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"UNAMI from the beginning to the end of the mission"

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ABSTRACT

Since its establishment on August 14, 2003, pursuant to United Nations Security Council Resolution 1500, the United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq (UNAMI) has played a broad role in Iraq. This has given UNAMI a significant role in Iraq's political landscape. Consequently, the government of Prime Minister Mohammed Shia' al-Sudani has requested a reorganization of the relationship with the United Nations by asking UNAMI to complete its missions by May 2026. The Iraqi government has set January 2025 as the deadline for ending the mission of UNAMI, stating that it no longer needs its political role. The Iraqi government has requested that UNAMI's mandate be reduced to focus solely on humanitarian and development issues starting from May 31, 2024, followed by a one-year period during which the remaining tasks will be transferred to the UN country team in Iraq starting from May 2025. In late April 2024, UNAMI published a report to assess its work in Iraq, highlighting ongoing threats in the country. This has divided the Iraqi political elite over the continuation of UNAMI, and the international community has been divided as well. Russia and China have supported the termination of UNAMI's mission in Iraq, while Britain and France have supported the Iraqi decision to end the UN mission. However, the United States has expressed reservations about the Iraqi decision, emphasizing the mission's crucial role in many important political issues, such as supporting the organization of elections and promoting human rights. Ultimately, the Security Council issued a decision in accordance with Iraq's desire to restructure the mission, while leaving the door open for evaluation under Article 9.

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Introduction

The United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq (UNAMI) was established in 2003 by a UN Security Council resolution to assist Iraq and provide support including fostering political dialogue among the parties, national reconciliation, and promoting the protection of human rights, and other tasks that promote peace and security in Iraq. The political elite was divided about the retention of the Mission at present between supporters and opponents, as the opposing team argues that the mission's presence is illegal, undermines Iraq's sovereignty, and represents an obstacle to the Iraqis. Proponents, however, believe that UNAMI's role is necessary and pivotal, as it forms a basis for containing any problems or conflicts. Therefore, the Iraqi government has called for the mission to end, arguing that Iraq is experiencing political and security stability as well as the development of its democratic system.

First: The Establishment of UNAMI

The United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq (UNAMI) is a special political mission established in 2003 according to the UN Security Council Resolution (1500), at the request of the Government of Iraq. UNAMI has performed its tasks since then, and its role was significantly expanded in 2007 by Resolution 1770, according to the resolution, the mission has the following powers¹:

A: Advise, support and assist in:

1. Advancing inclusive political dialog and national reconciliation.

2. Establishing procedures for holding elections and referendums.

3. Reviewing the constitution and implementing constitutional provisions.

4. Facilitating regional dialogue, including border security, energy, and refugee issues.

5. Plan, fund, and implement reintegration programs for individuals formerly affiliated with illegal armed groups.

6. Conduct a comprehensive population census.

^{1 1} United Nations, Security Council, Resolution 1770 (2007), (2007) August 2007 10, S/RES/1770, p. 2 - 3

B: In coordination with the Government of Iraq, promote, support and facilitate:

1. Coordination and delivery of humanitarian assistance and the safe and orderly voluntary return of refugees and displaced persons.

2. Implementation of the International Covenant with Iraq, including coordination with donors and international financial institutions.

3. Coordinate and implement programs to improve Iraq's ability to deliver basic services to its people and maintain effective coordination among donors supporting critical reconstruction and assistance programs through the International Reconstruction Fund Facility for Iraq.

4. Economic reform, capacity building, and creating an enabling environment for sustainable development, through a range of measures including coordination with national and regional organizations, as well as civil society, donors, and international financial institutions.

5. Development of effective civil, social, and basic services, through several methods such as organizing training and holding conferences in Iraq whenever possible.

6. The contributions of United Nations agencies, funds, and programs to the achievement of the objectives outlined in this resolution under the unified leadership of the Secretary–General through his Special Representative for Iraq.

C: Promote and protect human rights and judicial and legal reform to strengthen the rule of law in Iraq.

