

**Security Council**

Sixty-ninth year

*Provisional***7271**<sup>st</sup> meeting

Friday, 19 September 2014, 2 p.m.

New York

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*President:* Mr. Kerry/Ms. Power ..... (United States of America)

*Members:*

Argentina .....	Mr. Zuain
Australia .....	Ms. Bishop
Chad .....	Mr. Mahamat
Chile .....	Mr. Riveros
China .....	Mr. Liu Jieyi
France .....	Mr. Fabius
Jordan .....	Mr. Judeh
Lithuania .....	Ms. Murmokaitė
Luxembourg .....	Mr. Asselborn
Nigeria .....	Mrs. Ogwu
Republic of Korea .....	Mr. Oh Joon
Russian Federation .....	Mr. Churkin
Rwanda .....	Ms. Mushikiwabo
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland ...	Mr. Ellwood

**Agenda**

The situation concerning Iraq

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*The meeting was called to order at 2.10 p.m.*

### **Adoption of the agenda**

*The agenda was adopted.*

### **The situation concerning Iraq**

**The President:** It is my pleasure to warmly welcome the extraordinary turnout of Ministers and other representatives present in the Security Council Chamber. The participation here today and the number of people who have travelled from afar — some of whom, like Laurent Fabius, are going to turn around, go right back and then come back again — and the extent of the dedication of so many in being here, given the press of business for everyone in the Chamber, is a statement in and of itself about the importance of the matter under discussion. We are therefore deeply grateful, not just for the response to our invitation but to all the countries that have understood the responsibility and seriousness of this moment. We thank everyone heartily.

In accordance with rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite the representatives of Albania, Bahrain, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Egypt, Finland, Germany, Georgia, Iraq, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Italy, Japan, Lebanon, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Oman, Poland, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Spain, the Syrian Arab Republic, Turkey and the United Arab Emirates to participate in this meeting.

In accordance with rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite Mr. Nickolay Mladenov, 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 Mr. Mladenov.

**Mr. Mladenov:** It is indeed an honour to brief the Security Council today on behalf of the Secretary-General.

This is the fourth time I have addressed the Council on the devastation inflicted on the people of Iraq by the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (ISIL). On behalf of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq (UNAMI), I would like to thank the Security Council for its continued interest and unity in expressing support for the people and the Government of Iraq, as

well as for making it possible for our Mission to fulfil its mandate. The Council's consistent calls for inclusive political engagement, timely elections and a process for forming a Government have not gone unheeded. Its condemnation of the violence and human rights abuses has been welcomed by Iraqis. Finally, its consistent pronouncements, most recently through the adoption of resolution 2170 (2014), continue to encourage the people of Iraq by letting them know they are not alone.

Iraq's transition has been painful and scarred by much violence. Its people, however, have shown an unmatched ability to persevere, despite the difficulties. Most recently, amid a rapidly deteriorating security environment, they came out to vote in a competitive election that was followed, finally, by a peaceful transfer of power. As Iraq's new Government of national unity is moving to restore security to large parts of the country, it is also seeking to strengthen the relationship between the ethnic and religious communities and to develop inclusive policies that contribute to social peace and cohesiveness. It is also looking to the international community for support. Today, as Iraq faces life-threatening danger from the advances of ISIL, its people look to the countries represented here — the members of the Security Council, their neighbours, allies and friends. They look to the international community and the United Nations for collective measures aimed at removing this threat to peace in Iraq and the rest of the region.

Since the beginning of the year, ISIL and its affiliated armed groups have captured large parts of northern and western Iraq. They have gained access to substantial amounts of weapons and financial and natural resources. Their networks, spanning the globe, reach out in order to recruit foreign fighters in their battle to dismantle the Iraqi State. Months before Mosul fell into ISIL's hands, the provinces of Anbar and Ninewa had become fertile ground for this terrorist organization. Throughout this period the United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq observed and underscored the organization's evolving strategy of terror, which continues to systematically undermine the legitimate authorities through kidnappings, assassinations and violence. It seeks to use the discontent among some communities to turn it into bitterness and violence. It is using its consolidated control over extended territory in both Iraq and Syria, combined with an ideology of hatred, fear and nihilism, to present a clear danger to the very existence of a unified Iraqi State. It is a threat to the region and to international security.

In recent weeks, the combined efforts of targeted airstrikes, Iraqi security forces and Kurdish Peshmerga operations have enabled some areas to be brought back under the control of the legitimate authorities. They have been instrumental in saving thousands of lives from imminent death on Mount Sinjar, in the town of Amirli and elsewhere. They have protected the city of Erbil; they have safeguarded key infrastructure, including the Mosul and Haditha Dams, and they have halted ISIL's advance towards the capital, Baghdad. Despite those successes, however, ISIL forces have most recently been able to take control of key towns in Salahadine province. But I am encouraged to report that in the face of this growing threat, cooperation and coordination on security between the Federal Government of Iraq and the Kurdistan Regional Government has substantially increased.

Iraq is facing an escalating emergency, with as many as 1.8 million people displaced since January. About 850,000 of them have sought refuge in the Kurdistan region alone. Just in the past fortnight, an additional 10,000 families from Diyala province have been displaced from their homes. The humanitarian crisis is not just in the north of the country; tens of thousands of people have fled to the south, where many are being hosted by families and religious institutions. The pressure on local communities across the country is growing, since the continuing influx has created a massive shelter crisis. With winter fast approaching, immediate and critical measures must be taken. Furthermore, since more than 2,000 schools are currently providing shelter to internally displaced persons (IDPs) throughout the country, the start of the school year has already been delayed by a month.

In response, the United Nations has mounted a massive humanitarian effort across Iraq to provide food, shelter, water, sanitation and health assistance. We continue to face immense challenges in reaching the estimated 650,000 people who are still in the areas of active conflict. I would like to take this opportunity to call on the Government of Iraq to formulate a national strategy to address the displaced people's situation, as well as to immediately restore the payment of salaries and essential social services throughout the country. The Government's efforts must be encouraged and its financial commitments to remedy this humanitarian catastrophe must be recognized. The United Nations stands ready to provide additional help in improving the coordination and delivery of services.

On behalf of the entire United Nations family, I would like to thank those Member States that to date have responded to our call for assistance and followed through with generous support to the United Nations humanitarian effort. I would also like to recognize the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, which has contributed some \$500 million of the total \$712 million given so far for the United Nations effort in Iraq. Over 60 per cent of that substantial donation has already been spent on tents, food and other items for the hundreds of thousands of internally displaced persons. Having said that, I have to note with growing concern that available funding for humanitarian operations will be exhausted before the winter and additional support will be needed.

The current crisis has had a devastating effect on the respect and protection of human rights in Iraq. The United Nations estimates that, since January, there have been some 25,000 civilian casualties, including at least 8,500 killed and more than 16,000 wounded. On behalf of the Secretary-General and the entire United Nations team in Iraq, I extend my deepest condolences to the families of all civilian casualties across Iraq and to the victims of terrorism. Minority communities, including Christians, Yazidis, Shabaks, Turkmen, and others, have been particularly targeted by ISIL, which has systematically and deliberately sought to cleanse them from territories under its control, perpetrating acts that may amount to war crimes, crimes against humanity and possibly genocide.

The United Nations Mission in Iraq continues to investigate reports of violations and abuses of international humanitarian and human rights law. Our teams have conducted over 500 interviews with victims of and witnesses to those violations. As a result of those investigations, the United Nations has verified systematic and widespread human rights violations committed by ISIL and associated armed groups, along with violations and abuses committed by armed groups supportive of the Government and some committed by the Iraqi security forces. A public report was published in July, while a second one is currently in preparation. Due to the gravity of the crimes committed by ISIL, I welcome the decision of the United Nations Human Rights Council to dispatch a mission to Iraq to investigate alleged violations and abuses of international human rights law and humanitarian law.

The fall of Mosul forced people to understand that it was not just the survival of their country that was at stake, but the very existence of their communities. All

Iraqis, no matter what ethnic or religious community they belong to, stand to lose if they fail to cooperate against the growing threat of terrorism, radicalism and extremism. Today there is a growing understanding that if any security plan is to succeed, it needs to be broadly accepted by all. There is agreement among key decision-makers that security cannot be provided without full respect for the Constitution, the rule of law, international humanitarian law and human rights standards.

The conditions that breed discontent and violence in Iraq need to be addressed as a matter of priority so that disaffected communities, particularly those currently located in conflict areas, can be brought back into the democratic process. The Iraqi Constitution remains the guiding framework for legitimately resolving all grievances. Reforms that allow for better service delivery, policies that contribute to social peace and development, the devolution of authority, fair revenue-sharing among provinces, efficient public services, measures to combat pervasive corruption and, perhaps most importantly, the strengthening of the rule of law and democratic accountability will all allow the country to move forward.

Transitional justice and reconciliation are impossible without addressing the human rights violations of the past and the present. Left unresolved, past grievances or abuses of human rights will undermine any attempt to resolve outstanding constitutional, legal or policy issues. I am pleased to report that, since its appointment, the Government has taken important steps and made a strong beginning for its collective work. I very much welcome Prime Minister Al-Abadi's recent orders to suspend Iraqi air force strikes in civilian areas, including in ISIL-controlled areas, and his public commitment to the protection of civilians. I urge the Government of Iraq to fully uphold that commitment. As Commander-in-Chief, Prime Minister Al-Abadi has also taken the initiative to restructure the leadership of the Iraqi armed forces. Those decisions are encouraging steps towards meeting the demands for reform.

I further welcome the Council of Ministers' decision to establish a reconstruction fund to rebuild the areas damaged by military operations. The United Nations stands ready to assist in that respect. The United Nations stands ready to assist in this respect. I am also pleased to report that the Council of Ministers has initiated the process of drafting a law for the creation of a national guard. This will allow for the devolution of authority

and will strengthen local engagement in the provision and management of security.

In his most recent address to Parliament, the Prime Minister committed to resolving the outstanding budgetary disputes between the federal Government and the Kurdistan region. I encourage the Iraqi Government to swiftly move forward on restoring subsidies, starting in September, to the provinces of Dohuk, Erbil and Sulaymaniyah. The federal Government and the Kurdistan Regional Government should move quickly to reach agreement on the outstanding payments. And finally, it is time for the pervasive issues of revenue and budget sharing to be resolved in line with the Constitution. As always, the United Nations in Iraq stands ready to continue to facilitate that process. All members of the international community should continue to work closely with the Government of Iraq and the Kurdistan Regional Government and extend to Iraq the security, humanitarian and development assistance it needs.

The stakes are very high for both the people of Iraq and the region. Iraq and all its regional neighbours have an unprecedented opportunity to restart positive bilateral relations based on mutual interests and partnership. That cooperation should be open and inclusive of all neighbours who can contribute to addressing the challenge of ISIL. The recent adoption of resolution 2170 (2014), the Arab League Resolution 7804, the Jeddah Communiqué, the Paris Conference on Peace and Security in Iraq and the recent NATO discussions all strengthen international support for Iraq in its time of need. The United Nations stands ready to support Iraq and the region by coordinating the political, social, humanitarian and financial efforts needed to address the current crisis.

To conclude, let me be very clear. ISIL is a scourge that has brought untold sorrow to the people of Iraq and Syria. It has shown contempt for equality, fundamental human rights and the dignity and worth of the human person. It not only ignores but also shows disdain for international law, and its perverse ideas of justice are evidence of its deep reaction against the progress humankind has made over centuries. That threat, grave as it is, can be addressed if Iraq, the region and the world work together on the basis of the framework of the Charter of the United Nations and the relevant Security Council resolutions.

**The President:** I thank Mr. Mladenov for his briefing. We all thank the Secretary-General and

Special Representative Mladenov, whom we thank in particular for all the work he is doing as the head of the United Nations Assistance Mission in Iraq. We are very grateful.

The Council has before it the text of a statement by the President on behalf of the Council. I thank Council members for their valuable contributions to this statement.

In accordance with the understanding reached among the members, I shall take it that the members of the Security Council agree to the statement, which will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/2014/20.

It is so decided.

I now give the floor to His Excellency Mr. Ibrahim Al-Jaafari, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Iraq.

**Mr. Al-Jaafari (Iraq)** (*spoke in Arabic*): Allow me at the outset to express my appreciation to you, Sir, for convening today's meeting in the light of the serious threat we face not only in Iraq but throughout the whole world. I also value the presence of my colleagues, the Foreign Ministers of friendly countries, whose presence here today proves the gravity of the threat we face. We also wish to thank the United States for convening this meeting with a view to mobilizing international support to face up to the Islamic State in Iraq and the Sham (ISIS) and its affiliated organizations. I would also like to welcome the briefing by Mr. Nickolay Mladenov, Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Head of the United Nations Assistance Mission in Iraq.

Iraq reaffirms its determination to face up to terrorism as an international scourge that must be eliminated. It is extremely important that there be coordination and cooperation among all parties. The influx of terrorist fighters from all over the world to establish a state under ISIS is a grave danger not only to Iraq and Syria but to the entire region. Fighting those terrorists in Iraq and sparing the Iraqi people their evil is in the interest of the entire world. This war is being launched against the people of Iraq, who are fighting on behalf of all other peoples. They have violated our land and the dignity of humankind. All the Iraqi people — Christians, Yazidis, Turkmen, Shiites, Sunnis and Kurds — are united in spirit against that evil.

We would like to restore peace and stability so that we can restore public services to the people, especially in the affected areas. The action of ISIS has led to the

displacement of more than 1.8 million Iraqis towards Kurdistan and other areas in the south. However, in spite of the political and security challenges, the newly elected Government has cooperated with United Nations agencies in Iraq to alleviate the suffering of the people and to enable security forces to restore their control over the entire territory of Iraq and to assist displaced persons to return to their homes.

In spite of those challenges and the continued threats, the Iraqi people have been able to hold their national elections, followed by the formation of a unity Government that pays interest to the concerns of the entire people of Iraq in all its factions and that has committed itself to implement the main principles in the document of political agreement among Iraqi blocs, signed on 8 September, to enhance national unity and social cohesion and to take the necessary measures to face up to terrorism. We have as a nation agreed on the formation of a national Government that includes all sectors of society. Mobilizing all efforts internationally and regionally to face up to terrorism is an effective way to deal with other challenges that face the region.

We believe that the main responsibility for fighting ISIS and the other terrorist organizations on our territory belongs to us and the Iraqi armed forces, the Peshmerga forces and the national guard. However, assistance from friendly nations is required for aerial support.

We have taken every step to enhance national unity and to take unified action. We had previously warned that the situation in Syria would eventually affect Iraq and that this major threat should be removed, not only from Iraq but from any other country. On 25 June, Iraq called on the Security Council for assistance from the international community. I should therefore like to state the following.

Military, economic and financial assistance to Iraq should continue to support its counter-offensive against ISIS. Removing the threat of Daesh requires the removal of all its fighters, including in neighbouring countries. Any military actions against ISIS should be done in coordination with the Iraqi armed forces.

Humanitarian assistance should be provided urgently to alleviate the suffering of more than 1.8 million people, including women and children. We call upon States Members of the United Nations to remain committed to the implementation of the Human Rights Council resolutions and Security Council



resolutions in that regard, with a view to drying up the sources of financing and military support to ISIS and to preventing ISIS from dealing in natural resources in the areas that it controls.

The United Nations strategy against terrorism has stressed those points, and we would like to emphasize that this threat will not be removed unless we fight the extremist ideas that support it. The advocates of such extremist ideas should be prevented from public speech and should be countered at all levels. The people and the Government of Iraq appreciate the roles played by the United Nations, European nations and other nations, including Arab brotherly countries that have assisted in providing for the needs of the displaced and in assisting people in affected areas where fighting has been severe. We all face a grave danger that has no respect for human rights or humanitarian aspects. We should all work for the opposite culture of love, prosperity and cooperation.

Finally, we would like to express our appreciation for the assistance provided by the United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq, particularly the humanitarian assistance to displaced persons, and to reaffirm our appreciation and thanks to Mr. Mladenov and his team for their dedication in assisting Iraq in this crisis.

**The President:** I thank His Excellency Mr. Al-Jaafari for his very important statement. We very much appreciate your leadership in the new Iraqi Government's efforts.

It is now my privilege to make a statement in my capacity as the representative of the United States.

At the outset, let me express my thanks to everyone for participating in this meeting. I have seen in the past weeks when travelling around how extraordinarily busy everyone is and how committed to the effort everyone has been through their actions as well as through their incredibly busy schedules. I am convinced that the fact that so many countries are represented in the Council today from so many parts of the world really underscores the clear need for all of us to come together, to welcome and to support the new inclusive Government in Iraq, and to put an end to the unfettered barbarity of the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (ISIL).

I want to thank Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon and to welcome our new Iraqi counterpart, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Al-Jaafari. I do not need to remind the Council that the last two times the eyes of the world

were focused on Iraq was when its Government was in confrontation with the international community, with great consequences. Today, however, we come together in support of the new Iraqi Government, which has already made great strides in a short length of time. We must not miss this moment.

In the past week, I made my second trip to Baghdad in just over two months in order to meet with the new Iraqi Government. I was very encouraged to hear them reaffirm their commitment to govern in the interests of all Iraqis and to finally address the deep divisions of which we are all aware, including those over energy resources, regional autonomy and the composition of the security forces. All of those have plagued Iraq throughout its modern history. They are also committed to empowering local communities to mobilize, to maintain security control in their areas and to work with the international community to defeat ISIL.

Indeed, Iraq has responded to the ISIL threat with a spirit of unity that the country has not experienced in decades, if ever. In the past month, an Iraqi-Arab pilot, Major General Majid Ahmed Saadi, flew an Iraqi Air Force helicopter with a Kurdish crew and a Yazidi member of Parliament with the single goal of rescuing Yazidis on Mount Sinjar. Tragically, the helicopter crashed. Major General Saadi was the only one killed, but before he died, he told a *New York Times* reporter that the mission to rescue the Yazidis was the most important thing he had ever done in his entire life and career as an Iraqi pilot. That historic level of cooperation between Iraqi and Kurdish forces has resonated deeply in both communities.

As President Obama explained earlier this month, ISIL is a terrorist organization, pure and simple. It has no vision other than the slaughter of all who stand in its way. In a region that has known so much bloodshed, these terrorists are actually unique in their brutality. They execute captured prisoners, kneeling them down, tying their hands behind their backs, a bullet through their heads. They kill children. They enslave, rape and force women into marriage. They threatened a religious minority with genocide. In acts of barbarism, they took the lives of two American journalists, Jim Foley and Steven Sotloff, and British aid worker, David Haines. Simply, ISIL poses a threat to the people of Iraq and Syria and the broader Middle East. If left unchecked, those terrorists certainly would pose a growing threat beyond the region — because they have already promised to do so.

