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GRAZ - INNSBRUCK - KLAGENFURT - LINZ - SALZBURG - VIENNA

## **Security Council (SC)**

**“Decision on an urgent political crisis. (Iraq)”**

## **Introduction to the Committee:**

### **The Security Council (SC)**

Background:

The Security Council is one of the six principal organs of the United Nations. On January 17, 1946 the Security Council held its first session. During the first forty years of its existence the Council was largely paralysed by the Cold War, but since 1990 and the thawing of the political climate, it has been very active. The Security Council was constructed under the United Nations-Charter as an organ with primary responsibility for maintaining international peace and security.

It is so organised as to be able to function continuously. At least one representative of each of its members must be present at all times at United Nations Headquarter. This requirement of the United Nations Charter was adopted to address a weakness of the League of Nations since that organisation was often unable to respond quickly to crises.

On 31 January, 1992 the first ever Summit Meeting of the Council was convened at Headquarters, attended by Heads of State and Government of 13 of its 15 members and by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the remaining two. The Council may also meet elsewhere than at Headquarters. In 1972, it held a session in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, and the following year in Panama City, Panama. When a complaint concerning a threat to peace is brought before it, the Council's first action is usually to recommend to the parties to try to reach agreement by peaceful means. Acting under Chapter VI of the Charter, the Council shall, when it deems necessary, call upon the parties to a dispute to settle it by peaceful means such as negotiation, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, or judicial settlement (Article 33).

In some cases, the Council itself undertakes investigation and mediation. It may appoint special representatives or request the Secretary-General to mediate or negotiate under guidelines the Council has established. When a dispute leads to fighting, the Council's first concern is to bring it to an end as soon as possible. On many occasions, the Council has issued cease-fire directives which have been instrumental in preventing wider hostilities. It also sends United Nations peace-keeping forces to help reduce tensions in troubled areas, keep opposing forces apart and create conditions of calm in which peaceful settlements may be sought.

Under Chapter VII, the Council is also authorized to decide on enforcement measures such as economic sanctions (e.g. trade embargoes) or collective military actions when threats to or breaches of peace as well as acts of aggression have occurred. Decisions taken under Chapter VII are binding on United Nations members. A member state against which preventive or enforcement action has been taken by the Security Council may be suspended from the exercise of the rights and privileges of membership by the General Assembly on the recommendation of the Security Council. A member state which has persistently violated the principles of the Charter may be expelled from the United Nations by the Assembly on the Council's recommendation.

### **Members**

The Security Council consists of fifteen members. There are five permanent members: China, France, Great Britain, the Russian Federation and the United States and ten temporary members elected by the General Assembly for two year terms.

The General Assembly approves five new members every year in accordance with a system that pays due regard to a equitable geographical distribution. Thus there are five non-permanent members from African and Asian states, one from Eastern Europe, two from Latin America, and two from Western Europe and elsewhere. The current non-permanent members are Algeria, Angola, Benin, Brazil, Chile, Germany, Pakistan, Philippines and Spain.

The Presidency of the Council rotates monthly, according to the English alphabetical listing of its member states. In August the Russian Federation will assume the Presidency of the Security Council. Each Council member has one vote. Decisions on procedural matters are made by an affirmative vote of at least nine of the 15 members. Decisions on substantive matters require nine votes, including the concurring votes of all five permanent members.

This is the rule of "great power unanimity", often referred to as the "veto" power. A state which is a member of the United Nations but not of the Security Council may participate, without a vote, in its discussions when the Council considers that that country's interests are affected. Both members of the United Nations and non-members, if they are parties to a dispute being considered by the Council, are invited to take part, without a vote, in the Council's discussions; the Council sets the conditions for participation by a non-member state. Under the Charter all members of the United Nations agree to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council. While other organs of the United Nations make recommendations to governments, the Council alone has the power to take decisions which Member States are obligated under the Charter to carry out.

## Structure

The Security Council committees are divided into „Standing Committees“ and „Ad Hoc Committees“. There are two standing committees at present, and each includes representatives of all Security Council member states: „Committee of Experts on Rules of Procedure“ and „Committee on Admission of New Members“. Ad Hoc Committees are established as needed and comprise all Council members: „Security Council Committee on Council meeting away from Headquarters“, „Governing Council of the United Nations Compensation Commission established by Security Council Resolution 692 (1991)“, and „Committee established pursuant to Resolution 1373 (2001) concerning Counter-Terrorism“

## Functions and Powers

A number of powers and duties were granted to the Security Council under the United Nations Charter. In addition to its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security they include the right to investigate disputes or situations which could lead to international friction as well as to call upon the parties involved to settle their differences by peaceful means. The Security Council has the right to determine the existence of a threat to international security, a breach of the peace, or an act of aggression and to take appropriate countermeasures. This may include calling upon the members to impose economic sanctions or other measures not involving the use of armed force to prevent or stop aggression. The Security Council may also take whatever military measures are needed to maintain or restore international peace and security.

## **Introduction to the Issue:**

### **A short history of the Iraq**

#### From the ancient Mesopotamia to the End of the Ottoman Rule

Mesopotamia, the ancient name for the region now known as Iraq, was the birthplace of one of the oldest civilizations known to mankind. The territory of present-day Iraq was the cradle of the Sumerian civilization around 4000 B.C. Over the centuries it was the home of a series of prestigious civilizations: the Akkad, Babylonian, and Assyrian or Chaldean. Mesopotamia (from the Greek «between rivers») was a crossroads for innumerable migrations and conquest expeditions. Hittites, Mitanni, Persians, Greeks, Romans and Byzantines all passed through the territory, leaving behind their marks on the land's cultural heritage as well as destruction.

