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**“The Situation in Iraq and its Implications for International Security”**

# Contents

Introduction.....	3
The Security Council .....	3
Historic Background .....	3
Development of the Conflict .....	5
Who is ISIS? .....	5
Previous UN Action .....	8
Security Council .....	8
UN in Iraq .....	8
UN Documents.....	9
International Reactions.....	10
Possible points to address.....	11

## Introduction

A few weeks ago the Islamic militant group ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant), which has been increasing its influence and power in the Syrian civil war, has taken Iraq to the brink of a sectarian civil war. In light of the recent MH17 tragedy and the escalation of the Gaza conflict, the public attention has shifted away from the Islamic State of Iraq and al-Sham (ISIS) and its offensive in Iraq and Syria. This however does not mean that the ISIS has ceased to be a danger. On the contrary, the extremist organization has proven to hold an unprecedented amount of resources and military capability. Furthermore, it now controls 35% of the Syrian territory and most of the Syrian oil and gas fields as well as a great part of the Iraqi territory. The organization may be added to the UN war crimes list for committing of public executions, tortures, mass killings and other harsh and inhuman punishments for those disobeying the law. ISIS sharpens the sectarian conflict between Sunni and Shia and represents an existential threat for the Christian community in the Middle East. As the power of ISIS is continuously on the rise, the atrocities are likely to get even worse.

### The Security Council

The Security Council is one of the six main UN bodies. Its primary responsibility is the maintenance of international peace and security. It is comprised of 15 member states: five permanent members and ten non-permanent members, which are elected on a bi-annual basis. The five permanent members are vested with a so called veto power. Apart from its international peace and security agenda, the Security Council also makes recommendations to the General Assembly regarding the appointment of a new Secretary General and the admission of new states to the UN. Together with the General Assembly, the Security Council elects the judges of the International Court of Justice. The Security Council takes the lead in determining the existence of a threat to peace or act of aggression. It holds the power to adopt binding resolutions by way of which it can resort to peaceful means of conflict settlement (measures under Chapter VI of the UN Charter) or authorize measures of collective security (under Chapter VII of the UN Charter). Member states are obliged to comply with these resolutions. Note that not all resolutions of the Security Council and furthermore not all parts of a Security Council resolution are necessarily legally binding! Familiarize yourself with the UN Charter and the practice of the Security Council for a well-rounded preparation.



## Historic Background

In the aftermath of WWI the Ottoman Empire was divided by way of the Treaty of Sèvres. The League of Nations placed Iraq under British mandate. A Hashimite monarchy was established a Sunni Arab elite was appointed for government, disregarding Shi'ite and Kurdish claims of independence. In 1932, marking the end of the mandate, Iraq became independent, only to be occupied once again by Britain during WWII. The Hashimite monarchy was overthrown in 1958 in a military coup led by Brig Abd-al-Karim Qasim and Col Abd-al-Salam Muhammad Arif. Thus, Iraq was declared a republic. In July 1979 the president, Ahmed Hasan Al-Bakr, was replaced by Saddam Hussein, his vice president. Saddam proceeded to purge his political rivals in order to secure his position and power. In 1980, the Iran-Iraq war broke out. Saddam had no intention of deteriorating his relations to Iran and even welcomed the ascent of Ayatollah Khomeini. Nevertheless, as the Iranian Revolution threatened to spread across the border and territorial disputes arose, Saddam declared war on Iran. The war lasted until 1988 and brought about no territorial gains on either side, however an estimated one million lives were lost. 1988

marks not only the end of the war with Iran, but also the genocidal campaign conducted against Iraqi Kurds. The chemical weapons, such as mustard gas and sarin used in the process killed thousands. In the year 1990, Saddam Hussein accused Kuwait of violating the Iraqi border for the purpose of securing oil supplies. This feud further escalated into a full-on invasion of Kuwait. The true reason behind the pretense might have been the fact that Iraq, its economy crippled by the eight year war, was unable to repay its debt to Kuwait. With Kuwait unwilling to cancel this debt, tension started building up between the two countries. Although the US had previously declared that it would not interfere in the conflict, its interest in keeping Saudi Arabia safe prompted it to start a massive military campaign against Iraq. After a series of unsuccessful calls for a ceasefire, the UN Security Council adopted resolution 678 which authorized its member states to resort to military action against Iraq under Chapter VII of the UN Charter. With Iraq's failure to retreat from Kuwait, Operation Desert Storm was enforced. Iraq carried a massive amount of losses and finally agreed to a ceasefire in April 1991. After the end of the Gulf War, economic sanctions linked to the removal of weapons of mass destruction continued to be imposed upon Iraq, causing an increase in poverty and malnutrition.