UNAMI is mandated to prioritize advice, support, and assistance to the Government and people of Iraq on promoting inclusive political dialogue and national and community reconciliation, assisting in the electoral process, and facilitating regional dialogue between Iraq and its neighbors, promoting human rights protection, and legal and judicial reform. The mission has also been tasked with working with government partners and civil society to coordinate humanitarian and development efforts undertaken by UN agencies, funds, and programs. While UNAMI itself does not deliver humanitarian and development partners and civil society organizations with the technical expertise available within the UN family in Iraq. UNAMI is headed

by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Iraq, supported by two Deputy Special Representatives. One Deputy SRSG oversees political affairs and electoral assistance, while the second Deputy SRSG oversees humanitarian and development efforts provided by UNAMI, he also performs the tasks of the resident and humanitarian affairs coordinator in Iraq. There are approximately 648 staff members (251 international and 397 national staff) who work for UNAMI in Iraq. UNAMI is managed by the UN Department of Political Affairs and Peacebuilding and supported by the Department of Peace Operations, as well as the Department of Operational Support².

Second: The United Nations Mission in Iraq (UNAMI) between staying and leaving.

While the Iraqi Prime Minister Mohammed Shi'a Al–Sudani was preparing the government's decision to determine the future relationship with UNAMI during his meeting with the UN Secretary–General António Guterres on the sidelines of his participation in the 54th Davos Economic Forum held in Switzerland, Jeanine Plasschaert, head of the UN mission in Iraq, was writing her statement referring to the lack of stability in the region and the possibility of Iraq being at risk of being drawn further into the raging conflict in the Middle East against the background of the war in the Gaza Strip. Plasschaert's report³ painted a pessimistic picture when it insinuated that the continuous attacks launched from inside and outside Iraqi borders are likely to undermine the stability that has been achieved with great effort in the country. The report affirms that the fierce conflict in Gaza threatens to spread to other places and escalate into larger confrontations, indicating that the Security Council may be pushed to renew Plasschaert's mandate and her mission to work in Iraq in the same way that it has been operating for two decades.

UNAMI has enjoyed a large role in Iraq since its establishment on August 14, 2003, under the UN Security Council Resolution (No.1500) which gives UNAMI has a legal basis to play a greater role in the political situation in Iraq, where it is present and is diplomatically equivalent to the rank of embassies among the countries of the world and whose diplomatic representation resembles the representation of the European Union and the Arab League and other representations.

2 United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq (UNAMI), On the website https//:iraq-un-org.translate.goog/en-132447/united-nations-assistance-missioniraq-

unami_?x_tr_sl=en_&x_tr_tl=ar_&x_tr_hl=ar_&x_tr_pto=sc.

3 Samir Daoud Hanoush, UNAMI in Iraq. Profit and Loss Accounts, Al-Arab Newspaper, London. 2125 /1 / 2024 · .

UNAMI's interference in Iraqi affairs deepened as the political and constitutional deadlock increased and the political system faltered, while some believe that its presence is illegal and detracts from the country's sovereign right, given that it was established in 2003 without a request from Iraq under the US occupation, and the mission was supposed to end after Iraq's exit from the international trusteeship under the seventh clause imposed after the second Gulf War in 1991, and the last renewal of the mission was on May 30, 2023, when the UN Security Council renewed UNAMI's mission, when the UN Security Council unanimously renewed UNAMI's mandate for another year, requesting a strategic review of its work and a study of the existing political situation in the country before the end of March 2024⁴.

The Iraqi government set January 2025 as deadline for ending UNAMI's mission, saying it no longer needed its political role, and the Iraqi Prime Minister (Mohammed Shi'a Al-Sudani) sent a letter to the UN Secretary-General (António Guterres) expressing objections to an international team that communicated with non-official parties to assess the situation in Iraq. Al-Sudani mentioned a previous request by Iraq to reduce the mission's mandate, but the Security Council formed the Strategic Review Team to demonstrate the need for the continuation of the mission. In his letter Al-Sudani stated that (the team did not limit its consultation to the Iraqi government but extended to parties that had not been involved in the mission's establishment in the year 2003), The Iraqi Prime Minister said that "the justification for a political mission in Iraq no longer exists" and called on Guterres to end the mission's mandate before January 31, 2025, meanwhile limiting its role to development, climate and economic reform⁵

