



# Security Council

Seventy-seventh year

*Provisional*

**9100**<sup>th</sup> meeting  
Tuesday, 26 July 2022, 5.05 p.m.  
New York

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<i>President:</i>	Mr. Costa Filho . . . . .	(Brazil)
<i>Members:</i>	Albania . . . . .	Mr. Hoxha
	China . . . . .	Mr. Geng Shuang
	France . . . . .	Mrs. Broadhurst Estival
	Gabon . . . . .	Ms. Koumby Missambo
	Ghana . . . . .	Ms. Oppong-Ntiri
	India . . . . .	Mr. Raguttahalli
	Ireland . . . . .	Mr. Flynn
	Kenya . . . . .	Mr. Kiboino
	Mexico . . . . .	Mr. Gómez Robledo Verduzco
	Norway . . . . .	Ms. Juul
	Russian Federation . . . . .	Mr. Polyanskiy
	United Arab Emirates . . . . .	Mr. Abushahab
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland . .	Ms. Jacobs
	United States of America . . . . .	Mrs. Thomas-Greenfield

## Agenda

The situation concerning Iraq

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*The meeting was called to order at 5.05 p.m.*

### Adoption of the agenda

*The agenda was adopted.*

### The situation concerning Iraq

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

On behalf of the Council, I welcome His Excellency Mr. Fuad Hussein, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Iraq.

In accordance with rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite Ms. Jeanine Hennis-Plasschaert, Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Head of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq, to participate in this meeting.

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

I give the floor to Ms. Hennis-Plasschaert.

**Ms. Hennis-Plasschaert:** I thank you, Mr. President, for the opportunity to provide an update on recent tragic events in the Zakho district of the Dohuk governorate, which resulted in the loss of nine civilian lives and the injuring of 33 others.

In my most recent briefing to the Council (see S/PV.9034), I questioned — and not for the first time — the use of shelling and missiles as the new normal for Iraq, warning that that was a very risky way to advance interests, and one that further weakens the State of Iraq.

Here is what we know so far. In the early afternoon of 20 July, five artillery rounds struck the Parkha resort. The resort is a well-known tourist destination and, as would be expected at this time of year, it was packed with visitors, including children. The first round impacted on an unpopulated hillside overlooking Parkha. However, the next rounds hit the centre of the resort, killing, as I said, nine civilians, including three children, one of whom was a 1-year-old infant, and injuring 33. Eleven of the injured have reportedly undergone surgery, and three remain in critical condition.

Immediately following the attack, Prime Minister Mustafa Al-Kadhimi established a committee. The

same day, that committee visited the site of the attack to witness the devastation, collect evidence and engage with witnesses and local authorities.

Based on its assessment of the evidence collected, the Government of Iraq, in the clearest terms attributed the tragic events to Turkish armed forces. In the meantime, the Turkish Foreign Ministry issued a press release, stating:

“Türkiye is against all kinds of attacks targeting civilians, that it is ready to take all steps to reveal the truth, calling on Iraqi Government officials not to make statements under the influence of the rhetoric and propaganda of the treacherous terrorist organization and to cooperate in bringing the real perpetrators of that tragic incident to light.”

The next day, on social media, the Turkish Embassy in Baghdad stated:

“We join our condolences for our Iraqi brothers who were martyred at the hands of the [Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK)] terrorist organization.”

Meanwhile, also on 20 July, the PKK issued a statement denying presence in the area, blaming Türkiye for the attack.

In response to the tragic events, Iraq's National Security Council held an emergency session the same day. That Council strongly condemned the Turkish attack and rejected the use of Iraqi territory as a base to attack neighbouring countries and settle accounts.

Among other directives issued, the Foreign Minister was tasked with preparing an integrated file on the repeated Turkish attacks against Iraq, as well as to summon the Turkish Ambassador and recall the Iraqi Chargé d'affaires from Ankara, without sending a new ambassador to Türkiye. The Ministry for Foreign Affairs noted that Iraq's Government would resort to the highest levels of diplomatic response, including the Security Council.

On 21 July, Iraqi leaders from across the political spectrum held a high-level meeting and issued a joint statement condemning the Turkish attack and supporting the procedures for international complaints.

On 23 July, Prime Minister Mustafa Al-Kadhimi met with Kurdistan Regional Government Prime Minister Masrour Barzani. In the joint statement issued after the meeting, the two sides expressed their

strong condemnation of the Turkish aggression on Iraqi territory.

Also on 23 July, the Council of Representatives convened to discuss the incident in the presence of the Foreign and Defence Ministers, the Army Chief of Staff and the Deputy Commander of Joint Operations.

In his presentation to Parliament, the Foreign Minister noted that more than 22,700 Turkish violations of Iraqi sovereignty had been recorded since 2018. He also stated that the Foreign Ministry had submitted 296 memoranda of protest against Turkish interference since 2018.

During the same meeting, the parliamentary Security and Defence Committee recommended the expulsion of PKK elements from Iraq, the withdrawal of all Turkish forces, the redeployment of federal forces along the border with Türkiye, the abolition of any security agreements with Türkiye and a review of the defence budget to enhance its military capabilities.

In essence: while no one wishes for further escalation, Iraq demands that Türkiye withdraw its forces from all Iraqi lands and calls for an investigation.

This horrific attack on a well-known and clearly identifiable tourist site demonstrates a shocking disregard for civilian life and for the universally accepted standards of international humanitarian law and international human rights law, which seek to protect civilians. While all parties to any conflict must take all feasible precautions to avoid harm to civilians at all times, that was clearly not adhered to.