Following the 9/11 terrorist attacks on New York and Washington, President George W. Bush declared Iraq, Iran and North Korea to be the so called "axis of evil". The attacks have been linked to the Al-Qaida and its leader, the Saudi millionaire Osama Bin Laden. The US called for a change of the Iraqi regime and for the destruction of their weapons of mass destruction arsenal. President Bush insisted that the UN must urge Iraq to comply with its resolutions and "disarm its chemical, biological and nuclear weapons programmes", while Iraq denied disposing of such weapons. US claims were met with mistrust by the international community. Nevertheless, the UN requested Iraq to give a complete and accurate declaration about all of its military programmes and allow access for UN arms inspectors to visit sites suspected of producing chemical, nuclear or biological weapons. The team of UN inspectors admitted into the country did not completely rule out the possibility of there being weapons of mass destruction, however they were unable to detect any significant change in the situation compared to the state of things in 1992, when the bulk of the arsenal was dismantled. Yet the USA and the UK accused Saddam of disposing of a hidden arsenal of weapons of mass destruction. The Security Council adopted a resolution warning that Iraq would face serious consequences, unless it would disclose its arsenal. No measures under Chapter VII were adopted by the Security Council. The US and the UK – with the support of a few other countries - attacked Iraq, arguing on the grounds that their military campaign was based on the UN Security Council resolution 678 from 1990. This time around, not only were the legal grounds of the military operation highly questionable, but the war also lost public support when the weapons of mass destruction claims proved to be a mere pretense.

As the air strikes failed to defeat the Iraqi leadership, a ground invasion was set in motion. The Iraqi army was overwhelmed and soon defeated. In June 2003, Saddam's sons, Uday and Qusay, were killed by the US army. In December 2003, Saddam Hussein was captured. He was tried, declared guilty of committing crimes against humanity and was sentenced to death by hanging. His execution in 2006 tainted the already controversial trial, as his executioners were caught on tape abusing him.

The Bush administration admitted to having been wrong about the weapons of mass destruction and stated that not one bit of its pre-war intelligence had been correct. Furthermore, evidence of prisoner abuse, torture and humiliation inside the US-run prison of Abu Ghraib became public. Although seven soldiers received a jail sentence, the senior officers and officials were said to have been spared.

Despite violent outbursts, in the year 2005, Iraqis voted for their first full-term government and gave the majority of seats in the parliament to Shi'ites. The elections brought the Shi'ite United Iraqi Alliance into power, which named Nouri al-Maliki prime minister.

In September 2008, the security responsibility for the region of Anbar is handed by the US military to the Iraqi officials. This move was seen a symbolic first step of the US withdrawal. During his election campaign, Barack Obama promised to withdraw military troops from Iraq within sixteen months of taking office. Obama was elected president in November 2008 and soon confirmed that US forces aimed to withdraw by 2011. In accordance with the Status of Forces Agreement between Iraq and the USA, military bases started shutting in June 2009. Transitional forces remained in the country in order to train the Iraqi security forces until 2011. The time frame was challenged by the political deadlock following the 2010 elections in Iraq. The resulting coalition agreement kept al-Maliki in power as prime minister and appointed Jalal Talabani, a Kurd, as president. With view to preventing Sunni sectarian struggles, al-Maliki selected a panel of both Shi'ites and Sunnis as ministers, but appointed himself head of defense and interior ministry, causing concern on the US side about a far-reaching centralization of power. The last US troops left in December 2011.

Despite the success of US and UK troops in removing the dictatorial regime of Saddam Hussein, insurgent groups still conduct bomb attacks targeted at both security forces and civilians. Violence has intensified mostly since 2013, when Iraq once again became a full-blown sectarian war zone.

## Development of the Conflict

The political instability offered a good soil for spreading extremism in Iraq. It has reached its highest point with the advance of ISIS that is now posing a threat to the Iraqi sovereignty and raises questions of the future of the country.

### Who is ISIS?

#### *Profile*

The Islamic State of Iraq and al-Sham / the Islamic State of Iraq and Levant / the Islamic State / DAISH is an active terrorist organization that currently controls vast territories in Syria and Iraq. It calls its areas of control the Caliphate referring to the idea of a glorious and unified Islamic civilization. ISIS plans to extend its influence to Lebanon, Israel, Jordan, Cyprus and Southern Turkey.

