



# Security Council

Sixtieth year

*Provisional*

## 5161<sup>st</sup> meeting

Monday, 11 April 2005, 3 p.m.

New York

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<i>President:</i>	Mr. Wang Guangya . . . . .	(China)
<i>Members:</i>	Algeria . . . . .	Mr. Benmehidi
	Argentina . . . . .	Mr. D'Alotto
	Benin . . . . .	Mr. Adechi
	Brazil . . . . .	Mr. Sardenberg
	Denmark . . . . .	Ms. Løj
	France . . . . .	Mr. De La Sablière
	Greece . . . . .	Mr. Vassilakis
	Japan . . . . .	Mr. Kitaoka
	Philippines . . . . .	Mr. Baja
	Romania . . . . .	Mr. Dumitru
	Russian Federation . . . . .	Mr. Denisov
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland . . . . .	Sir Emyr Jones Parry
	United Republic of Tanzania . . . . .	Mr. Mahiga
	United States of America . . . . .	Mrs. Patterson

## Agenda

The situation between Iraq and Kuwait

Report of the Secretary-General pursuant to paragraph 30 of resolution  
1546 (2004) (S/2005/141 and Corr.1)

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*The meeting was called to order at 3.15 p.m.*

### **Adoption of the agenda**

*The agenda was adopted.*

### **The situation between Iraq and Kuwait**

#### **Report of the Secretary-General pursuant to paragraph 30 of resolution 1546 (2004) (S/2005/141 and Corr.1)**

**The President** (*spoke in Chinese*): I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Iraq in which he requests to be invited to participate in the consideration of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the consideration without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. Sumaida'ie (Iraq) took a seat at the Council table.*

**The President** (*spoke in Chinese*): In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, I shall take it that the Security Council agrees to extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Mr. Ashraf Jehangir Qazi, Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Iraq.

It is so decided.

I invite Mr. Qazi to take a seat at the Council table.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them documents S/2005/141 and corrigendum 1, which contain the report of the Secretary-General pursuant to paragraph 30 of resolution 1546 (2004).

At this meeting, the Security Council will hear briefings by Mr. Ashraf Jehangir Qazi, Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Iraq, and

by Mrs. Anne Patterson, representative of the United States, on behalf of the multinational force.

I give the floor to Mr. Ashraf Jehangir Qazi, Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Iraq.

**Mr. Qazi:** I am honoured to present the third report of the Secretary-General pursuant to paragraph 30 of Security Council resolution 1546 (2004). The report provides an update on United Nations activities in Iraq since the Secretary-General's last report of 8 December 2004, including, in particular, the support given by the United Nations to the electoral process and the Independent Electoral Commission of Iraq. The report is largely self-explanatory, and I will therefore focus my remarks on the political process that has developed since the elections and its implications for the work of the United Nations in the coming months.

The Council has given the United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq (UNAMI) a firm mandate to be implemented as circumstances permit. Since taking up my functions, I have looked at how to implement this mandate more effectively, as a discreet facilitator and sounding board for ideas and approaches that can further an inclusive political process. Accordingly, I have met with Iraqi leaders and representatives across the political spectrum in order to understand their perspectives. In my discussions, I have stressed that only the Iraqis themselves can find viable and lasting solutions to their political problems. I have emphasized the vital importance of gradually building mutual trust among the various Iraqi political entities through sustained dialogue, mutual accommodation and confidence-building measures.

Following Iraq's historic elections, the convening of the Transitional National Assembly on 16 March and the election last week by the Assembly of a new President and two Vice-Presidents are further testimony of Iraq's progress towards a democratic future. The election of the Presidency Council in particular is a clear expression of the commitment of Iraq's new leadership to working towards national unity through peaceful democratic means. The quicker the formation of the Transitional Government can be completed, the sooner Iraq will move forward to the next phase of its political transition.

The organization of three simultaneous elections on 30 January was a formidable feat, matched by a formidable statement of support from voters

throughout most of Iraq. While the overall registered voters' turnout was healthy, particularly in the north and south, there were significant regional variations. It is a fact that, for whatever reason, in certain parts of the country, too many Iraqis would not or could not participate in the elections, whether as voters or as candidates. As a result, certain groups — particularly Sunni Arabs — have found themselves underrepresented in the Transitional National Assembly. Nevertheless, all the major parties, including those that did not participate in the elections, have engaged in intensive negotiations for the formation of the Government and with regard to participation in the constitution-making process. I hope that the Iraqis will build upon this positive momentum as they move on. It is important that no community should feel alienated from the political process.