In my conversation with Iraq's Prime Minister yesterday, he once again emphasized the importance of a transparent and thorough investigation, independent or jointly. He said that it was vital to put a stop to speculation, denials, misunderstandings and rising tensions. Meanwhile, I understand that Türkiye is also ready to address the issue jointly with Iraq in order to determine exactly what happened.

In conclusion, as I said many times in past years, Iraq rightfully rejects the notion that it can be treated as an arena for external and regional rivalries, where neighbours, and any other actor for that matter, violate its sovereignty and territorial integrity routinely and with impunity.

Indeed, it is of the greatest importance that all attacks on Iraqi territory cease. Such aggression not

only recklessly heightens national and regional tensions, but also causes, as we saw, grave human tragedies.

**The President:** I thank Ms. Hennis-Plasschaert for her briefing.

I now give the floor to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Iraq.

**Mr. Hussein (Iraq) (*spoke in Arabic*):** It is a great honour for me to be here addressing the Security Council. I would like to thank you, Mr. President, for convening this urgent meeting. I take this opportunity to congratulate Ambassador Costa Filho, Permanent Representative of Brazil, on his country's assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month and on his tireless and transparent efforts in steering the Council's work. I would like to thank the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Ms. Jeanine Hennis-Plasschaert, for her briefing on the subject of this urgent Council meeting. The Government of the Republic of Iraq welcomes the press statement (SC/14980) issued by the Security Council on Monday, 25 July, condemning the blatant attack.

On Wednesday, 20 July, at 1.50 p.m., the Turkish army committed an act aggression against the territory and sovereignty of Iraq and the lives of its citizens by way of heavy artillery shelling on Iraqi families while they were at the Barakh resort in Dohuk governorate, resulting in nine martyrs, including one child who was 1 year old, and wounding 33 unarmed civilians. Civilian infrastructure was damaged, causing material losses. We informed the Security Council of the situation in a letter dated 21 July, which contains details of the incident.

Iraq condemns in the strongest terms the flagrant aggression by the Turkish army against innocent civilians and civilian property, which constitutes an act of military aggression against the sovereignty, security and territorial integrity of Iraq. It is a violation of, and a threat to, regional and international peace and security. That aggression is a violation of the provisions and norms of international law, international humanitarian law and the principles of good-neighbourliness. It is a violation of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the goals upon which the Organization was founded.

In the aftermath of that military attack against Iraqi territory, the Government of Iraq established a national committee, which I chair, to investigate

the circumstances surrounding the aggression. The committee has gathered evidence from the site of the attack, including shrapnel from heavy 155-millimetre calibre artillery shells, which are the same as those used by the Turkish army in the area surrounding the resort. The committee will also establish guidelines to deal with the crisis

That aggression is tangible evidence before the Council on Türkiye's disregard of Iraq's demands to end its continued military violations against Iraqi sovereignty. Türkiye must withdraw its military forces from Iraqi territories. For example, since 2018, the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Iraq issued 296 bilateral official notes condemning those violations, which were sent to its Turkish counterpart. To date, a total of 22,742 violations have been recorded. All of them have been documented in eight identical letters by the Permanent Representative of the Republic of Iraq to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General and the President of the Security Council. They have all been published as official documents of the Council, the most recent of which is contained in document S/2022/500, dated 23 June.

Iraq already informed the Security Council of the matter in 2015, resulting in its 7589th meeting (see S/PV.7589) on the Turkish military incursion in Iraqi territories. At that time, Iraq called on the Council to adopt a draft resolution condemning the incursion and calling on Türkiye to withdraw its military forces from Iraqi territories. However, this time we address the Council directly to complain and document this crime against humanity, perpetrated in broad daylight by the Turkish army in an area lacking any illegal military presence.

Once again, we condemn before the international community the illegal presence of Turkish military forces on Iraqi territories, and we warn against the continued aggressive behaviour by the Turkish army, which could lead to a bad end amid overwhelming popular anger from the south to the north of the Iraqi Kurdistan region. We reiterate our condemnation of the decision adopted by the Turkish Parliament in October 2021 to extend the presence of Turkish forces in Iraq for another two years, which we stress will undermine the security of all.

The Government of Iraq reaffirms its commitment to resolving all accumulated disagreements through diplomatic means, dialogue and mutual cooperation.

Based on that and in accordance with Article 35 of the Charter, we call on the Council to shoulder its responsibilities in maintaining international peace and security by adopting an urgently needed draft resolution compelling Türkiye to withdraw its occupying military forces from all of Iraqi territories under the Council's total supervision. If Türkiye refuses, then it must be held accountable.

Türkiye must stop the Iraqi people's suffering by halting its continued violations of Iraqi airspace, territorial integrity and sovereignty. Moreover, we call on the Council to include this item on its agenda, namely, "The situation concerning Iraq and Türkiye" due to repeated Turkish violations of Iraqi territories and airspace for several years now, which result in defenceless Iraqi civilian casualties, as Türkiye is illegally expanding its military presence on Iraqi territories.

We are certain that, today and in the future, the Turkish side will try to justify its military presence in Iraq by presenting many illegal arguments. The Turkish side will present unfounded reasons linked to an internal Turkish problem with the Kurdistan Workers' Party of Türkiye (PKK). Türkiye will claim that there is an agreement with Iraq that would allow for a Turkish military presence in Iraq so that it could resolve its Turkish problem. Türkiye will also refer illegally once again to Article 51 of the Charter to justify its actions, which are in violation of Iraq's sovereignty. The same Article 51 compels Türkiye to inform the Security Council of military violations carried out in Iraq. Türkiye is failing to uphold Article 51, which means that Türkiye is violating the Charter.

