunity for the perpetrators and investigate all violations of human rights. The violence of all military groups must be condemned, but the primary responsibility for the protection of the civilians falls on the Myanmar Government. The human rights of the Rohingya must be respected and full humanitarian access must be guaranteed.

The recent oppression of the Rohingya has been conducted under the pretext of combating terrorism, but is likely to contribute to bitterness and opposition that might allow global terrorist organizations to establish themselves in the region.

Access for a fact-finding mission must be granted by the Myanmar authorities and the recommendations of the Annan Commission should be implemented. Military operations must be suspended and the return of the Rohingya refugees must be facilitated.

STRATEGY

Together with countries such as Bolivia and Ethiopia, Uruguay may assume a middle ground in the negotiations. It is imperative that a resolution that guarantees humanitarian access is reached, and for the sake of compromise strong language may be omitted from the resolution.

IMPORTANT POSITIONS

- The perpetrators must face justice, but this may be achieved at the national level if consensus regarding international mechanisms cannot be reached.
- Humanitarian access for international organizations must be guaranteed.

SOURCES AND FURTHER READING

See the statement of Uruguay at the meeting of the Security Council 28 September 2017 (<https://www.un.org/press/en/2017/sc13012.doc.htm>), retrieved 30 November 2017.

Information about the foreign policy of Uruguay (in Swedish), see (<https://www-ui-se.ezp.sub.su.se/landguiden/lander-och-omraden/sydamerika/uruguay/utrikespolitik-och-forsvar/>), retrieved 30 November 2017.



THE FORMAT OF A DRAFT RESOLUTION

The following is an example on the format of a draft resolution. Further instructions in Swedish can be found at <https://fn.se/fnskola/swemun/konferens/att-forbereda-sig/>.

TOPIC:

SUBMITTED BY:

CO-SPONSORS:

THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL,

- (01) *Noting* the alarming situation in Rakhine State in Myanmar where the Rohingya have
- (02) been persecuted,
- (03) *Reaffirming* its strong commitment to maintain and restore international peace and
- (04) security,
- (05) *Stressing* the importance of respecting the UN Charter and the principle of sovereignty,
- (06) 1. Decides to...;
- (07) 2. Requests...;
- (08) 3. Decides to remain actively seized on the matter.

FURTHER READING

REGARDING THE SITUATION IN RAKHINE STATE

- OHCHR report: Situation of human rights of Rohingya Muslims and other minorities in Myanmar, June 29, 2016, from Annual report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights and reports of the Office of the High Commissioner and the Secretary General, retrieved 30 November 2017. (http://www.ohchr.org/EN/HRBodies/HRC/RegularSessions/Session32/Documents/A_HRC_32_18_AEV.docx).
- Flash Report: Report of OHCHR mission to Bangladesh: Interviews with Rohingyas fleeing from Myanmar since 9 October 2016, February 3, 2017, Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR), United Nations, retrieved 30 November 2017. (<http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Countries/MM/FlashReport3Feb2017.pdf>)
- Mission report of OHCHR rapid mission to Cox's Bazar, Bangladesh, 13–24 September 2017, released 11 October 2017, U.N. Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights retrieved 30 November 2017. (<http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Countries/MM/CXBMissionSummaryFindingsOctober2017.pdf>)
- Country situation and populations at risk by the Global Centre for R2P (http://www.globalr2p.org/regions/myanmar_burma)
- Article published by the CNN on 5 September 2017, inter alia recounting statements made by the Myanmar Government, retrieved 30 November 2017. (<http://edition.cnn.com/2017/09/05/asia/rohingya-myanmar-bangladesh/index.html>).
- Article published by the CNN on 27 November 2017, reporting about the agreement reached between Bangladesh and Myanmar, retrieved 30 November 2017 (<http://edition.cnn.com/2017/11/27/asia/rohingya-myanmar-bangladesh-agreement/index.html>).
- Decision by the Myanmar Government to establish the Annan Commission, retrieved the 30 November 2017 (<http://www.statecounsellor.gov.mm/en/node/228>).

REGARDING PREVIOUS ACTIONS BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND OTHER UN STATEMENTS

- Statement by the High Commissioner on 11 September 2017 at the Human Rights Council's 36th session, retrieved 30 November 2017. (<http://www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=22041>).
- Statement on 6 November 2017 of the Security Council on violence in Rakhine State, retrieved 30 November 2017 (<https://www.un.org/press/en/2017/sc13055.doc.htm>).
- List of all Security Council actions taken on Myanmar (<http://www.securitycouncilreport.org/chronology/myanmar.php>)

REGARDING THE RESPONSIBILITY TO PROTECT

- The United Nations Office on Genocide Prevention and the Responsibility to Protect (<http://www.un.org/en/genocideprevention/about-responsibility-to-protect.html>)
- Background and more information about R2P (http://www.globalr2p.org/about_r2p)

REGARDING THE DIFFERENT COUNTRY POSITIONS

- See the sources listed under the respective Country Positions. Statements by the Security Council's members regarding the situation in Rakhine State, made on 28 September 2017, can be found at the UN website, retrieved 30 November 2017. (<https://www.un.org/press/en/2017/sc13012.doc.htm>)