The government spokesman (Bassem al-Awadi) explained that the termination of UNAMI's work came at an Iraqi request and a UN recommendation, noting that this decision aligns with the government's vision on this matter, al-Awadi stated, (Iraq is a sovereign country that has recovered from the crises and collapses that affected it as a result of multiple wars. Iraq requested in March last year to reduce the tasks of UNAMI given the stability in governance and the democratic system. However, the Security Council decided to form a strategic review committee to submit its assessment of the tasks of the UNAMI mission at the end of February of this year to the Secretary–General of the United Nations, and the Security Council decides in May of this year a decision that aligns with what Iraq wants and the assessment submitted by the Iraqi state). He added that the government welcomed the arrival of the committee and opened prospects for it to hold the meetings it wanted to hold with all parties without any obstacles. The committee visited Iraq in November of last year and held 250 meetings with various governmental and non–governmental figures and institutions throughout Iraq. He indicated that the committee submitted its report to

5 According to Middle East newspaper, Iraq to turn the page on UNAMI, at https://aawsat.com, 10/5/2024.

⁴ Same resource

the Security Council, which stated that there is a noticeable development at all levels, and the committee sees the need to end the work of UNAMI in several stages and complete its end in the middle of 2026. Al-Awadi pointed out that the independent United Nations team sent by the Security Council headed by the German Volker to study the reality of UNAMI's work also concluded the mission's work, meaning that it was consistent with our government's vision on this matter, stressing that the Iraqi decision is in line with the text of the committee's recommendations, with a difference in timing, as Iraq sees the tasks being completed at the end of 2025⁶.

The government of Prime Minister Mohammed Shi'a Al-Sudani intends to reorganize the relationship with the United Nations by asking the United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq (UNAMI) to complete its tasks by May 2026, according to the letter addressed by the Secretary-General of the United Nations (António Guterres) to the UN Security Council at the end of March 2023. In his lengthy letter, Guterres said that Prime Minister Al-Sudani and his government team asked him during his visit to Iraq last year, that the mission (UNAMI), led by Jeanine Plasschaert, should complete its work given the gradual state of security and political stability in Iraq, and the UN official stated that the Government of Iraq intends to reorganize its work with the United Nations system to work on development and humanitarian issues directly with UN agencies, funds and programs, and Baghdad wants the work of these bodies to be coordinated through the local UN team in Iraq, rather than a mission mandated by the Security Council⁷.

The Iraqi government requested that UNAMI's mandate be reduced to humanitarian and developmental issues as of May 31, 2024, followed by a one-year period during which the remaining tasks would be transferred for one year to the country team in Iraq as of May 2025. Although the UN official stressed the country's need for UNAMI's presence, he acknowledged in his letter that its current size in Iraq is too large and supports the gradual transfer of its work to a local team as part of a comprehensive configuration of the UN presence in Iraq. But the United Nations official stressed that "the Iraqi leadership, if found that it no longer needs UNAMI's assistance, must prepare for ownership, and the United Nations should remain ready to support" and recommends that the transfer of the Mission's functions to a local team be undertaken in agreement with the Iraqi Government under its two-year period, In Guterres's view, UNAMI's tasks during the transition period beginning at the end of May 2024 should be centered on reinvigorating its partnership with the Iraqi Government's capacity for elections, he stressed that the United Nations should find a way to continue to provide substantive support on elections and human rights,

6 Al-Sabah newspaper, Al-Awadi: Iraqi request and UN recommendation to end the work of {UNAMI}, at https://alsabaah.iq/96422-.html, 12/5/2024.
7 Fadel al-Nashmi, The United Nations for Iraqis: three dangers on the road, Middle East Newspaper, at https://aawsat.com, 4/30/2024.

which are critical, as well as advice on national conflict resolution and crisis management.8

The UN official recorded a set of observations that he believes still represent a threat to the country, including the fragility of institutions, as well as the fear of the possibility of the emergence of the terrorist ISIS or new terrorism. Guterres pointed to the issue of the power struggle, and that some parties to the political process view the UN mission as a guarantor, and Guterres admitted that the UN mission will not accomplish everything, even if it stays in Iraq forever, as the responsibility lies with Iraqi institutions⁹.