Due to this situation, we reaffirm, before the entire international community, through the Security Council, that there is no security agreement whatsoever between Iraq and Türkiye that allows for an incursion into Iraq by Turkish forces to chase the PKK. Nevertheless, Türkiye is adamant that such an agreement exists. We recall that the Turkish side is responsible for having created the crisis as a result of a 2013 initiative between Ankara and the PKK in which, in one of its paragraphs, it calls on the militants of the PKK to withdraw from Türkiye and move into Iraqi territory, while totally disregarding our security concerns and our sovereign right over our territories.

The Government of Iraq has emphasized that this action poses a threat to peace and security in Iraq and

the region. Furthermore, in a letter addressed to the President of the Security Council in May 2013, the former Minister for Foreign Affairs of Iraq informed the Council on the matter. The letter was recorded as an official document of the Council. At the time, we called on the Council to stop such actions.

In that context, the Government of Iraq rejects Türkiye's approach, which exports its domestic problems to Iraq. Iraq must not pay the price for Türkiye's domestic problems. At the same time, my Government reiterates that the federal security authorities are responsible for border security. Those authorities coordinate with security authorities and the Peshmerga forces associated with the Government of the Kurdistan region of Iraq in order to take the necessary measures to combat armed groups and terrorist organizations.

Article 7 of the Iraqi Constitution notes that the State is committed to combating terrorism in all forms and will protect its territories from being used by terrorists in any ways. Iraq calls on the Council to investigate that issue given its great importance. We believe in the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, which reflect our shared commitment to tolerance, peaceful coexistence and good-neighbourliness. We must also join forces to maintain international peace and security.

We hope that the Council is aware of the existing threat and will shoulder its responsibility for maintaining international peace and security. In order to demonstrate Iraq's sincere willingness and good intentions, we call on the Council to establish an international independent panel of inquiry to investigate this act of aggression.

Iraq has a number of requests that it wishes to address to the Council.

First, we request the Council to adopt a draft resolution that compels Türkiye to withdraw its military forces from all Iraqi territories, because they maintain an illegitimate presence in Iraq that was not requested and will destabilize the security situation and lead to instability.

Secondly, this aggression must be strongly condemned, and the perpetrators of this heinous act must be held accountable, as it targeted civilians. It is a threat to Iraq's national security and to regional and international peace and security. An international independent panel of inquiry must be established to investigate the aggression.

Thirdly, we call for this item, namely, "The situation concerning Iraq and Türkiye", to be included on the Council's agenda in the light of the repeated Turkish violations of Iraq's territories and airspace in the past several years, which has claimed the lives of several unarmed Iraqi victims.

Fourthly, the Turkish Government must compensate for the losses incurred by unarmed civilians and by economic activity and tourism in Iraq as a result of the Turkish artillery shelling.

Iraq underlines its responsibility to support regional and international security and stability in a transparent manner and is fully prepared to work with the United Nations and other States concerned to ensure that elements of the PKK leave Iraqi territory, as their presence destabilizes security and causes instability in Iraq.

The people of Iraq are following today's meeting with great interest and considerable hope. They believe that the United Nations and the Council are guarantors of international peace and security. The people of Iraq are confident that the Council will spare no effort to safeguard and preserve peace and will work hard to protect the rights of States that are under threat. The people of Iraq hope that the Council will play a decisive and effective role in finding solutions to prevent any future repercussions of this crisis.

In conclusion, the Government of the Republic of Iraq will spare no effort in contributing positively to resolving conflicts in the region and promoting understanding among neighbouring countries through peaceful means. We categorically refuse to make Iraq the stage for furthering the agenda and interests of other countries.

**The President:** I now give the floor to the representative of Türkiye.

**Mr. Keçeli (Türkiye):** We would like to once again express our condolences to the people and the Government of Iraq. Our hearts and prayers are with the families of the victims. We share their sorrow and wish the injured a swift recovery.

We would like to inform the Security Council that, immediately after the attack, we were in touch with the Iraqi Government and the Kurdistan Regional Government, and a few hours later the Turkish Ministry for Foreign Affairs issued a statement. We made it clear that Türkiye is ready to take all steps to unveil



the truth. In Ankara, Baghdad and Erbil, our officials have conveyed the same message at various levels, rejecting the allegations and expressing their support for Iraqi authorities in their investigations. They also recalled that it was not the first smear campaign against my country.

On 22 August last year, two Iraqi tourists were killed in the same area. Their car was attacked. Immediately after the incident, there was a campaign to blame my country for what had happened. However, it was eventually revealed that the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) terrorist organization was responsible for the attack.

The reactions of the Iraqi authorities to our calls for cooperation vary according to their political affiliation. Some were on the same page as we were — they wanted to find out the truth. They noted that they believed in the importance of bilateral relations between the two countries; we wish to thank those Iraqi authorities for their responsible approach to accountability. However, other Iraqi officials chose escalation; instead of diplomacy and cooperation, they chose to spread harmful messages through the media, while provoking the Iraqi public and utilizing that information to drive a wedge between the Turkish and Iraqi people. Therefore, we believe that today's meeting is very important for setting the record straight, not only with members of the Council but also with our brothers and sisters in Iraq.

My country has always maintained its strong support for Iraq's sovereignty, territorial integrity, stability and prosperity. Any claims to the contrary are false and ill-intended. Let us make it very clear: the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Iraq are breached by terrorist organizations, not by Türkiye.

Exercising full control over territory, a monopoly on the use of force, raising a flag and controlling taxation are some of the functions of having and exercising sovereignty. If those functions are not under the control of the State, how can we talk about the exercise of sovereignty?

As we speak, the flags of the PKK terrorist organization are raised in certain parts of northern Iraq — not the flags of the federal Government or of the Kurdistan Regional Government. Who has control over checkpoints in certain parts of northern Iraq? The PKK terrorists — not the federal Government or the Kurdistan Regional Government. Who illegitimately taxes the local people? The PKK

terrorist organization — not the local Government or the Kurdistan Regional Government. Those are but a few examples.