ISIS is one of the main terrorist groups fighting the government forces in Syria. By 2014 ISIS gained enough power start operations against the government in Iraq. It is said to be surpassing Al-Qaida by its influence.

ISIS is not only said to have a disciplined military command - its proficiency in marketing is remarkable for a terrorist group. Fighters actively use the social media for self-promotion and new members acquisition and publish regular "annual reports", over 400 pages each.

ISIS is known to have the biggest guns, paying the highest salaries, driving Toyota SUVs and having enough capacities to fight simultaneously on several fronts.

#### *Background*

The story of the terrorist group formation depends much on the source of information you use and it is surrounded by controversy (see also *Values*). Here we will try to provide you with a simplified "official version" promoted by ISIS itself.

ISIS is the result of numerous rebranding of the terrorist organization that was established in Iraq in 2004 after the fall of Saddam Hussein. The organization was headed by Abu Mus'ab al-Zarqawi and pledged its allegiance to Al-Qaida. Soon after the organization changed its name into Al-Qaida in Iraq. Al Zarqawi was known for the ruthlessness which terrified the Iraqi people. It is said that the current Al-Qaida's leader Ayman al-Zawahiri had an argument with al-Zarqawi because of his approach. In 2006 al-Zarqawi was killed by the US-troops, but the organization remained. In 2010 Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi took over the leadership.

Al-Baghdadi's fighters invaded Syria during the turmoil of the civil war. At that time they acted under the brand of Al-Qaida in Iraq, or the Islamic State of Iraq. They fought along with another Al-Qaida-linked group, Jabhat al-Nusra. ISIS focused on establishing control over the oil and gas reserves of Syria and got infamous for cruelty against not only the al-Assad troops, but against the civil population and the Free Syrian Army as well.

In April 2013 al-Baghdadi announced the merger of the Islamic State of Iraq and Jabhat al-Nusra into one organization under the brand of the Islamic State of Iraq and al-Sham (Islamic State of Iraq and Levant, or ISIS). The prospect was previously dismissed by Al-Qaida's leader al-Zawahiri. The merger was also turned down by Jabhat al-Nusra. Al-Baghdadi however preserved the new name, and so the organization is now known as ISIS.

In February 2014 ISIS was expelled from Al-Qaida global network.

#### *Composition*

The exact number of the ISIS fighters is unknown. Apparently the organization comprises thousands of members and continues to grow. Peculiar is the ISIS composition. A significant part is represented by the international fighters coming from all over the world. Professor Peter Neumann of King's College London estimates that about 80% of Western fighters in Syria have joined the group. ISIS claims to have fighters from the UK, France, Germany and other European countries, as well as the US, the Arab world and the Caucasus. The ISIS supporters in Iraq in particular are mostly pro-Saddam revanchists and others opposing the current central Iraqi government, which raises questions about the religious connotation vastly mainstreamed by the group. It is known that Saddam was as a radical secularist.

#### *Values*

ISIS claims to represent Arab Sunnis and to aim at establishing a caliphate. ISIS's ideology originates in the branch of modern Islam that aims to return to the early days of Islam, rejecting later developments in the religion which they believe corrupt its original spirit. However, many experts and the majority of Arabs claim that ISIS mars the idea of the Muslim values and has no right to call itself an Islamic group at all. Zaid Hamid, a Sunni Muslim defense analyst from Pakistan, says ISIS and related terrorist groups are not Sunnis, but Kharajite heretics serving an anti-Islamic agenda.

Islamic scholar Dr. John Andrew Morrow questions ISIS Islamic credentials: "A lot of so-called jihad (such as ISIS) is not rooted in Islam. Especially if you look at who is funding it, who is supporting it, who is behind it. [...] In terms of the foot-soldiers, they may think they are fighting for Islam. But if you look closer, you find they are furthering the cause of the enemy." Dr. Morrow summarized the rules made up ISIS: "It is okay to

rape Christian and Shia women. It is okay to eat the internal organs of dead enemies. It is okay to marry 'jihad brides' for sex and divorce them after 30 minutes. It is okay to crucify Christian holy men. It is okay to strangle women to death. It is okay to mass-murder civilians. It is okay to mass-execute prisoners of war." This criminal acts have nothing to do with Islam, according to the expert.

The controversy over the ISIS hidden mission sparks huge debates. The opinions vary from ISIS being an "Assad creation", according to Al Jazeera's Robin Yassin-Kassab to ISIS protecting Israel in cooperation with CIA and Mossad according to Edward Snowden.