In her latest briefing on Iraq at the UN Security Council, the head of the UNAMI mission said that "the security situation in the country has improved a lot, but uncontrolled weapons and the feeling of marginalization and exclusion of the sects constitute major obstacles." Jeanine Plasskaert, head of the UN Assistance Mission for Iraq, said that "the feeling of exclusion and marginalization is increasing among Iraqi components, and if this is not resolved, we may face the ignition of tensions within and between the sects." Plasskaert continued, "We note attempts to seize power and the adoption of unfair and punitive policies that may benefit only one sect." The head of the international mission continued, "There is no denying the legitimate demands in the fight against corruption, impunity, sectarianism, interference in state functions, and armed elements outside the control of the state, all issues facing the state and represent huge obstacles," but Plasskaert said that "Iraq is witnessing a clear rise in the fields of services and reconstruction, ... it also called for elections in the Kurdistan region to be held as soon as possible, and to include everyone, in addition to the minority quota), and UNAMI published a report at the end of April 2024 to evaluate its work in Iraq, in which it made a sentence about the threats that still exist in Iraq, in response to a request made by the Iraqi government to reduce the Mission's work until its termination within two years. The UN Secretary-General (António Guterres) emphasized that "if the Iraqi leadership finds that it no longer needs UNAMI's assistance, it should be prepared to take over, and the UN should remain ready to support it"10.

The spokesman for the Iraqi Government (Al Awadi) says that "the mandate of UNAMI is to prioritize the provision of advice, support, and assistance to the Government and people of Iraq on the promotion of inclusive political dialogue and national and community reconciliation. "Such as Assistance in the electoral process and promotion of human rights protection and judicial and legal reform" he assured that "Iraq today is a sovereign country, gradually recovering from crises, conducting its political affairs with balance and national interests, and building bridges of cooperation, friendship, and partnership with various countries of the world through Iraqi official government institutions, and even

9 Same Resource

⁸ Same Resource

¹⁰ According to The Middle East, «UNAMI: Iraq improves despite (enormous pitfalls), at https://aawsat.com, 5/16/2024.

taking part in settling regional differences and play the role of mediator capable of bridging differences". He continues "The Government has also been able to resolve the border intersections with Turkey and Iran in accordance with formal agreements, and Iraq's Arab relations are constantly evolving, including the relationship with Kuwait or the remainder of its previous files". At the internal level, the Government moves on important files, these include the Kurdistan Region relationship file or the Kirkuk file, which the Government has made a giant step that has not been achieved since 2005, and other internal files.

He emphasizes that "Iraq appreciates the role of UNAMI in the past two decades, as they made great sacrifices in their work, and there are important files that Iraq will request technical support with from the United Nations, such as the elections file, but this will be within a special mission that ends at the end of each election, and the specialized UN agencies will continue their work, including the Human Rights Organization, UNDP and others, and the Iraqi request does not conflict with the continuation of the work of these organizations only because the main agency is related to the political aspect. In conclusion, "it is time for Iraq to get out of the (care) room after two decades after the change in 2003, it is difficult to believe that we are not at the stage of (adulthood or political maturity), and therefore there must be permanent assistance in a pastoral and paternalistic manner capable of managing the dialogue between Iraqis themselves or with their neighbors on their behalf or to provide assistance to them.¹¹"

The United Nations Mission usually meets senior political, security, and judicial officials in Iraq, and these steps are considered by critics of the Mission as an interference in the Iraqi decision. In contrast, the other line believes that this is part of the mission's mandate to contain any problems or conflicts¹². On the other hand, some describe the request to end the United Nations' role in Iraq as a political decision that will increase the power of the parties and elites and cause them to rebel against the law after the departure of that organization in the absence of the sergeant who was following the country's affairs. But the Iraqi decision, through Mohammed Shiyaa al–Sudani's letter to the Secretary General of the United Nations, clearly outlines Iraq's desire to terminate the mandate of this mission, whatever the outcome, the difficult question remains, how will the United Nations Security Council, which oversees the work of this organization, respond to Iraq's request without the veto? Will the Iraqi initiative be allowed, and the constraints of foreign intervention be removed? Most importantly, will it be a unified Iraqi decision without