Ultimately, history will judge how the world responds to this moment, to this challenge. In the face of this sort of evil, we have only one option to confront it with a holistic, global campaign that is committed and capable of degrading and destroying this terrorist threat and ensuring that ISIL cannot find a safe haven in Iraq, Syria or elsewhere. As President Obama has clearly explained, and as I think everyone in this Chamber is well aware of at this point, the coalition required to eliminate ISIL is not only, or even primarily, military in nature. It must be comprehensive and include close collaboration across multiples lines of effort. It is about taking out an entire network — decimating and discrediting a militant cult masquerading as a religious movement.

The fact is there is a role for nearly every country in the world to play, including Iran, whose Foreign Minister is here today. ISIL poses a threat to all of us, and we are committed to working in close partnership with the new Iraqi Government and countries around the world to defeat it. That is why I have spent the past week consulting with my Iraqi counterparts and travelling in the Middle East and in Europe, building partnerships, and that is why we were so focused on hosting the meeting here today.

I also thank Foreign Minister Saud Al-Faisal for Saudi Arabia's leadership in hosting its conference in Jeddah, and President Hollande and Foreign Minister Laurent Fabius in France for their leadership in hosting the conference in Paris. From each of these has come a greater and greater commitment to do what we need to do. I have to say that in many of the meetings that I have had so far, leaders are not talking about if they should support our campaign against ISIL; they are asking how. Already, across each of the lines of effort that we are focused on, we have seen more than 50 countries come forward with critical commitments.

Regarding military support, countries in the region and around the world are already providing assistance, both in terms of kinetic action and also in the form of training, advising, equipping, providing logistical support and so on. In the region, countries such as Egypt have committed to significantly enhancing the coordination between its forces and Iraqi and Kurdish forces. But even further away from Iraq, countries such as Australia are committing to deploying fighter jets, support aircraft and personnel. Germany, in recognition of the grave threat posed by ISIL, reversed its long-standing policy against offering lethal aid. Last

night, France conducted its first air strikes against ISIL targets in Iraq. These forms of assistance, provided at the request of Iraq and in full respect for its sovereignty, are essential to combating ISIL, but they are only one part of the comprehensive approach that is required.

We are also seeing overwhelming support when it comes to humanitarian assistance. Dozens of countries from throughout the international community have so far committed almost \$1 billion to the United Nations-led humanitarian response in Iraq. That includes donations from countries within the region — Saudi Arabia, Qatar and elsewhere — as well as funds from countries on the other side of the world: Japan, New Zealand, South Korea and more. We are seeing encouraging progress in the effort to dry up ISIL's illicit funding as well, and Bahrain has offered to host an international conference in the near future to further develop a global action plan to counter terrorist financing.

As we will discuss next week at the meeting that President Obama will preside over, we must also stop the flow of foreign fighters to ISIL — men and women who carry passports from countries around the world, including nearly every country represented in this Chamber. This is yet another area where countries have already begun to take important steps, including legislation criminalizing the recruitment, preparation and participation of their citizens in combat activities of terrorism abroad.

Finally, there is an urgent need to counter the poisonous propaganda and gross distortion of Islam that ISIL is spreading far and wide. It is time to put an end to a group that is so extreme in its rejection of modernity that it bans math and social studies for children. It is time to put an end to the sermons of extremists that brainwash young men to join these terrorist groups and commit mass atrocities in the name of God. This is something that leaders of the region are very focused on. Saudi Arabia's top clerics this week came out publicly and declared terrorism a heinous crime under Sharia law and called ISIL in particular "the order of Satan".

All of this is vital, because we know that in preventing an individual from joining ISIL or from getting to the battlefield in the first place, that is the most effective measure one can take. But if this campaign international to have any chance of success, Iraq itself — and its security forces on the front lines — must be leading the way. That is one of the reasons why it is imperative that we all go the extra

mile to help Iraq fully reintegrate into the region and into the global community of nations. That is starting to happen. Last week, the Iraqis, long estranged from their neighbours and isolated from the world, were not just invited, but were warmly welcomed at international meetings in Jeddah and Paris, and now here in New York, before the Security Council and the entire world.

What is different about today's meeting — and this is one reason why we are so grateful to so many ministers for travelling here — is that at previous such meetings the world did not share in the deliberations or the discussions formally as they went on; they heard afterwards. Today, the world can listen to each of the ministers, and it will understand the breadth and scope of the support for this effort. We are well on our way, but that does not mean that we are where we need to be. I hope that today the progress that I have described will continue, and that over the course of this week more partners will come forward and more commitments to these efforts will be announced.

Make no mistake — our work to build and enhance this coalition will continue well after this week is over. I commit that to those here, and President Obama firmly commits it to. One of our most respected military experts sitting right here behind me, General John Allen — who served in Afghanistan in command of our forces there for two years and also in Iraq, and who knows many of the people in Iraq from his service in Anbar — has agreed to come to the State Department with a presidential appointment and oversee the United States effort to match up each country's capabilities with the coalition's total needs so that the line of effort is coordinated.

I look forward to hearing from all of those here in the course of this afternoon. Again, I would close by thanking everybody for joining this discussion, and I am absolutely confident that through a global campaign that is comprehensive and committed, we can support the promise of the new Government in Iraq, and we can defeat the ISIL threat wherever it exists.

I now resume my functions as President of the Council.

I now give the floor to Her Excellency Ms. Louise Mushikiwabo, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of Rwanda.

**Ms. Mushikiwabo (Rwanda):** I thank the United States for organizing this important debate on the situation in Iraq at this very challenging time for

that country, the region, and indeed the world. Your leadership today, Mr. President, and the presence of a number of ministers in this debate are an indication of the will of the international community to honour its obligation to support and protect the Iraqi people against the threat of the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (ISIL). It is unfortunate that every time the Security Council defaults on its inherent responsibility, that of the maintenance of international peace and security, the human cost is just unbearable.

We all know that the conflict in Syria has been a breeding ground for ISIL. That terrorist group has committed mass and gross atrocities that may amount to crimes against humanity. Its ongoing persecution of Christians, Yazidis and other religious minorities for simply who they are may even amount to genocide. The unprecedented brutality of this group should and must reinforce our resolve to protect the many innocent civilians caught up in the cruelty they have had nothing to do with.

We take this opportunity to express our condolences to all of the bereaved families.

Baghdad is far from Kigali in more aspects than only geography. But the plight of many Iraqi people today is no different from that of many Rwandans 20 years ago. Faced with unprecedented cruelty, they looked to the world for help. I am the Foreign Minister of Rwanda and, as such, I carry Rwanda's experience of abandonment in 1994.

We believe that the international community must act fact and act collectively to deny this terrorist group any hold to territory, any access to financing and any channel to recruitment, which has allowed it to kill children and adults, behead journalists and humanitarian workers, enslave women and girls and persecute religious minorities.

There are opportunities upon which we can build our support for the people of Iraq and to eradicate the ISIL threat. First, there is the ability, demonstrated by the Iraqis, to come together and form an inclusive Government led by Prime Minister Haider Al-Abadi. Indeed, unity among Iraq's communities is critical to ensuring any sustainable success against ISIL: the effort against that organization should be nationally led and owned, with the support of all.

Secondly, we should take advantage of the existing building blocks. We acknowledge the active role played by the United States in building a coalition to fight the



terrorist group. The upcoming Security Council meeting on foreign terrorist fighters that President Obama will preside over next week will be another opportunity to garner global support for the effort. We are also encouraged by the outcome of the Jeddah ministerial conference held on 11 September, which brought together States members of the Gulf Cooperation Council, as well as Egypt, Iraq, Turkey, Jordan and Lebanon. We commend their resolve for a coordinated military campaign against ISIL. In the same spirit, we welcome the outcome of the international conference on peace and security in Iraq held on 15 September in Paris.

Thirdly, there is a critical need to ensure implementation of resolution 2170 (2014), of 15 August, and other relevant resolutions concerning the fight against terrorism. There is a lot that the international community can do, particularly this body, to stop the influx of funding, starting by the implementation of targeted sanctions. In that respect, countries of the region and beyond should also play an important role in preventing hatred and extremism and take the necessary measures to prevent religious radicalization.

Before concluding, I should note that the rapid advance of ISIL in Iraq and Syria has led to the massive displacement of more than 2 million people, requiring increased humanitarian assistance. We therefore call on the international community to provide enhanced support to the affected populations and countries.

Finally, Sir, we commend your delegation for introducing the presidential statement that was just adopted (S/PRST/2014/20). We also thank Mr. Nickolay Mladenov, Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Head of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq and the entire team in the country for their dedication to the people of Iraq in such a difficult time and environment.

**The President:** Thank you, Your Excellency, for the important reminder of the impact of inaction from 1994.

I now give the floor to Ms. Julie Bishop, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Australia.

**Ms. Bishop** (Australia): I thank you, Mr. President, for initiating this meeting today, for we must send a clear signal of the international community's strong support for Iraq.

Australia endorses the terms of presidential statement S/PRST/2014/20, which is an affirmation of

Iraqi and international efforts to combat the terrorist threat posed by the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) and to provide humanitarian relief to prevent further suffering.

The attacks by ISIL have brutalized the Iraqi population and shocked us all. Atrocities against women and girls and against vulnerable minorities and security force opponents, as well as the barbaric use and then beheading of captured journalists, an aid worker and others, to advance their depraved agenda, are utterly despicable. Who can forget the grotesque image shown around the globe of an Australian child, not more than nine years old, standing with his father, an ISIL leader, holding up the severed head of a soldier? That showed, beyond any ambiguity, the kind of hideous acts of which the group is capable.

Australia condemns absolutely ISIL and its ilk and their barbarism and their ideology. The international community cannot, with any conscience, turn away. We cannot leave the people and the Government of Iraq to face that cruelty alone.

ISIL's actions leave in no doubt the severity of the threat to the region and the wider world. It poses a threat to Australia, our friends in South-East Asia and beyond. We have seen it before — extremists and foreign fighters, returning home — responsible for terrorist attacks in our region.

Australia's security and law enforcement agencies have taken steps in recent days against a group in our country inspired by ISIL that was seeking to emulate its brutality in Australia. ISIL is a threat to the fundamental values of the international community and an affront to our shared sense of humanity.

Australia has announced its preparedness to do more to help Iraq and its partners in the fight. In cooperation with Iraq, we are deploying a military force to the region for possible involvement in a United States-led effort to support Iraq against ISIL. We are willing to provide strike, early warning and air-to-air refueling aircraft, and a special forces task group to advise and assist the Iraqi security forces. That is a prudent and proportionate response to the threat posed by that murderous terrorist organization.

Efforts to effectively end ISIL's ravages and territorial ambitions will necessarily involve measures to cut off ISIL's support network, including the flow of fighters, arms and funding. There is more we can all do. Australia is introducing legislative reforms to

address the threat from home-grown terrorism and is intensifying its counter-terrorism engagement with others. We urge other Member States to do the same.

Political measures are also needed. The formation of a new Iraqi Government is a positive step towards addressing issues that contributed to ISIL's advance. Australia supports Prime Minister Al-Abadi as he seeks to form an inclusive Government capable of rebuilding a stable and cohesive Iraq that can counter the forces of violent extremism.

The security situation in Iraq remains grave. The humanitarian needs, including of innocent women and girls in conflict zones, are multiplying. Nearly 2 million people are believed to be internally displaced. Those people are vulnerable. Their protection needs are urgent. ISIL has explicitly targeted minorities, and also women and children for sexual violence. There must be consequences for the perpetrators.

Australia will help to specifically address the needs of displaced women and girls and victims of gender-based violence and will provide a further \$2 million to help the United Nations Population Fund to scale up the delivery of reproductive and other health care. Australia has provided \$5 million in emergency humanitarian funding to Iraq, and we have undertaken air drops of emergency supplies to besieged communities on Mount Sinjar and in Amerli. We have also provided approximately \$130 million in humanitarian aid for those in dire need in Syria and have assisted Lebanon and Jordan in facing the outpouring of refugees across their borders.

The humanitarian crisis must end. The international community cannot stand by and do nothing in the face of ISIL's threat to humanity. That is why Australia is joining international partners to assist the Iraqi Government in its fight against ISIL.

**The President:** I now give the floor to His Excellency Mr. Nasser Judeh, Minister for Foreign and Expatriates Affairs of Jordan.

**Mr. Judeh (Jordan) (*spoke in Arabic*):** At the outset, allow me to express our appreciation and gratitude to the Government of the United States, represented by Secretary of State John Kerry. We would like to thank the United States for its initiative to convene and preside over this very important Security Council meeting on maintaining international peace and security.

This meeting is taking place on the basis of recent conferences and meetings, in particular the Jeddah

meeting, organized by Saudi Arabia and presided over by Prince Saud Al-Faisal, as well as the Paris meeting, presided over by the President of the French Republic, in which Mr. Laurent Fabius also participated. Those meetings sought to mobilize the necessary resources to deal with the terrorist threat and to adopt a different approach in support of the sister nation of Iraq in its clashes with the terrorists who have taken control of vast areas of Syria and Iraq. The Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant has gone beyond political and geographical borders and is now a threat not only to the political stability of the region but also to international peace and security.

Today, the world faces an imminent threat that is unprecedented in its savagery and in its capacity to take root in society and to take advantage of political and security vacuums and national unity issues within States for its own purposes for political reasons or owing to marginalization and division on religious or other grounds. That threat seeks to establish its own military and economic position and has given rise to the situation facing us today.

The situation could further deteriorate if the international community does not immediately act robustly and decisively. Resolution 2170 (2014) lays the groundwork for a comprehensive fight against all aspects of the threat, in particular foreign fighters and funding by international groups. In that context, we support the idea of a Security Council meeting on foreign fighters, to be presided over by President Obama. We also endorse the initiative of Bahrain to organize a conference to address the issue of the financing of terrorism. We also welcome the Council's adoption of presidential statement S/PRST/2014/20. I would like to thank the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for his briefing and for his efforts in that regard.

Jordan and King Abdullah II ibn Al Hussein have long warned about the possible spread of the Syrian crisis beyond its territory, in particular to Iraq. The failure of the inclusive political process in Syria and in Iraq have therefore given rise to a climate conducive to that terrorist organization, which moved from Syria to Iraq, and vice versa. That situation allowed the establishment of a network of alliances and took advantage of the vacuums and political consequences that I have mentioned. That led to its ability to control large areas of territory in Syria and Iraq. Combating the organization therefore requires an inclusive political

process in order to restore national unity among the various stakeholders in Iraqi society in line with an inclusive Iraqi ownership.

In that context, the establishment of a new Iraqi Government under the leadership of the new President is an important step. We hope that it will move forward. We support the efforts of the new Government in Iraq to fight terrorism. I would like to thank Mr. Al-Jaafari for his statement and for his briefing on the situation. Jordan stands by Iraq in its efforts to promote stability and security and to maintain its territorial integrity. We call on all Iraqi political forces to participate in an inclusive political process and in taking decisions, to preserve the unity of the Iraqi people and to promote national understanding.

In Jordan, as His Majesty the King has affirmed, we are working to help combat extremism, terrorists and their supporters and, in particular, to cut off their financial sources. We are devoting our expertise and efforts to deal with such extremism, including through our efforts in the Security Council to overcome terrorism and extremism, to promote dialogue among the various faiths and ethnic and religious groups and to encourage a better understanding of the noble religion of Islam. I would like to recall the Amman Letter, issued a decade ago, which, together with the many meetings in that context, moved us forward in that direction.

We are all concerned about the fight against extremism and in its various manifestations and affiliated groups. We participate actively in regional and international efforts to combat terrorism and to deal with extremism. Our action on the basis of Jordan's national interests and its clear and sincere position against the terrorism that targets us and has led to crimes on our territory and against our people. Restoring peace, security and stability in the sisterly nation of Iraq directly concerns our own security.

That group has committed heinous crimes against entities and parts of the very social fabric of the region. That is an important part of our society. It is dear to our hearts and has contributed to our heritage and the nation-building. Islam is innocent of such heinous crimes committed in its name. Our duty today as a region and as the international community is to take immediate measures to put an end to that cancer and to its poisonous and destructive thinking before it can spread further and before it is too late.

**The President:** I now give the floor to His Excellency Mr. Jean Asselborn, Minister of Foreign and European Affairs of Luxembourg.

**Mr. Asselborn (Luxembourg)** (*spoke in French*): I am grateful for your initiative, Mr. President, to convene this ministerial debate at a time when the support of the international community to the Iraqi authorities and to the Iraqi people is more crucial than ever. I thank Nickolay Mladenov, Special Representative of the Secretary-General, for his briefing and for his service at the helm of the United Nations Assistance Mission in Iraq (UNAMI).

I welcome the presence of Iraqi Minister for Foreign Affairs Ibrahim Al-Jaafari, whom I had the pleasure of meeting at the international reconstruction conference for Iraq in Brussels in 2005 when he was Prime Minister of Iraq. I would like to thank him for his compelling and encouraging statement and to assure him of our full support.

What has happened these past weeks is truly horrifying. We all have before us the unbearable images of victims in agony, the bodies of children lined up, thousands of people trapped, without water or food, in the desert mountains near Sinjar, and the unspeakable, barbarous beheading of the two American journalists, James Foley and Steven Sotloff, and of British humanitarian worker David Haines.

We have all witnessed the massacres and atrocities committed against civilian populations by the terrorists of the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) during the fighting in Fallujah and Ramadi, the assault on Mosul, the conquests of Zumar, Sinjar and Tal Afar and the seizure of Qaraqosh, Iraq's largest Christian city, which forced hundreds of thousands of Iraqis to flee their homes.

The violence has reached an inconceivable level, magnitude and intensity. Children as young as 15, 14 or even 13 years old are compelled by the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant to bear arms, arrest civilians and commit suicide attacks. The jihadists commit war crimes and crimes against humanity on a daily basis, including enforced disappearances, torture, sexual violence and deliberate attacks against schools and hospitals. An ethnic and religious cleansing campaign is targeting the minorities in the north of Iraq, especially the Yezidis, the Christians and the Turkmen.

In the face of those crimes, the extremism of this terrorist group, which is neither a State nor Islamic and which seeks to destabilize Iraq and the entire region, the international community must act. It must take the necessary measures to help the Iraqi authorities to fight the scourge of ISIL and to end the suffering it inflicts on men, women and children in Iraq. We know what those measures are, because we have debated them right here, in the United Nations. On 15 August, we adopted resolution 2170 (2014) to impose sanctions on ISIL and to cut off its sources of financing. Next week, in the framework of a global anti-terrorist strategy, we will adopt a new resolution to counter the threat posed by foreign terrorist fighters.

It goes without saying that we must also take security measures to counter and defeat the terrorist threat. We support the commitment of the coalition launched by the United States at the request of the Iraqi authorities and with the active support of the countries of the region. We must also step up our efforts in terms of humanitarian assistance and for the protection of civilians. We must enhance the work of the United Nations to halt the suffering of the Iraqi people. For its part, Luxembourg is providing financial support to the World Food Programme and the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to help displaced persons.