#### *Leader*

The ISIS leader is Abu Bakr Al-Baghdadi. He is believed to be born in 1971 in the city of Samarra, north of Baghdad and studied Islamic education at the Baghdad University. Al-Baghdadi allegedly lived in Kabul in 1996-2006, during the rule of Taliban and was member of the group affiliated to Al-Qaida. He is said to have joined the insurgency that happened in Iraq soon after the 2003 US-led invasion. He was arrested by the US military and served four years in a US prison camp for insurgents, at Bucca in southern Iraq. He was released in 2009. In 2010 he emerged as the leader of Al-Qaida in Iraq.

#### *Fighters acquisition*

ISIS actively uses social media to recruit its members. "Many of these guys have come from western societies and are used to using Twitter and other media", says Shiraz Maher an analyst from the International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation, who has been closely following the jihadists' online activity. "When the English speakers tweet, the number of hits they get, from people in the UK, is huge, with many asking 'how can I get there?'... If someone has no contacts in the area, they can make contact with a jihadist in Syria via social media, and get the transfer process started". The expert expresses concern about the fascination of terrorism promoted as "five star jihad" among the youth. More insights are provided in the article "What every jihadi in Syria needs: hair gel, an iPad and Kit-Kats".

#### *Funding*

The sources of funding are another point of controversy. ISIS is known to receive generous support from the some non-governmental and possibly governmental sections of the Gulf states. Ghanim al-Mteiri, former soldier in the Kuwaiti Army keeps it open: "Once upon a time we cooperated with the Americans in Iraq [while US assisted in pushing Iraq out of Kuwait in 1991]. Now we want to get Bashar out of Syria, so why not cooperate with Al-Qaida?" "Everybody knows the money is going through Kuwait and that it is coming from the Arab Gulf," says Andrew Tabler, senior fellow at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy. "Kuwait's banking system and its money changers have long been a huge problem because they are a major conduit for money to extremist groups in Syria and now Iraq." Saudi Arabia is often accused of funding ISIS. No credible evidence on the link between the group and the Saudi government has been found so far. However the list of private donors of the organization that leaked into the internet includes a lot of Saudi citizens.

ISIS may also generate incomes through extortion and kidnapping. June 12, the world leading mass-media reported that ISIS managed to steal \$425 million from the Mosul's Central Bank thus becoming the "world's richest terrorist group". However the claim was challenged subsequently.

#### *Gender issues*

ISIS is known for violence against the women: kidnapping, rape and torture. "Shortly after their conquest of Mosul, young men armed with assault rifles went door to door in Iraq's second-largest city, taking "women who are not owned" for jihad al-nikah, or sex jihad", reports Zahra Radwan, Programme Officer for Middle East & North Africa at Global Fund for Women. In the ISIS practice "sex jihad" replaced the idea of a "jihad marriage" - a concept of women willingly offering sexual comfort to fighters to assist the cause of establishing Islamic rule. Jacqueline Badcock, the UN resident and humanitarian coordinator in Iraq, reported that ISIS ordered all girls and women in and around the city of Mosul to undergo female genital mutilation. The announcement has been scrutinized by the mass-media and is currently being verified.

Surprisingly, there are women who voluntary join ISIS. The organization has an all-female unit called the al-Khansaa' Brigade. The mission of the brigade is to "raise awareness among women, and arrest and punish women who do not follow the religion correctly". Its members are volunteer women and wives of the fighters. A local teen of the Syrian city of Raqqa described her experience of a contact with the al-Khansaa' Brigade: "I was walking down the street when a car suddenly stopped and a group of armed women got out," she said. "They insulted me and yelled at me. They took me to one of their centers and kept me locked in a room". The fighters told Zainab she had been arrested because she had been walking alone, without an escort, and because her hijab was not worn properly.

#### *Human rights*

High Commissioner for Human Rights Navi Pillay expressed extreme alarm at the dramatic deterioration in the situation in Iraq as forces allied with ISIS overran a succession of major population centres. Hundreds were killed and half a million people were displaced. Pillay warned of the acute vulnerability of civilians caught in the crossfire, targeted in direct attacks by armed groups or trapped in ISIS-controlled areas. Humanitarian access was also a major concern. She reminded the parties of their obligations under international law to treat troops who have laid down their arms humanely and to observe the principles of distinction, proportionality and precaution. Pillay also condemned the series of executions by forces affiliated with ISIS.

### *ISIS in Iraq*

In 2014 ISIS started its advance in Iraq and established the control over vast territories of the country within just half a year. Its success can be explained by several factors.