The road ahead presents both great opportunities and serious challenges to the Iraqi people. The main challenge is to consolidate national unity through dialogue and reconciliation while preserving Iraq's sovereignty, political independence and territorial integrity. Regardless of religious and sectarian backgrounds, it is in the interest of every Iraqi to contribute to forging a broad political consensus on the way forward. Iraqis are looking to their newly elected leaders to exercise their responsibilities wisely and efficiently in that regard.

The drafting of a national constitution provides a historic opportunity for Iraqis to come together. With the formation of their new Government, Iraqis have demonstrated their capacity to make hard political compromises in the national interest. I hope that that spirit will continue to prevail throughout the constitution-making process so that diverse experiences and histories can translate into a shared future. Failure to pursue further dialogue and reconciliation would involve a higher price for the parties concerned than would the compromises necessary for reaching national consensus through peaceful means.

Those who did not participate in the elections now have the opportunity to agree on a platform and a mechanism by which their concerns can be reflected in the constitutional debate. They also face the need to organize themselves and to mobilize their supporters to vote in the constitutional referendum and in the subsequent elections. No constituency should fear becoming the new victims in a new Iraq. To the

contrary, each needs to be assured of playing its rightful role as an integral and vital part of Iraqi national life, sharing responsibilities and rewards with their fellow Iraqis. The perceptions, concerns and demands of those who feel left out will need to be fully factored in if the political process is to contribute to political stability.

Those parties who benefited the most from the elections have already demonstrated foresight and wisdom in articulating a policy of outreach and inclusion, in counselling restraint in the face of provocative acts of violence and in negotiating mutually agreeable understandings for the formation of a Transitional Government. Most important, they have chosen to inscribe their action peacefully within a national framework and in the common interest, with all the concomitant responsibilities and opportunities that that entails.

In that regard, I welcome the public assurances of prominent leaders against pursuing a sectarian agenda or imposing majoritarian views on issues in which all Iraqis have a stake, including issues related to the nature and character of the Iraqi State. In the period ahead, it will be incumbent on the major parties to ensure that the views and interests of minority communities and civic groups are adequately represented in the constitution-drafting exercise.

Political, security and economic challenges will continue to confront Iraq. But if they are approached on the basis of developing a national consensus, the Transitional Assembly should succeed in creating a new and stronger political framework in which all Iraqis are enabled to contribute their skills and energies to building and defending a democratic, pluralistic and prosperous Iraq.

If properly conducted, the constitution-drafting exercise will provide an opportunity for those who have so far stayed away from the political process to reconsider their options. It must also provide an opportunity for Iraqi civil society, down to the grass-roots level, to participate by providing critical input. A constitution that emerges from such a process will not be easily set aside and will serve generations to come. Moreover, to the extent that the final document is the product of nationwide discussions and compromises on sensitive issues, it can only encourage the emergence of a political culture and institutions of accommodation, negotiation and progress.

The Transitional Government will have the primary responsibility — indeed, the duty — to facilitate an inclusive, participatory and transparent constitution-making process. However, it behoves all of Iraq's communities to make a genuine effort to reach out to one another as Iraqis first and foremost and to reconcile their differences within the realm of dialogue and political competition.

In accordance with its mandate, the United Nations stands ready to assist Iraq's sovereign and independent constitution-making process and to coordinate offers of international assistance, if it is so requested. We shall do so in keeping with the priorities of the Transitional Assembly and of any constitutional bodies that the Assembly may establish.

I welcome the Security Council's reaffirmation, in its last presidential statement on this issue (S/PRST/2005/5), of the leading role of UNAMI in that regard. Apart from the challenge of achieving national reconciliation, the very limited time prescribed by the Transitional Administrative Law for the remaining steps in the political transition process — namely, the drafting of a constitution and the holding of a constitutional referendum and national elections — is a challenge in itself. I am confident, however, that the Iraqis will rise to the occasion, as they did for the last election, and the United Nations will support them to that end.