We believe that the improvement of the security situation will first and foremost depend on the progress achieved in the political sphere. The roots of the conflict will not be eradicated by force. In that regard, we welcome the inauguration of the new Iraqi Government of national unity, under the authority of Prime Minister Al-Abadi. It is now a matter of urgency to restart the national dialogue and the national reconciliation process, which are essential conditions for a return to peace and social order. Only balanced development that benefits all the ethnic and religious communities in the country will be able to eliminate the root causes of injustice, violence and terrorism.

Arab culture and civilization is being violated. Islam is being perverted from its philosophy of peace by the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant. It is essential that religious leaders continue to weigh in and promote the values and humanism of Islam.

Allow me to also highlight the mention made in passing, which is nevertheless important, of the presence of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Iran.

Indeed, Iran can and must play a positive role in the fight against extremism, whether in Iraq or Syria.

To conclude, I would like to pay tribute to the exemplary work done by the United Nations humanitarian agencies and the International Committee of the Red Cross and their personnel on the ground. I commend also the crucial activities of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq in terms of mediation and the promotion of respect for human rights, especially for people in detention and the protection of children's rights. I can assure the Council that Luxembourg, both bilaterally and through the European Union, will continue to support the consolidation of the rule of law in Iraq in order to contribute to full respect for human rights.

**The President:** I now give the floor to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of France, Mr. Laurent Fabius.

**Mr. Fabius (France)** (*spoke in French*): The terrorist group Daesh has seized control of part of Iraq and Syria. They wish to be known as the Islamic State. In reality, they are butchers. Daesh does not have the legitimacy of a State nor does it represent Islam. The Grand Imam of the Al-Azhar Mosque in Egypt did not mince his words, and rightly so, when he recently said: "they are criminals who tarnish the image of Islam and Muslims". They rape, crucify, slit throats and behead. They employ the most archaic forms of cruelty and the most modern communications technology as a grotesque means of propaganda. They seek to massacre, and they do so to not only minorities, Christians, Yazidi, Turkmen, and many others, but to all those who do not submit to them. They are flouting the rule of law and civil society. They represent a clear challenge to the international order and the founding principles that underpin the United Nations. Thus far, they have attacked Iraq after having thrived in Syria with the regime's support, but their true aim is to extend to the entire region and beyond. Let us be clear. If they could, they would want to hold us all, or almost all, at knifepoint and gunpoint. Before such a threat, there is no choice but to take action.

France, in line with its principles and tradition, has decided to shoulder its responsibilities. We did so recently to face terrorism in Mali and, in a different context, in the Central African Republic. We did so in Syria, where we were among the first to support the moderate opposition, against both Bashar Al-Assad and the terrorists. In Iraq, we have decided to once again shoulder our responsibilities by providing humanitarian



aid and military equipment and, today, answering the call by the Iraqi Government to provide air support, in compliance with international law. This morning, on the instructions the President of the Republic, French Rafale aeroplanes intervened against a warehouse occupied by the Daesh terrorists near Mosul, in north-eastern Iraq. The warehouse was completely destroyed. In the coming days, and without engaging troops on the ground, we will continue our efforts, in coordination with all those who want to commit, and in particular alongside the Iraqi armed forces and the peshmerga.

The action against Iraq in 2003 divided the Council. In 2014, in a very different context, action in favour of Iraq and against the Daesh terrorists is the common duty of us all. This fight, which has already claimed many innocent victims often under atrocious circumstances — and our heart goes out to them — will be won, first and foremost, by the Iraqis themselves. Military support is essential, but, as we have all said, it is not enough.

Iraq needs international political solidarity and internal unity. Terrorists have exploited the divisions among Iraqis and the serious frustrations of part of the population. The election of the new President Fuad Masum and the creation of the new Government by Prime Minister Haider Al-Abadi, now clears the path for common action, and we must stay the course. We support the essential process of bringing about unity in Iraq. We all believe that the success of that process will require the building of an inclusive, stable and peaceful Iraqi State. For the just cause of international solidarity, we must bring together a maximum number of countries of all orientations, faiths and sizes.

With regard to security, we know the priorities: military support to Iraq; blocking the channels of foreign combatants; and draining the financial resources of the terrorists, which are primarily derived from oil. That draining should be completely unambiguous to everyone. We will not win with force alone. We also need political support for the Iraqi authorities. As I have said before, rebuilding the State and restoring confidence among all Iraqi communities are priorities.

With regard to international humanitarian assistance, with almost 2 million displaced persons, it should be greatly increased, together with rebuilding efforts. A bridge of international solidarity towards Iraq is truly what is needed. And yet the evidence also points to the fact that the rear bases of Daesh in Syria need to be weakened specifically through powerful

support to the moderate Syrian opposition. We must act on all those fronts and quickly, because we know from experience that the cost of action dramatically increases the longer it takes us to take a decision and move to action.

The Paris conference on peace and security in Iraq held last Monday was a milestone, as was the conference in Jeddah a few days before. Today's meeting at the United Nations, whereby Secretary of State Kerry has taken the initiative in a very timely manner, is another important step. The message of France in this struggle is clear. For peace and against terrorism, we must assume our responsibilities. The Daesh murderers must be fought and beaten; only then will Iraq and the entire region find peace and security.

**The President:** I thank Laurent Fabius for an eloquent and forceful statement and, on behalf of everybody, we also thank him for the leadership of France last week. We appreciated it enormously and thank him for his literally heroic effort to be here today. We are very grateful.

I now give the floor to His Excellency Mr. Moussa Faki Mahamat, Minister for Foreign Affairs and African Integration of Chad.

**Mr. Mahamat (Chad)** (*spoke in French*): As this is the first time that I have taken the floor in this Chamber, allow me to welcome my colleagues and ministers. I would like to thank the ambassadors representing our States and the Secretary-General and those working with him on the excellent work that they do on a daily basis to maintain peace and security.

Peace and security remain dangerously threatened, in particular by terrorism. In that regard, I refer to the type of international terrorism represented by Al-Qaida, Al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb, Al-Shabaab, Boko Haram and Daesh, to mention but a few.

I would also like to thank Secretary of State John Kerry for holding this open debate, which comes at the right time, given the grave situation in which Iraq finds itself. I also take the opportunity to welcome the United States presidency of the Security Council during the month of September and I assure it of our full support. I would like to thank Mr. Nickolay Mladenov, Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Head of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq, and our colleague Ibrahim Al-Jaafari, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Iraq, for their briefings.

The political situation in Iraq is critical and has been for several months now. The political upheavals in the region, the disintegration of the States and foreign interference have exacerbated internal conflicts. For that reason, Al-Qaida and other assimilated and affiliated terrorist groups, in particular Daesh, have found fertile ground in which to spread their form of transnational jihadism, thereby threatening peace and stability in Iraq and beyond. Chad remains profoundly concerned by the prevailing climate today in Iraq following the large-scale offensives launched by Daesh, which still control localities in the country. Daesh is spreading terror and committing unparalleled atrocities in Iraq and Syria. It is a real threat, not only to those two countries, but also to the international community as a whole.

That is why Chad, which treats the fight against terrorism as a top priority, is playing its part, in particular in Mali, where it has paid and continues to pay a heavy price in the fight against terrorism. Hundreds of Chadian soldiers have fallen — five just yesterday — and dozens have been injured. We are providing our unflinching support to the United States, the States of the region, France and other partners, which are doing all they can to prevent the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant, or Daesh, from being able to cause harm.

We believe that the fight against the terrorist groups cannot be waged only through wide-scale military action. There is also and above all a need to focus on the deep-seated root causes of the Iraqi crisis. As we know, Daesh has benefitted from fertile ground, which has promoted its apparent expansion and has exploited the feelings of frustration, injustice and despair within a significant group of Iraqi society, which feels discriminated and excluded from the management of the country. Reconquering the Daesh-controlled areas in Iraq will be possible only if the Sunni issues are taken into account. Therefore, we believe it is necessary to combat Daesh politically, militarily and ideologically by integrating the local and regional complexities into the strategies of an international coalition.

With that in mind, the international community needs to support the Government of the new Prime Minister Haider Al-Abadi in order to enable him to establish an inclusive policy, breaking with the past, bringing together all Iraqis around a social project, free from the ethnicity- and sectarian-based conflict. We call on all religious and civilian sectors in Iraq to demonstrate their cohesion in order to turn a new

page in their history. Furthermore, we believe that the involvement of militias within the Government's armed forces might exacerbate intercommunity tensions and perpetuate the political polarization.

Once again, we stress the need to address the root causes of violence in Iraq and to accelerate the political process by an inclusive national dialogue in order to establish democratic governance, the rule of law, social justice and equal opportunity. The people of Iraq deserve to live in stable, prosperous and secure State where all groups, including religious and ethnic minorities, can participate in the political process and have the opportunity to develop a sense of belonging.

I would like to most firmly condemn the attacks perpetrated recently by Daesh against religious and ethnic minorities in Iraq, as well as the beheading of journalists and humanitarian workers. The authors of those hateful crimes must be found so that they can answer for their acts in court.

In conclusion, I think that in order for us to have the greatest chances of overcoming what I have called “the international terrorist”, we must act. We must act in solidarity and in a coordinated manner at all times and in all places.

**The President:** We obviously appreciate the holistic approach that Chad endorses. We all acknowledge and know that Chad understands the challenge very well.

I now give the floor to His Excellency Mr. Eduardo Zuain, Secretary of Foreign Affairs of Argentina.

**Mr. Zuain (Argentina) (*spoke in Spanish*):** I would first of all like to thank the Foreign Minister of Iraq, Mr. Ibrahim Al-Jaafari, who is with us here today, for his statement, and Special Representative of the Secretary-General Nickolay Mladenov for his briefing. I also wish to extend my appreciation to the presidency for organizing this debate, which is certainly important and timely.

We are concerned about the serious security and humanitarian situation in Iraq, which has in recent months drastically deteriorated as the terrorist organization Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) has gained ground. The transnational nature of that terrorist organization is not only a threat to Iraq, but it is also a threat to the stability of the region and the international community as a whole.

This is a welcome opportunity to express our solidarity with the Government and the people of Iraq,

with people who have been victims of attacks and their families, and with the huge number of people who have been driven from their homes and who have had to flee and seek refuge from the territorial gains and terrorist persecution. We must take advantage of today's meeting to reflect on the problems in Iraq and fundamentally discuss what should be the scope but also the limits of the effective contribution of the international community so that the Iraqis themselves can successfully overcome the difficult circumstances in which they find themselves. We are convinced that a perspective that seeks to understand the origins of the current crisis will allow us to make out the elements of a collective response that is coherent in its formulation and effective in its implementation.

From that point of view, without double standards and based on the principles governing the foreign policy of my country, I would like to make the following comments. First, ISIL is a terrorist and criminal organization. It uses military force, extreme violence and intimidation to impose terror, attacking and persecuting individuals and ethnic and religious minorities. It is also true that it is exploiting sectarian tensions and frustration which already existed in large sectors of the Iraqi population and which were never included in the political system after the fall of the Baathist regime over a decade ago.

We therefore welcome the recent formation of an inclusive Government within the terms set forth in the Constitution. That was a key step, and it offers a new opportunity for conditions to be created that would allow Iraq to successfully meet the challenges that lie ahead. We congratulate Prime Minister Al-Abadi and offer our full support as he is striving to address the difficult but essential task of satisfying demands that have been postponed and rebuilding trust among all Iraqi communities.

Secondly, there is no doubt that ISIL is a threat to the security of the region and to international security, which requires a firm response from the Security Council. Any coalition that is formed to fight ISIS must frame its actions in accordance of international law and uphold the highest standards for the protection of civilians. ISIL, which finds its origins in the turbulent years that followed the invasion suffered by the country in 2003, must not be the pretext for unilateral actions, which have shown that they generate more problems than they solved.

Resolution 2170 (2014), adopted by the Council last month, provides clear criteria and parameters for action by the international community in its fight against terrorism. It reaffirms the obligation of all States to take steps to cut off funding sources, prevent the movement of fighters and stop the supply of weapons used by terrorist organizations. That strong expression of the will of the Council must be applied quickly and without exceptions.

Thirdly, and due to its deep interconnection, the crisis that has endangered the territorial integrity of Iraq is a new and powerful call for attention to the need to find a solution to the tragedy that is destroying Syria. Just as in Iraq, where the formation of a new inclusive Government has been a vital part of the strategy to stop the spread of extremism, so it is in Syria, where finding a political solution to the conflict should be at the core of the international community's priorities. Also with respect to Syria, we must find a peaceful solution and renew our efforts, particularly in support of new Special Envoy De Mistura. We must show determination to find a way out of this situation and work with the parties, with the aim of making them to sit down at the negotiating table.

Fourthly, we recognize the role of the United Nations in coordinating the vigorous response of the international community to assist the Government of Iraq to meet the humanitarian needs of millions of Iraqis who have been displaced and affected by violence, especially the most vulnerable sectors. We are convinced that lasting peace and security in and the stability of Iraq are inseparable from sustainable social and economic development. The United Nations, through the United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq, should continue to play a central role to promote and channel cooperation of the international community in order to address the root causes of sectarian divisions, exclusion and poverty.

Finally, the scale and nature of the crimes committed by ISIL and associated armed groups that abuse human rights of innocent citizens cannot go unpunished. Therefore, the Council must take all necessary measures and make every possible effort within the framework of international law to protect members of ethnic and religious communities that are particularly vulnerable, including the Christian minority. It is essential to ensure that the perpetrators of these heinous crimes accountable for their actions

before the national and international criminal justice, for without justice there will be no lasting peace.

Iraq is a great nation, immensely rich in history and in human and natural resources. Learning from the lessons of past experience, it is up to the international community to provide all possible assistance so that the Iraqis themselves can make decisions on the path to follow, overcome this difficult period and develop their full potential. Argentina is ready to continue to support the Iraqi Government while it is building a better future for all its inhabitants.

**The President:** I thank the Secretary of Foreign Affairs for a strong measure of support and for a forceful statement. We appreciate it.

I now give the floor to His Excellency Mr. Tobias Ellwood, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Foreign and Commonwealth Office of the United Kingdom.

**Mr. Ellwood** (United Kingdom): I warmly welcome your initiative, Mr. President, in convening today's important meeting on Iraq. I thank Special Representative of the Secretary-General Mladenov and Foreign Minister Al-Jaafari for their informative briefings.

I would like to congratulate Prime Minister Haider Al-Abadi on the formation of Iraq's new Government and welcome his commitment to creating an inclusive Government that can work together to unite and secure Iraq in the fight against terrorism and in the pursuit of peace and prosperity. That is a critical first step to addressing the serious security, political and humanitarian challenges facing the country. The United Kingdom also welcomes the new Government's comprehensive programme, especially its commitments on decentralization, reform of Iraq's armed forces, dissolution of militia groupings and better delivery of services and infrastructure to the Iraqi people.

The international community must help the Government to deliver on these promises, and the Government of Iraq must also demonstrate its own unwavering commitment to delivering these reforms. It is now vital that all political blocs work together to overcome these challenges, including the threat posed by ISIL. It is essential that Iraq's neighbours, which are all threatened by ISIL's emergence, put their differences aside and work together to deal with the threat.

The creation of an extremist so-called caliphate represents a direct threat to the security and stability

of the region and to the national security of other States Members of the United Nations, including the United Kingdom. In seeking to establish its extremist State, ISIL is already aiming to use the territory it controls to launch attacks against the West, including the United Kingdom, and is clearly contributing to insecurity in the region.

We condemn ISIL's barbaric acts, including targeted killings, forced conversions, abductions, trafficking, sexual violence and sexual slavery. The callous and brutal murder a few days ago of a British aid worker, David Haines, following on from the equally appalling murders of two American journalists, underlines ISIL's ruthlessness and use of fear to retain power.

The Council has been united in its condemnation of ISIL and all it stands for. So the United Kingdom is ready to take whatever steps are necessary to deal with this threat and keep our country safe. We will be working closely with our allies and the Iraqi Government on building international support during next week's meetings.

The adoption of resolution 2170 (2014) sent a clear political message to ISIL, Al-Nusra and other Al-Qaida-inspired terrorists and has taken important practical steps to combat the threat that they pose. We strongly support the approach set out by President Obama last week, which builds on a strong international coalition working with Governments in the region and others in order to defeat the threat from ISIL. We must work together to drive back, dismantle and, ultimately, destroy ISIL for what it stands for.

We must use all the tools at our disposal — humanitarian, diplomatic, political and military — to squeeze ISIL. We must tackle its presence in both Iraq and Syria, and we will continue to support those moderate forces fighting against ISIL.

At the request of the Iraqi Government, we have provided heavy machine guns and ammunition and transported other vital equipment to help the Kurdish peshmerga defend the front line, protect civilians and push back ISIL's advances. We also continue to give priority to alleviating the humanitarian suffering of those Iraqis targeted by ISIL terrorists.

The United Kingdom has already donated \$37 million in immediate assistance to provide clean water, sanitation, essential medicine and funding for non-governmental organizations and charities. During the course of the conflict in Syria, we have also provided



\$1 billion in humanitarian aid, which is reaching all of Syria's communities, including those most at risk from ISIL.

There needs to be a comprehensive, coordinated approach with our regional allies at the forefront to tackle ISIL. As part of this, the United Kingdom will continue to be a steadfast supporter of Iraq and an active contributor to international and regional efforts to degrade and defeat ISIL and rid the world of this repugnant terrorist organization.

As others have noted today, the sustainable solution to this crisis lies in an inclusive, sovereign and democratic governance. Only a united Iraq, with a Government that has support from all of Iraq's communities, can rid Iraqi territory of ISIL and its violent ideology.

**The President:** We thank Mr. Ellwood enormously for the significant initiatives and contributions of the United Kingdom. I also congratulate him on the fact that the United Kingdom is still the United Kingdom, and we are delighted that Scotland decided to hang in there with you.

**Mr. Ellwood (United Kingdom):** Sir, it shows that the democratic process is never complete but is always ever-evolving.

**The President:** At least it evolved in the right way, correct?

**Mr. Riveros (Chile):** We, too, wish to express our gratitude for the initiative of convening this meeting, given the relevance of the issue that we are addressing here today.

On behalf of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Chile, Heraldo Muñoz, and of our Government, I am here to cast a clear vote of solidarity with Iraq and to send a message of encouragement to the Administration of Prime Minister Al-Abadi, who has shouldered the crucial task of defending the integrity of his State. He is called upon to preserve not only its freedoms but also the ethnic, religious and cultural diversity that has for millennia been one of its characteristics.

Chile has expressed its strongest condemnation of the barbaric methods used by the self-styled Islamic State to impose its violent, Manichean vision of the religion of peace and tolerance that is Islam. Its disregard for life, for freedom of religion and, in general, for the fundamental norms of civilization such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the

International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights calls for a forceful but legitimate response from the international community. Such response should come from this body, whose task it is to maintain international peace and security, in accordance with the Charter of our Organization and international law.

