



# Security Council

Sixty-ninth year

*Provisional*

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Tuesday, 18 November 2014, 10 a.m.

New York

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<i>President:</i>	Mr. Quinlan .....	(Australia)
<i>Members:</i>	Argentina .....	Mr. De Antueno
	Chad .....	Mr. Mangaral
	Chile .....	Mr. Barros Melet
	China .....	Mr. Cai Weiming
	France .....	Mr. Delattre
	Jordan .....	Mrs. Kawar
	Lithuania .....	Ms. Šorytė
	Luxembourg .....	Mr. Maes
	Nigeria .....	Mr. Laro
	Republic of Korea .....	Ms. Paik Ji-ah
	Russian Federation .....	Mr. Churkin
	Rwanda .....	Mr. Nduhungirehe
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland ...	Sir Mark Lyall Grant
	United States of America .....	Ms. Jones

## Agenda

### The situation concerning Iraq

First report of the Secretary-General pursuant to paragraph 6 of resolution 2169 (2014) (S/2014/774)

Fourth report of the Secretary-General pursuant to paragraph 4 of Security Council resolution 2107 (2013) (S/2014/776)

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*The meeting was called to order at 10.05 a.m.*

### **Adoption of the agenda**

*The agenda was adopted.*

### **The situation concerning Iraq**

**First report of the Secretary-General pursuant to paragraph 6 of resolution 2169 (2014) (S/2014/774)**

**Fourth report of the Secretary-General pursuant to paragraph 4 of Security Council resolution 2107 (2013) (S/2014/776)**

**The President:** In accordance with rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite the representative of Iraq to participate in this meeting.

In accordance with rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite the following briefers to participate in this meeting: Mr. Nickolay Mladenov, Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Head of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq; Mr. Zeid Ra'ad Al-Hussein, United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights; and Ms. Valerie Amos, Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs and Emergency Relief Coordinator.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

I wish to draw the attention of Council members to document S/2014/774, which contains the first report of the Secretary-General pursuant to paragraph 6 of resolution 2169 (2014). I also wish to draw the attention of Council members to document S/2014/776, which contains the fourth report of the Secretary-General pursuant to paragraph 4 of Security Council resolution 2107 (2013).

I now give the floor to Mr. Mladenov.

**Mr. Mladenov:** Let me begin by presenting the Secretary-General's report pursuant to paragraph 6 of resolution 2169 (2014) on the activities of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq (UNAMI) and the most recent developments in Iraq. I am honoured to be joined here today by the Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs, Ms. Valerie Amos, and the High Commissioner for Human Rights, Mr. Zeid Ra'ad Al-Hussein.

Twelve months ago, the city of Fallujah fell into the hands of the terrorist organization the Islamic

State in Iraq and the Levant (ISIL), setting off the displacement of some 2 million people — currently one of the largest such populations globally. From the very beginning, ISIL's strategy has been obvious — to insert itself into the ethnic and religious fault lines of Iraq, to undermine legitimate authorities and to spread fear among the communities. Its goals have also been clear from the beginning — to destroy the Iraqi State and replace it with a state of terror that is built on genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity. To this end, it continues using parts of Iraq and neighbouring Syria to advance on the rest of the region and threaten global peace and security.

The crisis in Iraq has been further aggravated by the unresolved political, social and economic problems of the country's difficult transition to democracy; by the lack of agreement on the full implementation of the Constitution; by stalled reforms and sectarian differences; and by the country's exposure to the broader regional and global rifts. This explosive combination has consistently undermined public trust in the new Iraqi State for years, and it has driven communities apart, ultimately creating fertile ground for violence.

As the crisis unfolded, Iraq almost collapsed. Its western provinces were overrun by ISIL; the Kurdistan region openly spoke of seceding; the southern governorates struggled with poverty while producing the country's riches; Baghdad was threatened on a daily basis by barrage of suicide bombers and improvised explosive devices; and Iraq's minorities have been subjected to unspeakable horrors. Faced with a common threat, the political, community and religious leaders across the country focused on pulling back from the brink and saving Iraq. A strategy emerged, which I am honoured to report was supported and facilitated by the United Nations Mission in Iraq. Leaders agreed that the response to ISIL should be based on the Constitution, national unity and reconciliation.