The Kingdom of Babylon fell to the Assyrians in 1350 B.C., then to the Persians under Cyrus and Darius. Persian rule defined the area for the next millennium. Islam began expanding in the 600s A.D. and quickly absorbed the Persian-ruled areas. Mesopotamia was transformed by its Arab conquerors into the center of an enormous empire. A century later, in 762, the new Abbas dynasty decided to move the capital east from Damascus. Caliph al-Mansur built the new capital, Baghdad, on the banks of the Tigris and for three centuries the city of the «thousand and one nights» was the center of a new culture. This culture led to the greatest flourishing of the arts and sciences in the Mediterranean region since the days of the Greeks. The empire began to fall apart after the death of Harun al-Raschid. The African provinces were lost and the region north and east of Persia won independence under the Tahirids (the Kingdom of Khorasan). The caliphs depended increasingly on armies of slaves or mercenaries (Sudanese or Turks) to retain their grip on an ever-shrinking empire.

When the Mongols assassinated the last caliph in Baghdad in 1258, the title had already lost its political meaning. The conquests of Genghis Khan devastated the region's agricultural economy, and the region was subsequently ruled in whole or part by Seleucids, Ottomans, Turks, Mongols, Turkomans, Tartars, and Kurds. The region declined such that it was easy pickings for the Ottomans in 1534 and thus Iraq remained for nearly 400 years.

## The birth of the Nation State

When the Ottoman Empire was dismembered following World War I and the boundaries of the 20th-century state of Iraq were drawn, they bore little resemblance to those of the provinces of Ottoman Iraq. Nor had the name Iraq been attached to any of those provinces. Ottoman Iraq was roughly approximate to the Arabian Iraq of the preceding era, but without clearly defined borders.

The Zagros Mountains, which separated Arabian Iraq from Persian Iraq, now lay on the Ottoman-Iranian frontier, but that frontier shifted with the fortunes of war. On the west and south, Iraq faded out somewhere in the sands of the Syrian and Arabian deserts. It was the British, whose interests in the Persian Gulf and the Tigris-Euphrates region had grown steadily since the late 18th century, who ultimately brought an end to the Ottoman presence in Iraq. In the years just before World War I, the close ties between the governments of the Kaiser in Berlin and the Young Turks in Istanbul were particularly troublesome to Great Britain.

When Germany was awarded a concession to extend its railway line through Anatolia to Baghdad and acquired mineral rights to the land on both sides of the proposed route, heightened fear of German competition in Iraq and the Persian Gulf evoked strong protests from London. Soon afterward, the Anglo-Persian Oil Company began production on the Iranian side of the gulf, and there were indications that oil might be found elsewhere in the area. In 1912 a group representing British, German, and Dutch interests formed the Turkish Petroleum Company which, on the eve of the war, was given a concession to explore for oil in the vilayets of Mosul and Baghdad. In view of these developments and because they feared that the Ottomans might be persuaded by the Germans to undertake military action against them, the British had already made plans to send an expedition from India to protect their interests in the Persian Gulf before the Ottoman Empire entered the war in early November 1914.

After war was declared, a British expeditionary force landed at the head of the gulf and on Nov. 22, 1914, entered Basra. In a campaign aimed at taking Baghdad, the British suffered a defeat at Kut al-'Amarah in April 1916, but a reinforced British army marched into Baghdad on March 11, 1917. An administration staffed largely by British and Indian officials replaced the Ottoman provincial government in occupied Iraq, but Mosul remained in Ottoman hands until after the Armistice of Mudros (Oct. 30, 1918), which brought an end to the war in the Middle East. With the defeat of the Turks, Iraq entertained hopes of independence. These however were dashed when the revolutionary Soviet government revealed the existence of the secret Sykes-Picot treaty (signed in 1916), whereby France and Britain divided the Arab territories between themselves. Faisal, son of the shereef Hussein, had proclaimed himself King of Syria and occupied Damascus. However, since this territory «belonged» to the French, who had promised nothing to the Arabs, he was forcibly evicted. In 1920, Britain was awarded a mandate over Iraq by the League of Nations, triggering a pro-independence rebellion.

## The constitutional monarchy

In 1921, Emir Faisal ibn Hussain was appointed King of Iraq, also as compensation for his previous bad treatment. The establishment of the monarchy was the first step in the establishment of a national regime. Two other steps followed immediately: the signing of a treaty of alliance with Great Britain and the drafting of a constitution. Iraq undertook to respect religious freedom and missionary enterprises and the rights of foreigners, to treat all states equally, and to cooperate with the League of Nations.

Britain was obligated to offer advice on foreign and domestic affairs, such as military, judicial, and financial matters (defined in separate and subsidiary agreements). Although the terms of the treaty were open to periodic revision, they were to last 20 years. In the meantime, Britain agreed to prepare Iraq for membership in the League of Nations „as soon as possible“. It soon became apparent that the substance, though not the form, of the mandate was still in existence and that complete independence had not been achieved. The Organic Law, as the constitution was called, went into effect right after it was signed by the king on March 21, 1925. It provided for a constitutional monarchy, a parliamentary government, and a bicameral legislature. The first Parliament met in 1925, ten general elections were held before the downfall of the monarchy in 1958. The more than 50 Cabinets formed during the same period reflected the instability of the system. In 1930, general Nuri as-Said was appointed Prime Minister, signing a treaty of alliance with the British, under which the country would become nominally independent on October 3 1932. King Faisal as well as his successor in 1933, King Ghazi, had severe problems to maintain control over their instable political regime and to resist against intrigues and violence initiated by opposition forces. The army became virtually the deciding factor in Cabinet changes from 1936 to 1941. In 1937, a non-aggression pact, called the Sa'dabad Pact, between Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, and Iraq was signed. In 1939, shortly before the

outbreak of World War II, King Ghazi was killed in a mysterious car accident, and his son Faisal II ascended the throne. As Faisal was only four years old, his uncle, Emir 'Abd al-Ilah, was appointed regent and served in this capacity for the next 14 years.