Iraq has always been a central power in the Middle East. Its territorial integrity and democratic viability are prerequisites for regional stability and international peace and security. That requires scrupulous respect for the constitutional and civil rights of the ethnic and religious communities that make up its social fabric.

Democratic governance in Iraq requires a Government of national unity that implements genuinely inclusive policies and presents a united front against terrorism and intolerance. That is the main task to be undertaken by the new Government, and it has our full support in that respect.

The United Nations has a duty to assist Iraq in this endeavour by putting behind its people the full weight of the collective security actions legitimized by the Charter and adopted by its membership, represented for this purpose by the Security Council, in keeping with Article 25 of the Charter.

Resolution 2170 (2014), which we unanimously adopted in August under Chapter VII and which Chile co-sponsored, is another step towards the consolidation of the counter-terrorism architecture of the multilateral system, as it provides a clear impetus for international efforts in the fight against terrorism, in particular in the Middle East, by putting into place new measures to deal with terrorist groups that are seriously affecting the security of the region.

Another part of that counter-terrorism architecture will be the draft resolution on foreign terrorist fighters to be discussed and adopted by this body on Wednesday, 24 September, at a special meeting at the level of Heads of State and Government.

The solidarity of the international community must include an effective humanitarian dimension in order to assist peoples affected by terrorism and violence. It is also vital to continue implementing the sanctions regime established by resolution 1267 (1999) against Al-Qaida and the Taliban strictly and diligently.

Chile reiterates that it is essential that any collective action against the Islamic State be sanctioned through the legitimacy conferred by conformity to the Charter

of the United Nations. We must act together, and hopefully with the Council's unanimous backing, so that the counter-terrorism efforts can rely on the firm support of world opinion. Such legitimacy will allow Iraq to integrate more smoothly into a regional and global community that needs it as a privileged partner, in order to restore peace and security in a region that has too long been battered by war, barbarity and oppression.

**Mrs. Ogwu** (Nigeria): I would like to thank you, Mr. President, for convening this important debate. I would also like to thank the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Mladenov, for his briefing.

The formation on Monday 8 September of a new, inclusive Government in Iraq was a landmark achievement in the country's political transition. At the least, it sets the stage for achieving lasting peace, stability and progress. We are encouraged by the resolve of Iraq's political leaders to overcome their differences in the higher national interest. The decision of the former Prime Minister, Mr. Nuri Al-Maliki, not to remain in office has contributed significantly to easing political tension in the country. That is a remarkable accomplishment. The decision of Kurdish leaders to set aside their demands on budget payments and oil sales in order to facilitate approval of the new Iraqi Government is also commendable. Prime Minister Haider Al-Abadi has expressed his commitment to resolving all outstanding issues with the Kurdish Regional Government. In our view, this development is an important element in giving the Kurds a sense of belonging in the new Iraq.

While some Cabinet posts have been filled by Mr. Al-Abadi, we note that the crucial positions of the Ministers of Defence and the Interior remain vacant. We hope they will be filled in due course. That is particularly important in the light of Iraq's security situation, inflamed as it is by the pestilence of the Islamic State in Iraq and the Sham (ISIS). The activities of ISIS and other terrorist groups pose a grave threat to the peace, stability and territorial integrity of Iraq. In conjunction with terrorist groups all around the world, it is a potent threat to global peace and security. ISIS is committing grave violations of human rights, war crimes and untold other atrocities. Its brutal activities are inflicting hardship and terror on the people of Iraq embroiled in the conflict. According to the United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq, a total of 1,421 Iraqis were killed and another 1,370 injured in acts of

terrorism and violence in the month of August alone. The activities of ISIS represent a grave threat not just to Iraq but to international peace and security in general.

We have said over and over again that terrorism is a global problem that requires a global solution. The situation in Iraq must not be left for Iraq to deal with alone. The world must stand together to tackle it, and that is palpable today. What is urgently needed is immediate, decisive and sustained action on the part of the international community in support of Iraq. Another significant aspect of the fight against ISIS is the importance of countering its dangerous message, which appears to be radicalizing young people all over the world and fuelling the conflict in the whole region as well as in Iraq.

In that regard, we take positive note of the leading role the Arab States are playing in repudiating the dangerous distortion of religion that ISIS propaganda attempts to spread throughout the region and the world. We welcome the declaration on fighting ISIS signed by the United States and the Arab Gulf States with Iraq, Egypt, Jordan and Lebanon. As efforts to confront and eliminate ISIS gather momentum, the international community must work in concert in order to maintain close cooperation and effective coordination in seeking our collective, common objective of ensuring a peaceful, prosperous, strong and united Iraq, once and for all free of the menace of a senseless ideology of destruction.

**Mr. Churkin** (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): We are grateful to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Nickolay Mladenov, for his briefing, and we listened with special attention to the statement made by Mr. Ibrahim Al-Jaafari, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Iraq.

Russia has consistently supported the advancement of the political process in Iraq, whose legitimate participants should include all political, ethnic and religious groups. What matters to us is a uniform and stable Iraq, actively involved in international and regional affairs. As for the parameters of the internal process, they must be agreed on by the Iraqis themselves, since it is they who are responsible for the future of their country. Imposing ready-made solutions is a futile task.

We believe that the unprecedented rise of extremist sentiment in its bloodiest form is the main threat to the region. Eradicating it through collective efforts should be a priority for the international community. However,

we should not cling to ideological approaches and double standards, dividing terrorists into bad ones who should be destroyed, and not-very-bad ones with whom we can supposedly work together for the sake of selfish national interests and regime change. We will end up in a vicious circle if we bomb fighters in one place and protect them and prepare them for growing change in another.

We must have the courage to learn from the mistakes of the past and have the decency to admit to them. After all, the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) was not instantly able to bring to bear the full potential that enabled it to bring almost almost a third of the territory of Iraq under its control. The radical Islamists' ambitions grew along with their progress in neighbouring Syria, something that was looked on with satisfaction in some capitals. But in Iraq itself a system of social and political relationships that had evolved over centuries was undermined by the stress of foreign interventions that ultimately also helped prepare fertile ground for the radicals' offensive on a grand scale. Modern terrorism knows no boundaries and spreads like a metastatic cancer. The extremist network that is snaking through the planet today is not limited to loathsome organizations such as ISIL or Jabhat Al-Nusra that are on the Security Council's sanctions lists. We are dealing with a unified yet many-headed opponent, and fighting it demands the strategic thinking and action of a genuinely united front.

In order to establish a truly broad international coalition, any action aimed at combating the threat of ISIL and groups like it must be carried out in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the standards of international law, based on existing anti-terrorism instruments of the United Nations, and in close cooperation with the Governments of the region. An international anti-terrorist operation should be conducted either with the consent of the sovereign Governments or sanctioned by the Security Council. We consider other options to be unlawful and detrimental to international and regional stability.

It is vital that we act with extreme caution and evaluate the possible consequences for the countries of the region and the civilian population. The publicly expressed intentions to strike ISIL's positions on Syrian territory without the cooperation of the Government in Damascus are extremely disturbing. That would not only be a gross violation of the fundamental norms of international law, but could also have destructive

practical consequences, including for the humanitarian situation in Syria. It is extremely dangerous to contemplate the possibility that the fight against ISIL in Syria could involve the so-called moderate opposition, which is well armed. We should remember that ISIL has achieved much of its military success thanks to seized United States weapons that had been provided to that country.

In order to effectively combat such a serious global challenge and to find long-term solutions, we need to address the underlying causes. We propose to hold in the Security Council a brainstorming meeting to discuss terrorism and extremism throughout the Middle East and North Africa and to develop an appropriate format for such an endeavour. In the meantime, all members of the international community must ensure that they completely eliminate all forms of foreign support to terrorist groups, which will not survive for long on the funds they rob from banks, or with the arms they steal from the population. We can cut off such channels, including the illegal oil trade, if we approach the situation responsibly. At the same time, we need to take steps to counter the radicalization of public opinion and the ideology of violent extremism and terror. We also need to step up the fight against terrorism at the national level and establish an inter-State exchange of relevant information.

The Security Council recently adopted a number of useful measures, including sanctions. There is additional capacity in the Committee pursuant to resolutions 1267 (1999) and 1989 (2011) concerning Al-Qaida and associated individuals and entities. All those instruments must work as a single coherent mechanism. The Russian Federation is actively engaged in helping the Iraqi Government in its fight against the terrorist threat and stands ready to be constructively engaged in developing further measures to combat that shared scourge.

**Mr. Liu Jieyi** (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): At the outset, I would like to thank the United States for its initiative to convene today's meeting of the Security Council, which I hope will help forge international consensus in order to assist Iraq in confronting the grave challenges before us.

China has listened attentively to the briefing by Special Representative of the Secretary-General Mladenov. We also welcome the presence of Foreign Minister Al-Jaafari of Iraq and his statement earlier in the meeting.

The situation in Iraq poses a serious threat to international peace and security, which is of great concern to China. We care deeply about the security and welfare of the people of Iraq and we firmly support the efforts to safeguard the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Iraq. We also support Iraq's efforts to restore its security and stability and to achieve development and prosperity. The international community should step up its solidarity and coordination in order to move the Iraqi situation in a favourable direction. We would like to emphasize several points.

First, the international community should support Iraq in continuing to further its process of political reconciliation. We are heartened by the successful formation of a new Iraqi Government, an important milestone in that country's political process that creates the necessary conditions for the Iraqi people to focus their energy on responding to the security challenges they face and on promoting economic and social development. We hope that the Iraqi factions will continue to accord priority to the State as a whole and to the Iraqi people and their stability. We also hope that they will continue to push ahead with their political dialogue and reconciliation process, beef up their military and security capabilities and continue to advance reform and reconstruction. The international community should shoulder its responsibility and provide constructive help to the new Government in Iraq. In particular, there should be increased humanitarian assistance, along with greater efforts to alleviate the suffering of the Iraqi people and help Iraq break the vicious cycle of poverty, extremism and violence.

Secondly, the international community should unite to help Iraq combat terrorism. We are deeply saddened by the great suffering that terrorism has inflicted on the Iraqi people. There is no good or bad terrorism. Wherever and whenever it occurs, and whoever commits it, terrorism should invariably be firmly opposed. In its pursuit of international counter-terrorism cooperation, the international community should respect the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the countries concerned. It should abide by the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the basic norms that govern international relations, while fully observing the leading roles of the United Nations and the Security Council. At the same time, it should adhere to consistent standards with regard to both the symptoms and their remedies.

The international community should closely track the new features of terrorism against the backdrop of new means of modern information. It should come up with new means of thinking and new measures designed to sever the three channels — namely, the spread of terror via the Internet, the cross-border movement of terrorists and the covert financing of terrorism in order to minimize the breathing space for terrorism. Meanwhile, terrorism should not be linked to specific nations or religions.

Thirdly, the international community should recognize the important interplay between the Iraqi question and other hotspot issues in West Asia and North Africa, through strengthened, integrated management. For some time, hotspot issues in those regions have been popping up in interwoven upheavals, and the conflicts among nations, ethnic groups, religious groups and religious sects have been acute. The international community should take into full account the unique historical and cultural traditions of those regions and should proceed based on the fundamental interests of the peoples and countries of those areas through the peaceful resolution of disputes. The international community should also support the independent search by the countries of the region for the paths and models best suited to their national conditions and their people's aspirations for orderly transformation and development in order to create the fundamental conditions for lasting peace and security in those regions. China supports Iraq and other countries of the region in strengthening their unity and cooperation and in promoting their common unity with a view to their common development.

China is a sincere friend of the Iraqi people, and we have been actively engaged in the peaceful reconstruction of the country. China will continue its cooperation with Iraq in various fields in order to bring more real benefits to the Iraqi people. We will continue to provide Iraq with additional humanitarian assistance as needed and to support Iraq in its counter-terrorism efforts. We stand ready to join the international community in making unremitting efforts for the early achievement of peace and security in Iraq and for the early return of the Iraqi people to a peaceful and better life.

**Ms. Murmokaitė** (Lithuania): I thank you, Sir, for convening this critical meeting. Let me also thank Iraq's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Al-Jaafari, for his statement, and Special Representative of the Secretary-General Nikolay Mladenov for his insightful briefing and dedicated work.



A united and democratic Iraq within the internationally recognized borders, with a viable, inclusive and representative Government, where the interests of all the groups and components of the society are taken into account, is the only antidote to the murderous ideology of the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (ISIL), which is threatening the very existence of Iraq as we know it today.

Muslims, Kurds, Turkmen: no one is safe where ISIL sets foot. Yazidis, Shabaks and Christians, who have been part and parcel of Iraq's unique heritage, are persecuted, forced to convert and brutally executed. Mass rapes, sexual violence and horrific abuses of women and children are routine. Destruction, displacement and death: such is the daily reality for millions of Iraqis as ISIL seeks to expand its hideous hold.

It is against that horrific background of ISIL's devastating onslaught that the new Government of Iraq must tackle the multiple challenges facing the country today. The solidarity and support of the international community — for the Iraqi people have shown exemplary resilience even in the worst of times — could not be more important.

We warmly welcome the formation of an inclusive Government under the leadership of Mr. Haider Al-Abadi. As it juggles the multiple challenges and tasks, it is essential that it should avoid the mistakes of the past that have placed Iraq's people, as well as the country's unity and territorial integrity, at grave risk. The sectarianism and divisiveness of the past must be overcome and give way to a genuine and credible process of reconciliation. Real inclusiveness and representation of various social, political, religious and ethnic groups must be guaranteed. Women, youth and civil society, all vital assets for the development and future prosperity of the country, must have an equal say in the decision-making. Strengthening good governance, accountability and the rule of law and resolving existing problems of revenue- and wealth-sharing must be tackled head on, in a fair and inclusive manner. The strengthening of the armed and security forces, including the Kurdish Peshmerga, remains a key priority.

The humanitarian crisis must also be urgently addressed. Sustained humanitarian assistance by the international community is vital for saving lives and addressing the urgent needs of a stricken population. Lithuania has contributed to humanitarian efforts

through relevant European Union multilateral aid mechanisms. Today, my country's council decided on a national contribution to be executed through UNICEF, which will be transferred shortly.

The international community must stand firmly with Iraq by providing the necessary economic, financial and military support. The recent international conference in Paris and the meeting in Jeddah of Gulf Cooperation Council members and regional States should act as a catalyst for long-term assistance to, and a renewed focus on, Iraq.

The United Nations and the United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq have stood with the people of Iraq through good and bad. Their engagement with the newly elected Government on a whole range of needs and concerns remains critical. The United Nations counter-terrorism bodies have an important role to play by assisting Iraq through demand-based capacity-building, the improvement of counter-terrorism legislation and the sharing of best practices on counter-terrorism and deradicalization.

Those latter measures are particularly important in order to counter the terrorism onslaught. At the same time, brainwashed fanatics and deadly adventure-seekers from far beyond Iraq's borders, duped by the extreme apocalyptic ideology of the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (ISIL), are joining its ranks, fighting against the nation they know little about in the name of a faith they do not know. The issue of foreign terrorist fighters demands our most resolute action. In that respect, we consider very timely the holding next week of a Heads of State meeting by the Security Council on this important matter.

In conclusion, to assist Iraq in the face of an existential threat, the international community must act as one to counter the spread of terrorism and the likes of ISIL, and we appreciate their dedicated efforts in that respect. At the same time, let us remember that winning against terrorist threats cannot be done without winning the hearts and minds of the Iraqi people.

The new Government of Iraq must restore the trust of all Iraqis in their rich regional, ethnic and religious diversity — men and women, young and old people alike. They must be able to stand firm and fight for their security, dignity and rights on the basis of the rule of law, genuine equality, inclusiveness and justice. I am pleased to hear, as Special Representative Mladenov mentioned earlier today, about the important steps

taken already by the Prime Minister in that respect, which we warmly welcome.

Finally, we welcome the adoption of today's presidential statement (S/PRST/2014/20), and we affirm our readiness to work closely with our partners in the international coalition for the future of Iraq.

**Mr. Oh Joon** (Republic of Korea): The Republic of Korea appreciates the United States delegation's initiative in convening this important debate, as well as the fact that you, Sir, are personally presiding over this meeting. We would like to welcome Foreign Minister Al-Jaafari of Iraq and to thank him for his remarks. We also wish to thank Special Representative Mladenov for his briefing.

The Republic of Korea is gravely concerned about the situation in Iraq and strongly condemns the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) and other terrorist organizations for their criminal acts of terrorism. ISIL's outrageous chain of violence in the form of killing, kidnapping, raping and torturing innocent civilians must be stopped.

Having lost our own citizens to such cowardly acts in the past, we believe that those responsible for such heinous crimes should be brought to justice by any means and as soon as possible. We are also deeply concerned by the worsening humanitarian situation in Iraq. Millions of Iraqi people, including women and children, are suffering from the scourge of the conflict, and tens of thousands are displaced.

In that regard, we pay tribute to the devoted work of humanitarian organizations, including the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, the World Food Programme, the International Organization for Migration and the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies. Nonetheless, even in such dire circumstances, we believe in the imperishable spirit of the Iraqi people and in the collective strength of the international community. The people of Iraq have made their choice. Their choice is the path towards peace, democracy and the reconstruction of Iraq.

The Republic of Korea welcomes and strongly supports the new Iraqi Government. We are encouraged to know that the new Government in Iraq is committed to strengthening Iraq's nascent democratic institutions, addressing deep-rooted issues through dialogue and standing firm against the spread of terrorism. With a view to assisting the people and the Government of

Iraq, the Republic of Korea has given \$1.2 million in humanitarian assistance so far and plans to make a larger contribution in the near future.

In Syria, we have recently pledged \$5 million more in humanitarian aid, bringing the total to \$11 million.

While we continue to hope for a better future through such international support, we are also conscious that no help from outside can replace ownership by the Iraqi people of their future. The inclusive leadership of the Iraqi Government is a sign of concern for the unity of all Iraqi people. The future of Iraq — the future of any society, for that matter — cannot and should not be shaped by ideological extremism. It should be the common yearning of the people for safety, stability and prosperity that moves society forward. The people of Iraq have made the right choice in their stance against ISIL. The Security Council should strengthen its support for their fight. We believe that the voices heard today will bear fruit in the form of a robust international commitment to assist Iraq.

Last but not least, we fully support Special Representative Mladenov and all the staff of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq and commend their dedication to fulfilment of their mission.

**The President:** Before we hear from other invited speakers, I want to quickly offer a word.

It is well known that an essential requirement of being engaged in diplomacy is patience. I want to particularly thank all the Ministers who have come here in response to the invitation today. They have displayed extraordinary patience in sitting through the meeting thus far, and there are many more speakers to come. I think the importance of that fact makes its own statement: that so many feel compelled to take part and to express publicly their feelings about what is happening in Iraq and Syria and the region and how compelling it is that we all must act. I want to again say thank you to all of my fellow Ministers who have sat patiently thus far and who are participating through this afternoon.