First came the election of a new Speaker, a new President and a new Prime Minister. Despite the odds, this process was completed within the constitutional timeline. Then the focus shifted on ensuring a peaceful transition between the outgoing and incoming Administrations — a rare occurrence in Iraq's turbulent history. Finally, an inclusive Government of national unity was formed, based on national political agreement and a new ministerial programme. In the past few days, the Prime Minister has issued instructions preventing the armed forces from hoisting banners or flags other

than the Iraqi national symbols, and discontinuing the use of logos and insignia of parties or political organizations. In a separate move, the Government has decided to allow displaced students to attend schools and universities in their current areas of displacement. These are just a few examples of the first steps in a broader initiative to restore confidence among Iraq's communities.

Today I encourage the Iraqi Government to continue moving forward with consolidating its political, security and economic efforts in an inclusive and comprehensive manner in order to kick-start national reconciliation and dialogue and restore stability and economic growth to the country. This will also entail re-engaging all disaffected communities, particularly those located in areas of current conflict.

The Iraqi Government's security strategy to counter ISIL is predicated upon organizing, supporting and integrating local communities into a national system that will allow them to keep their homes safe from terrorism; on restructuring and empowering the armed forces to fight ISIL; on strengthening cooperation with the Peshmerga; and on working with the international coalition and Iraq's allies and neighbours. I particularly welcome the Government's efforts to improve its cooperation with local tribes and other residents who are committed to protecting their communities from ISIL. In this process, the payment of salaries, the provision of weapons and training, and legal guarantees to the volunteers should be treated as a priority.

Spurred by the growing brutality of ISIL, illustrated most recently by the massacre of 322 members of the Albu Nimr tribe, communities across the country are beginning to push back. Most recently, the Anbar and Ninewa Provincial Councils reached agreement with the Government to form local forces. It is the cooperation between the Iraqi Army, local volunteers and outside support that has made the liberation of towns like Amerli, Jurf al-Sakhar and Zumar possible. Most recently, this morning the oil refinery at Beiji and surrounding areas have been brought back under the control of the Government.

Nevertheless, the presence of militia groups operating outside State structures remains a challenge. To deal with this, the Government is putting in place measures that should prevent non-State groups from bearing arms in public. I take this opportunity to also urge all armed groups outside of ISIL to seek the resolution of their grievances through serious dialogue

with the Government in order to achieve genuine political reconciliation and to stand united against the danger of terrorism and violence for a better future for all Iraqis. UNAMI remains committed to assisting the Government of Iraq in these processes in accordance with its mandate.

The process of working with local fighters should also go hand in hand with restructuring, retraining and re-equipping the Iraqi army. I am pleased to report that important initial steps have been taken, including the appointment of a number of new commanders. Moreover, the Government's programme provides for the creation of the Iraqi national guard. This force would allow people to volunteer and defend their homes, with legal guarantees that the Government would provide support in line with the standards of other branches of the Iraqi security services. The United Nations Mission in Iraq has been asked to provide advice and technical assistance in the legal drafting process for the national guard law, and we look forward to working with our partners to conclude this process as soon as possible.

I am further happy to report some important positive developments in the relationship between Erbil and Baghdad. Four days ago, with the support of the United Nations Mission in Iraq and the United States, an interim agreement was reached that allows public sector employees in the Kurdistan Region to begin receiving their salaries. The Kurdistan Regional Government will also resume partially its oil contribution to the federal budget at a time of national crisis. This important step breaks a deadlock that was at the core of the most serious deterioration of relations between Baghdad and the Kurdistan Region to date. It also reflects a new-found willingness to engage in dialogue and cooperation to tackle difficult issues.

On behalf of the Secretary-General, I want to commend Iraqi Prime Minister Haidar Al Abadi and Kurdistan Regional Government Prime Minister Nechirvan Barzani for reaching this agreement, which is to the benefit of all Iraqis. I would like to encourage both leaders to seize the momentum and swiftly move forward towards a comprehensive, fair and constitutional solution to all outstanding issues, including the enactment of oil and gas and revenue-sharing laws. UNAMI, as always, stands ready to continue providing its good offices, as well as legal and technical support, to this process.