A credible political process offers the best prospect for improving the security environment, which continues to remain difficult in certain parts of the country. Although there has been an apparent reduction in the number of violent incidents since the elections, the tactics and lethality of the insurgency continue to evolve and remain a cause of concern. The better and the faster Iraqi security forces can be trained, the sooner they will be able to assume their responsibilities and take charge of the country's security.

As the report makes clear, the human rights situation in Iraq continues to warrant close attention. It is largely innocent civilian non-combatants who are affected by violence and the use of force. In some areas — notably in Fallujah and other places in Al-Anbar — the population remains deprived of the protection to which they are entitled under international humanitarian law. Continuing reports of detentions and the absence of adequate arrangements

for due process are issues that also need to be addressed. In those areas of Iraq where security is relatively stable, the authorities concerned should be able to give greater attention to the protection of human rights. My Human Rights Office will continue to monitor the situation closely so that our efforts in support of the restoration of the rule of law are at all times rooted in an up-to-date understanding of the human rights reality prevailing in Iraq.

Members of the international community can provide critical support to Iraq's transition process by stepping up their reconstruction and development assistance, both through the International Reconstruction Fund Facility for Iraq and bilaterally. UNAMI is taking measures to improve its delivery capacity while necessarily keeping the evolving security situation in mind. UNAMI is also prepared to play an enhanced coordinating role between donor countries and organizations, on the one hand, and designated Iraqi authorities, on the other. That will help to improve the effectiveness of international assistance in a range of fields, to the benefit of the Iraqi people. Iraqis expect tangible political and economic progress, particularly in terms of living conditions, jobs and basic services. Even though the time remaining before the next elections is short, the Transitional Government needs to alleviate the daily deprivations and dangers that frustrate and degrade the lives of so many Iraqis and undermine the prospects for a successful transition process.

An improvement in the overall security environment is, as the report stresses, an essential prerequisite for an expansion of United Nations activities in Iraq. Almost without exception, Iraqi interlocutors want the United Nations to assume greater responsibilities and greater visibility in Iraq. I know that that is a view shared by many in the Security Council also.

We have already opened liaison offices in Erbil and Basra, ahead of the possible deployment of an initial number of humanitarian and development staff. Such deployment is indispensable if those offices are to fulfil their essential functions with regard to relief and development activities at this time. We will be assessing the scope for increased humanitarian and development initiatives, consistent, as always, with the security of United Nations staff. The arrival of newly contributed guard units assigned to provide United Nations security in Baghdad and Basra will, I hope,

encourage other countries to consider supporting the expansion of United Nations activities in Iraq through practical as well as moral support. On behalf of UNAMI, I also wish to thank the Government of Fiji for its important contribution to the security of our Mission.

Iraq's challenges are also the challenges of the international community. The new transitional institutions of Iraq will need continued and active support from the United Nations, the region and the international community at large. I welcome the ongoing regional process among Iraq and its neighbours as an essential vehicle for dialogue and cooperation. I also welcome any concerted international initiative in support of Iraq's political and economic reconstruction. The United Nations is ready to support, and play its part in, such efforts. Now is the time for us to stand together with Iraq's new authorities and give them a chance to succeed in the eyes of their people. As the Iraqi people begin to rebuild their country, they need to feel that Iraq is resuming its place as a fully independent, sovereign and integrated member of the international community. The Security Council has a special responsibility to ensure that Iraq's relations with the region and the international community can be normalized expeditiously.

I wish to thank the Security Council for its support. I look forward to keeping it informed on UNAMI's activities in Iraq as we move forward.

**The President** (*spoke in Chinese*): I thank Mr. Qazi for his briefing.

**Mrs. Patterson** (United States of America): Pursuant to Security Council resolution 1546 (2004), I am pleased, on behalf of the multinational force, to report to the Security Council on the efforts of the multinational force and on its progress in fulfilling its mandate.

The situation in Iraq today is very different from that on which we reported in December 2004. On 30 January we witnessed the bravery, courage and resolve of the Iraqi people as they demonstrated their commitment to democracy. The votes of 60 per cent of eligible Iraqis showed that they would not be intimidated from cooperating with the Iraqi Government and participating in a peaceful political process.