It is now my pleasure to give the floor to His Excellency Mr. Frank-Walter Steinmeier, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Germany.

**Mr. Steinmeier** (Germany): I thank you, Mr. President, for convening this meeting and for inviting non-members of the Security Council to participate.

In Syria and Iraq, we are witnessing the return of barbarism. We are faced with an enemy that is not only a threat for Iraq or Syria or the Middle East, but a threat to all of us. We need to act. Fortunately, the international community has heard the call in Newport, Jeddah and Paris. Nations have met to confront the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) together. The Security Council consolidated the international alliance against this brutal enemy that is violating the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and violating humankind itself.

Next week, under our chairmanship, we will discuss joint action against ISIL among the Foreign Ministers of the Group of Seven (G-7), as well as at the G-7 Deauville Partnership meeting of Foreign Ministers. This is what I think we need to do.

First of all, we continue to need humanitarian aid. We need to alleviate the suffering of hundreds of thousands of refugees and internally displaced persons. I would like to thank the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs and other United Nations agencies for their hard work. Germany has so far provided \$65 million for humanitarian aid and shelter. I visited Erbil a few weeks ago and I was shocked by the dire situation of refugees. Now, with winter approaching, we must work even harder to provide shelter for those who have fled ISIL attacks.

Humanitarian aid is necessary, but it is not sufficient to stop the violence. That is why the German Government decided to provide the Kurdish security forces with weapons, ammunition and equipment, as well as training, which we are of course undertaking in close coordination with the Government in Baghdad. However, even humanitarian and military assistance will be futile if we lack a broader strategy against ISIL — a strategy that incorporates the necessary military means and tools into a political strategy. What are the aspects of such a strategy?

First, we have supported the formation of a new Government in Iraq, which includes all ethnic, religious and political groups. I wish Prime Minister Haider Al-Abadi, who has our full support, every success. I also welcome presidential statement S/PRST/2014/20, which was adopted today, as proof of the great support from all around the world, far beyond the Middle East region.

Secondly, the battle ground in Syria is different from the one in Iraq, and is even more complex.

Germany will continue to strengthen moderate voices and structures — they are, from my point of view, the only alternative to dictatorship and terrorism. We are grateful for the ongoing efforts of the United Nations to explore the basis for a political solution. We must coordinate our engagement very closely with United Nations institutions. We hope that the Secretary-General's Envoy for Syria, Staffan de Mistura, will bring new ideas, and hopefully a new approach, because we cannot allow ourselves to fail again, perhaps in the third round of the Geneva process.

Today we are justified in focusing on Iraq and Syria, but we should not forget that some of the neighbouring States are bearing a huge burden. To ease the hardship of Syrian refugees and the strain on Syria's neighbours, I will host a conference, together with the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, in Berlin on 28 October. The goal of the conference is to increase support for the countries most affected by refugee flows from Syria, namely, Lebanon and Jordan, but also Iraq and Turkey.

Thirdly, we need to stop the flow of foreign fighters and financing to ISIL. The Security Council will take further action in that regard. We welcome the planned draft resolution on foreign terrorist fighters. Yesterday, I met my new colleague from Turkey, and we agreed to cooperate very closely, especially in the security sector.

Today we are worried about the latest news after the ISIS attack on the Syrian city of Ayn Al-Arab and surrounding villages. Again people had to escape.

History has shown that challenges as large as this can only be solved together. Germany is willing to do its share and to work together. I hope that all sides, especially in the region, will lend their active support as well. If we come together on this, we will reach a new level of cooperation, and we will succeed.

**The President:** Thank you very much, Frank-Walter. I appreciate your leadership and efforts. We look forward to that conference and its resulting benefits.

I now have the pleasure of giving the floor to His Excellency Mr. Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Turkey.

**Mr. Çavuşoğlu (Turkey):** Let me begin by expressing our appreciation to the United States and to you personally, Secretary Kerry, for organizing this important meeting on Iraq. I hope that our meeting today will add value to our previous discussions in Newport, Jeddah and Paris.

Obviously, Iraq is facing the most severe crisis in its recent history. The ongoing conflict in Syria, together with misguided policies and practices of the former Government in Baghdad, has created a perfect environment for extremist and terrorist groups to carry out their despicable objectives. Therefore, our priorities should be to devise policies and plans of action to change this environment. We need engagement within Iraq, as well as international cooperation, to achieve that aim. That is why we have been convening so frequently. However, if these meetings fail to make a difference in the daily lives of the Iraqi nation, we may risk losing our credibility.

I can see that there is broad agreement on the need to devise and implement a comprehensive and integrated strategy that embraces political, security and humanitarian elements. In the political field, we have to ensure that every component of the nation is properly represented and has a meaningful role in the decision-making process. Iraq has made a promising start to that end with the formation of the new Government under Prime Minister Al-Abadi, but they have a long and thorny road ahead. The challenges are real and complex. The new Iraqi Government needs to reverse the deteriorating security situation, overcome the long-lasting ethnic and sectarian divisions and embrace all segments of the Iraqi society. Our engagement and support to that process should therefore be a long-term one.

Sustained international support to Iraq in the security field should be another component of the strategy. That requires an organized and coordinated flow of military equipment and an effort to help build the defence infrastructure of Iraq. We shall guide and support Iraq towards a future where it will be able to defend itself. Restructuring the army and other security organizations on a national basis should be an indispensable part of those efforts. Neither the army nor other State structures should be an instrument of ethnic or sectarian groups. Unfortunately, that is something that extremists and terrorist groups have greatly exploited.

The third point I should like to highlight is the need to redouble our humanitarian efforts. We have been doing our best since the beginning of the crisis, and we appreciate the help provided by many countries present here. Turkey's ongoing humanitarian support has alleviated the suffering of thousands of Iraqis from various ethnic and religious backgrounds. We are also

setting up three camps in northern Iraq, with a total capacity of 35,000 people. Furthermore, as of today, we are hosting 38,000 Yazidis who sought refuge in Turkey. Yesterday alone, we provided sanctuary to more than 10,000 — I emphasize that number — Syrian Kurds who had to run away from the ISIS advance in Kobane, Syria.

Certainly, more has to be done. We call upon the relevant United Nations agencies, as well as experienced non-governmental organizations, to coordinate all those efforts.

Let me also underline a very important factor in all those efforts. It is imperative to treat Syria and Iraq as a single theatre of action for the success of our strategy. Ignoring Syria in this struggle would not help bring about a lasting solution to the challenges we face today. The Syrian regime is the patron of extremism. Its policies based on sectarianism and ethnic divisions trigger further instability and threaten the wider region. As long as the regime remains in Damascus, stability can neither be achieved in Syria nor in the region. The only way of achieving stability and security is through a political solution based on the Geneva declaration. A genuine political transition in Syria is therefore a must.

Before concluding, I would like to emphasize once again Turkey's full support for Iraq in efforts to build a better political environment that is free of extremism, and thus to fight more effectively against terrorism. We act in close coordination with our allies and friends to that end. All of those efforts to create a stable Iraq can be more effective with increased international collaboration. We are ready to further deepen our engagement with our partners with the aim of bringing peace and stability to the region and in the fight against extremism and terrorism.

**The President:** We appreciate Turkey's efforts and also, obviously, the comments about Syria as a front-line border State. As Mr. Frank-Walter Steinmeier said, Turkey's efforts will be critical. We look forward to working with your country.

I now give the floor to His Excellency Mr. José Manuel García Margallo, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Spain.

**Mr. García Margallo (Spain) (*spoke in Spanish*):** First of all, allow me to thank you, Mr. President, for convening this debate and for the invitation to participate to address the grave threats currently faced by Iraq — and not only Iraq.



Jihadist terrorism poses a threat to the entire international community. Spain knows that well through its own experience. It is the duty of the Security Council to provide a resolute and effective response to a threat that concerns all of us. We therefore commend the members of the Council on today's adoption of presidential statement S/PRST/2014/20, which Spain fully endorses.

At this historic moment, we cannot remain impassive before the systematic elimination of entire communities and religious minorities and the ruthless murders of hostages such as James Foley, Steven Sotloff and David Haines, the abject cruelty of which is shocking. The perpetrators of those crimes must be brought to justice.

Experience teaches us that an efficient fight against jihadist terrorism must be based on three essential elements. First, all international interventions should be carried out in accordance with the principles that inspire the Charter of the United Nations and respect for international law. The Security Council has already taken a very important step in adopting resolution 2170 (2014), which makes unequivocally clear the will to act against the terrorist groups Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) and the Nusra Front. The resolution provides legitimacy beyond any question. It introduces important elements such as the prosecution of foreign terrorist fighters and the need for the close cooperation of States to prevent recruitment. Spain trusts that the Council will take another significant step in that direction in the upcoming debate next week on foreign terrorist fighters. Spain is currently working to reform its penal code to categorize as a crime of terrorism the participation of radicals in foreign conflicts.

Secondly, the international community must respond to the request of the legitimate Government of Iraq. Prime Minister Al-Abadi has managed to form an inclusive Government. We must support him in strengthening Iraq's sovereignty and territorial integrity based on solid, participatory institutions. That condition is a *sine qua non* in the efforts to join forces and goodwill in the fight against the terrorist group that calls itself the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria.

Finally, we must adopt a strategy based on a broad consensus among all regional and international actors. A very important first step towards such a coalition was taken at the Paris conference held on 15 September, in which I was honoured to participate.

The Kingdom of Spain, which maintains close friendship ties with the Iraqi people, assumes its responsibility in this joint endeavour. We intend to assist the Iraqis on their path — which is now threatened — towards democracy, stability, prosperity and peace.

We must strengthen efforts in preventive diplomacy, political dialogue and building institutional capacity. Initiatives such as the Alliance of Civilians and Mediation in the Mediterranean — which Spain leads — are examples of that approach. With regard to dialogue, my country has convened meetings with the moderate Syrian opposition and will convene others in future.

As an example of strengthening institutions, we highlight our programme called "Masar" — Arabic for "path" — to support transition in the Arab world. With the same goal and to confront the jihadist threat in northern Africa, on 17 September Spain hosted a conference on stability and development in Libya.

To date, the Spanish Government has contributed significant sums towards helping meet the needs of the Iraqi people. We will continue such efforts in future. Furthermore, we wish to address the following issues with regard to that joint undertaking.

First, we will support operations by providing the use of Spanish bases; support and participate in strategic transportation efforts; contribute capacity, including air support, leadership, security and intelligence; participate in advising and standing up military units, in keeping with the priorities of the Iraqi military; and facilitate the supply of military equipment to the legitimate Government of Iraq.

The sophistication and the growing strength of jihadist terrorism places us before a very demanding, long-term challenge. There is no place for shortcuts or discouragement. We must fight with intelligence and perseverance. Above all, we must remain united and act together. The people and the Government of Iraq and the international community can count on Spain's full willingness and experience on behalf of this just cause.

**The President:** I thank Mr. García Margallo very much, in particular for the important commitments he articulated. They are very welcome and important.

I now give the floor to His Excellency Mr. Børge Brende, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Norway.

**Mr. Brende** (Norway): I thank you, President, for your leadership and for convening this important meeting.

The Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) has shocked the world with its rapid advance, public executions and other barbaric acts. ISIL is now not only a threat to Iraq and Syria, it is also a threat to the wider region and to the rest of the world. There is an urgent need to confront that threat. It is time for us to collectively stand up against ISIL. Together we can — and must — stop ISIL.

This debate is a promising sign that the Security Council will live up to its mandate to maintain international peace and security. I am encouraged by the common purpose that I see evolving here today, that we saw in Paris on Monday and also during the meeting in Jeddah. The unity and urgency expressed in presidential statement S/PRST/2014/20 sends a clear message. Iraq's neighbours and the rest of the world stand together with the people of Iraq, and we are acting now.

I am encouraged by the formation of Prime Minister Al-Abadi's cabinet. I am pleased that the Foreign Minister is here with us. During my recent visit to Baghdad, I stressed the fundamental importance of sharing power. People living in the conflict-ridden areas must feel that there has been a political shift and that they finally have a Government that offers hope and opportunities.

Equally, the country needs the broad and inclusive support of the region and the rest of the international community. Iraq and the countries in the region must have a leading role in driving ISIL back. Peace and respect for humanitarian rights are absolute preconditions for prosperity, development and security. Let us dismantle the arguments of those extremists who have fuelled ethnic and religious antipathies or have even created them. Let us work patiently to increase understanding and tolerance among groups. Extremism and terrorism must be fought on the ground, in the courts, in classrooms, in Parliaments, on the Internet and on the humanitarian front.

Norway will therefore continue to be one of the main humanitarian contributors in Iraq and in Syria. So far this year, we have provided \$75 million to the Syrian crisis and \$30 million to Iraq. Today, I announce an additional \$10 million to alleviate the suffering of the people of all communities who have fled the

violence caused by ISIL and other groups in Iraq and Syria. Furthermore, Norway is ready to send military planning officers to assist the international fight against ISIL in Iraq. We will also consider further contributions to build military capacity. Progress in Iraq will depend heavily on a move towards a political solution in Syria.

In order to succeed, we need a Security Council that is committed and united. Without agreement in the Chamber, the Syrian people cannot be protected and the destruction of Syrian society cannot be stopped. There is an urgent need to stop the advance of ISIL and to start the long-term work needed to eradicate the roots that allow such groups to exist. That work has begun in Iraq and in the region. It has begun in the Security Council, whose mission is to be the guardian of the peace and security of all nations. We all stand by the people of Iraq.

**The President:** I now give the floor to His Excellency Mr. John Baird, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Canada.

**Mr. Baird** (Canada): I am grateful for the leadership of the United States and for the tremendous amount of hard work that you, Mr. President, have put into that challenge.

I do not need to explain to participants the impact that the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) is having in Iraq and Syria. I do not need to persuade them that ISIL is evil. The question that we must answer today is how do we, as an international community of civilized nations, face this dangerous and nihilistic force? I believe not only that is terrorism the greatest challenge of our generation but also that we need to face up to a new generation of terrorism. ISIL is more of a terrorist army than the traditional image of an isolated cell of extremists. It is the toxic mix of medieval ideology with modern weaponry.

With that unusually high capability comes great arrogance and a sense of invincibility. They do not need to hide their vile acts. In fact, they bask in them and exploit the Internet to try and give themselves a disproportionate impact. They think that the more brutal that they are, the more cowed we will be. They are wrong. They wanted attention, and now they have it. It is time to show them that they are more vulnerable than they realize. We must also reject their world view wherever we find it.

Sadly, their extremist ideology and bloodthirsty methods are shared by a growing number of other

groups and individuals around the world. I visited Iraq for myself just a few weeks ago. I talked to a Christian family who had five minutes' notice to flee their traditional home after neighbours told ISIL fighters about their religion. Such rejection of religious freedom and the severing of long-standing bonds and shared history are not humanity. They represent the law of the jungle. No nation-State condones ISIL. However, as I stated in Paris earlier this week, it is not somebody else's problem. We must work together to each of our strengths and abilities.

For Canada's part, we are supporting Iraqi forces in the front line against ISIL with the deployment of advisers and the delivery of equipment. We are also funding regional efforts to stem the flow of foreign fighters. We welcome the leadership of Shaikh Khalid Al-Khalifa of Bahrain to work to cut off the finances of ISIL. That has our full and active support. We are, of course, assisting with urgent humanitarian efforts. As Valerie Amos has reminded us, much more help will be required from us all. That includes, in particular, efforts to combat sexual violence in conflict.

There is no question that ISIL and like-minded groups are a real danger to global stability and security. Such terrorists have talked openly about wanting to establish a caliphate from India to southern Spain. They stretch their delusional fantasies across generations and across borders. To confront them, we must rely on the forces that have shaped human history. We must defend the firm and unyielding principles of human liberty and dignity that have withstood the tests of fascism and communism, and now terrorism. That is the test facing us today. We cannot afford to fail.

**The President:** I now give the floor to Her Excellency Ms. Federica Mogherini, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Italy.

**Ms. Mogherini (Italy):** I thank you, Madam President, for having convened this meeting and the United States Government for the initiative. I would also like to thank Nickolay Mladenov for the work that he is leading in Iraq for the United Nations. I would especially like to thank Minsiter Al-Jaafari for the work that the Government in Baghdad is doing and also for reminding us earlier in the meeting that the war declared by the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) is against all Iraqi people. I think that that is why the Iraqi decision to form a national unity Government and to work in an inclusive way to respond to the threat in order to restore the country's unity needs and

deserves our full support in coordination with the Iraqi authorities and the Government in Baghdad.

Let me also say that we particularly appreciate today's initiative and the adoption of presidential statement S/PRST/2014/20. That helps and contributes to the provision of a global United Nations framework that is necessary for such a partnership to be internationally recognized as one that is not primarily military but mainly seeks to respond comprehensively to a threat that faces us all.

Italy has been present from the very first days of the outbreak of the crisis. We participated in the middle of August in Baghdad and in Erbil with the visit of Prime Minister Renzi. We have promoted a European Union common framework for a response to the crisis, requesting the convening of a meeting of the Council of the European Union, which was held on 15 August.

On 20 August, we decided through a parliamentary vote on our own contribution, first of all, to humanitarian aid. We sent six flights of such aid. We have contributed through multilateral channels, the World Health Organization, the World Food Programme and UNICEF. We also decided on military support. Two other flights are arriving tomorrow, bringing arms and ammunition. In total for this month, we will send 18 flights of arms and ammunition to Erbil through Baghdad. But we are ready and willing to do more, in particular in terms of training, advice, logistics support and air refuelling if necessary. We have done that working closely with the Iraqi Government and the regional authorities of Kurdistan, because we know very well that our most precious and valuable contribution is and will be the political support that we can give to the Iraqi Government in its work for inclusiveness and to the unity of the country.

We also believe that all our efforts should be and should stay focused on full, positive and coordinated involvement of all actors in the region. I welcome the presence here today of the ministers of many countries, including His Excellency Mr. Zarif, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Islamic Republic of Iran. We believe and have believed from the very beginning that Iran can and — we are confident — will play a positive role against ISIL.

We need an integrated approach, first of all to defined a common strategy to face the crisis in Syria. Here, I would recall the words that Frank-Walter Steinmeier used: that we should take advantage of the

work that the Special Envoy of the Secretary-General, Staffan de Mistura, has started to do these days. I think we need to coordinate and have a common approach. We need a common strategy to prevent and stop foreign fighters, and that is going to be at the centre of our work next week. We need a common effort to stop the financial flows supporting ISIL activities, and here I value in particular the initiative from Bahrain. We need to work with and in support of countries that are hosting immense flows of refugees, primarily Lebanon and Jordan, and ensure that the social pressure does not become an internal factor that will destabilize those countries and thus the region.