The Iraqi Government's efforts are being reinforced by the support of the international community. I would

like to thank those among Iraq's neighbouring States that have been responding with generous pledges and the delivery of vital humanitarian and security assistance in response to the crisis. I have recently visited with some of Iraq's regional partners, which expressed readiness to establish a strategic relationship with Baghdad. This coincides with the Government's ongoing efforts to engage its neighbours as part of a comprehensive effort to promote stability in Iraq and the region. I strongly welcome the Government's efforts to explore the elements of a common political and regional security approach to combat ISIL. This has been a key feature in the discussions that Iraq's leaders have pursued with Iran, Jordan, Kuwait, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Turkey, the United Arab Emirates and others.

From the beginning of 2014 and until the end of October, at least 10,000 people have been killed and almost 20,000 injured. These are devastating times for the country. My colleagues Ms. Amos and Mr. Al-Hussein will brief the Council on humanitarian and human rights developments. I will just take this opportunity to call on the Government to begin the process of reforming the criminal justice system of Iraq in order to promote accountability and strengthen the rule of law and the protection of human rights. In line with its programme, I also urge Iraq to move swiftly forward on an amnesty law that is in line with the Constitution.

As we remain focused on the critical humanitarian situation, let us not forget or overlook the need for development support in Iraq. The new Government has inherited a dire fiscal situation; it is in need of international support not only to confront the menace of terrorism through military action, but to also implement vital fiscal, economic and social reforms.

I wish to present briefly the fourth report of the Secretary-General pursuant to paragraph 4 of resolution 2107 (2013) on the issue of missing Kuwaiti and third-party persons and property (S/2014/776). I wish that I could report to the Council significant progress on the missing Kuwaitis and the Kuwaiti national archives since our last report (S/2014/485). The lack of immediate results, however, should not be the only yardstick by which we measure success. Iraq-Kuwait relations today are at their peak. UNAMI's endeavours and Iraq's persistence, especially in relation to the missing, have been noteworthy. In the past four months, as in the 13 months before that, Iraqis have shown an unwavering commitment to the search for the missing Kuwaitis.

Exploring leads, debriefing witnesses and informants, and digging trenches have taken place in a purposeful manner, despite the debilitating security situation. This has been recognized and appreciated by Kuwait.

In September, a witness travelled to Kuwait; this was only the second witness to come forward since 2004. Sadly, the visit and the identification of the site that this witness had provided did not yield immediate results. A second witness, who has approached UNAMI volunteering to help, is going to travel to Kuwait in the coming days. Our teams are also working on the case of a third potential witness who may hold the key to a site containing a number of remains. These sensitive discussions on the subject show that we can continue engaging with Kuwait, Iraq and the families of the missing persons.

Last but not least, UNAMI has been unanimously welcomed by the tripartite mechanism as an observer, which I read as a vote of confidence in our impartiality, trustworthiness and work. I assure the Council and the families of the missing that UNAMI will continue to do all that it can to live up to the trust that has been placed in us.

Two days ago, on 16 November, an explosion targeted a United Nations convoy in Baghdad. Thanks to the professionalism of the United Nations security teams, all our colleagues are safe. This incident reminds us of the conditions of hardship under which our staff must operate. As such, I would like to express my appreciation for their daily sacrifice, and to express appreciation to the Security Council and the Secretary-General for their support and understanding of our work. I also wish to express my appreciation and gratitude to my political deputy, Mr. Gyorgy Busztin, for having borne this responsibility with passion and commitment. I also thank my humanitarian deputy, Ms. Jacqueline Badcock, for her commitment and service in overseeing the humanitarian and development operations at a crucial time for Iraq. I wish both of them the very best in their new endeavours after they leave UNAMI.

Once again, I express my deep and sincere appreciation to the Government and people of Iraq for their continued cooperation and assistance during these difficult times.

**The President:** I thank Mr. Mladenov for his briefing.

I now give the floor to Mr. Al-Hussein.



**Mr. Al-Hussein** (*spoke in Arabic*): I am delighted to return to the Security Council in my new role as the new High Commissioner for Human Rights and I thank you, Mr. President, for this opportunity to brief the Council on the situation in Iraq.