Firstly, the overall turmoil in the country since the US-led invasion of 2003 has remained persistent. Bomb explosions and civil casualties has been the daily reality for the Iraqi people for years. According to the UN Assistance Mission for Iraq, at least 7,818 civilians were killed in 2013, and 3,238 in 2012.

Secondly, the policy of alienating Sunnis exercised by the Iraqi prime minister Nouri al-Maliki facilitated the split between Sunni and Shia in the country, which adds supporters to ISIS. Cities under control of the terrorists are populated mainly by Sunnis.

Thirdly, the rivalry between Iran and Saudi Arabia stimulates the support for ISIS from the Gulf (both in terms of finance and politics) since the group is fighting to overthrow the Iraqi Shia government with close ties to Teheran.

The Kurdish claim for self-determination is another important factor to be considered. Kurds are reluctant to resist ISIS hoping their fight against the government will create an opportunity for independent Kurdistan.

Last but not the least, the lack of the international response makes it easier for ISIS to advance. [See more on it in **International Reactions**]. And that despite the fact that ISIS is now just a step away from Israel, the country with the largest non-Muslim community and the key US-ally in the region. The fall of Baghdad can open the way to Jordan. The Jordanian extremists have already started raising their voices, particularly in rebellious Ma'an, but also in Zarqa, the birthplace of the ISIS founder al-Zarqawi that is just one-and-a-half hour drive away from the Jordanian capital.

The prospect of preserving Iraq in its current borders as one state is now on the agenda.

### *Key events (for Iraq only)*

December 2013 - January 2014 - ISIS crossed the Iraqi-Syrian border seized the city of Fallujah and many other parts of Anbar and Nineveh provinces. These territories make up the entire western border of Iraq with Syria and Jordan.

Early June 2014 - ISIS launched an offensive that resulted in taking over Mosul, the second-largest city in Iraq. It took control of government buildings, including the regional headquarters of the central bank, and military bases stocked with US-provided arms, munitions and equipment. ISIS released thousands of prisoners from city jails, some of whom may potentially join their ranks. It claims to have transported large weapons caches and armoured vehicles to Syria.

Christian families had to flee Mosul pushed by an ultimatum to Iraqi Christians living there: convert to Islam, pay a fine or face "death by the sword." ISIS threatened to take over Baghdad, which forced the Iraqi government to mobilize its forces.

By June 23, ISIS established control of a Syrian border crossing. Baghdad and ISIS both claim they are in control of the single crossing into Jordan and another into Syria. However analysts doubt that ISIS will dare to enter Jordan at the moment. Nor is it apparently seeking to seize the areas administrated by the Kurdistan Regional Government (KGR) despite its attractive oil reserves.

Meanwhile KGR expanded its borders and has started trading oil with Israel and Turkey unilaterally bypassing Baghdad.

Late June 2014 - ISIS announced the establishment of the Islamic Caliphate on the territories it controls in Iraq and Syria in an audio recording posted on the internet. It claims the state to be "governed under strict Islamic law". ISIS proclaimed its leader Abu Bakr Al-Baghdadi as caliph Ibrahim and "leader for Muslims everywhere" and even issued the Islamic State's passports.

On the eve of the Muslim holiday month of Ramadan al-Baghdadi issued a call on Muslims to emigrate to the "Islamic State".

## Previous UN Action

### Security Council

#### *Overview*

While ISIS has been included into 1267/1989 Al-Qaida sanctions list, in practice the Council has done very little to follow-up resolution 1618 on the specific threat of terrorism in Iraq.

Council members have found that publicly addressing the growing violence in Iraq in the past has been difficult, primarily because of US sensitivities related to its 2003 invasion and 2011 withdrawal. Recently, Council members issued two press statements on ISIS and the rapidly deteriorating situation in Iraq - about conditions in Anbar province on 5 June and about the fall of Mosul on 11 June. They were also briefed in consultations on 23 June on the wider threat of terrorism in the region.

This increase in Council attention contrasts with the routine consideration of the situation in Iraq every four months that has characterized the Council for years, despite repeated warning signs of growing authoritarian tendencies by Maliki, increasing threats from ISIS and other centripetal forces challenging territorial integrity. This increased attention could signal that, given the political, humanitarian and regional implications of territorial seizures by ISIS and the KRG and pronounced sectarian violence, Council members may be looking to increase engagement on Iraq.