We need to unite forces. A global threat requires a global response. We need to make it very clear: this is not a coalition of the West against Islam. On the contrary, it is a global partnership in support of Iraq and all Iraqi people, whether Muslim, Sunni, Shia, Christian, Yazidi or others, against a terrorist organization.

**The President:** I now give the floor to His Excellency Mr. Franciscus Timmermans, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands.

**Mr. Timmermans** (Netherlands): Today, the subject of the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) is brought before the Council once again. I want to thank the United States for taking this timely and important initiative.

It is a hopeful sight to see this many nations represented in this Chamber. Today, we gather with a rare unity of purpose. The brutality of ISIL shocks and disturbs us all. The violence it inflicts on the people of Iraq and Syria and the wider region deeply offends our shared values and our common humanity. Acts too gruesome to fathom, with no place in any religion, continue to profoundly vex us. Minorities are executed for the crime of being different. Women and children are raped and enslaved and remain the most vulnerable victims in this conflict. Those agents of death and destruction thrive on local fear, national sectarianism and international apathy.

Too long have we stood on the sidelines of unacceptable violence in the region. We witnessed inaction in the Security Council that made us bystanders to the horrors committed in Syria over the past three and a half years, a fact the most recent report by the Independent International Commission of Inquiry on Syria reminds us of once more. We should not ignore the killing of over 190,000 people in Syria; inaction

leads parties to operate with impunity and nourishes the violence that has consumed both Syria and Iraq. Now, when we are faced by a global enemy, which is active across borders, a great responsibility lies upon this global Organization, the United Nations.

Too long, moreover, has Iraq been devoid of unity. Herein lies a pivotal role for the new Iraqi Government. The first steps we have seen are in the right direction, and I thank the Iraqi Government for that. I strongly encourage them to maintain a credible, inclusive course all the way. The justified grievances of Sunni Arab populations should be addressed if we want to achieve a durable solution. Too long have people in Iraq and Syria lived in fear, while only the absence of such fear can bring them the peace they so deserve.

If we want to defeat the obscurantist, nihilistic ideology embodied by ISIL, a holistic approach will be necessary. Military steps are necessary, but not sufficient. We will need to invest in security, justice and long-term political stability, with a key role for women, and in accountability for those who have committed their heinous crimes. They need to be brought to justice, preferably in Iraq or, if not, in the International Criminal Court. We have to go beyond the borders that ISIL has rendered futile. ISIL cannot be defeated in Iraq alone and should be confronted in Syria as well.

ISIL constitutes a direct and imminent threat to the region and countries around the globe, including mine. ISIL is an insult to humanity, and it is mind-boggling to see young people in my country, young men and women, being attracted to that nihilistic ideology. It is mind-boggling to see, this summer in the streets of The Hague, a young boy of 10 years old wearing the national soccer jersey of the Netherlands and waving the black ISIL flag. How is that possible? How did that happen in our societies? What went wrong? So what we confront is not just the terrorists in Iraq and Syria. We also confront an ideology that is destroying part of the best people we have — our youth. So much is at stake.

Earlier today, Turkey opened up its border to refugees from Kobani, Iraq. I really want to praise Turkey for its display of humanity and underline the importance of regional cooperation and more efforts. We will contribute to looking after the refugees in that region as well.

Today, the Netherlands renews its support for the international fight against ISIL. We welcome the participation of our regional partners in that effort, as well as the recent outcomes of Jeddah, Saudi Arabia,



and Paris. The Netherlands supports the Iraqi and Syrian people with humanitarian, political and security aid and is actively considering a military contribution as well.

**The President:** Let me say that we all join in congratulating Mr. Timmermans on the new role that he will be playing. We are glad his passion and eloquence are going to be continuing to fight for the principles that bring him here.

I now give the floor to His Excellency Mr. Sameh Hassan Shokry Selim, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Egypt. I want to thank Mr. Selim for his significant efforts in the past months on a number of different fronts. We truly appreciate Egypt's leadership on the ceasefire and engagement with respect to this issue, Libya and others.

**Mr. Selim (Egypt):** I thank you, Mr. President, for your kind words. We have undertaken that work in the context of our responsibility and have been reinforced by your support, so I thank you for all the efforts you have exerted.

*(spoke in Arabic)*

Let me at the outset affirm the importance of this call by the United States to convene this meeting of the Security Council, since the Security Council has now held a meeting following a series of other meetings on regional and international efforts in order to help achieve security and stability in Iraq. That requires the mobilization of an international effort that can take unified action against the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) and other terrorist groups, both in Iraq and throughout the region, in order to pave the way for eradicating a scourge that has festered and intensified in the past decade, especially in the Middle East.

Egypt joined a number of other Arab States and the United States of America at an important meeting in Jeddah on 10 September to consider how to deal with the spreading terrorism in Iraq and in the Arab region in general. We focused on addressing ISIL because it is the gravest threat currently confronting our region. That is in accordance with resolution 2170 (2014) and the ministerial decision of the Arab League of 7 September. And, last Monday, Egypt participated in the Paris conference on peace and security in Iraq, at which the Iraqi Government reaffirmed its request for military assistance to combat terrorism and the provision of assistance to terrorists.

Our meeting today in the Security Council is an expression of the international determination to coordinate the efforts of all institutions and regional powers in confronting the Iraqi crisis. That coordination is needed. Egypt hopes it will continue and be strengthened to maintain the overall momentum that we have seen in the recent past. It is logical for such action to be taken in a country like Iraq, with its vast territory and rich heritage.

We look forward to relations of mutual respect among the States of the region, including respect for their sovereignty and security. We hope that the new Government will represent all parts of Iraqi society and that it will be able to face the threat of terrorism and sectarianism. Egypt stands ready to provide all support necessary to help Iraq. We will cooperate at the regional and international levels in the effort to overthrow ISIL and all heinous terrorist organizations throughout the world.

Allow me to repeat in the Council Egypt's position, which is that every effort must be made to revitalize the concept of the nation State free from any sectarianism. We met in Jeddah and we are meeting again in this Chamber today to support Iraq against ISIL. It represents a global threat that faces us all, particularly in the Arab region, and it runs directly counter to the concept of a modern State.

Ideology is being used to justify barbaric acts against anyone and anything that is different. ISIL is not limited to one or two or three movements. It is one evil ideology that expresses itself under various slogans and names and is developing in different parts of the world. At the end of the day, it is a worldwide organization.

Egypt, more than any other State, is well aware of the threat of such terrorist organizations. We have confronted that phenomenon and its evil plots. Such confrontations led, on 30 June, to our elimination of the Muslim Brotherhood, with its ideology based on violence — the very ideology that is the basis of all contemporary terrorist organizations. Those and similar organizations need to be confronted — in fact, they have been: in Libya, for example. That is important, as they are a threat to international peace and security.

At a time when we are stressing the importance of not ignoring the political and social reasons for the emergence of ISIL, the international community must be fully aware that it cannot stop at containment and half-solutions in confronting such extremist organizations.

We must confront the States that are helping the terrorist organizations to achieve their narrow political aims on the international scene. We have to assume our common responsibility and acknowledge our common humanity in order to confront and defeat this barbaric phenomenon.

**The President:** I thank you, Sameh, for your patience today and for taking the time to come to be here. In particular we you for your leadership on this issue.

I now give the floor to His Excellency Shaikh Khalid Bin Ahmed Al-Khalifa, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Bahrain.

**Mr. Al-Khalifa** (Bahrain): I thank you, Mr. President, for convening this timely special meeting of the Security Council on Iraq. I would like to thank you, Mr. President, for the presidential statement (S/PRST/2014/20), which is very comprehensive and which we subscribe to. I would also like to thank our former colleague and now Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Head of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq for his very comprehensive and helpful report on the situation in Iraq. I would also like to congratulate my colleague, His Excellency Minister Ibrahim Al-Jaafari, on assuming his post. I look forward to working with him, especially at this very important time.

The security situation in Iraq and the spread of Daesh in the past couple of years in Syria and Iraq is a serious regional and global concern. Daesh has exhibited an appalling level of brutality and disregard for human life, as demonstrated by the murders of journalists, aid workers and countless Iraqi and Syrian civilians. Our shared objective should be no less than the complete annihilation of that terrorist group.

The fight against Daesh requires joint action at the regional and international levels in three crucial arenas — the military, the financial and the ideological. Concerning military operations, it is essential that countries join Iraq in its fight against Daesh by providing the requisite level of support. When it comes to regional security, Bahrain has always assumed its fair share of the burden. We joined our friends and allies in securing Afghanistan and in the fight against pirates and corsairs in the Indian Ocean, and by keeping a watchful eye around the waters of the Arabian Gulf. Today, Bahrain stands ready to join its allies in the region and the world and to contribute its share to the

necessary fight against Daesh. We firmly believe that the time has come for countries of the region to take the lead in fighting the terrorist groups among us.

Moreover, Islamic institutions and scholars around the Arab and Muslim world must not hesitate to point out the clear deviation of Daesh and similar terrorist cults, and to delegitimize any religious justification that they may give. In that regard, Bahrain commends the condemnations of Daesh from various centres of Islamic authority and scholarship, and urges scholars to continue doing so without any hesitation to help us defeat that clear danger threatening Muslims and non-Muslims alike.

Stopping the flow of fighters and financial resources to Daesh is crucial to defeating it. The Kingdom of Bahrain, as a longstanding Islamic and conventional financial centre with a proven history of combating the financing of terrorism and money laundering, will host a high-level Government conference to discuss ways of enhancing efforts to combat the funding of terrorist organizations both within and outside of the Middle East and North Africa.

The conference to be held during the first week of November in Manama will aim at agreeing a road map/action plan on how to further combat terrorist financing and to ensure that the financial institutions and charitable organizations of the Middle East and North Africa are not used to channel funds to terrorists or for other illegal activities.

With respect to stopping the flow of fighters, Bahrain continues to monitor the flow of individuals to affected areas in order to ensure that those with the intent to join Daesh or similar groups are stopped before leaving the country. In addition, those who return after joining such groups are immediately apprehended.

Further, no less important than the fight against Daesh is the effort to alleviate the day-to-day difficulties and challenges that the Syrian and Iraqi people have to face. Minority groups in particular have suffered disproportionately in recent years, and the international community, through the relevant United Nations bodies and other international and national organizations, must do all it can to provide the necessary aid.

I would like to take this opportunity to offer Bahrain's support to His Excellency Prime Minister Haider Al-Abadi and his newly formed Cabinet. We are confident that the new Iraqi Government is seeking to set a new way forward for Iraq, one that will

return the country to the path of peace, security and stability.

Finally, we must remember that fighting terrorism is a regional responsibility and that all countries of the region must adopt the same position regarding terrorism wherever it may surface and whatever its sectarian leanings. There are terrorist groups no less criminal than Daesh operating across the Middle East — from Egypt to Libya to Lebanon and Syria and to Yemen to the Gulf. State-sponsored terrorist organizations such as Hizbullah and other proxies continue to terrorize and kill innocent people all over the region. It is therefore necessary — as I and many of us here have heard my colleagues say — to adopt a holistic approach that identifies, confronts and eventually defeats terrorists in an effective manner.

**The President:** I thank Minister Al-Khalifa for the important list of commitments that Bahrain is prepared to make. We all look forward to taking part in the conference, which will be a very important part of success.

I now give the floor to His Excellency Mr. Khalid Bin Mohamed Al-Attiah, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Qatar, whom I thank for the early and defined commitments that his country has already made to our effort.

**Mr. Al-Attiah (Qatar) (*spoke in Arabic*):** I would like to thank you, Mr. President, for holding this meeting at such a critical juncture in the history of Iraq and the region. I would also like to thank the Secretary-General for his valuable efforts. And I thank Special Representative of the Secretary-General Mladenov for his briefing.

The State of Qatar welcomes the presidential statement adopted this afternoon (S/PRST/2014/20). I also welcome the election of Mr. Fuad Masum as President of Iraq and of Mr. Salim Al-Jabouri as the Speaker of the National Assembly, as well as Mr. Al-Abadi's assumption of the new Government's premiership. Such developments are promising and should reflect positively on the situation in Iraq after long years of very painful events in the country.

At a time when we are looking forward to the completion of the formation of the Iraqi Government so that it can take up the momentous tasks of addressing the country's challenges — mainly terrorism — it is important for all Iraqis to come together and take part in Iraq's management; it is, in fact, the only way

that the serious challenges facing the country will be addressed. The Iraqi people should express national unity by supporting the Government. You might agree with us, Mr. President, that such unity can be achieved only through a serious, comprehensive national dialogue. We in Qatar would support our Iraqi brothers and sisters in taking any step that would maintain the territorial integrity of Iraq and defeat terrorism.

The world is following with grave concern and interest the horrendous and heinous acts of killing and intimidation perpetrated by terrorist organizations in Iraq and the region at large. As we discuss options for facing terrorist groups and addressing the danger to the region and the world, we think that the international community can be successful in its response only if it shows political will, makes concerted international efforts and tackles the underlying causes that have led to an environment that incubates terrorism. More important, terrorist organizations need to be cut off from their sources of funding.

We should not submit to terrorist blackmail. We should also not link terrorism to any religion, nationality or region.

The lesson that we draw from the spread of terrorist organizations in the region is that such organizations have benefited from dictatorships' oppressive policies, which have caused a security gap and frustration among the public, leading to a growing number of grievances. Ironically, some of those regimes, after having been abandoned by the international community due to their criminal policies and grave violations of international law and human rights, now market themselves as partners in the international campaign against terrorism. However, we think that terrorist organizations and such regimes are two sides of the same coin; both work against the interests of people and against peace, security and stability in the world.

The political and security challenges facing the international community should not distract us from tackling the deteriorating humanitarian situation in Iraq. As the number of internally displaced persons and victims was reaching horrifying levels and in response to the ordeal of our Iraqi brethren, Qatar established an air bridge to deliver humanitarian aid to face the current circumstance. Qatar will continue to work in the direction of such a response.

**The President:** I appreciate that and look forward to continuing to work with Qatar in the days ahead.

This week will be important as we develop some of our efforts.

I now give the floor to His Excellency Mr. Yousef Bin Al-Alawi Bin Abdulla, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Oman, to whom and through whom I offer my profound thanks to His Highness the Sultan and to himself with respect to a number of initiatives, but most recently their generous support for the Palestinian economic initiative.

**Mr. Abdullah** (Oman) (*spoke in Arabic*): May I begin by hailing you and thanking you, Mr. President, for holding today's special Security Council meeting.

We thank you, Sir, for having invited us to participate in the debate on the difficult context in Iraq at present. This is a time for us to see how to tackle the terrorist challenge represented by the so-called Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant.

As you know, Sir, we hope that efforts by the international coalition to vanquish terrorist groups and terrorism itself in the Middle East will be successful. We also hope that peace and stability will triumph in that region of the world, and indeed in the world as a whole.

Terrorism striking Arab States in whatever forms or manifestations it takes, whatever its motives or justifications, should be condemned as reprehensible in every regard. My country therefore deplores all heinous and inhuman terrorist crimes perpetrated by the non-Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant.

Iraq is the cradle of civilization. Thanks to the support of the international community, it will succeed in gaining the upper hand over this phenomenon. Iraq, which has built its civilization over millennia, will not be defeated by terrorism. The barbarous acts that we are witnessing in Iraq today perpetrated by the Islamic State have nothing to do with humanity or with religion. These groups must be rooted out and eradicated. The international community must come together in combating this phenomenon, which is so destructive to human civilization, through means to be determined by the Security Council.

The world must come together so as to eradicate all manifestations of violence, terrorism and extremism. Thus, through means and arrangements to be determined by the Council, victory will be ours over these groups. Effective punitive measures should be urgently taken, otherwise this group and others will cross borders

into other States, which could strongly undermine the credibility of the international community.

My country, as has always been the case, will support these praiseworthy international efforts, and we hope that this will lead to victory for the international community — a victory that would show that the world will not accept this organization or others that constitute a challenge to human civilization. We remain at your side and continue to support such efforts as we have in the past, so as to ensure that no group is able to score a victory. This also makes it possible to attain the objectives of the United Nations in the area of the maintenance of international peace and security.

**The President:** I thank the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Oman for all of the things that his country is doing.

I now give the floor to Her Excellency Ms. Maia Panjikidze, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Georgia.

**Ms. Panjikidze** (Georgia): We are meeting today at a pivotal time for the security and stability of the Euro-Atlantic area and beyond. The latest developments have clearly demonstrated that we cannot take our security for granted and that in today's uncertain world, all like-minded democracies must stand united to protect and promote freedom, democracy and a rules-based world order.

European security is being significantly challenged by Russia's military aggression against Ukraine. Georgia has also suffered from Russia's military aggression in 2008 and the ongoing occupation of its two regions. This worrisome pattern aimed at forcefully altering European borders poses significant threats to the strategic vision of a Europe that is whole, free and at peace.

With regard to the Middle East, we are deeply shocked and distressed by the violent developments and rapid deterioration of the security situation in Iraq. I would like to express strong support to the new Government of Iraq, headed by Prime Minister Haider Al-Abadi, and its efforts to ensure an inclusive political process and to improve security and stability in Iraq, despite the challenges presented by the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (ISIL). At the same time, I would like to reiterate Georgia's unwavering support for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Iraq and express the hope that during this difficult time, the Iraqi people will be united in confronting this common challenge.



Georgia condemns in the strongest terms all despicable acts of terrorism and violence against people based on their religious and ethnic affiliation. Terrorist groups such as ISIL pose a threat not only to the nations in the Middle East but also to those in Europe, North America and beyond.

It is only through our joint efforts and commitment that we can stop, reverse and prevent such violent actions.

Georgia, as a reliable ally and capable partner, has been consistent in its efforts to ensure security and stability around the globe. We have contributed to peace and development in Iraq, and we are currently continuing to do so in Afghanistan and the Central African Republic. Our commitment to global peace and stability is firm. Georgia fully supports the efforts of the coalition to defeat ISIL and bring peace to the region. We stand ready to provide humanitarian assistance to those who have been affected by the brutal actions of the terrorist groups.

Furthermore, Georgia's valuable experience in combat missions as well as its successful defence transformation can be effectively used to enhance the capabilities of the Iraqi and other security forces as they fight the ISIL terrorists.

We look forward to working with the United States and other coalition partners in the coming days and weeks to identify areas where Georgia's contribution can provide added value.

**The President:** I appreciate enormously your contribution. I thank you for all the things that you are doing, notwithstanding the other challenges that we know you are facing.

I now give the floor to His Highness Sheikh Abdullah Bin Zayed Al Nahyan, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the United Arab Emirates. Let me also say how important a partner in many of these efforts the United Arab Emirates has been. We appreciate it enormously, and thank you for your advice and counsel.

**Sheikh Abdullah Bin Zayed Al Nahyan** (United Arab Emirates): Thank you, John, for your friendship and for your leadership.