The British presence was not universally loved in Iraq as evidenced by the coups that were repelled with the help of British troops. After a 1941 attempt wherein Italy and Germany were approached for aid, Britain took no chances. It sent troops to secure the throne and then ensure that Iraq declare war on the Axis in 1943. Post-war, Iraq joined the Arab League and took part in the war fought in 1948 to prevent Israel from being established. When the conflict ended, nearly the entire Jewish population of Iraq left for Israel. Despite the constant political instability, Iraq achieved material progress during the 1950s, thanks to a new oil agreement that increased royalties and the establishment of the Development Board. Despite that material progress, the monarchy failed to win public support and, in particular, the confidence of the younger generation.

#### From the revolution 1958 to the Ba'ath-Regime

In July 1958, anti-imperialist agitation resulted in a military coup led by Abdul Karim Kassim, bringing about the execution of the royal family. A provisional constitution declared that Iraq formed an integral part "of the Arab nation" and that "Arabs and Kurds are considered partners in this homeland." Iraq was declared a republic and Islam the religion of the state; all executive and legislative powers were entrusted to the Sovereignty Council and the Cabinet. In 1959 the regime tried to forge a union with Syria, but the Communist Party - one of the most important in the East - and the democrats, whose model was the European parliamentary system, opposed the move. In July, in an attempt to consolidate the regime, Kassim banned all political parties and proclaimed that the emirate of Kuwait belonged to Iraq.

The Arab League, dominated by Egypt, authorized the deployment of British troops to protect the oil rich enclave. Kassim's over-exaggerated ties with the Soviet Union and China fomented predictions that Iraq could become «a new Cuba». In the summer of 1960 the country suddenly moved towards the West. Steps toward economic change were taken, a land reform program was implemented, and the profits of the Iraq Petroleum Company were severely restricted. In 1963, Kassim was deposed by pan-Arabian sectors within the army. Several unstable governments ensued until July 17 1968, when a military coup placed the Ba'ath party in power. Founded in 1947, the Arab Ba'ath Socialist Party (ba'ath meaning renaissance) was inspired by the ideal of Pan-Arabism, regarding the Arab World as an indivisible political and economic unit where no country «can be self-sufficient». The Ba'athists proclaimed that «socialism is a need which emerges from the very core of Arab nationalism. It is organized on a 'national' (Arab) level, having several 'regional' leaders in each country.» Iraq nationalized foreign companies, and Baghdad defended the use of oil as a «political weapon in the struggle against imperialism and Zionism». It insisted on protected prices and the consolidation of OPEC as an organization which would support the struggle of the Third World for the recovery and enhancement of its natural resources. A land reform program was decreed, and ambitious development plans encouraged the reinvestment of oil money into national industrialization.

In 1970, the Baghdad Government gave the Kurdish language official status, and granted Kurdistan domestic autonomy. However, abetted by the Shah of Iran, and fearful of land reform, the traditional regional leaders rose in armed confrontation. In March 1975, the Iran-Iraq border agreement deprived the Kurds of their main foreign support and the rebels were defeated. The Baghdad Government decreed the teaching of Kurdish in local schools, greater state investment in the region, and the appointment of Kurds to key administrative positions. On July 16 1979, President Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr resigned because of ill-health. He was replaced by Vice-President Saddam Hussein.

#### Iraq under Saddam Hussein

Saddam Hussein tried to establish himself as leader of the Arab world. He was one of the most outspoken critics of the 1979 Camp David agreements between Egypt, Israel and the US, but Iraqi relations with other Arab countries still worsened. A branch of the Ba'ath party took power in Syria in 1970, but its discrepancies with Baghdad led to rivalry and some border disputes. Saddam wanted to reassert Iraq's sovereignty over both banks of the Shatt al-Arab waterway that historically had been the border with Iran. He was also concerned about attempts by Iran's new Islamic revolutionary government to incite rebellion among Iraq's Shi'a majority.

These issues spurred Saddam to make a preemptive strike on Iran. By attacking when it did, Iraq took advantage of the apparent disorder of Iran's new government and demoralization of its regular armed forces. The Iraqis were confident of a quick victory but in the event the war lasted for 8 years. During the war, the Saudis and Kuwaitis - like others who had benefited from Iraq acting as a bulwark against Iranian

fundamentalism - granted Baghdad many loans which were used both in the conflict and for strengthening the country's infrastructure. An oil pipeline was built through Turkey as an alternative to the one which crossed Syria to the Mediterranean; Syria had closed this in sympathy with Iran. The roads to Jordan were also improved. In November 1984, 17 years after they had broken off diplomatic relations, official links with the US were re-established. The 1988 armistice meant that Iraq retained 2,600 square kilometers of Iranian territory with its powerful and skillful army. Neighboring Kuwait was extracting more oil than allowed from deposits under the border and refused to establish export quotas.