On election day roughly 130,000 Iraqi security personnel were on duty. Those forces secured all 5,200 polling places with multiple rings of security, protected voters and polling centres from over 100 attacks and reportedly detained more than 200 suspected insurgents. Not a single polling site was penetrated that day. The performance of Iraqi security forces demonstrates growing capability and testifies to the successful continuing cooperation between the Iraqi Government and the multinational force.

The multinational force comprises 27 countries, in addition to the United States, and has more than 130,000 personnel. The force coordinates closely with the Iraqi Government at the local and national levels to employ more effective tactics to defeat the insurgents and prevent their attacks. The United States Embassy and the multinational force leadership continue to attend, at the Iraqi Government's invitation, Iraq's Ministerial Committee on National Security, which sets the broad framework for Iraqi security policy, consistent with resolution 1546 (2004).

Iraq remains a very difficult security environment. Terrorists and insurgents remain determined to try to thwart Iraq's progress towards peace and democracy. They continue a brutal campaign of attacks and intimidation against Iraqi leaders and citizens, Iraqi security forces, private citizens and aid workers from many countries and the multinational force. Their disregard for innocent life and their willingness to commit unspeakable horror, including the videotaped executions of hostages, has not intimidated the Iraqi people. Iraqis continue to volunteer in large numbers to serve their country in the Iraqi security forces.

According to the Multinational Security Transition Command-Iraq, over 150,000 security forces within the Ministries of Interior and Defence have been equipped and trained. The some 85,000 Interior Ministry troops include regular police, members of special police commandos, public order and mechanized battalions, border guard units and dignitary-protection elements. Defence Ministry forces number 65,000 and include troops from the regular Iraqi army — which now includes both the Intervention Force and the National Guard — and the air force, navy and special operations.

Building the Iraqi security force remains a work in progress and a top priority. The Multinational

Security Transition Command and the Iraqi Ministries of Interior and Defence continue to work closely to recruit, train and equip Iraq's security forces. We have prepared a more detailed information sheet, which is being distributed now. It demonstrates some of the progress the Iraqi security forces have made. But more time and continued support from the multinational force is needed before the Iraqi security forces reach full operational capacity.

In addition to training Iraqi security forces, the multinational force continues to conduct the full spectrum of military operations in order to contribute to the maintenance of security and stability in Iraq. The multinational force continues to work arduously to conduct traditional security and stability operations, as well as to recover and destroy munitions and landmines, provide air support, conduct maritime interception operations and protect multinational reconstruction efforts. What has changed since the last report is the increasing use of Iraqi security forces for those tasks, supported by the multinational force as required. That trend will continue and increase in the near term as Iraqi security forces become more and more capable.

Military forces and civil affairs personnel — in coordination with the Iraqi Government, international donors and international and national non-governmental organizations — also work to provide civil, humanitarian and reconstruction assistance throughout Iraq. Projects include the reconstruction and renovation of hospitals, pharmaceutical stores and primary and literary schools; the repair of roads, water and sewage treatment plants, power supply systems and public parks; and the provision of medical care and water purification.

The multinational force continues to disburse funds to build and improve infrastructure, provide for the welfare of the citizens and support education. The multinational force has also provided local security forces with communication, investigation and facility equipment and has donated equipment and medicine to Iraqi health centres.

The United Nations has played an important role thus far in Iraq's political transition process, particularly in the important assistance provided to the Independent Electoral Commission for Iraq. I thank the Secretary-General's Special Representative, Ambassador Ashraf Qazi, for his presentation of the

Secretary-General's report to the Council today. Under resolution 1546 (2004), Ambassador Qazi and the United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq, as requested by the Government of Iraq, will play a leading role to promote national dialogue and consensus-building on the drafting of a national constitution by the people of Iraq. The United Nations has said it would play such a role and help coordinate other international technical assistance. We urge the United Nations to prepare in advance to do so, given its broad expertise and experience with constitutional assistance.