The truth is that the Iraqi Government cannot exercise effective sovereignty over certain parts of its territory in the north. We estimate that the PKK controls an area of at least 10,000 square kilometres in Iraq. Nearly 800 villages have been forcibly evacuated by the PKK, and all of those spots have become safe havens for the terrorists.

In Sinjar, for instance, the Iraqi Government has no authority whatsoever throughout the entire city. The Sinjar Agreement was signed in the presence of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq, yet it is still not being implemented. Yazidis are not allowed to return, and the PKK presence in Sinjar is still being tolerated.

Makhmour camp is yet another example. That place lost its refugee camp status long ago. The forces of the Iraqi federal Government, the Peshmerga, and even the civilian Iraqi authorities, are denied access to that camp. It serves as a logistics hub and training ground for the terrorist organization. In July 2019, a Turkish diplomat was assassinated in Erbil by a regular visitor to Makhmour camp. Despite our repeated requests, the perpetrators of that attack have not been extradited to Türkiye.

Over the past 40 years, the PKK has been responsible for the deaths of more than 40,000 people in my country. It is worth mentioning that the United States, the United Kingdom, the European Union and many other countries have designated the PKK as a terrorist organization. Yet, here in this Chamber, just a few minutes ago, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Iraq, His Excellency Mr. Fuad Hussein, could not even call the PKK what it is: a terrorist organization. We reject and strongly condemn the representation of the PKK as an innocent group, which is an affront to the more than 40,000 people the PKK has killed and their families. That is shameful. How many more people have to die before Iraqi politicians can call the PKK a terrorist organization? We would like all members of the Council to note that point as an example of the outrageous refusal of certain Iraqi politicians to condemn terrorism.

There is also the allegation that the PKK has increased its presence in Iraq since 2013. We completely reject that baseless claim. The PKK has been present

in Iraq since the 1980s. The reasons that the PKK has found refuge in Iraq since the 1980s are well known to everyone, including the Foreign Minister himself.

It is the obligation of the Iraqi authorities, under both international law and article 7 of the Iraqi Constitution, to stop the PKK from using the territory of Iraq. Nevertheless, Iraq has so far proven to be either unable or unwilling to fight the terrorists. If a country cannot control its own territory, is unwilling to fight against terrorists and cannot stop terrorists from using its territory to kill the citizens of a neighbouring State, then it is siding, either directly or indirectly, with the terrorists. It is that simple. A State cannot castigate its neighbour for using its right to self-defence.

In the first six months of this year, 339 attacks were conducted by the PKK against my country. Over the past five years, there have been nearly 1,500 attacks. We cannot allow the territory along our border to become a base to stage attacks against us. No member of the Council would allow that. The Government of Iraq would not allow that, nor should it.

In the absence of Iraq's ability and willingness to deal with the presence of terrorist organizations in its own country, we are obliged to take the appropriate measures, just as any member of the Council would do. We will continue to exercise our inherent right to self-defence as outlined in Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations, and we will act within the context of responsibility attributed by the relevant Security Council resolutions to Member States in the fight against terrorism. In doing so, we will continue to prioritize the protection of civilians, civilian infrastructure, historical and cultural property and the environment.

Türkiye and Iraq will continue to be neighbours and friends. We do not want to see an Iraq fragmented over ethnic and sectarian lines. We strongly support the strengthening of Iraq's institutions and national identity. We hope for the formation of a representative and functioning Government with an effective economic and reconstruction agenda. We want Iraq to be ruled by politicians whose loyalty is to their own flag and to their own people, not to personal interests, ambitions, sectarian identities or outside Powers.

However, as recent developments have demonstrated, there are efforts by some circles to unite different political groups around anti-Türkiye rhetoric. That is a very dangerous game to play. We want all of our brothers and sisters in Iraq to know that we do not

want our bilateral relations to suffer as a result of the domestic political calculations of certain groups in Iraq.

Today my country is even more committed to working together with the people of Iraq for greater peace and understanding. Our unwavering support to our neighbours in their quest for stability and security will never fade. The Iraqi people know very well what it means to lose a loved one to terrorism. They fought valiantly against Da'esh. The people of Iraq have always shown solidarity with us in our fight against the PKK. We want to see the same solidarity and responsible behaviour from Iraqi officials. As much as we respect the security of Iraq, we expect the same respect from the Iraqi authorities. That must be a mutual effort. We want Iraq to be ruled by responsible politicians who are ready to fight against terrorism in all its forms and manifestations.

We would like to express our condolences once again to our brothers and sisters in Iraq. We grieve with them for the senseless loss of civilian life.

**The President:** I shall now give the floor to those members of the Council who wish to make statements.

**Mrs. Thomas-Greenfield** (United States of America): Let me thank Special Representative Henniss-Plasschaert for her briefing today on the horrific attack. I would also like to welcome the presence of the Iraqi Foreign Minister and the representative of Türkiye.

The United States strongly condemns the attack on 20 July in Iraq's Dohuk governorate, which claimed the lives of nine Iraqi citizens, including children, and injured many more. We extend our condolences to the families of those killed and our sympathies to those injured.

The killing of civilians is always unacceptable, and all parties have an obligation under international law, including under international humanitarian law, to ensure the protection of civilians. To that end, we look forward to receiving additional information and greater clarity in relation to facts on the attack. The greater fidelity we have as to exactly what happened, the better chance we have of preventing future attacks and civilian casualties.

In the meantime, we call on all parties to respect Iraq's sovereignty and territorial integrity, and to refrain from actions that imperil civilians, inflame tensions and increase the risk of military conflict. Iraq and Iraqis deserve a more secure, stable and prosperous future.