As the US hinted that they would remain neutral in the event of conflict, Baghdad thought that it would be able to take the neighboring territory and exploit its wealth. On August 2, Iraq invaded Kuwait and took thousands of foreign hostages. Four days later the UN decided on a total economic and military blockade until Iraq retreated unconditionally from the occupied territory. Withdrawal was rejected, but a proposal for an international conference to discuss the Middle East issue was submitted. When Iraq started to release the hostages and to make new attempts at negotiating, the US refused to talk and demanded an unconditional surrender. On January 17 1991, an alliance of 32 countries led by the US started the attacks on Iraq. When the land offensive began in March, Saddam Hussein had already announced his unconditional withdrawal. The Iraqi army did not resist the offensive and hardly attempted to stage an organized withdrawal, yet it suffered great losses.

The war ended early in March, with the total defeat of the Iraqis. At the end of the offensive, the US encouraged an internal revolt of the southern Shi'a and of the northern Kurds so that Saddam Hussein would be deposed. However, the political differences between these factions made an alliance impossible, and Washington abandoned the rebels to their own fates, whereupon they were crushed by the still powerful Iraqi army. Over one million Kurds sought refuge in Iran and Turkey to escape the Baghdad forces, and thousands starved or froze to death when winter came. Between 150,000 and 200,000 people, mostly civilians, died in the war. As a result of the blockade - still in force - some 70,000 more may have died in the first year, among them 20,000 children.

At the end of 1991, both the Turkish and Iraqi armies were continuing to harass the Kurds in the border area. The conditions stipulated for lifting sanctions became even more demanding with the increased determination on the part of the US Government to bring down Hussein. In addition, The New York Times and the London Sunday Telegraph reported that the United States had introduced huge amounts of counterfeit dinars (Iraq's currency), smuggled across the Jordanian, Saudi Arabian, Turkish and Iranian borders. Baghdad established the death penalty for anyone participating in these operations. Toward the end of 1991, the Iraqi Government authorized UN inspections of military establishments. In 1992, Iraq was found to have a uranium enrichment project, which had been developed using German technology.

UN inspection teams destroyed 460 x 122 mm warheads armed with sarin, a poisonous gas. They also dismantled the nuclear complex at al-Athir, the uranium enrichment installations at Ash-Sharqat and Tarmiah, and the chemical weapons plant at Muthana. In 1992 and 1993, the United States carried out several missile attacks on military targets and factories near Baghdad. They also bombed Iraqi troops along the border with Kuwait, recovering weapons abandoned by the retreating Iraqis. When Bill Clinton assumed the presidency of the United States, the Iraqi Government asked for a cease-fire. They put no conditions on further UN inspections.

In 1994 a frontier crossing was opened with Turkey to allow certain UN authorized foodstuffs and medicines to enter the country - the only exceptions to the trade embargo. However a few months later in March 1995, Turkish troops invaded Iraqi Kurdistan - under the military protection of «allied» - basically US - troops to repress members of the Kurdish Workers' Party (PKK) which was launching attacks from there on Turkish troops stationed in Turkish Kurdistan. The international isolation of Baghdad became yet more serious in 1996 when Jordan distanced itself from Saddam's Government, as King Hussein's relations with Kuwait and Saudi Arabia improved. These two countries continued pressuring the US not to lift the embargo on Iraq, because - amongst other reasons - Saudi oil had replaced Iraq's in several markets. However, the UN Security Council voted for the partial lifting of sanctions, allowing the controlled sale of crude oil, in order to buy the food and medicines needed by the Iraqi population. However many medicines and other necessities do not get through the rigorous vetting by the sanctions committee. In April 1997, a UN report revealed that the number of people dying from hunger as a result of the embargo had passed the million mark, and 570,000 of these were children.

Meanwhile, UNICEF stated 25 per cent of children aged less than five years old were suffering from severe clinical malnutrition. In October, a new Iraqi crisis erupted as the Security Council threatened to impose further sanctions if a new inspection were not authorized to verify that Saddam was unable to manufacture chemical and biological weapons. Iraq rejected the presence of US inspectors, which led

President Clinton to take a hard-line approach. Despite pressures from Washington, the Security Council ruled out the use of force. Accords reached in Baghdad by UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan in March 1998 reduced tensions and allowed new inspections to begin. Clinton, with the sole backing of British Prime Minister Tony Blair, decided to order missile attacks on several Iraqi cities. This coincided with the beginning of discussions in the US Congress that would result in Clinton's impeachment trial. Beginning December 16, the «Operation Desert Fox» bombing campaign killed hundreds of Iraqis, both military troops and civilians. France, Russia and China, all members of the UN Security Council, protested at the US-British offensive and criticized the role played by Richard Butler, head of UNSCOM, the UN commission entrusted with overseeing Iraq's chemical and nuclear disarmament.

The UN Secretary-General expressed reservations about the Australian diplomat's negotiating style. The hardline attitude against Iraq that Butler advocated was more important from the publicity point of view than from the perspective of real debilitation of Iraq's military and moral potential. By a narrow margin, the Security Council approved a measure in December 1999 (Res. 1284) to renew inspections in Iraq and to suspend economic sanctions if Baghdad were to co-operate. Russia, France, China and Malaysia abstained from vote, which was a sharp blow to US and British interests, as they had intended to send an unequivocal message to Hussein. Among the Security Council's permanent members, the resolution won only a minority of the votes. Iraq, which had already indicated it would reject the resolution, alleging it was a US attempt to impose its «evil» will upon the Security Council, refused inspection and demanded the sanctions be lifted. In March 2001 Iraq failed in his demand within the Arab League to ignore the sanction regime. In June 2001 Iraq rejected a British proposal to change the nature of the sanctions („smart sanctions“).