It is forbidden in Islam to oversimplify sharia matters and ignore established Islamic sciences. It is forbidden in Islam to ignore the reality of contemporary times when deriving legal rulings. It is forbidden in Islam to kill the innocent. It is forbidden in Islam to kill emissaries, ambassadors and diplomats; hence it is forbidden to kill journalists and aid workers. It is forbidden in Islam to harm or mistreat in any way Christians or any “people of the scripture”. It is obligatory to consider the Yazidis as people of the scripture. The re-introduction of slavery is forbidden in Islam; it was abolished by universal consensus. It is forbidden in Islam to force people to convert. It is forbidden in Islam to deny women their rights. It is forbidden in Islam to deny children their rights. It is forbidden in Islam to torture people. It is forbidden in Islam to disfigure the dead. And it is forbidden in Islam to declare a caliphate without consensus from all Muslims. Those are among the points in a letter authored by 126 Muslim scholars drawn from all parts of the world that they addressed to Abu Bakr Al-Baghdadi two months ago. I will return to the letter shortly.

(*spoke in English*)

So monstrous are the crimes being committed by the takfiris in Iraq — not just in violation of sharia but of customary law, to which sharia is a significant contributor — the world is staggered by them. On the face of the broad evidence now existing, particularly in respect of the Yazidis, and subject to the determination by a competent court of law, it is possible that 3 out of the 5 offenses falling under the crime of genocide, as listed in the Genocide Convention and the Rome Statute, have been perpetrated by the individuals within the takfiri leadership of what is also known as the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (ISIL), which is also known as the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS) and as Daesh. Out of the 11 offenses defined as crimes against humanity in the Rome Statute, they are likely guilty of involvement in up to nine of the offenses. As for war crimes, their commission is also virtually undeniable on any number of offenses where the relevant context is applicable. The authors of those crimes are people whose actions are nothing but disgusting, and whose consciences have demonstrably been annihilated.

This takfiri group now controls a large swathe of Iraqi territory, and seems bent on subjecting every woman, man and child in it to its razor-thin, almost blank, world-view. The scale and violence of ISIL’s brutality towards civilians shreds every principle relevant to human rights. And yet their fanaticism has flourished in part because of the damage wrought by years of conflict in Iraq, the early ruthless attacks on the Shia population by that other takfiri group — Al-Qaida — beginning in 2003, the equally brutal counter-attacks by the Shia militia against parts of the Sunni population, the subsequent clear marginalization and persecution of large segments of the Sunni population, targeted killings and cold-blooded attacks on innocent passers-by, many perpetrated by Shia militias acting with impunity.

The people of Iraq have also endured discrimination, corruption, rampant impunity, a lack of inclusive participatory processes and failure to promote and protect their economic, social, cultural, civil and political rights. Their resulting widespread poverty and unequal access to basic services constitute silent human rights violations. Moreover, respect for the standards of due process and fair trials and for the international prohibition of torture has been, and continues to be, problematic.

These must be considered root causes of the current crisis. However, the new Iraqi Government is starting to break with this pattern and is becoming more inclusive in its policies. This is to be welcomed.

As I just noted, severe and apparently systematic violations of international humanitarian and human rights laws have been perpetrated by ISIL and associated armed groups in northern Iraq. Victims have reported wanton killings and summary public executions; abductions, rape and enslavement of women and young girls, with reports of girls and women being openly sold at slave markets; brutal violence against children, and the forced recruitment of children as young as 12; denial of all fundamental freedoms; and the deliberate persecution of ethnic and religious groups including Turkmen, Shabak, Christians, Yazidis, Sabea-Mandean, Kaka’e, Faili Kurds, Arab Shia and other Sunnis.

Women and girls have suffered extremely grievous violations of their rights. Many who have escaped captivity report physical and sexual assault, sexual slavery, trafficking and forced marriage. They are literally sold in open markets. During a mission to Iraq

in October, my team led by Assistant Secretary General Ivan Šimonović met girls as young as 13 who had been kidnapped and raped before managing to escape. They said many others, of the same age, remained captive.

Children have been viciously tortured by ISIL, and many others have been forced to watch and participate in barbaric executions and torture. Boys as young as 12 have been recruited and forced to form front lines during combat to shield older ISIL soldiers.

It seems ISIL-controlled areas have been largely emptied of ethnic and religious minorities, whose members have fled, been captured or killed. Currently, at least 1,500 captive members of persecuted ethnic and religious groups are in ISIL hands, and their fate is of extreme concern. The perpetrators of these crimes must be brought to justice.

Iraqi Security Forces and affiliated armed groups have also violated human rights, according to reports received by my Office and the United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq (UNAMI). The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights and UNAMI continue to receive reports of violent attacks, harassment and the illegal arrest of journalists. The anti-terrorism law of 2005 is another continuing concern, in that it fails to respect binding international commitments regarding the administration of justice and the prohibition of torture. My Office is preparing a report on that issue.