We understand that security for the United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq is a necessary condition for the United Nations to fulfil its mandate. Since August 2004, United States troop contingents have performed that function. More recently, however, consistent with resolution 1546 (2004), a distinct entity under the unified command of the multinational force assumed the distinct mission of providing security for the United Nations presence in Iraq. I am very pleased to report to the Council that Georgian troops have assumed that mission in Baghdad from the United States. In addition, Romanian troops are currently deployed in Basra and are prepared to provide security for United Nations officials upon their arrival this summer. I would also like to acknowledge the Czech Republic, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Japan, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Portugal, Slovenia and Sweden, which combined have pledged over \$15 million towards funding for that distinct entity. As the United Nations expands its activities in Iraq, its security needs will increase. We encourage countries to provide additional assistance to the protection force, through the provision of either funds or troops. That protection force will be a necessary precondition for an expanded United Nations presence.

I welcome the deployment of the United Nations liaison detachment teams to Basra and Erbil and look forward to the deployment of additional substantive staff. We would like to see the United Nations expand the implementation of its responsibilities for economic and humanitarian reconstruction assistance. A robust United Nations presence in Basra and Erbil would serve that purpose. In addition, we expect that offices in Basra and Erbil will be necessary to support the Iraqis in the next phase of the political transition.

The elections of 30 January opened a new chapter in Iraqi history. Those elections were an essential step

in the Iraqi people's path towards stability and democratic self-governance. Now begins the process of drafting and ratifying a constitution that will be the basis of a fully democratic Iraq. It is important that all Iraqis have the opportunity to participate in that process. Transparency and broad-based participation in the drafting of Iraq's new constitution will be critical to developing a stable and thriving democracy. We are encouraged by statements from a variety of Iraq's political leaders and from the new Iraqi Government indicating their commitment to ensuring an inclusive approach to the drafting of the constitution and to an Iraqi transitional Government that represents the interests of all Iraqis.

While there remain those who seek to undo the progress Iraq has made over the past two years and undermine the democratically elected Government, the majority of Iraq's citizens have demonstrated that they support the political process and believe that justice should be achieved by the rule of law.

The Multinational Force, in support of those goals, will continue to cooperate closely with the Government of Iraq and to train and fight alongside Iraqi security forces, while permanently turning over security responsibilities to the Iraqi security forces as the local situation allows.

We look forward to working closely with the newly elected Government of Iraq to ensure effective support for stabilization, reconstruction and continued democratic development in Iraq.

**The President** (*spoke in Chinese*): I now give the floor to the representative of Iraq.

**Mr. Sumaida'ie** (Iraq) (*spoke in Arabic*): I should like to take this opportunity to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month and to commend your predecessor, the Permanent Representative of Brazil, for his able stewardship last month.

I am pleased to present once again the Iraqi Government's view of the events of the past quarter, complementing the other reports that have been presented quarterly before this Council. The purpose of this open briefing is to review the events of the past three months, but today, perhaps I might be allowed to take a somewhat longer view. Given recent developments, it is particularly appropriate to take stock of the road we Iraqis have traversed.

We have just marked the two-year anniversary of the fall of the previous regime in Iraq. Prior to 2003, Iraq was still ruled by a brutal tyrant, whose regime seemed permanently entrenched. It assumed and maintained power against the will of the people of Iraq over a period of 35 years. Iraqis suffered depredations that are inconceivable to a rational mind and certainly above my power to describe. That suffering has been communicated by short words and phrases, such as Halabja, Anfal, mass graves, each one encapsulating horrendous suffering and injustice. Our political and legal institutions were in tatters, and an entire nation was traumatized, brutalized and reduced to being an extension of a single man. Iraq had sunk into darkness and despair.

After the fall of the tyrant and the pillars of his regime, the institutions of Government began slowly to be rehabilitated and re-established by Iraqis. First came the formation of the Governing Council, followed closely by the appointment of the first set of ministers. In concluding the 15 November Agreement, the Iraqi Governing Council undertook to craft a fundamental law to establish the principles upon which the new Iraqi State is to be founded and to yield authority to a sovereign Government. Iraqis met that obligation, and the Governing Council voluntarily relinquished power and dissolved itself as the Iraqi Interim Government reasserted Iraq's sovereignty. The Interim Government committed itself to extinguishing its own mandate by holding elections by 31 January 2005. Once again, Iraqis met the deadline they set for themselves and elections were held on time, despite difficulties and dangers in much of the country. The Interim Government has since tendered its resignation, and Iraqis are set for the second peaceful and orderly transfer of power in 10 months.