End of November 2002 the famous Resolution 1441 passed the Security Council. Apart of the simplification of the „Oil-for-Food-Programme“, the UNMOVIC (United Nations Monitoring, Observation, Verification and Inspection Commission) was called to reenter Iraq. In January 2003 the first report of the Inspectors was presented in the Security Council, the chief inspectors are claiming a lack of will of Iraq in cooperation with the UNMOVIC. On February 5th the US Secretary of State Powell presented a report in the Security Council where he is claiming that the Iraqi regime would still hiding chemical weapons and runs a nuclear weapon program. For the US-administration, Baghdad has contacts to Al Qaeda.

## **Current political situation**

### The Sanctions Regime

After the Government of Iraq declined the Security Councils offer of selling oil in order to meet its people's basic needs in August 1991, the sanctions, imposed in 1990 under SCR-661, remained in place for almost another five years. Only then the GOI accepted the so-called „oil-for-food“-Program adopted by SCR - 986 (1995) to be effectively implemented in the Memorandum of Understanding (S/1996/356). Currently in its 14th phase, this program regulates the use of money and goods purchased by the Government of Iraq in exchange for oil and oil-related products. SCR 1330 (2000) changed the proportion of the oil-revenue funds from 53% for the center and south of Iraq to 59%, while the share of the three northern governorates of Dohuk, Erbil and Suleimaniyah remains at 13%. Even before this, the initial ceiling on Iraqi oil exports of \$2 billion was raised to \$5,26 billion in 1998 and removed completely by the end of 1999. Under the program, which is funded exclusively by Iraqi oil exports, authorized by the Security Council, some \$26 billion worth humanitarian supplies and equipment have been delivered to Iraq, with an additional \$10.9 billion worth of supplies currently in the production and delivery pipeline.

The Office of the Iraq Program administers the overall management and coordination of all United Nations humanitarian activities in Iraq under SCR-661, SCR-986 and S/1996/356 separate from UNMOVIC, IAEA and the United Nations Compensation Commission. The Office of the Humanitarian Coordinator in Iraq (UNOHCI) is an integral part of the Office of the Iraq Program. Reporting directly to the Executive Director of OIP, the Humanitarian Coordinator in Iraq is responsible for the management and the implementation of the program in the field. There are nine United Nations agencies and programs involved in the program. These are: FAO, UNESCO, WHO, ITU, UNICEF, UNDP, WFP, UNOPS, UN-Habitat. Out of the total oil revenues, 25% goes to the Compensation Fund for war reparation payments, while 2.2% covers the United Nations administrative and operational costs for administering the program and 0.8% is allocated to the weapons inspection program.

The Secretary-Generals last report on the program, (S/2002/1239), focuses on the achievements and difficulties in improving the humanitarian situation in Iraq, the persisting revenue shortfall and the processing and review of contracts for humanitarian supplies, introduced under SCR-1409 (2002) based on the Goods Review List (GRL). The program has expanded beyond supply of food and medicines to cover 24

sectors: food, food-handling, health, nutrition, electricity, agriculture and irrigation, education, transport and telecommunications, water and sanitation, housing, settlement rehabilitation (internally displaced persons – IDPs), demining, special allocation for especially vulnerable groups, and oil industry spare parts and equipment. The GOI introduced 10 new sectors in June 2002: construction, industry, labor and social affairs, Board of Youth and Sports, information, culture, religious affairs, justice, finance, and Central Bank of Iraq. The program has helped to improve the overall socio-economic conditions of the Iraqi people countrywide. In addition, it has prevented the further degradation of public services and infrastructure. In several areas, the program has stabilized and improved access to such services.

## **Relations to Neighbor States**

### Relations towards the Islamic Republic of Iran

In 1980 boundary-issues between Iraq and Iran led to the first Gulf War (1980-1988). Different historical, religious and political motives were cited as reasons, while strategic causes were the foremost important ones. The question of the Shatt al'Arab-river, islands near the Hormuz Strait occupied by Iraq in 1971 and the province of Khuzistan posed high strategic value in terms of water sources, oil rights and maritime access. Especially the Shatt al'Arab river has been a difficult point in the relations. The 1937 treaty had been abrogated by Iran in 1969 and altered in 1975 by the Algerian treaty. In exchange, the Shah promised to stop his country's aid to the Kurdish rebels.

With respect to Iran's military decline, Saddam Hussein denounced the Algerian treaty in 1979 and went to full-scale war in 1980. During this war, Iraq is said to have used chemical weapons against Iran as well as his own Kurdish population. Iraq finally had to agree to a cease-fire mediated by the UN. Relations remain tense while prisoners of war are exchanged and diplomatic relations are at a charge d'affaires-level.

### Relations towards Kuwait

After the war with Iran had left millions dead and a big financial gap in Iraq's budget, Saddam Hussein was in desperate need of money and at the same time not willing to attack Iran again. In a speech he accused Kuwait of stealing oil from fields that straddled the two countries and conspiring to hold the oil-price low. His „compensation“-demand were the \$30 billion Iraq owed Kuwait and other Persian Gulf States, his negotiations, based on 100 000 troops at the border of Kuwait, ended on August 1 1990, his tanks entered the following day.