The conduct of particular military operations, including air strikes and shelling, may have also violated the principles of distinction and proportionality under international humanitarian law, and should be investigated.

In the past, armed groups affiliated with the Government have killed, abducted and threatened civilians, particularly Shia armed groups such as Asaib Ahl Al-Haq. These intolerable practices must not be allowed to continue, and the Government should end the impunity under which these groups operate.

Accountability for violations is above all the responsibility of the State. But, as I have said, the crimes committed in Iraq are of such scale and gravity that in all likelihood they qualify as international crimes, subject to the jurisdiction of the International Criminal Court (ICC). I call upon the Government to accede to the Rome Statute and, at the very least, to accept the ICC's jurisdiction over the current situation under article 12 (3). International crimes such as war

crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide could also be included in the Iraqi criminal code.

Following a lengthy delay of two months in obtaining an urgent allocation of resources from the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions, my Office is now also in a position to dispatch a fact-finding mission to Iraq, as mandated by the Human Rights Council on 1 September.

National and international strategies to counter ISIL have so far concentrated on a security approach. The Council has adopted an important resolution aimed at stunting inflows of ISIL recruits from around the world. There has also been a significant military effort. But little attention has been paid to the underlying struggle for minds. It is also disturbing how few to non-existent have been public demonstrations of anger in the Arab and Muslims worlds over the crimes being perpetrated in Iraq, notwithstanding their clear condemnation by many Arab and Islamic Governments.

The takfiri movement is gripped and driven by a distinct ideology, and it will destroy everything that is contrary to what it believes should exist. For the takfiris there is only one acceptable manner in which to live. Alternative viewpoints — indeed, any form of individual thought outside their closed, unyielding logic — are rejected by them. Those humans who dissent must be murdered, their memory, their culture and every shred of their existence destroyed. According to their thinking, every single person in this Chamber is eligible for death.

The leaders of the organization known as ISIL of course want to establish an ideal, a caliphate. In doing so, they exploit a general yearning shared by many non-takfiri Muslims the world over for a caliphate, for an ideal, though for everyone else the ideal is not built on the back of abominable crimes, as the takfiris would have it — or any crimes, for that matter. And yet by cleverly blending fantasy with claims of victimization, the takfiris attract adherents. That method, in which the end justifies the means, in which an ideal is built in a group's own mind and then reached for, come what may — including through lies and the commission of atrocities — is, of course, not new. As Isaiah Berlin wrote in his famous credo 20 years ago, reprinted in *The New York Review of Books* only three weeks ago,

“the search for a single, overarching ideal because it is the one and only true one for humanity invariably leads to coercion. And then to destruction,

blood — eggs are broken, but the omelette is not in sight, there is only an infinite number of eggs, human lives, ready for the breaking. And in the end the passionate idealists forget the omelette, and just go on breaking eggs.”

I therefore question whether it is possible to bomb an ideology such as this into submission, or hope that it can just vaporize at the end of a judge’s gavel. ISIL may weaken or wither, it is true, but it will likely be replaced by another takfiri group. Nine years ago, we talked at length about Abu Musab Al-Zarqawi and his group in this very Chamber, and here we still are, with a different group and the same ideology — only now it is worse. And no matter how inhumane the takfiris are, as long as they can sow confusion among Muslims by exploiting a broadly shared Muslim yearning, they will likely survive.

Thought must therefore be undermined by thought. And takfirism must be thwarted by an approach to life couched in those principles and laws that bind all of us — a system that will be more successful and enriching because it is open to the multiple realities of all human beings. Two months ago, when the 126 prominent Muslim scholars wrote the letter I mentioned earlier, with the aim of refuting ISIL’s spurious claims to speak on behalf of Islam, it did not, sadly, receive the worldwide attention it so thoroughly deserved. To me, that concerted effort to strip ISIL, point by point, of its argument is a promising approach. And the scholars could not have been clearer when, in conclusion, they wrote to Abu Bakr Al-Baghdadi,

“You have misinterpreted Islam into a religion of harshness, brutality, torture and murder. This is a great wrong and an offense to Islam, Muslims and the entire world.”

I implore the Council to support such efforts to overturn ISIL’s ideology of violence and death, for the sake of the rights of all in Iraq, irrespective of ethnic or religious identity, whether men or women, old or young. Ultimately, support given to the ideological front may be more effective than air strikes in bringing an end to the longstanding suffering of the people of Iraq.