*(spoke in Arabic)*

Allow me at the outset, Mr. President, to express to you my appreciation and gratitude for the convening of this important meeting at this critical time, which

requires a quick response and the coordination of international efforts. I should like also to thank the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Iraq for all his efforts.

The United Arab Emirates reaffirms its support for the security, stability and territorial integrity of Iraq and welcomes the recently formed Government of National Unity, under the leadership of His Excellency Haider Al-Abadi, which deserves the full support of the international community. The United Arab Emirates wishes also to emphasize that the country should not fall back once again into the sectarian and exclusionary policies that triggered the political and security crises affecting Iraq.

The United Arab Emirates stands firmly against all those who would attempt to compromise the security and stability of Iraq and reaffirms its support for international efforts aimed at combating the terrorist acts committed by the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS). It also repeatedly stressed its position during the NATO Summit held in Wales and at the 7816th meeting of the Arab Ministers for Foreign Affairs; the meeting held in Jeddah, at which you, Sir, were present; and at the Paris conference on security and peace in Iraq.

From this rostrum I, as an Arab and a Muslim, categorically reject the terrorist entity Daesh being called the Islamic State. I call upon all present to join us in that rejection and to show solidarity with the hundreds of millions of Muslims around the world in condemning the desecration by the criminal terrorist gang Daesh of what is dear to us all. They are a criminal gang, no more than that. The United Arab Emirates believes that the war against ISIS should not result in the marginalization of the Sunni community, which should play an important role in Iraq's political future. It is vital that we all work together to maintain Iraq's unity, both politically and geographically. ISIS must be prevented from establishing a safe haven for extremists in our region, a task we can achieve through immediate and comprehensive international action, in coordination with the Iraqi Government, resulting in the development of a comprehensive international strategy.

The threat of terrorism is not limited to this particular terrorist organization. It extends to the ongoing conflicts in Yemen, Afghanistan, Lebanon, Somalia, Egypt, Libya, North Africa and the Sahel region of Africa. These terrorist groups continue to

exploit the chaos in Syria in order to achieve their goals, without the slightest regard for sovereignty or national borders. The crimes of these and other terrorist organizations know no boundaries and follow no principles. Such organizations are simply opportunistic, with no relevance to any religion or standards. They grow only in environments infested with sectarian extremism.

In that connection, I would like to highlight the issue of foreign fighters, which has become a concern for many countries. I would like to thank the United States of America for organizing a Security Council meeting, to be presided over by President Obama, on this topic. The extremists are trying to establish safe havens in areas already embroiled in conflict and to recruit fighters in order to ensure their survival. This vile phenomenon has dangerous repercussions that can threaten countries outside the Arab and Islamic worlds. We must create international partnerships aimed at combating such terrorism by addressing its root causes, partnerships that are built for the long term, so they are not limited to combating ISIS alone.

The United Arab Emirates reiterates its total rejection of violence and extremism, its commitment to tolerance and moderation and its willingness to cooperate with international partners in fighting terrorism and to partner with moderate forces. We also emphasize the importance of working to prevent political and social tensions in Iraq by adopting a genuine, comprehensive national programme for renouncing violence and uniting the Iraqi people, including every faction and excluding no groups. In that context, we believe that the Kurds have proved their ability to take on an important role in the Iraqi Government. We commend the Kurdish forces for the part they have played in fighting ISIS, and hope that the region of Kurdistan will remain strong, stable and an integral part of the Republic of Iraq. The United Arab Emirates has always supported the Iraqi people in all circumstances, including backing Iraq's political process and national reconciliation efforts. We have undertaken ongoing initiatives designed to provide humanitarian assistance to those populations affected by violence and instability. My country will continue to provide that support.

Finally, I would like to point out that the United Arab Emirates welcomes the Security Council's work in combating terrorism and suppressing its use of resources for recruitment and financing, particularly

through the adoption of resolution 2170 (2014). In that context, we emphasize the importance of the international community's role in giving its full, constructive support to the Iraqi Government.

**The President:** I thank you very much, Your Highness. I hope you will pass on our thanks to His Highness Sheikh Mohammed for the support that we are receiving with respect to this coalition and initiative.

I now give the floor to His Excellency Mr. Armand de Decker, Minister of State of Belgium.

**Mr. de Decker (Belgium) (*spoke in French*):** I would first like to thank the United States for its very timely convening of today's meeting.

Belgium is extremely concerned about the presence in Iraq and Syria of a terrorist group such as the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (ISIL), which has been responsible for kidnappings, heinous massacres and numerous other crimes. This is not only a threat to the region, it is a threat to us all. That is why it requires that the international community mobilize to an unprecedented degree. But while military intervention may be needed to stop ISIL's progress on land, we believe that any long-term solution must be a political one.

The establishment of a new Government in Iraq and the appointment of a new Prime Minister are of course steps in the right direction. But it should be made clear as quickly as possible to the people, in all their diversity, that the Government's policies are and will be inclusive at every level. Restoring social cohesion is a crucial step that devolves primarily on the Iraqi Government but that will require the long-term commitment and support of the entire international community. No political solution has yet emerged in neighbouring Syria, and Belgium supports the work of the Special Envoy of the Secretary-General, Mr. Staffan de Mistura, who will be responsible for designing one.

Along with this political commitment, the international community must demonstrate greater solidarity on the humanitarian front. Belgium has already committed a concrete contribution to the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs and to delivering aid to Erbil. We will continue, at the national, European and international levels, to mobilize a response adequate to the serious humanitarian crisis in the region. We must also make genuine efforts to combat ISIL, including by ensuring that it cannot benefit financially from petroleum revenues. Belgium

is currently analysing how it can best play a role in that area, in close cooperation with its partners.

As my colleague from the Netherlands emphasized a short while ago, thousands of Western jihadists are fighting in Iraq and Syria, and Belgium has not been spared. Hundreds of young Belgians have joined the conflict or are considering it, and a murderous attack by a jihadist who had returned to Belgium took place in the heart of Brussels in May. The cooperation that exists between many Belgian institutions is enabling us to develop an inclusive strategy not only to fight this phenomenon but to address its roots as well. We are of course cooperating in this area with many States.

Regarding actual military action, Belgium urges that any international action's legitimacy be reinforced, insofar as political conditions permit, by a United Nations resolution. We expect to contribute to the military coalition initiated by the United States in Iraq, whether through air support missions, transportation support, military training or other means. Given the fact that the current Belgian Government is in transition, that contribution will have to be approved either by Parliament or by the new Government, which will soon be in place. Belgium showed in Libya that it can support its partners effectively.

It is critical for every country in the region, including Iran, to mobilize against the terrorist threat that ISIL represents and to contribute to the various components of collective action. This is also a valuable opportunity to overcome regional divisions. It will be essential if we want to succeed in our goal of protecting freedom, democracy, peace, respect for all our cultures and respect for human rights.

**The President:** I now give the floor to His Excellency Mr. Abbas Araghchi, Deputy Foreign Minister for International and Legal Affairs of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

**Mr. Araghchi** (Islamic Republic of Iran): Let me begin by expressing my appreciation to you, Mr. President, for convening this debate to discuss the situation in Iraq, which has taken a new and more troubling turn in the past three months. I also thank His Excellency Minister of Foreign Affairs Al-Jaafari for his remarks, and the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for his briefing. We hope that today's meeting of the Council will help to increase awareness and focus on the veritable and critical crisis in the Middle East, which has major repercussions for the whole world.

Violent extremism, mostly embodied these days by the so-called Islamic State in Syria and the Levant (ISIL) and its abhorrent brutality and shocking savagery, is chief among the threats that ravage Iraq and Syria and cast gloom over the horizons of the Middle East. I could not agree more: that group is neither Islamic nor a State. We utterly reject the stereotypes that attach the name of Islam to the bloody and violent acts committed by such a despicable group, which is nothing more than a terrorist organization that has emerged from the chaos of the past decade and the assistance it has received.

While we all have a common interest in defeating the emerging danger of ultra-violent extremist and sectarian groups, we need first and foremost to be aware of the situation and mindset that gave rise to them. The so-called ISIL is not a new phenomenon. It and similar groups developed following the invasion of Iraq and during the years of occupation and ensuing instability. With the Syrian crisis and the support they received from certain States and quarters within and outside the region, they found a new breeding ground, fabricated a new false cause and became a monster that now threatens even its own creators.

In addition to military interventions, attempts to socially engineer Middle Eastern societies — reflected, inter alia, in the failed initiatives that originated in and were sponsored by certain Western Powers — are another aspect of the illusions held by certain outside Powers over the past decade. The military adventures and non-military interventions in the region, along with the ensuing waves of slaughter and blood feuds, have helped to radicalize vulnerable youth and have created the perfect conditions for vicious bands of extremists to turn to their advantage. I doubt that anybody disagrees with me that extremism is much stronger and more widespread in the Middle East today than it was in 2001.

In view of the foregoing, and based on the experience built up over the past decade, we believe that any real and genuine initiative to remedy regional predicaments must originate from within the region and be based on regional cooperation. Combating extremism is not an exception to that rule. Looking forward, we hope that all States in the Middle East have fully realized by this point that extremism is as much of a threat to them as it is to Iraq or Syria. Those who thought otherwise need to reconsider their 11-year-old policies and commit themselves to promoting stability and thwarting extremism. The international coalition

against ISIL that is said to be in the offing has yet to decide to pursue a serious strategy. In our view, to defeat extremism, a comprehensive strategy should address several key points.

First, it must fully comply with the norms and principles of international law and the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations with respect to conducting any military actions against terrorist groups.

Two, it must expand support for the Iraqi Government as it fights ISIL, helping it to strengthen the national unity and territorial integrity of Iraq and encouraging its all-inclusive political system. That approach requires discouraging centrifugal forces and avoiding any attempt to tinker with Iraq's ethnic and sectarian mosaic.

Three, it should encourage all States and tap all capacities in the region to fight the war against extremism and terrorism with the assistance of the international community and it should work to unify and coordinate policies. Any loophole or foot-dragging will leave a vacuum that will be used by extremists.

Four, consistency in fighting ISIL is crucial, wherever it is present — in Iraq, Syria, Lebanon or elsewhere — and whomever it threatens. A successful fight against ISIL requires helping the relevant central authorities to deal with that menace. Any strategy that undermines those authorities, including the Syrian Government, which resisted ISIL for several years, or that differentiates between segments of the population in terms of protection, will be a recipe for defeat. It was regrettable that the city of Sanjar was left to the mercy of ISIL and that Amerli agonized for more than two months under a ruthless siege that was apparently due only to the fact that its people belong to a different segment of the population.

Five, a peaceful settlement to the crisis in Syria can be achieved only by encouraging a political solution to the protracted war in that country and by rectifying the mistakes made in the past.

Six, all regional States and international actors must commit to denying extremists access to funds, recruits and other means that they use to spread terror across the region and beyond. That should include resolute actions to halt the moral and financial support for extremists that have flowed from some quarters within certain countries in the region. That is important especially in the light of the fact that groups such as ISIL will not be uprooted by air strikes alone.

Seven, the Israeli occupation of Arab lands must end, and Israel must not be allowed impunity for its war crimes against the Palestinians, as was recently the case. The reaction of some Western Powers to what can only be called genocide by the Israeli regime against the people of Gaza is a good rallying cause for extremist groups such as ISIL.

Finally, it is important to counter Islamophobia, which lumps together violent extremists and true Muslims, directly lending credence to the message of the extremists.

The Islamic Republic of Iran is the only country in the region capable of showing unqualified determination to help the Iraqi Government and coordinate with it to assist all those threatened by ISIL, and we have done so. We rose to the challenge early on and helped save Baghdad, Erbil and Amerli from ISIL, and we were there with advisers and equipment before any other help arrived on the scene. Likewise, my Government is ready to continue to assist the Iraqi Government and other Governments threatened by ISIL.

**The President:** I now give the floor to His Excellency Mr. Kentaro Sonoura, Parliamentary Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs of Japan.

**Mr. Sonoura** (Japan) (*spoke in Japanese; interpretation provided by the delegation*): At the outset, I would like to express my sincere appreciation for this opportunity to set forth the position of the Government of Japan at this very important meeting. Today, the international community once again forms a united front to counter the threat of the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL), while also supporting the efforts made by the Iraqi Government.

ISIL has unilaterally declared the establishment of its self-proclaimed State across existing national borders. The brutalities of ISIL pose a serious threat not only to the Middle East region but also to the very order of the international community. We fully share the sense of urgency that an immediate and united response is necessary. The Government of Japan firmly denounces any form of terrorism and strongly supports the fight against terrorism conducted by the Iraqi Government and other States.

In order to effectively counter the threat of ISIL, it is imperative first and foremost to achieve political stability in Iraq. In that regard, I should like to welcome the recent establishment of the inclusive Government in Iraq. I hope that efforts towards national reconciliation



and unity will make further strides under the able leadership of Prime Minister Al-Abadi.

Japan has long contributed to the nation-building of Iraq in various areas, such as energy, infrastructure and health. We will continue to support the new Iraqi Government through such efforts. Although it is difficult for Japan to make a military contribution, we will actively engage in humanitarian assistance and counter-terrorism measures. As part of our effort to address the challenges posed by ISIL, I would like to announce that Japan will provide \$25.5 million in assistance, in addition to the \$7.8 million that we have already disbursed.

Providing emergency humanitarian assistance will not be sufficient when we try to prevent extremists from taking root in the region and to ensure the region's lasting stability. It is important to firmly assist Iraq and other neighbouring countries so that they can exercise effective governance, which needs to be underpinned by a stable economy and society. Efforts to strengthen governance take various forms, such as capacity-building in the public sector and the development of a domestic legal system. Those matters are exactly what Japan is good at. As a responsible member of the international community, Japan will continue to make active contributions to this great cause.

It is essential to counter-terrorism off the flow of funds, weapons and personnel to the terrorist organizations in order to degrade their strength when we strive to effectively address the threat. The issue of foreign terrorist fighters is a serious challenge that could potentially spread the threat of terrorism worldwide. Japan will steadily implement relevant Security Council resolutions, in close coordination with other countries. We will also take various measures in other areas, such as countering violent extremism, countering terrorism financing and exercising appropriate immigration control, and we will pursue our strenuous efforts to contain the threat of terrorism.

Let me conclude by saying that, at the end of today's meeting, we hope that the commitments and efforts of individual countries will be united in support of the new Iraqi Government, and that we will be able to send the strongest possible message to the world that we are absolutely determined to roll back ISIL.

**The President:** I now give the floor to Mr. Ulrik Vestergaard Knudsen, Permanent Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of Denmark.

**Mr. Knudsen (Denmark):** I thank you, Madam President, for this opportunity to participate in this important debate on the situation in Iraq, as well as on the violent extremist forces affecting the wider region and, indeed, the international community as a whole.

Denmark stands ready to join the Members of the United Nations in collectively confronting the growth of extremism embodied in the brutal shape of the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (ISIL), an organization that is fundamentally opposed to the values and principles at the core of the United Nations. ISIL is an organization that, in the most brutal way, now controls large areas of Iraq and Syria and has the ambition to go even farther. It is an organization that has managed to amass hundreds of millions of dollars through kidnappings, robberies and illegal oil sales, but it is also an organization that will not be allowed to achieve its goals if we, the international community, all stand united.

Like many previous speakers today, Denmark welcomes the recent formation of a new inclusive Government in Baghdad, committed to empowering marginalized groups in the country. Good governance will be absolutely essential to meet that end, as well as to overcome the pervasive sense of distrust and discontent that ISIL has been able to prey upon. Denmark is committed to supporting Iraq and assisting its Government in its fight against ISIL. We have already provided political, military and humanitarian assistance. A Danish military transport aircraft and a logistical team have assisted the forces combating ISIL in Iraq through airlifting military equipment. On the humanitarian side, so far in 2014 Denmark has provided assistance totalling \$50 million to internally displaced persons in Syria and Iraq. Politically, we have engaged with the Iraqi Government, with members of the core coalition and other partners in the region and beyond to shape a common strategy to combat ISIL.

However, as requested by the United States delegation at the beginning of this meeting, Denmark stands ready to do even more. We plan to increase our humanitarian assistance to the region. We want to establish a strong partnership with the Iraqi Government to launch long-term stabilization and development projects that help eliminate the root causes of radicalization. We will maintain a close dialogue with the Iraqi Government, the United States and other partners in the coalition to jointly consider the optimal contributions Denmark

can make to the ongoing efforts, be they humanitarian, diplomatic, political or military.

We also find it essential for all States Members of the United Nations to share best practices and lessons learned on how to most efficiently prevent radicalization and groups like ISIL from emerging. The Danish Foreign Minister, together with the Foreign Minister of Mali, will therefore co-host an event here in New York on Tuesday, 23 September, to advance that common agenda.

To achieve our goal of disabling and dismantling the threat posed by ISIL, we will need to craft a response that recognizes at least three principles. First, the world must recognize that ISIL is a regional and global threat to our collective peace and security. As such, success will require us to forge a broad and deep alliance that can effectively neutralize that heinous and totalitarian terrorist organization. Secondly, the international community must be steadfast in its support to moderate forces, not only in Iraq but also in neighbouring countries, especially of course in Syria, where the long-term goal of peace must still be sought. We must aid groups willing to counter the influence of ISIL and instead present a more inclusive and peaceful vision for the future of their societies. Thirdly, we must ensure that our unity of purpose persists. We must remain united in our support to Iraq's Government and show the commitment required to deal with this challenge.

In conclusion, Denmark is firmly resolved to counter the threat of ISIL. Our common approach must be both comprehensive and holistic. We know that this will require patience and stamina. We will need to see greater collaboration and greater coordination among key actors in the region. In other words, countries will need to be prepared to overcome their individual differences and rivalries. They will instead need to seek common ground where there are common interests to be found.

**The President:** I now give the floor to Mr. Peter Stenlund, Secretary of State at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland.

**Mr. Stenlund (Finland):** At the outset, Madam President, let me express our sincere thanks to the United States delegation for convening this very important debate.

The situation in Iraq remains critical on the humanitarian and security fronts. The advance of the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) has

been a shock. It is a matter of grave concern for the international community. The brutal terrorist actions of ISIL must be unequivocally condemned.

The recently appointed Government in Iraq represents an important step forward. The international community needs to continue its support to Iraq in maintaining its territorial integrity and strengthening the inclusiveness of its governance structures. Responsible religious and traditional leaders can play a constructive role in reconciliation, uniting the population and fighting ISIL.

The humanitarian situation is a priority. In Iraq, 1.8 million people have been forced to leave their homes, while refugees from Syria pose an additional burden. To respond to the needs of displaced people in Iraq, Finland has allocated €500,000 through the World Food Programme. By the end of this year, with an additional allocation of €2.5 million, our humanitarian assistance to the Syrian crisis will amount to €31 million. This, we hope, will also help to alleviate the situation in Iraq.