**Mr. Abushahab** (United Arab Emirates) (*spoke in Arabic*): At the outset, I would like to thank you, Mr. President, for your swift response in convening this urgent meeting following the recent events in the Republic of Iraq. I would also like to thank Ms. Jeanine Hennis-Plasschaert for her valuable briefing, and I welcome the participation of His Excellency Mr. Fuad Hussein, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Iraq, in today's meeting.

My country supported the convening of today's urgent meeting in response to the request outlined in the letter of the Foreign Minister of the Republic of Iraq, dated 21 July, following the attack last Wednesday that targeted the resort of Barakh in Dohuk governorate in the Kurdistan region of Iraq. The United Arab Emirates condemns in the strongest terms this heinous act, which resulted in 9 civilian martyrs and more than 33 civilians injured. We also extend our sincerest condolences and sympathy to the Government and the people of the Republic of Iraq, and to the families of the victims of this horrific crime. We wish a speedy recovery to all those injured.

The United Arab Emirates affirms its support for conducting the necessary investigations into the Dohuk attack and stands in solidarity with all measures taken by Iraq to protect its sovereignty, security and stability. Not only does this attack represent a flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations and international law, but it also constitutes a threat to Iraq's security and stability. This attack risks exacerbating the political and security challenges facing Iraq at this critical juncture, especially with nearly nine months having elapsed since the holding of parliamentary elections without a new Government being formed, and with terrorist groups, including Da'esh, continuing to launch attacks targeting civilians, security forces and vital infrastructure. My country also has strongly condemned and denounced last week's terrorist attack that targeted a police station in the Salah Al-Din governorate.

In conclusion, and in the light of the decisive stance taken by the Security Council in its press statement issued yesterday, 25 July, condemning the Dohuk attack (SC/14980), we stress the need for all parties to respect Iraq's sovereignty and territorial integrity while refraining from any acts that may destabilize its security and stability, regardless of the pretext.

**Mr. Flynn** (Ireland): I thank the presidency for convening today's important discussion today. I also

thank the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for her very useful briefing. I join others in welcoming to the Security Council Chamber the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Iraq and the representative of Türkiye.

Ireland strongly condemns the 20 July deadly artillery shelling in Dohuk, which tragically killed nine civilians and injured many more. The Security Council put on record its unequivocal condemnation of this attack in its press statement published yesterday, 25 July (SC/14980).

We express our deepest condolences to the victims' loved ones and wish a speedy recovery to those who sustained injuries. We express our solidarity with the people of Iraq and with the Federal and Kurdistan Regional Governments at this time.

As the European Union expressed clearly in its statement on the incident last week, attacks against civilians are prohibited under international law. A swift investigation is crucial in order to identify those responsible and ensure accountability. We urge all Member States to cooperate actively with the Government of Iraq and all other relevant authorities in support of these investigations.

The civilians killed in the attack in Dohuk add to the alarmingly high number of civilian casualties caused by the indiscriminate use of explosive weapons in populated areas around the world. We call on all States to support the Political Declaration on Explosive Weapons in Populated Areas, which was recently concluded in Geneva following a process led by Ireland.

Iraq has shown continued commitment to enhancing regional dialogue over the past year. We call on all actors to engage in constructive dialogue now, and to refrain from any unilateral, provocative and escalatory actions. We reiterate our full support for the independence, sovereignty, unity, territorial integrity and prosperity of Iraq, as well as its democratic process.

**Ms. Koumby Missambo** (Gabon) (*spoke in French*): I thank the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Iraq for her detailed and informative briefing.

I welcome the presence of the Iraqi Foreign Minister and the representative of Türkiye at this urgently convened meeting.



Iraq remains firmly committed to the path out of the crisis in order to achieve stability. We also note a clear improvement in the humanitarian situation in the country. Furthermore, the Iraqi Government remains determined to maintain dialogue with the international community and cooperate with the United Nations on the ground, with a view to resolving the security problems it faces.

Gabon also condemns in the strongest terms the attack perpetrated on 20 July 2022 in the governorate of Duhok in northern Iraq, which left 9 people dead and 33 injured, including women and children. This indiscriminate attack on innocent civilians is unacceptable.

My country wishes to extend its sincere condolences to the families of the victims and to the Iraqi people. In addition to being cowardly and despicable, this act is a flagrant violation of international law, under which attacks should not be directed against civilians. We therefore call on the Iraqi authorities to shed full light on the circumstances of this attack and establish responsibility so that the perpetrators can be brought to justice.

Finally, we reiterate our solidarity with the families of the victims and the Iraqi people as a whole.

**Mr. Raguttaballi** (India): I thank the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for her detailed briefing. I welcome the presence of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Iraq, His Excellency Mr. Fuad Hussein, in today's meeting. I also acknowledge the presence of the representative of Türkiye in the meeting.

We strongly condemn the recent shelling in the Zakho district of Dohuk governorate, in the Kurdistan region of Iraq. On behalf of the Government and the people of India, I express our deepest condolences to the families that lost loved ones in the attack and wish a speedy recovery to those injured.

We welcome the Security Council's timely condemnation of this dastardly attack. Such an attack inside the territory of Iraq is a clear violation of the country's sovereignty. The attack on a civilian location also shows blatant disregard for international humanitarian law.

The Council needs to address some of the concerns outlined in the letter of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Iraq addressed to the President of the Security

Council on the attack in Dohuk governorate, in which he asserted:

"Türkish forces committed an open and blatant aggression against Iraqi territories, its sovereignty and the lives and security of its citizens on 20 July 2022, when they targeted the resort in Dohuk governorate in the Kurdistan region of Iraq by artillery shelling, [which] resulted in the martyrdom of 9 civilians and the injury of 33 unarmed civilians".