The Security Council condemned these actions the same day. On January 17, two days after the deadline set out by SCR-678 had passed without Iraqi compliance, Operation Desert Storm started. Soldiers from 33 countries joined the efforts of the US-led coalition: Afghanistan, Argentina, Australia, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Egypt, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Honduras, Italy, Kuwait, Morocco, The Netherlands, Niger, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, South Korea, Spain, Syria, Turkey, The United Arab Emirates and the United Kingdom. Questions of war prisoners and other missing people as well as properties stolen from the state archives remain unsolved in 2002.

### Relations towards Saudi-Arabia

When Iraq invaded Kuwait on August 1 1990, the danger of Saudi Arabia to be the next victim of Iraqi aggression was widely spread. While Saudi Arabia wanted to avoid this by means of money, the warnings of UK PM Thatcher and especially the CIA led to the unique event of US and other western military forces being stationed in Saudi Arabia. When Iraq's non-compliance passed the UN's deadline, Operation Desert Shield, the protection of Saudi Arabia, became Operation Desert Storm. Saudi pilots joined those from the US, UK, France, Italy and Kuwait. Amidst tensions over terror-funding and a possible new Gulf War, Saudi Arabia has stated its wish that all US troops leave the country as soon as the war is over. The atmosphere between Saudi Arabia and Iraq therefore eased in 2002, still there are no diplomatic relations between the two countries.

### Relations towards Turkey

For Turkey, the Kurdish population of northern Iraq is the most important issue. While Turkey is in fear of a strong autonomy of the governorates of Dohuk, Erbil and Suleimaniyah, it accepts the wish of the US to maintain the current state rather than to go back to a central-governed Iraq. Turkey launched several military operations to prevent attempts by Turkey's Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) to use Iraq as a base from being implemented effectively. While the sanctions regime are largely hurting Turkish economy, especially



petroleum-related smuggling seems to be strong, yet inestimable. Additional tensions arise from the dispute over water development plans by Turkey for the Tigris and Euphrates rivers which Iraq rejects.

#### Relations towards Syria

After the Ba'ath-Party's coup in 1963 in Iraq, followed by a similar coup in Syria, there were strong efforts to form a federation, which would consist of Egypt, Syria and Iraq. Tensions arose, and when the Ba'ath-regime of Iraq lost control in late 1963, the revival and expansion of the failed Arab Republic (1958-1961) was no longer an option. Rivalry between the two countries respective Ba'ath-regimes are still affecting the relations. Syria's participation in the second Gulf War against Iraq reflect the latest low in Syrian-Iraqi-relations, nevertheless Syria after signing SCR 1441 appeared to honor Iraq's efforts to comply extraordinarily and drew more attention to the Middle-East conflict. Currently both States have a dispute with Turkey over water development plans for the Tigris and Euphrates rivers.

#### Relations towards the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan

The strong Palestinian population in Jordan, and its support of Saddam Hussein during the second Gulf War resulted in the Government of Jordan's support for Iraq. Jordan's traditionally strong relations to the US were damaged by Jordan's opposition to both sanctions and military actions against Iraq. Though the situation has improved, Jordan's 100 dependency on Iraqi oil will remain to dictate Jordan's policy to a large extent.

### **Minorities**

#### The Kurds

The Kurds, a 16 million people with a long history of around 5000 years, settling in Turkey, Syria, Iraq, Iran and Azerbaijan, are the major non-arabic minority in today's Iraq. As suppression from Iraq's government consisted in torture, murder, abduction, demolition of 4500 villages and finally chemical warfare during the first Gulf War cannot be expected to suddenly end, the no-fly-zones established in northern Iraq represent an important measure to secure the well-being of the population, though attacks from Turkey and Iran, and to a lesser extent Iraq, continue. Predominantly inhabiting the northern governorates of Dohuk, Erbil and Suleimaniyah, the Kurds also form the majority in Kirkuk, an oil-rich-city. The latter are, unlike the majority of Kurds, Shiite. The autonomy the Kurds enjoy in the northern governorates, with a common parliament, an own currency (the old Iraqi Dinar), universities with international ties, rebuilding of villages, also becomes clear by the steadily improving health-situation of a population, that still is affected by Saddam's 1988 attacks and mines. Rivalries, which arose after the Algerian treaty and resulted in the establishment of a new party out of the Kurdish Democratic Party, the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan, were laid down.

#### The Yazidis

Originally Kurds, their mix of paganism, Zoroastrianism, Christianity, and Islam has made them subject to sharp persecution.

#### The Turkomans

With strongholds in Erbil and Kirkuk, the 220000 Turkomans are speaking a Turkish dialect, are mostly Sunni and have strained relations towards the Kurds rooted in history.

#### The Assyrians

These around 133000 Christian descendants of ancient Mesopotamian peoples, speaking Aramaic, are not regarded by the GOI as an ethnic group.

### **Economy**

The oil sector, traditionally providing about 95% of foreign exchange earnings, and debts from its wars (estimated \$139 billion) dominate Iraq's economy. The GOI's policies supporting large military and internal security forces and allocating resources to key supporters of the regime have hurt the economy, implementation of the UN's oil-for-food program has helped improve conditions for the average Iraqi citizen. After the UN Security Council authorized Iraq to export under the program as much oil as required to meet humanitarian needs in late 1999, oil exports are now more than three-quarters their prewar level. Per capita

output and living standards are still well below the prewar level, but any estimates have a wide range of error. The most important partners in the field of imports, especially food, medicine, manufactures were Egypt, Russia, France and Vietnam (2000). Russia, France, Switzerland and China were the leading crude-oil export partners. Iraq's agriculture produces primarily wheat, barley, rice, vegetables, dates, cotton as well as cattle and sheep. Industry focuses on petroleum, chemicals, textiles, construction materials and food processing.