On the political front, some members have found it difficult to formulate a Council response to the government-formation process beyond the routine call for an inclusive government. Some Council members are concerned that a display of support at this juncture might be misinterpreted as support for Maliki.

The Council continues to remain impervious to the independent oil exports from the KRG which pose mounting challenges to the authority of the central government. (Since 2007, the KRG has signed exploration and production agreements with many foreign companies, including Chevron and Exxon of the US and Total of France.)

#### *Concerns*

The UN Security Council (SC) follows closely the situation in Iraq. Its primary concerns are:

1. Averting the territorial and political disintegration of Iraq, which would have major negative implications for regional and international security;
2. Bolstering counter-terrorism efforts to curtail the spread of ISIS;
3. Determining how UN Assistance Mission for Iraq (UNAMI) can contribute to a political process that yields an inclusive government and responds more effectively to the humanitarian crisis and sectarian tension (currently UNAMI is a political mission not equipped to operationally address the various and very serious security issues - possible extension of its mandate is on the agenda).

#### *Possible Options*

1. Adopt a resolution that would extend the existing mandate of UNAMI to provide better capacity to address the cross-pollination of the crises in Iraq and Syria, support the establishment of a more inclusive political system and facilitate a humanitarian response.
2. Include in the UNAMI renewal a substantial reference to resolution 1618 adopted on 4 August 2005 specifically on terrorism in Iraq. Such language could include a strong reaffirmation of member states' obligations to prevent the transit of terrorists, prevent arms and financing that would support terrorists and emphasize the importance of strengthening the cooperation of the countries in the region, particularly neighbours of Iraq.
3. To review, revise and revive the use of the 1518 Iraq Sanctions Committee - which for all practical purposes is defunct and was only ever used to sanction Saddam Hussein's Baathist regime - to now target high-level ISIS fighters and supporters.

### UN in Iraq

The UN is represented in Iraq by the UN Assistance Mission for Iraq and the UN Country Team comprising 20 UN agencies.

The UN in Iraq supports national development efforts on political, electoral, and humanitarian levels. The UN advises and supports the government of Iraq and its people and works on capacity building to strengthen people and institutions during the democratic transition. Tackling the impact of ISIS activities is now on the agenda of the UN in Iraq.

#### *UNAMI*



UN Assistance Mission for Iraq, established in 2003, is mandated to work with government partners and civil society to coordinate the humanitarian and development efforts of the UN agencies, funds and programmes. While UNAMI itself does not implement or deliver humanitarian and development programmes, it recognizes the critical importance of supporting the partnership and technical cooperation between the Government of Iraq and the twenty UN agencies, funds and programmes operating in the country.

UNAMI is headed by the Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General for Iraq who is supported by two deputies: one oversees the political and human rights affairs, while the other is responsible for the UN humanitarian and development efforts and performs the functions of Resident and Humanitarian Coordinator in Iraq. The Mission is administered by the UN Department of Political Affairs and supported by the Department of Peacekeeping Operations and the Department of Field Support.

Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary-General for Iraq, Nickolay Mladenov has repeatedly stated that Iraq and Syria are becoming one battleground and appealed to the Security Council for action.

#### *UN Country Team*

UN Country Team in Iraq consists of twenty agencies: ESCWA, FAO, ILO, IOM, OCHA, OHCHR, UNHCR, UNCTAD, UNICEF, UNDP, UNESCO, UN Women, UNODC, UNEP, UN-HABITAT, UNIDO, UNOPS, UNFPA, WFP, WHO.

They lead the humanitarian, reconstruction and development agenda.

### **UN Documents**

#### Security Council Resolutions

S/RES/2110, 24 July 2013<sup>1</sup>

This resolution extended the mandate of UNAMI until 31 July 2014.

S/RES/1618, 4 August 2005<sup>2</sup>

This resolution was related to terrorism in Iraq.

#### Security Council Presidential Statement

S/PRST/2014/, 10 January 2014<sup>3</sup>

This was a presidential statement supporting government efforts to address the security situation and condemning attacks perpetrated by Al-Qaida affiliate ISIL.

#### Security Council Press Statements

SC/11437, 11 June 2014<sup>4</sup>

Deplored the takeover of Mosul by ISIS.

SC/11430, 5 June 2014<sup>5</sup>

Praised the completion of the election process, called for an inclusive government and encouraged a humanitarian response to the situation in Anbar.

#### Secretary General's Reports

S/2014/191, 14 March 2014<sup>6</sup>

This was the Secretary-General's Iraq/Kuwait missing persons and property report.