As far as development cooperation with Iraq is concerned, €800,000 will be channelled through the Danish Refugee Council to ease the situation of women refugees from Syria in northern Iraq. Finland is convinced that women's full participation is a priority in efforts to build an inclusive society. We have also donated €500,000 to a UN-Women project that increases women's political participation in Iraq. Finland is considering giving further assistance, primarily to Syria, based on needs and financing requirements, thereby helping the region as a whole.

The global threat of ISIL can be successfully countered only by means of a broad and inclusive coalition supported by the United Nations. It is important that the Governments most directly threatened by ISIL play a prominent role in this endeavour. We welcome the United States initiative to build such a coalition to address the danger posed by ISIL. We also welcome the fact that the Security Council has voiced itself clear on this subject, and hope that the Council remains persistent in supporting the international efforts.

As President Obama underscored, success will not be achieved only by military means. It is also essential to adopt a long-term, comprehensive approach with a wide range of measures, including capacity-building, humanitarian assistance and actions to prevent terrorism and extremism. Finland is committed to participating, together with the international community, in

addressing the threat of ISIL. We recognize the need to respond through military means, although we are not planning to participate in combat actions or arms deliveries.

Finland is in favour of an active role for the European Union (EU) in supporting Iraq. Support for capacity-building to address challenges related to fighting a terrorist organization like ISIL should be further explored by the EU. The protection of civilians and respect for international law and international humanitarian law could form part of the EU's capacity-building assistance. Finland would be prepared to contribute. International assistance to building the capacities of security sector structures is crucial. Finland could look at certain niche capabilities, such as chemical, biological, radiological and nuclear, provided an appropriate framework is available. We attach great importance to addressing the issue of foreign fighters. In that regard, we are currently assessing our national measures and look forward to finding solutions in cooperation with the European Union and beyond.

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

**Mr. Al-Mouallimi** (Saudi Arabia) (*spoke in Arabic*): First, I would like to congratulate you, Madam President, on your country's assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of September. I also thank you for having convened this important meeting and for your country's steadfast efforts in support of the people of Iraq, who are at a decisive crossroads that we hope will lead to stability, security and prosperity. I would like to welcome the Iraqi Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Ibrahim Al-Jaafari. I also thank the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Iraq, Nikolay Mladenov, for his briefing. We welcome the presidential statement to be adopted at the outcome of this meeting.

My country welcomes the formation of the new Iraqi Government. We hope that the final appointments will make its composition inclusive, thereby attaining a political balance conducive to responding to the severe crisis in the country. It is high time for Iraq to recover its strength. To that end, the international community should provide full support to create appropriate conditions for the success of political reform and for the enshrinement of rules of justice and equality among all components of Iraqi society.

Since Iraq took its first steps to repudiate sectarianism, put an end to foreign intervention in its

affairs and return to the Arab world, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has held out its hand to all sectors of the Iraqi people. His Majesty King Abdullah Bin Abdulaziz Al-Saud, the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques, has pledged \$50 million in assistance for Iraqi refugees and displaced persons. Sectarianism, oppression and repression are factors that have created fertile ground for the proliferation of transnational and even transcontinental terrorism, of which the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) is a prime example. ISIL's barbaric terrorist crimes have nothing to do with Islam, which is completely at odds with such acts.

I wish to convey the words of King Abdullah Bin Abdulaziz Al-Saud, alerting the international community to the danger of transboundary and transnational terrorism. We need a collective vision and specific goals to guide our efforts to overcome terrorism. The timely actions taken by the Government of Saudi Arabia, which called for the Jeddah conference a few weeks ago and issued a statement afterwards, are the expressions of our determination to resolutely continue along this path.

We thank Secretary of State John Kerry for the role of the United States.

In response to the so-called Islamic State and other groups that use religion as a justification for their existence and to propagate terrorist thinking, the ulemas and other Islamic teachers have condemned the teaching of ISIL and its adherents and the financing of its acts as a crime. This is the content of the following statement, issued by the Ulema Council on 14 September:

“Terrorist acts perpetrated by certain groups, such as ISIL, Al-Qaida, Asaib Ahl Al-Haq and Hizbullah, as well as the terrorist actions of the Israeli occupation and the terrorist criminal acts perpetrated by groups claiming to belong to Islam, are all prohibited actions and are deemed to be crimes.”

The statement of the Ulema Council also prohibits entering the conflict zone and joining the insurrection. The instigators of these crimes are criminals themselves. They are leading others into error, and should be punished.

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia was one of the first States in the fight against terrorism by extirpating its root causes. Moreover, the Kingdom has been a victim and remains a target of terrorism. In that regard, I highlight the support provided by the Kingdom of

Saudi Arabia to the United Nations Centre for Counter-Terrorism (UNCCT) in the amount of \$100 million. The Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques has called on other States to contribute to the UNCCT, which is one of the most important bodies working against the scourge of terrorism. So long as the Council and the Organization lack a wide-ranging comprehensive strategy to address the root causes, all efforts to counter the scourge will be in vain.

The ongoing occupation by Israel of the Arab territories in Palestine, Syria and Lebanon is a factor contributing to the development of terrorist thinking, which justifies terrorism as contributing to the fight against occupation. Sectarianism and extremism fostered the emergence of ISIL, as well as the war machine of the Syrian regime, which persists in committing crime after crime against the Syrian people. All of that has created a vacuum that terrorists have rapidly exploited.

Terrorist actions should be tracked and counter-terrorism efforts must be strengthened by putting a stop to the prime source of all of the violence, namely, the Syrian regime. ISIL and the Syrian regime are but opposite sides of the same coin; therefore, concerted action should be based on supporting the legitimate Syrian opposition, represented by the Syrian National Coalition, to enable it to respond both to ISIL and to the regime, which is supporting ISIL in its own interests.

My country will continue its efforts to stand by the Iraqi people and to help that kindred country regain its rightful place in the Arab world.

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

**Mr. Salam** (Lebanon) (*spoke in Arabic*): Just as Lebanon's present situation cannot be separated from the history of Mesopotamia, our common future is equally connected to the present situation in Iraq. That is by no means an exaggeration. There is a little bit of Iraq in each and every one of us. We eat what we harvest today because humankind discovered agriculture between the Tigris and Euphrates rivers. We have treaties, constitutions and laws that govern our relations today because the oldest code of law known to humankind is that of King Hammurabi. And we acknowledge the importance of science, reason and culture in the progress of the human race because of the role played by Harun al-Rashid's Abbasid capital,

Baghdad, in hosting scholars, philosophers and artists with their richly diverse creations.

Today Iraq is in danger and that which threatens it also threatens our future and that of our countries, peoples and societies. A wave of blind terror has invaded parts of Iraq. If we do not act quickly to end it, it will spare no one inside or outside of Iraq, for it does not recognize countries, acknowledge their borders or accept their institutions. It is barbarism that knows no religion, ethics or values, although it pretends to follow Islam and hides behind its precepts. Muslims are innocent of it. It is obscurantist in its war on modernity and civilization and in its aggression against human rights and human dignity, as well as in its denial of the principle of freedom and the concept of difference.

Lebanon appreciates the role of the Council in adopting resolution 2170 (2014) and today's presidential statement S/PRST/2014/20. Lebanon calls upon the Council to remain united and to advance further with the necessary international policies or decisions aimed at mobilizing the resources required to eliminate the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant and other, similar terrorist organizations. It must work to prevent terrorists from avoiding punishment and hold them accountable for their crimes.

We all know that successful efforts to eliminate terrorism cannot be limited to military operations and financial measures, however important they may be. Such efforts will also require a comprehensive political, economic and social approach to deal with the roots of terrorism. We welcome the formation of a new Iraqi Government and the confirmed policy of openness and national unity. We expect the Council to provide it with all support necessary to succeed in its functions. We take this opportunity to reaffirm that an Iraq with a firm foundation of national unity to safeguard its national, religious and cultural aspects will benefit not only Iraqis, but all Arab and Muslim peoples and, indeed, all of humankind.

Lebanon has suffered and continues to suffer from terrorist acts, the latest of which took place this morning against its armed forces in the region of Aarsal, after the kidnapping of a number of its soldiers. Lebanon stands with all countries represented here, as it did recently in Jeddah and in Paris, in our common war against terrorism. This war will require the Council to help my country by supporting its armed forces, its economy and its national institutions.



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

**Mr. Winid (Poland):** I would ask you, Madam President, to convey our thanks to Secretary of State John Kerry for organizing this meeting. I would also like to express thanks to Special Representative of the Secretary-General Nickolay Mladenov for his detailed and very useful briefing.

We are seriously concerned about the evolving crisis in Syria and in Iraq. Extremists are waging a brutal campaign of terror against the local population, and especially ethnic and religious minorities, including Christian minorities. Poland has been involved in the United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq since 2003. In those days, we helped the Iraqi authorities to restore peace and security in the provinces of Karbala, Babil, Al-Qadisiyah and An-Najaf. Accordingly, we condemn the terrorist activity of the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) which includes hijackings, torture and brutal killings.

We also take note of the growing number of internally displaced persons and refugees. We call for free access of humanitarian assistance, especially for the most vulnerable groups, including women, children and disabled persons. We call on the Iraqi Government to do its utmost to protect civilians, including members of all ethnic and religious minorities. Crimes committed by terrorists in northern Iraq should be investigated by international criminal mechanisms so that those responsible for the violations can be held accountable.

The terrorist structure seeking an Islamic caliphate poses a direct threat to international peace and security, which demands an urgent response from the international community. The unprecedented growth of ISIL and the spread of extremism in all its manifestations, especially in the form of sectarian tensions, have negative consequences for the security and stability of the entire region of the Middle East and beyond.

We are participating in efforts to help civilians in need in the region. On 17 August, just two days after the European Union decided to support Iraq in its fight against ISIL, the first Polish Hercules transport plane delivered eight tons of assistance to northern Iraq. We have also funded facilities for a newly built school in Erbil for refugee children. The Polish Minister for Foreign Affairs awarded a number of scholarships for Iraqi students at our universities. We will of course continue the delivery of humanitarian aid.

While reaffirming Iraq's independence, unity, territorial integrity and sovereignty, we welcome the establishment of the new Iraqi Government. We are certain that it will be a Government of national reconciliation that represents the interests of all Iraqi citizens regardless of ethnic and religious divisions. We pledge our support for the Iraqi people and the Iraqi authorities and hope they will be able to restore public order and the rule of law, promote intercultural and interfaith dialogue and preserve the extremely rich cultural heritage of Iraq. The international coalition formed at the meetings in Jeddah and Paris deserves our recognition and support. We are aware of the fact that a strategy to combat ISIL cannot limit itself to a military operation. It requires the preparation of a plan for a political solution both with regard to Iraq and to Syria. Our common efforts should help Iraq to fully reintegrate into the region and the international community.

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

**Mr. Hoxha (Albania):** Allow me to thank you, Madam President, and Secretary Kerry for having convened this meeting on one of the most pressing current challenges to international peace and security and for the invitation to take part. Like the rest of the world, we are shocked by the terrible actions committed by terrorist groups in Iraq and, most notably, by the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (ISIL). For months now, wherever ISIL fanatics have set foot, terror has been the norm, brutality the method and the massacre of innocents their footprint. Their actions have caused heavy human casualties, including children, the displacement of more than 1 million Iraqi civilians, including forced deportation under the threat of execution, and threats against all religious and ethnic groups. Albania condemns in the strongest terms all terrorist attacks committed by terrorist groups and organizations in Iraq, including, and especially, ISIL.

ISIL represents a real, clear and current danger to Iraq, to the countries of the region and to broader international peace and security. We, as the international community, cannot stand by while ISIL fanatics massacre entire villages, attack Iraq's religious minorities, destroy their places of worship and threaten the integrity and sovereignty of independent countries. We cannot remain silent while that scourge marches through borders, imposing its obscurantist oppressive rule.

It must be said and highlighted that ISIL is in no way representative or in accordance with the mainstream teachings of Islam. On the contrary, it is a disgrace to the faith that it proclaims to defend. Countless Islamic groups around the globe have vehemently rejected ISIL and its abhorrent actions. They are right — ISIL is simply an abomination to Islam. They are mere terrorists and ruthless assassins, ready to slaughter whoever stands in their way.

While ISIL is a direct threat to Iraq and Syria, it is also a threat to peace and security at large and to human values, human life and our common civilization. The adoption by the Council of resolution 2170 (2014) was a first step in the right direction, but there is an urgent need for bolder action. We welcome presidential statement S/PRST/2014/20, adopted earlier this afternoon. We applaud in particular the firm stand taken by the United States, as outlined by President Obama a few days ago and by Secretary Kerry here this afternoon, as well as the actions taken by other partners and allies.

For all those reasons, from the beginning of the crisis, Albania joined the international coalition so as to fight and to eradicate ISIL. Albania has welcomed and has taken concrete steps to support the new Iraqi Government in its fight against terrorism. It remains committed to continuing to engage and to providing both military and humanitarian assistance. We have already contributed to the fight against ISIL, providing a sizeable quantity of weapons and ammunition to the Iraqi armed forces. We will continue to help Iraq in the future.

Let me also recall the particular assistance that Albania has provided to the refugees of the Camp Hurriya. Few people may know that, since the appeal of the Secretary-General two years ago (see SG/SM/15415), Albania has accommodated 240 of the approximately 377 relocated refugees on a humanitarian basis. That is more than double the total number of those absorbed by the rest of the world.

In conclusion, terrorism has become a challenge not only for one country or region but for the entire community of nations. It will take a resolute and joint effort to deter and finally defeat it. In our view, that is the only way to deal with a global phenomenon that is fed by distorted religion, poverty and ignorance. It is the best way to restore hope, peace and security in all affected regions. Albania is and will be a part of that joint effort.

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

**Mr. McLay (New Zealand):** New Zealand thanks you, Madam President, and Secretary of State Kerry for having convened this very important debate. I place on record New Zealand's continued and deep concern about the situation in Iraq. Like others, we have been outraged by the brutal actions of the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL). We have been appalled by the loss of life, the large-scale displacement of innocent civilians and the widespread abuse of human rights, all of which deserve the strongest condemnation. We have been shocked by the resulting humanitarian crisis.

Since June, New Zealand has made two humanitarian contributions, through the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, as Secretary of State Kerry mentioned earlier, to assist those displaced by the violence in Iraq. We commend the efforts of members of the international community that have provided relief assistance to those in the greatest need. New Zealand therefore takes this opportunity to express solidarity with the people of Iraq as they deal with the crisis.

We specifically offer New Zealand's support to the newly formed Government of Prime Minister Al-Abadi. We welcome his stated commitment to an inclusive Government, which will be fundamental to addressing the root causes of Iraq's recent internal challenges.

The New Zealand general election takes place tomorrow, Saturday 20 September. That imposes constitutional limits on our ability today to respond further, in the manner of some others. However, within those necessary constraints, we welcome the determination of the United States and of others to address the global threat posed by ISIL and the ongoing humanitarian crisis in Iraq. We particularly welcome the support that such an effort has received from regional players, including the Arab States.

An effective response must have the support of those of the wider region. If that response is to be enduring, it must recognize their legitimate interests, not least the concern voiced by the United Arab Emirates that ISIL could provide a safe haven for terrorists. In the end, as emphasized earlier by the representatives of Saudi Arabia and Lebanon, the evolution of ISIL must be seen as the result of much broader dynamics and causes that extend beyond Iraq and affect the entire region. That means that, in responding to the specific threat posed by ISIL, the international community must take account of the impact on the wider region.

Against that background, New Zealand remains committed to offering the utmost political and humanitarian support to the people of Iraq as they face these grave challenges.

**The President:** I now give the floor to the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic.

**Mr. Ja'afari** (Syrian Arab Republic) (*spoke in Arabic*): I would like to join my colleagues who have thanked you, Madam President, for having convened this very important meeting with the presence of the United States Secretary of State regarding the situation in Iraq. I am pleased that Mr. Al-Jaafari of Iraq and Mr. Mladenov are here.

We hope that the Iraqi authorities and the brotherly Iraqi people will have every success in restoring peace and security throughout the country and combatting and putting an end to terrorism. Some speakers today have gone beyond the agenda item under consideration, which is the situation in Iraq. That is what is on the agenda. They have spoken about the situation in my country in a misleading and very provocative manner, in particular with respect to the fight against the terrorist group of the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (ISIL).

I was very interested to hear the preliminary statement by Mr. Kerry. I noted the balanced wording of his statement, which reflected the importance of the challenge in Iraq and the region, in particular with respect to terrorism and the threats posed by ISIL and other terrorist organizations in the region. Some of the other statements, unfortunately, attempted to divert our attention from the crucial issue at hand today, that is, the support to be provided to two Governments and two peoples, Iraq and Syria, in combatting ISIL, Jabhat al-Nusra and other affiliated terrorist organizations in line with resolution 2170 (2014). The war in Syria and Iraq against terrorism is a single war against the same enemy. The victims in both countries are the victims of one single heinous terrorist group.

My country's Government is an active participant in combatting the terrorist groups ISIL and Jabhat al-Nusra. We have undertaken those activities unilaterally within Syria over the past three years. We always emphasize the importance of counter-terrorism efforts, putting an end to terrorist financing and combating terrorists

who come to our country from other countries. We also stress the importance of accountability with respect to countries and States who support terrorism.

Today, we are extremely relieved to hear the international community acknowledge the facts that we have transmitted tirelessly to the Council and to Member States. We have always spoken of terrorism, the existence of terrorism and incitement to terrorist acts. We have highlighted those Governments supporting terrorism, the media's support for terrorism, fatwas and the people who claim to be ulamas and who support such terrorism. There are indeed training camps for terrorists. Some of those camps are in neighbouring countries. Moreover, some attempt to mask the identity of those who support terrorism.

The international awakening in the fight against ISIL and Jabhat al-Nusra, even if tardy, is a matter of relief. We therefore reaffirm that any international counter-terrorism effort must be based on full respect for the Charter and the provisions and principles of international law, in particular those upholding the sovereignty of States. Accordingly, there is a need to coordinate upstream with the Syrian Government in the framework of any credible efforts to combat terrorism.

In conclusion, an effective fight against ISIL requires combatting its ideologies, based on the obscurantist Saudi Wahhabi ideology, which is the source of extremism in the Arab and Muslim world. I recall that thousands of Saudi terrorists have joined ISIL in Syria and Iraq. The majority of the terrorists who carried out the 11 September attack were Saudis, not Syrians. In addition, the ideas of Bin Laden also came from Saudi Arabia. I would like to reiterate that the events that are throwing the region into turmoil are the result of collusion between Saudi Arabia, Turkey and Qatar and are undermining the future of the region.

**The President:** I thank all the speakers who have participated in today's very productive meeting.

There are no more names inscribed on the list of speakers. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

*The meeting rose at 6.35 p.m.*