Since the elections, the political process has continued to unfold in Iraq. The results of the elections and the two-thirds rule stipulated by the transitional law required the prevailing parties to engage in political accommodation to form a new national unity Government. The Presidency Council has now been elected and the Prime Minister named. That consultative process, debate and accommodation have, perhaps, never occurred in Iraq's history. The incoming Iraqi Transitional Government will soon start the process of preparing to write a permanent constitution and complete the building of fully legitimate institutions of State. We expect to conclude the process

by the end of the year, at which time elections will be held for the first Government operating under a permanent constitution. It has truly been a remarkable two years.

The journey has not been easy, nor would it have been possible without outside help. We faced and still face the vicious reaction of determined and well-resourced foes bent on derailing our project, but now that Iraqis have had their first taste of freedom they will not be denied it. Notwithstanding the challenges we have faced, we have fulfilled every undertaking we made to ourselves and others.

We have also taken, and are about to undertake, steps to be re-integrated into the world system. We expect, for instance, to seek membership of the World Trade Organization in the coming year. Our relations with our neighbours have on the whole been normalized and are improving. The new Iraq wants to become a source of stability and an engine for growth in the region, and harbours no hostile intent against anyone. We look forward to the establishment of friendly and cooperative relations with our neighbours as we address regional issues of significance to all.

Iraq's relations with countries outside the region have also evolved favourably. Many countries that expressed reservations about the decision to remove the previous regime by military force have risen to the challenge of assisting us in our efforts to rebuild. Most significantly, I must recall the decision taken in the Paris Club to forgive 80 per cent of the debts accumulated by Iraq's previous rulers. Many countries have offered a wide array of assistance, financial and otherwise.

As Iraq advances on the road to freedom and normality against the implacable though weakening resistance of terrorists and other forces of reaction, and as it reintegrates itself into the community of nations, two factors remain vital.

First, the continued resolute support of the international community is absolutely essential, and that support, I am pleased to say, has been forthcoming. We are grateful for all the support and good will that we have received from many countries and from the United Nations.

Secondly and equally importantly, we need now to be relieved from the shackles and burdens placed upon Iraq during the previous regime in order to contain it. Those onerous obligations were intended to keep the old rogue regime in check, and limiting the

harm it did to its people and to the world at large. The new Iraq, however, far from needing to be restrained, needs to be encouraged and supported. It needs to be allowed to bandage its wounds and to rebuild in peace. It is now time for the Security Council to revisit its pre-April 2003 resolutions on Iraq and to dismantle the relevant legal, bureaucratic and other structures that have outlived their relevance. In that respect, time is an important factor. We must not be kept waiting month after month and year after year to do what everyone knows will have to be done eventually. Iraq is a fledgling democracy committed to the rule of law, both internationally and domestically. As such, it has the legitimate right to expect to be treated like any other Member State.

I wish to acknowledge the considerable assistance we have received from the United Nations on many fronts and, in particular, to commend the energetic efforts of Ambassador Ashraf Qazi, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General. His energy, his dedication and his sympathy with the legitimate aspirations and ambitions of our people have earned him the trust of many. His valuable contribution represents the best that the United Nations can offer in post-conflict situations.

In situations where the United Nations has been entrusted with the management of Iraqi funds, it is very much in the interest of the United Nations to be open and transparent and to recall at all times that its obligations with respect to such funds are fiduciary. We expect to have full access to information on all Iraqi accounts. That way, we will be able to assure our people that their interests have been safeguarded, and to proceed, with the Council's help, to close all outstanding files in an orderly fashion.

By the time the Council meets again to consider the next report of the Secretary-General on Iraq, we will have moved further forward towards progress and freedom. In this arduous but exhilarating journey, we want the Council to accompany us, with its collective will, encouraging us, supporting us and removing obstacles from our path. For without that, one difficult journey would be not merely difficult but close to impossible.

**The President** (*spoke in Chinese*): In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, I invite Council members to informal consultations to continue our discussion of the subject.

*The meeting rose at 3.55 p.m.*