S/2014/190, 14 March 2014<sup>7</sup>

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1 [http://www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/cf/%7B65BFCF9B-6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%7D/s\\_res\\_2110.pdf](http://www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/cf/%7B65BFCF9B-6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%7D/s_res_2110.pdf)

2 <http://www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/cf/%7B65BFCF9B-6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%7D/Lebanon%20SRES1618.pdf>

3 [http://www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/cf/%7B65BFCF9B-6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%7D/s\\_prst\\_2014\\_1.pdf](http://www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/cf/%7B65BFCF9B-6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%7D/s_prst_2014_1.pdf)

4 <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs//2014/sc11437.doc.htm>

5 <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs//2014/sc11430.doc.htm>

6 [http://www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/cf/%7B65BFCF9B-6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%7D/s\\_2014\\_191.pdf](http://www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/cf/%7B65BFCF9B-6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%7D/s_2014_191.pdf)

This was the Secretary-General's UNAMI report.

## I n t e r n a t i o n a l   R e a c t i o n s

### **China**

China said that it has offered the Iraqi government in Baghdad whatever help it can give to suppress the violence emerged by extremist militants in Iraqi provinces. Chinese Foreign Ministry spokeswoman Hua Chunying said that Beijing is watching security developments in Iraq closely after ISIL militants captured two more towns in a sweep south. China is the top foreign player in Iraq's oilfields, which are the largest in the Middle East open to foreign investment, and has a natural interest in the country's stability. "China is paying close attention to the recent security situation in Iraq and we support the Iraqi government's efforts to maintain domestic security and stability. We hope that Iraq can return to stability, safety and normality as early as possible," Chunying said. State-run China National Petroleum Corporation (CNPC), China's biggest oil and gas producer, has three projects in Iraq, in the south and southeast of the country.

### **France**

French Foreign Minister Laurent Fabius said that jihadists spearheading a militant offensive in Iraq have sold oil from captured areas to the regime of Syrian President Bashar al-Assad. Fabius said the sale was evidence of the "confusing" nature of the escalating conflict in the Middle East in which Assad and the jihadists are in theory on opposing sides. Other revenues and weapons have been seized during the advance by the Islamist fighters, particularly in the town of Mosul. Referring to how the rebels in Syria and the Assad government use each other to derive legitimacy, Fabius said: "Officially they are combatting each other but in fact they are very often helping each other." The situation in Iraq is "very, very, very worrying," he added. "Why? Because it is probably the first time that a terrorist group -- and a ferocious terrorist group -- is in a position, if there is no reaction, to take over the whole country, and a rich country, with enormous consequences for the region and the world," he said. The solution, according to him is for Iraq to unite behind the government and the army to drive out the jihadists.

### **Russia**

The Russian Foreign Ministry is concerned about the persecution of members of religious minorities in northwestern Iraq by Islamists from the radical militant group Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) and is calling on the international community to prevent inter-religious strife in the region. "Moscow is deeply concerned about the fact that ISIL militants are persecuting members of religious minorities living in northwestern Iraq, forcing thousands of Christians and adherents of other faiths to hastily leave their traditional places of living," the ministry said in a statement available on its website. "We believe that such aggressive and systematic actions by Islamic radicals in relation to some groups of Iraqi society motivated by religious hatred are absolutely unacceptable and criminal. Special responsibility for the ongoing events rests with the forces in the region and outside it that patronize the ISIL this or that way," it says. The Russian Foreign Ministry called on "all responsible members of the international community to do all they can to prevent interethnic and inter-religious strife, support the Iraqi authorities' efforts to establish order in the country and resolve all the existing disagreements through dialogue and mutual respect on a non-discriminatory basis and taking into account interests of all elements of Iraqi society."

### **UK**

The United Kingdom's national interest lies in supporting a sovereign and democratic Iraq to resist threats, offering assistance where necessary, and working with others to prevent the spread of terrorism in Iraq and throughout the region. They are taking action in three areas: promoting political unity among those who support a democratic Iraqi state and stability in the region; offering assistance where appropriate and possible; and alleviating humanitarian suffering. We have made it clear that this does not involve planning a military intervention by the United Kingdom. The rise of sectarianism and religious intolerance is fuelling instability in the Middle East. This has been compounded by the brutality of the Assad government, whose relentless war against its own people has created an opening for extremists. That is why the UK will continue to support the moderate opposition in Syria who have had the courage to fight directly against ISIL and other extremists, as well as urging the Iraqi government to take the political and military steps required to defeat such groups in Iraq. We are also working to reinforce stability across the region, including through providing significant security support to the governments of Lebanon and Jordan, as well as £243 million in humanitarian assistance to those countries. The UK will intensify its efforts in the coming days and weeks to tackle this serious threat to international peace and security.