**The President:** I thank Mr. Al-Hussein for his briefing.

I now give the floor to Ms. Amos.

**Ms. Amos:** Humanitarian conditions in Iraq continue to deteriorate, and 5.2 million people are now

in need of assistance throughout the country. Several hundred thousand people were displaced in Anbar governorate at the start of the year. The number of internally displaced persons (IDPs) across the country now exceeds 2 million, and the rate of displacement continues to rise. In the past 10 weeks alone, more than 200,000 people have been newly forced from their homes by violence in Anbar, Ninewa, Sala Al-Din, Kirkuk and Diyala governorates. More than 100,000 Iraqis have been registered as refugees in neighbouring countries so far this year. In addition to the 2 million displaced, there are 1.5 million people from host communities, 1.4 million who live in active areas of conflict where access to basic services is minimal, and 220,000 refugees who have fled Syria, all in urgent need of assistance. Every governorate in Iraq is now hosting displaced people. More than 900,000 men, women and children have found refuge in the Kurdistan region of Iraq. The rest are spread across the country, including some 400,000 in Anbar and 150,000 in the southern governorates.

The crisis in Iraq is first and foremost one of protection, with intense violence and brutality being meted out to civilians from all religious and ethnic backgrounds. As the High Commissioner for Human Rights has already outlined, women have been specifically targeted, with daily reports of kidnapped women and girls from Yezidi and other communities being sold into marriage or sexual servitude to militants. While the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) bears responsibility for the majority of those atrocities, it is not the only perpetrator of human-rights abuses. Armed groups, including militias affiliated with the Government, continue to carry out brutal acts of violence against civilians. Entire communities have been uprooted, with a significant humanitarian impact. And around half of all those displaced are children. Many are deeply traumatized. Their schooling has been disrupted and their families torn apart. As many as 700 children are believed to have been killed or maimed in Iraq so far this year, including in summary executions.

The United Nations and its partners have quickly scaled up their response, thanks to a generous contribution of \$500 million from the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and support from other donors early on in the crisis. Hundreds of staff have been deployed to the governorates most affected in the north and are now also in other areas of the country, including Basra. That early infusion of donor funds has had tangible results. More than 1.4 million Iraqis have received food

assistance this year, in all 18 governorates. Emergency health interventions have ensured access to essential medical services for at least 1 million people, and around 1.5 million have been provided with water, latrines, bathing facilities and hygiene materials. About 1.2 million IDPs have received emergency shelter and essential relief items, including tents, mattresses, blankets and stoves. Nearly 100,000 displaced Iraqi children have received psychosocial counselling, while 82,000 have received assistance enabling them to continue with their education.

But despite all of that, much more help is urgently required. With the onset of winter, 450,000 people are still in need of warm clothing; 300,000 need blankets, stoves and other non-food support; 100,000 require urgent help with water and sanitation; and more than 1 million, mainly children, need health assistance in dealing with acute respiratory infections and other chronic illnesses. Over 660,000 children require vaccination for measles.

The ongoing insecurity and fighting prevent us from reaching all those who need help. There are currently 3.6 million Iraqis living in areas under the control of ISIL and affiliated armed groups, and 2.2 million of them are in urgent need of humanitarian assistance. Despite acute needs, including for shelter, health and food in the areas most impacted by the conflict, only meagre amounts of assistance have been delivered to areas under ISIL control to date.

Every day, the humanitarian community faces considerable operational challenges in our effort to deliver aid. And every day difficult decisions have to be made about who will receive assistance, given the scarcity of resources.

A total of \$173 million in winterization funding is urgently required in order to meet the needs of IDPs in the Kurdistan region and elsewhere. Those needs are time-sensitive, and there is little room for delay. If the World Food Programme does not receive \$85 million in the next few days, then food cannot be procured or shipped, and distributions for around 2 million people will be severely disrupted in January.

The Government of Iraq has provided \$50 million for the construction of camps and other support to the displaced in Dohuk governorate, with additional funds promised for Erbil and Sulaymaniyah governorates. Those funds helped the relocation of IDPs from all

secondary school in Dohuk governorate. The Ministry of Displacement and Migration has also begun the construction of a camp with 1,000 prefabricated shelters in Diyala governorate.