Iraq's territorial integrity and sovereignty must be respected, and the relevant party needs to abide by its obligations under international humanitarian law and cooperate with the Government of Iraq in the investigation into those attacks so as to ensure accountability.

Peace, stability and security in that region is of utmost importance to India. A strong, stable and sovereign Iraq would lead to greater security and stability in the region. We encourage all countries in the region to work together towards that end. As a long-standing friend of Iraq and its peoples, India will remain supportive of all endeavours to deliver stability, security and prosperity for the people of Iraq.

Let me conclude by reaffirming India's steadfast support for Iraq's unity, sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity. We continue to reiterate that the global order is anchored in international law, the Charter of the United Nations and respect for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of States.

**Ms. Juul** (Norway): I thank you, Mr. President, for having convened this meeting, and I thank the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for the update. We also welcome His Excellency the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Iraq to this meeting and express our deepest condolences to him, the families of those killed and the people of Iraq.

Norway joins others in strongly condemning the attack in Dohuk governorate, which killed and injured civilians, including children. Intentionally directing attacks against civilians is unacceptable and illegal under international law. All civilians must be protected. We call for a transparent investigation, and accountability for the attack must be ensured.

Stability and security in Iraq and in the region are essential. We encourage all parties in Iraq and in the region to cease the use of violence; help de-escalate the

situation; and promote development and security, based on the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Iraq.

**Ms. Oppong-Ntiri** (Ghana): I welcome the participation in this meeting of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Iraq and the representative of Türkiye. I also wish to express my gratitude to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for the briefing this afternoon.

The report of the tragic attack on a tourist resort in Dohuk governorate, in the Kurdistan region of Iraq, on 20 July, which resulted in the deaths of nine persons and injury to 33 others, is deeply concerning. We join other Council members in unequivocally condemning that attack and convey our sincerest sympathies to the people and the Government of Iraq and the Kurdistan region, especially the families of the victims. It is rather unfortunate that innocent Iraqi citizens are once again bearing the brunt of such attacks. Attacks directly targeting civilian populations are not acceptable under any circumstances.

In that context, and in keeping with the fundamental principles of international law, we call on all actors to continue to adhere to their international obligations, as that remains essential in ensuring the protection of civilian populations and infrastructure.

We note the uncertainty regarding the circumstances of the attack, including its perpetrators. It is imperative that those responsible for violations of international humanitarian law be held accountable if we are to provide a measure of justice for the victims and their families.

We therefore call on the international community to support the efforts of the Iraqi Government for a thorough investigation into the circumstances surrounding the attack. Given that the security situation in Iraq remains volatile, attacks of that nature only destabilize the already turbulent security environment in the country. Ghana would like to emphasize not only the potentially destabilizing impact of such attacks on Iraq and the Kurdistan region but also their ability to undermine regional and international peace and security. In that regard, we would urge the parties involved to exercise restraint and to refrain from any actions that could provoke retaliatory attacks, taking into account that the foremost path to resolving differences is through peaceful means.

In concluding, Ghana would like to reiterate its support for the security and stability of Iraq and the need for all actors to fully and unconditionally respect Iraq's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

**Mr. Gómez Robledo Verduzco** (Mexico) (*spoke in Spanish*): My delegation is following with great concern the recent events in the Kurdistan region of Iraq. Mexico expresses its solidarity with the Government of Iraq in connection with the attack perpetrated on 20 July in Dohuk governorate, which caused the deaths of nine civilians, wounded more than 30 and resulted in a great deal of material damage. We condemn that attack in the strongest terms and extend our condolences to the families of the victims, and we wish the wounded a quick recovery.

Any attack against civilians is a violation of international law, especially international humanitarian law. In that regard, Mexico calls for an expedited, impartial investigation into that serious incident. We call also for an end to any action that could escalate tensions and destabilize the entire region. That means also that counter-terrorism activities must be undertaken in full accordance with international law, including international human rights law and international humanitarian law. It is urgent to opt for confidence-building mechanisms among the States of the region so as to avoid any impacts that would be regional in scope.

**Mrs. Broadhurst Estival** (France) (*spoke in French*): I wish to begin by welcoming the presence among us of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Iraq, and I also wish to thank the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for her briefing.

France emphatically condemns the indiscriminate strike carried out on 20 July, resulting in nine dead and some 30 wounded, including children, in the autonomous region of Kurdistan in Iraq. That attack targeting civilians is unacceptable, and we stand in solidarity with Iraq and the Iraqi people under these exceedingly difficult circumstances. The Iraqi people have suffered tremendously in previous decades, and their aspiration to live in peace is more legitimate than ever before.

We thank the Iraqi authorities for having communicated the initial pieces of information about the attack. There is a vital need to shed full light on the circumstances of that tragedy to ensure that the perpetrators are held fully accountable. We would recall

the importance of cooperation between the federal authorities and the autonomous region of Kurdistan on matters of common interest, specifically on security.

France recalls its commitment to Iraq's sovereignty and to the stability of the autonomous region of Kurdistan within it. We welcome the commitment of the Prime Minister, Mr. Mustafa Al-Kadhimi, to regional security and stability, in the context of efforts that led to the Baghdad conference.

We also recall the efforts of Iraq and its neighbours to establish relations rooted in the principles of good-neighbourly relations and non-interference. We would call for de-escalation to avoid any further destabilization, which would derail our joint efforts to counter Da'esh in both Iraq and Syria.

**Mr. Kiboino (Kenya):** I thank Special Representative of the Secretary-General Jeanine Hennis-Plasschaert for her briefing, and we welcome the participation of His Excellency Fuad Hussein, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Iraq, and the representative of Türkiye.