## **Iraq and International Organizations**

### **Memberships**

The Republic of Iraq is a member of several international organizations, mostly of the United Nations System, Economic conferences or regional, specific Arab or Islamic organizations. Among them:

ABEDA, ACC, AFESD, AL, CAEU, CCC, ESCWA, FAO, G-19, G-77, IAEA, IBRD, ICAO, ICRM, IDA, IDB, IFAD, IFC, IFRC, ILO, IMF, IMO, INMARSAT, INTELSAT, INTERPOL, IOC, ITU, NAM, OAPEC, OIC, OPEC, PCA, UN, UNCTAD, UNESCO, UNIDO, UPU, WFTU, WHO, WIPO, WMO

A short description of the most important organization :

The League of Arab States (AL) – Admission of Iraq on 22 March 1945

By the end of the millennium, the League of Arab States celebrated its 55th anniversary ; which postdated the emergence of an Arab Regional System, assuming a unique character, which has then become a distinctive and indispensable characteristic, namely : the national quality . However, the Arab League's membership has expanded as from seven Arab Member States, (forming a total number of independent Arab countries during the mid-forties) so as to reach 22 Arab Member States (forming the total number of Member States in the Arab Regional System) Actually, the AL has passed through several attempts reflect the efforts exerted to modernize the same Regional Regime.

The International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) – Admission of Iraq in 1959

The IAEA is an independent intergovernmental, science and technology-based organization, in the United Nations family, that serves as the global focal point for nuclear cooperation. It assists its Member States, in the context of social and economic goals, in planning for a using nuclear science and technology for various peaceful purposes, including the generation of electricity, and facilitates the transfer of such technology and knowledge in a sustainable manner to developing Member States. Furthermore, it develops nuclear safety standards and, based on these standards, promotes the achievement and maintenance of high levels of safety in applications of nuclear energy, as well as the protection of human health and the environment against ionizing radiation. Finally, the IAEA verifies its inspection system that States comply with their commitments under the Non-Proliferation Treaty and other non-proliferation agreements, to use nuclear material and facilities only for peaceful purposes.

The Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) – Iraq is one of the five Founder Members. The OPEC is an international Organization of eleven oil-exporting developing nations that coordinates and unifies the petroleum policies of its Member Countries. OPEC seeks to ensure the stabilization of oil prices in international oil markets with a view to eliminating harmful and unnecessary fluctuations, due regard being given at all times to the interest of oil-producing nations and to the necessity of securing a steady income for them ; an efficient, economic and regular supply of petroleum to consuming nations ; and a fair return on their capital to those investing in the petroleum industry. OPEC was formed at a meeting held on September 14, 1960 in Baghdad, by five Founder Members : Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and Venezuela. OPEC was registered with the United Nations Secretariat on November 6, 1962 (UN Resolution GA 6363). OPEC Member Countries produce about 41 per cent of the world's crude oil and 15 per cent of its natural gas. However, OPEC's oil exports represent about 55 per cent of the oil traded internationally. Therefore, OPEC can have a strong influence on the oil market, especially if it decides to reduce or increase its level of production.

The United Nations (UN) – Admission of Iraq on 21 December 1945

## **Iraq and the United Nations**

In the 1990s, Iraq has been one of the main subjects of the United Nations Security Council and one could argue of the United Nations in general. Starting with resolution 661, adopted in August 1990, to the adoption of resolution 1447, the Iraq question has been a major issue on the agenda of the Security Council. Three institutionalized pillars were the result of this increased importance: the establishment of the United

Nations Special Commission on Iraq (UNSCOM) in the early 90s, the creation of the Oil-for-Food Program in 1996 and the establishment of the United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission (UNMOVIC) in the late 1990s.

#### United Nations Special Commission

By its resolution of 3 April 1991, the United Nations Security Council established the terms and conditions for the formal cease-fire between Iraq and a coalition of Member States co-operating with Kuwait. Section C of this resolution called for the elimination, under international supervision, of Iraq's weapons of mass destruction and ballistic missiles. The United Nations Special Commission (UNSCOM) was set up to implement non-nuclear provisions of the resolution and to assist the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) in the nuclear areas. The precise terms are laid out in paragraphs 7 to 13 of the resolution.

#### The United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission (UNMOVIC)

UNMOVIC was created through the adoption of the Security Council resolution 1284 of 17 December 1999. UNMOVIC was to replace the former UN Special COMMISSION and continue with the latter's mandate to disarm Iraq of its weapons of mass destruction, and to operate a system of ongoing monitoring and verification to check Iraq's compliance with its obligations not to reacquire the same weapons prohibited to it by the Security Council. The Secretary-General of the United Nations appointed Dr. Hans Blix of Sweden to be the Commission's Executive Chairman. In addition, the Secretary-General appointed 16 individuals to serve on the College of Commissioners of UNMOVIC which provides advice and guidance to the Chairman in the execution of his duties. The Executive Chairman is required to report to the Security Council on the activities of UNMOVIC every three months.