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7 [http://www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/cf/%7B65BF9B-6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%7D/s\\_2014\\_190.pdf](http://www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/cf/%7B65BF9B-6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%7D/s_2014_190.pdf)

## **USA**

The United States condemns in the strongest terms the systematic persecution of ethnic and religious minorities by the terrorist group Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL). They are outraged by ISIL's recent announcement that Christians in Mosul must either convert, pay a tax, leave, or face execution in the coming days. ISIL also continues to target Sunni clerics and tribal sheikhs who disagree with its dark vision for Iraq. These abominable actions only further demonstrate ISIL's mission to divide and destroy Iraq and contradict Islam's spirit of tolerance and peaceful co-existence. It should be clear that ISIL is not only a threat to the stability of Iraq, but a threat to the entire region. This growing threat exemplifies the need for Iraqis from all communities to work together to confront this common enemy and to take all possible steps to isolate these militant groups from the broader population. They encourage government officials in Baghdad and Erbil to take every possible effort to assist Iraq's vulnerable populations and hold perpetrators accountable for their actions in a manner consistent with the rule of law. The United States stands with all the Iraqi people against the threat from ISIL. The United States condemns the recent attacks by the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) against Iraqi soldiers, elected officials, civilians, and military commanders. ISIL, a branch of al-Qa'ida, is a common enemy of the United States and the Republic of Iraq, and a threat to the greater Middle East region. The Strategic Framework Agreement between the two countries provides the basis for long-term security cooperation, and we remain committed to helping strengthen Iraqi forces in their ongoing fight against ISIL. The United States will continue to work with all Iraqi leaders to promote political progress and isolate violent extremist networks. The United States further calls on regional leaders to take active measures to police the funding and recruitment for these groups, including ISIL and the al-Nusrah front, and deter the flow of foreign fighters into Syria, many of whom later conduct suicide bombings against innocent civilians in Iraq. The United States mourns the loss of life in recent days, and we wish a speedy recovery to the wounded. We also stand with the Iraqi Security Forces, civilian leaders, tribes, and local councils, in their fight against terrorists who are seeking to gain control of territory inside the borders of Iraq.

## **Turkey**

It is known that members of the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) have seized a significant portion of Mosul, including its western bank, as a result of their attacks. They also have raided the premises of the Turkish Consulate General in Mosul and moved its personnel to another area of the city. There were a total of 49 persons on the premises, including the Consul General, staff and some family members. Turkey is mobilized with all its means in order to ensure the safe return of its staff to their country. In this context, representations have been made to the Iraqi Government, which was reminded that it was responsible for the safety and security of its citizens. Additionally, necessary representations are being made with international organizations, including the United Nations and NATO. Minister of Foreign Affairs Davutoğlu has discussed the matter with the Secretary General of the United Nations Ban Ki Moon and US Secretary of State John Kerry. Moreover, thirty-one Turkish citizens have been taken hostage by the same group in a power plant in the Gyarah region of Mosul and efforts to ensure their release are underway. Turkey is deeply concerned about the current situation in friendly and brotherly Iraq and hopes for the swift restoration of peace and stability in the country. On the other hand, they strongly and vehemently condemn the attacks against our diplomatic mission and its citizens. Turkey demands the immediate release of its consular staff and its citizens.

## **P o s s i b l e   p o i n t s   t o   a d d r e s s**

How should international community react to the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS)/ the Islamic State (IS)? What impact will ISIS/ IS have on the existing state structures in the Middle East and regional power interests in the region?

Does ISIS/IS pose a permanent threat to the integrity of Iraq and other countries in the region?

What can be done to preserve the integrity and stability of Iraq? Are both, the integrity of the Iraqi territory and the political stability of Iraq feasible or rather mutually exclusive?

What support should be provided to the Iraqi government?

How should the international community address the territorial consolidation of Kurdistan? What effect would a sovereign state of Kurdistan have on the stability of Iraq and the Middle East?

Should the mandate of UNAMI, which currently remains a political mission without capabilities to address serious security issues, be strengthened or are alternative multilateral and bilateral approaches, respectively, more effective?

ISIS/ IS said to generate substantial revenue from illicitly exporting crude oil (allegedly also to the Syrian regime). Should the international community take measures to stop that trade and if yes, which would be appropriate?  
Et cetera....