Kenya condemns the dreadful attack that took place in the Dohuk governorate of Iraq on 20 July, which claimed the lives of innocent civilians, including children, and resulted in many injuries. We convey our deepest condolences to the families of the victims and the Government of Iraq, as well as the Iraqi Kurdistan region, and wish the injured a speedy and full recovery.

We condemn the use of explosive devices, ballistic missiles and artillery air strikes on civilians and civilian objects, which is in violation of international law and international humanitarian law.

As we have done in the past, we reiterate that Iraq should be protected from becoming an international arena for States and non-State actors to settle scores to the detriment of the security, political stability and socioeconomic progress of the country and its people. The escalation of violence will only further undermine peace and stability efforts on Iraqi territory, particularly at a precarious time, when Iraq is still in the process of forming its Government.

In addition, such attacks could weaken the capacity of the State's security agencies, thereby affording terrorist groups the opportunity to scale up their heinous terrorist attacks. In that regard, the region, and neighbouring countries in particular, should support Iraq in order to build its domestic resilience against terrorist networks so that Iraq becomes a net exporter

of peace. We call on all actors to avoid any activities that could undermine the security and stability of the country, and we stress the need to uphold the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Iraq, in keeping with the Charter of the United Nations.

**Mr. Polyanskiy (Russian Federation)** (*spoke in Russian*): First and foremost, I wish to welcome Mr. Fuad Hussein, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Iraq, and we wish to thank Ms. Jeanine Hennis-Plasschaert, Special Representative of the Secretary-General, for her briefing.

It is with alarm that we have been observing developments in the friendly country of Iraq, where on 20 July eight people died and more than 20 civilians were wounded as a result of the shelling of the northern governorate of Dohuk. We extend our sincere condolences to the loved ones of the victims and our best wishes for a prompt recovery to those injured. We trust that this incident will be thoroughly investigated. We listened and took into account the position voiced by the representative of Türkiye in that regard.

We reaffirm our principled and consistent support for stability and security in the Republic of Iraq. We wish to emphasize the importance of respecting the sovereignty and territorial integrity of this Arab country. In that regard, we are concerned about the possible negative consequences of this incident on the internal domestic political situation in the country as a result of attempts to drag it into a regional confrontation, thereby undermining the efforts of the Iraqi authorities to rebuild the country in the context of large-scale challenges and threats, including terrorism. We have consistently maintained that Iraq should not become a stage for the settling of political scores.

We believe that there is no alternative to strengthening regional security, including through the establishment of good-neighbourly relations between interested States. In that context, we highly value the focus of Baghdad on the development of relations with all its neighbours. There is an important need to seek to ensure that we avoid the creation of an atmosphere whereby confrontation is escalated among various countries. We hope that the players outside the region will facilitate the normalization process, rather than foment further confrontation.

We believe that now, more than ever, there is a need to pool efforts to seek consensual mutually acceptable solutions geared towards reducing tensions

and addressing all pressing issues through political and diplomatic means on the basis of international law. That is the focus of the Russian blueprint for ensuring collective security in the Persian Gulf region, which provides for gradual progress towards ending the conflict, the establishment of confidence-building and oversight measures and, ultimately, the creation of a integral mechanism for collective security and cooperation in the region.

**Ms. Jacobs** (United Kingdom): I would like to thank the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for her briefing and Foreign Minister Hussein for joining today's meeting.

The United Kingdom condemns the attack that took place in Dohuk governorate on 20 July and would like to express its deepest sympathy to the victims and those affected. The United Kingdom deplores the loss of civilian life, and we are concerned about the impact the attack may have on the stability of Iraq. We fully support the Iraqi authorities' investigation into the attack.

It is vital that all actors continue to respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Iraq. Dialogue and cooperation remain essential to combat terrorism, ensure regional security and protect civilians. We reiterate the need for all actors to uphold their obligations under international humanitarian law in order to maintain stability in Iraq and the region.

Finally, I would like to take this opportunity to once again reaffirm the United Kingdom's steadfast commitment to the security of Iraq and the wider region.

**Mr. Geng Shuang** (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): I wish to thank Special Representative of the Secretary-General Hennis-Plasschaert for her briefing and welcome the Foreign Minister of Iraq to our meeting today.

China strongly condemns the attack in Iraq's Dohuk governorate on 20 July. We deeply mourn the victims and express our condolences to the Government of Iraq and to the bereaved families. We wish a speedy recovery to the wounded. We support the press statement issued by the Security Council on the matter (SC/14980).

Iraq has set up a special committee to investigate this attack. We call on all parties concerned to actively cooperate with Iraq on this investigation in order to find out the facts as soon as possible and ensure accountability. The Security Council should continue

to follow the progress of the investigation and provide appropriate support in line with the requirements of the Iraqi Government.

Iraq's stands at a location of strategic importance. The country has diverse ethnicities and religions. It should become a booster for regional cooperation instead of an arena for geopolitical competition. Regrettably, foreign troops have frequently conducted military operations in Iraqi territory without the consent of the Government of Iraq, flagrantly violating Iraq's sovereignty and territorial integrity, gravely endangering the lives of the Iraqi people and seriously threatening regional stability. China hopes that the relevant countries will fully respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Iraq and remain committed to resolving their own security concerns through cooperation with the Iraqi Government.

Over the past three decades, the situation in Iraq has seen ups and downs, and its people have endured countless hardships. At present, the Iraqi people are writing a new chapter in their national reconstruction, developing good-neighbourly and friendly relations and promoting regional dialogue and cooperation, thereby increasingly becoming a contributor to regional peace and stability.

The international community should firmly stand by Iraq and its people. For the sake of long-term stability and security in Iraq, as well as the prosperity and stability of the region, the international community should continuously make positive contributions in that regard.