I am pleased that salaries are to be paid to all civil servants. The national health and food-distribution systems need to be maintained throughout the country, and kerosene for heating and cooking needs to be subsidized for displaced people during the winter. Current unsubsidized fuel prices mean that humanitarian organizations are able to provide fuel for heating and cooking for less than half of the 80,000 vulnerable families who need it in the Kurdistan region for the next two months.

This is not the first time that Iraq has experienced a humanitarian crisis. Iraqis are already weary of the decades of sectarian violence and war which destroyed the country's institutions. One million people are IDPs from previous Gulf wars.

This is not just Iraq's crisis. It is part of a regional catastrophe that we have a collective responsibility to address. The humanitarian needs in Iraq are real, they are urgent, and they are growing each month. Millions of Iraqis face an uncertain future, with years spent in camps or unfit dwellings. It is urgent that security be re-established and that the protection of civilians remain at the heart of national and international political, military and other efforts.

As is always the case in these crises, it is the ordinary people who suffer the most.

**The President:** I thank Ms. Amos for her briefing.

I now give the floor to the representative of Iraq.

**Mr. Alhakim (Iraq) (*spoke in Arabic*):** I should like at the outset to congratulate Australia on its assumption of the presidency of the Security Council this month. I thank it for its significant efforts, which have been reflected in the holding of a large number of events. I thank His Excellency Ambassador Gary Quinlan for his outstanding leadership of the Council's work, and congratulate Argentina for its excellent presidency last month. I wish also to commend Ms. Valerie Amos, Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs, and Mr. Zeid Ra'ad Al-Husseini, United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights. I commend also Mr. Mladenov, Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Head of the United Nations Assistance



Mission in Iraq (UNAMI). I thank him for his briefing, during which he underlined the efforts of his team to achieve the goals of the Mission.

Iraq strongly condemns the recent attack against a UNAMI convoy. Iraq is suffering from the greatest terrorist threat in the world. Despite this, the Iraqi Government and people were able to hold free elections for the third time since the change. The peaceful transfer of power while upholding constitutional standards has consolidated the young democratic experience of my country. We have created an inclusive, comprehensive national unity Government that takes into account all elements of Iraqi society, including all religions and ethnicities.

The Government is working to include all parties so as to build national unity. The Government is addressing pending issues so as to implement the plan of action to which it committed itself, to ensure a safe and stable future guaranteeing equitable treatment for all citizens under the law. Its priorities are combating the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS) and corruption, and bolstering relations with its neighbours.

The new Government has taken a number of decisions, in particular to stop targeting terrorists in populated areas so as not to harm people or their property. The Government is cooperating with the international coalition forces. It is committed to strengthening, arming and training the Iraqi military and security forces, the Peshmerga and the various Iraqi tribes.

The Government is cooperating with all political blocs to adopt a budget so as to address the issue of revenue-sharing and improve economic performance, which was negatively impacted by the lack of a budget for 2014 and the drop in oil prices. Among the fruits of the Government's efforts so far we would note the agreement reached between the oil ministry and the government of the Kurdistan region, which will promote the settlement of pending issues between Baghdad and Erbil. When the international community realized the threat posed by ISIS, it stepped up its efforts and began cooperating to combat terrorism.

Today we must strengthen cooperation in particular with the countries of the Arab region. We have clearly voiced our wish to cooperate and to strengthen relations with brotherly, friendly neighbouring countries. Such relations must be based on mutual respect, non-interference in internal affairs and respect for

common interests, which will serve the interests of our people and prevent any exacerbation of the crisis in the region.

Turning to cooperation, we must prioritize the struggle against terrorism, which has harmed our religion and our values, and targeted peace, security and peaceful coexistence; and today threatens our countries and our nations with the danger of partition and collapse. ISIS is a terrorist entity that has taken over major facilities in order to strengthen its activities, which are fuelled by the theft of oil revenues; it is therefore necessary to eliminate that organization and prevent it from taking root.

In turn, the Iraqi armed forces and the Peshmerga, in cooperation with popular forces and in coordination with members of clans and tribes in the provinces of Diyala, Salah al-Din, Anbar, Kirkuk, Mosul and Babil, and with major international support, are confronting terrorism in order to rid the country of it. A certain number of territories and regions have been liberated, such as the region of Beiji. We have lifted the blockade of the Beiji refinery, the town of Amerli and the Mosul dam so as to prevent the flooding of Iraqi cities along the Tigris river. We have also opened the roadblocks so as to overcome all threats to the capital and the holy cities of Karbala and An-Najaf. Iraqi forces continue to cooperate with international coalition forces to address terrorism and to restore their control over the whole of Iraqi territory.