#### The Oil-for food program

In August 1990 the Security Council adopted resolution 661, imposing comprehensive sanctions on Iraq following that country's invasion of Kuwait. In the immediate aftermath of the Gulf War in 1991, the Secretary-General dispatched an inter-agency mission in order to assess the humanitarian needs arising in Iraq and Kuwait. The mission visited Iraq from 10 to 17 March and reported that „the Iraqi people may soon face a further imminent catastrophe, which could include epidemic and famine, if massive life-supporting needs are not rapidly met.,,

Throughout 1991, with growing concern over the humanitarian situation in Iraq, the United Nations proposed measures to enable Iraq to sell limited quantities of oil to meet its people's needs. The Government of Iraq declined these offers, contained in particular, in resolutions 706 and 712, adopted respectively, in August and September 1991. On 14 April 1995, acting under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, the Security Council adopted resolution 986, establishing the „oil-for-food,, program, providing Iraq with another opportunity to sell oil to finance the purchase of humanitarian goods, and various mandated United Nations activities concerning Iraq.

Although established in April 1995, the implementation of the program started only in December 1996, after the signing of the Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) between the United Nations and the Government of Iraq on May 1996. Currently 72% of Iraqi oil export proceeds goes to fund the humanitarian program, of which 59% is earmarked for the contracting of supplies and equipment by the Government of Iraq for the 15 central and southern governorates and 13% for the three northern governorates, where the United Nations implements the program on behalf of the Government of Iraq. The Office of the Iraq Program, headed by the Executive Director, is responsible for the overall management and coordination of all United Nations humanitarian activities in Iraq under resolutions 661 (1990) and 986 (1995) and the procedures established by the Security Council and its Committee set up by resolution 661, as well as the MOU between the United Nations and the Government of Iraq. There are nine United Nations agencies and programs involved in the program.

These are: FAO, UNESCO, WHO, ITU, UNICEF, UNDP, WFP, UNOPS, UN-Habitat. The latest report of the Secretary-General on the program, issued on 12 November 2002 focuses on three main areas: (1) achievements made through the program in improving the humanitarian situation in Iraq, as well as referring to some of the shortcomings and difficulties faced ; (2) the persisting revenue shortfall in the program ; and (3) an assessment of the implementation of the new set of procedures for the processing and review of contracts for humanitarian supplies, introduced under Security Council resolution 1409 (2002) in May of this year, based on the Goods Review List (GRL). It is the first such assessment since the adoption of that resolution. The Security Council has continued the program in 180-day periods called « phases ». The current oil exporting period is phase XIII, authorized by Security Council resolution 1447, which came into effect on 5 December 2002 and runs through 3 June 2003.

## **Current security situation:**

One topic which for sure is one of the most important ones in the present and will be essential in the future of Iraq is the maintenance and the improvement of the internal and external security situation of the country. It will be absolutely necessary that the people of Iraq will be able to deal with the critical situation of peacekeeping by themselves as that is where the origin of sovereignty begins. Furthermore it may be necessary that the United Nations support this very important topic regarding the wish for a totally independent Iraq and establish a promotion of the training of the Iraqi security forces which enables them to learn how to deal best with their new and critical security situation.

Therefore it is particularly important to help Iraq by distributing an internationally accepted contingent of high skilled Army and Police Instructors which enable the population of Iraq to grant the security of all inhabitants as well as being the base of a strong and democratically ruled government. Only a well trained strong and independent Iraqi security force is able to avoid the threat of riots or even of an imminent civil war. So far it is obvious that the International Community has to act by helping Iraq to establish a system of high standard Security in the country to avoid irregularities and disturbances of the peaceful development in this region.

At long last both the International Community and the Iraqi population itself have to aim at the development of Iraqi security forces including Iraqi armed forces, as they will progressively play a greater role and ultimately assume full responsibility for the maintenance of security and stability in Iraq. That follows a consequent transition step by step of the military power in the country by the multinational forces to the national security forces. Their main task will be the prevention of any terroristic activities and giving the United Nations the possibility to fulfil its role in assisting the Iraqi people to establish a secure political process which is the only way for the country to get to its full independence. A security partnership between the multinational forces and the new Iraqi security forces has to be established to ensure coordination between the two and for ensuring a transition of power containing as few unintentional incidents as possible.

And right in that point we have to deal with some essential questions: How is it possible to grant peace and prosperity to Iraq if not even the well trained and best equipped multinational forces are able to stop the brute force in the streets of the country? The transition of power must not end in an uncontrolled withdrawal trying to escape the critical situation because the multinational forces could not and finally cannot deal with it. How may the United Nations assist in improving the capability of the Iraqi security forces and institutions?

We can be sure that the future history of Iraq will be determined by answering those questions mentioned above and the importance of doing the right things at the right time never has been more important as it is today. That is why the Security Council will have a special focus on how the transition of power and the maintenance of internal Security will be organized.

## A n n e x

Suggestions for basic research (Web)

Online – Security Council

<http://www.un.org/Docs/scinfo.htm>

Online-Iraq

<http://www.smartsanctions.de/>

The Guardian

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/Iraq/>

UNSCOM

<http://www.un.org/Depts/unscom/index.html>

UNMOVIC

<http://www.un.org/Depts/unmovic/index.htm>

Office of the Iraq Program (Oil for food)

<http://www.un.org/Depts/oip/>

BBC (history)

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/war/iraq>

BBC ONLINE Country Profiles

[http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/shared/bsp/hi/country\\_profiles/html/default.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/shared/bsp/hi/country_profiles/html/default.stm)

Encyclopedia Encarta

<http://encarta.msn.com/encnet/features/reference.aspx>

Encyclopedia Britannica

<http://www.britannica.com/>

Embassy of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan

<http://www.jordanembassyus.org/new/me/iraq.shtml>

Iraq-Guide

<http://www.1uptravel.com/country-guide-study/iraq/>

CIA-Factbook

<http://www.odci.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/iz.html>