**Mr. Hoxha** (Albania): Let me also thank Special Representative of the Secretary-General Hennis-Plasschaert for her factual briefing. We welcome the participation of His Excellency Mr. Fuad Hussein, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Iraq, and of the delegation of Türkiye to this meeting.

We join other members in condemning in the strongest terms the deadly attack on Dohuk. We express our condolences to the families of the victims and wish those injured a speedy recovery.

We deplore the loss of civilian lives, especially of women and children. This is a violation of international humanitarian law, and the perpetrators must be held to account.



In yesterday's press statement (SC/14980), the Security Council spoke with a unified voice on this attack, in support of efforts to establish the facts.

I reiterate Albania's principled support for accountability for all violations of international law against impunity and in order to deter further violations.

We listened carefully to the remarks of Minister Hussein. We also take due note of the repeated declarations from Türkiye, including at the highest level and here today, that the attack was carried out by terrorists and was aimed at harming ties between Türkiye and Iraq, as has happened before. We believe that an investigation will establish the facts and look forward to its conclusions. We encourage both countries to cooperate closely in order to establish the facts. We believe that it is of primary importance not to allow such acts to affect ties between two neighbouring countries at a time when there is need for dialogue and understanding and, on that basis, more cooperation.

Iraq and its people have incomparably suffered from terrorism in the past. Furthermore, various more recent attacks and acts of terrorism and violence have attempted to derail the course of stabilization and development in Iraq. We condemn them firmly. Terrorism should have no place anywhere.

The holding of elections in October and the certification of the results represent important steps towards the consolidation of democracy in Iraq. We look forward with hope to seeing the concrete materialization of the will of the Iraqi people, as expressed by their vote. We commend the patience that has been shown by Iraqi political forces in engaging in dialogue in their attempt to find a way out of the impasse. Democracy requires time and may prove complex, but its results are lasting.

Let me conclude by reaffirming our support for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Iraq.

**The President:** I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of Brazil.

I once again thank Special Representative of the Secretary-General Hennis-Plasschaert for her informative briefing.

First, let me express our deepest condolences to the families and friends of the deceased and our hope that those wounded during the incident will make a full and speedy recovery. We welcome Minister Hussein

here today, and we would like to convey Brazil's full solidarity and support to the people and the Government of Iraq. I also welcome the representative of Türkiye to this meeting.

Over the past few decades, the Iraqi people have shown courage, determination and resilience in their struggle for a democratic, stable and sovereign country. Iraq has also spearheaded the fight against terrorism and has made grave sacrifices under extremely challenging circumstances. The Security Council has recognized those efforts and been consistent in its support for Iraq. The United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq is a symbol of that commitment and fulfils a fundamental role in that regard.

Iraqi efforts and sacrifices benefit the international community as a whole, but especially Iraq's neighbours, for there can be no stability in the Middle East without a safe and sovereign Iraq. There can be no justification for violations of its sovereignty, be it by actors in the region or outside it. We hope that thorough investigations can come to a speedy conclusion and establish the facts behind this tragedy.

Iraq should not be a battlefield, but a bridge between countries, cultures and faiths. The Iraqi Government has actively sought to perform that role, fostering understanding and cooperation among its neighbours and pursuing initiatives such as the historic Baghdad Conference for Cooperation and Partnership, held almost a year ago.

The protection of civilians is a fundamental element of international law that must be observed by all Member States. It is the ultimate objective of international humanitarian law, international human rights law and international refugee law. Scenes like those witnessed in Dohuk are unacceptable and must be condemned unequivocally.

I now resume my functions as President of the Council.

The representative of Türkiye has asked for the floor to make a further statement. I now give him the floor.

**Mr. Keçeli (Türkiye):** I apologize for taking the floor again, but I wanted to bring to the attention of Security Council a new development.

It is with great sorrow that I inform the Security Council of a recent development on the ground in



Iraq. A few minutes ago, we received notice that four mortars had been deployed near the Consulate General of Türkiye in Mosul, Iraq. That is yet another flagrant attack and yet another example of the lack of control by the Iraqi authorities over their own territory. We once again call on all Iraqi authorities to avoid escalatory language and to focus on cooperation, cooperating against all terrorist organizations. The initial reports say that no one was hurt, but, as I said in my statement, three years ago we lost a diplomat in Erbil. We hope that our diplomatic representation is safe in Iraq, because that is how we can achieve peace and better bilateral relations — through diplomacy.

**The President:** The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Iraq has asked for the floor to make a further statement. I now give him the floor.

**Mr. Hussein (Iraq)** (*spoke in Arabic*): I would first like to thank all the members of the Security Council and the representatives of the States that participated in this meeting for their great sense of solidarity with the people of Iraq. We would also like to thank them for their condolences and for the condemnation of the military attack that targeted a resort village in Dohuk governorate.

As for the news that was just relayed by the representative of Türkiye, if it is true, and we will verify it, we condemn an attack perpetuated against the Consulate of Türkiye. We condemn and denounce such act. As a representative of the Iraqi Government and the Foreign Minister of Iraq, we will investigate the matter.

It is our duty to protect diplomatic missions and diplomats on Iraqi territories. We will investigate the matter, but this indicates that attacks that took place in the past elicit responses. We do not know who is behind this attack, should it be true, but such attacks must stop. The Turkish army must withdraw from Iraqi territories. The United Nations and the relevant countries must provide assistance and support to Iraq so that we can work to ensure that the Turkish Kurdistan Workers' Party troops withdraw from Iraqi territories

**The President:** There are no more names inscribed on the list of speakers.

I will now adjourn the meeting so that the Council can continue its discussion on the subject in closed consultations.

*The meeting rose at 6.25 p.m.*