In that regard, we stress the role of the religious authorities who had the wisdom of supporting national efforts to foster cooperation between the Iraqis in combating the terrorist threat posed by ISIS. These efforts have brought together all active forces in the Republic, representing all sectors of society — Arabs, Kurds, Shiites, Sunnis, Turkmen, Muslims, Christians and Yazidis. We also wish to thank the international coalition, under the command of the United States, and all the States that have provided support, assistance and technical expertise and responded to Iraq's call for backing in its struggle against terrorism. They have supported us militarily, sending experts and weapons, and cooperated in the field of intelligence as a result of the efforts made and positions taken at the meeting in Jeddah, Cairo and Paris, and of the statements and resolutions adopted by the Security Council, including resolutions 2170 (2014) and 2178 (2014). This support has helped to lift the morale of the Iraqis in their struggle against terrorism.

The negative repercussions on Iraq of the crisis in the brotherly country of Syria has allowed ISIS and other terror groups to expand their control to a number of regions in northern and western Iraq. Daesh and other terrorist groups have not only undermined security and the political process in Iraq, but they have also been the cause of an unprecedented humanitarian disaster, murders, forced displacement, looting, abductions, rape, the targeting of religious minorities — all of which has displaced some 1.8 million Iraqi citizens. Those atrocities are a flagrant violation of human rights and tantamount to war crimes and crimes against humanity.

Meanwhile, the Iraqi Government and local authorities, with the assistance of UNAMI and United Nations agencies, are seeking to reduce the suffering of thousands of displaced people until they can return to their homes. Iraq is grateful for the humanitarian assistance that has been given to the displaced. The looming winter, with its biting cold, is a further threat to refugees without a roof over their heads, and portends a humanitarian catastrophe that has led the United Nations to raise its alert readiness to level 3. The Iraqi Government and the Kurdistan Regional Government have assisted over 270,000 Syrian refugees, whom Iraq has hosted since 2011.

Despite that heavy burden, the Iraqi Government has continued to provide protection to the inhabitants to Camp Hurriya in Baghdad. The Iraqi Government continues to meet the humanitarian needs of the inhabitants of the camp. We pay tribute to the efforts of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and to the Special Adviser to the Secretary-General for the Relocation of Camp Hurriya Residents Outside of Iraq, Ms. Jane Hall Lute, who is seeking the transfer of the camp residents to other countries. We thank the countries that have taken in some of those people, in particular Albania, which recently agreed to host 240 of them. We appeal to the international community and the Iranian Government to take in their own nationals so as to resolve this problem as soon as possible.

Iraq's international policy is based on respect for common interests, non-interference in the internal affairs of States, and respect for international law and its own obligations. In that respect, the President of the Republic has visited the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, while the Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister have visited Jordan, Iran, Turkey and Kuwait to bolster cooperation, underscore the importance of the struggle against terrorism, and strengthen economic relations. To that end, we commend the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia's announcement that it will reopen its embassy in Baghdad. That is a clear sign of improving relations between the two countries, and of their cooperation in the counter-terrorism struggle in the region.

Iraq is striving to further its relations with Kuwait. We commend Kuwait for voicing its support for Iraq at the Jeddah, Paris and New York conferences. Iraq continues to do its utmost to find the remains of missing Kuwaitis and the national Kuwaiti archives. We are committed to achieving tangible results in those two areas.

In conclusion, we thank Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon and Deputy Secretary-General Jan Eliasson for their recent visits to Baghdad, given the positive impact of such visits, which highlight the ongoing support of the United Nations for the Iraqi people. We pay tribute to the efforts of UNAMI, which has provided support and advice to the Iraqi Government. We hail the courage of the UNAMI staff, who continue to provide humanitarian assistance, notwithstanding the current difficult conditions in my country. We also wish to express our full gratitude to Mr. Mladenov and his team for their commitment. We wish them every success in their activities of support and assistance to Iraq.

**The President:** There are no more names inscribed on the list of speakers. I now invite Council members to informal consultations to continue our discussion on the subject.

*The meeting rose at 11 a.m.*