11 According to Shafaq News, after two decades of UN sponsorship Why did Iraq ask to separate from UNAMI?», at 11 https://shafaq.com/ar/, 11/5/2024. 12 Same Resource being rejected by the parties involved in the government?¹³

Russia and China supported Baghdad's request to end UNAMI's mission in Iraq by next year, however, the United States had reservations about it. The Deputy Representative of Iraq to the United Nations, Abbas Kazim Obaid Al-Fatlawi, repeated the request before the Council, saying, "The mission achieved its goals." The Russian envoy, Vasily Nebenzia, supported this point of view, saying, "The Iraqis are ready to bear responsibility for the future of their country," adding that "the remaining issues should not become a pretext for the UN mission to remain in the country indefinitely."

China's deputy delegate to the UN Geng Shuang noted that "as part of the annual renewal of UNAMI, whose mandate expires at the end of May, the Council should propose a plan to ensure gradual withdrawal and a smooth transition towards final withdrawal." Given that UN missions can only operate with the consent of the host state, Britain and France also expressed their support for a shift in the mandate of UNAMI. The U.S. position was more ambiguous. Ambassador Linda Thomas–Greenfield said that "UNAMI still has important work to do." She emphasized the mission's key role in many important political issues, such as supporting the organization of elections and promoting human rights, although Iraq has requested that UNAMI focus more directly on economic issues. In an assessment requested by the Council, German diplomat Volker Perthes said in March that the UN Assistance Mission for Iraq (UNAMI), which had more than 700 staff until late 2023 seems too large in its current form and called on UNAMI to begin transferring its functions to national institutions and the UN team in the country in a responsible, orderly and gradual manner within an agreed timeframe"¹⁴.

Third: Security Council Resolution 2732 / (2024)

Following the letters and discussions mentioned above, Security Council Resolution 2732 was adopted at its 9642nd meeting, held on May 31, 2024, the main contents of which are as follows:

The Security Council notes the recommendations of the Independent Strategic Review of March 28, 2024, to streamline the activities of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq (UNAMI).

1. Takes note of the letter from the Government of Iraq dated May 8, 2024,

13 Samir Daoud Hanoush, Before the UN mission leaves Iraq, Al-Arab Newspaper, London, No. 13136, 5/24/2024

14 14 According to the Middle East newspaper, ending UNAMI in Iraq... Russian support and American ambiguity, at https://aawsat.com, 5/17/2024.

and decides to extend the mandate of UNAMI for a final period of 19 months until December 31, 2025, after which UNAMI will decrease all work and operations except the ones concerning any remaining liquidation of the Mission according to paragraph two.

2. Requests that the Secretary-General, in consultation with the Government of Iraq, prepare a transition and liquidation plan, to be completed by 31 December 2024, for UNAMI to begin the transition of its functions, as well as the orderly drawdown, security, and withdrawal of its personnel and assets, including an end date for liquidation activities in Iraq.

3. Decide to authorize, for a period to be determined based on administrative procedures under the Financial Regulations and Rules of the United Nations, the retention of guard units from within the existing UNAMI presence to protect UNAMI personnel, facilities, and assets, including during the liquidation period.

4. Calls upon the Government of Iraq to cooperate fully with the United Nations during the transition period and the gradual drawdown and liquidation of UNAMI

5. Commends the efforts of the Government of Iraq to resolve internal issues in Iraq and to make progress towards achieving the milestones set out in the Government of Iraq's programmers and priorities, including the timely holding of parliamentary elections to the Iraqi Council of Representatives and the Kurdistan Region of Iraq, to preserve and strengthen working institutions to maintain an orderly and regular dialogue; and strengthening effective and independent national human rights bodies.

6. Note the Government of Iraq's request to downsize UNAMI's activities in its letter dated May 8, 2024, and requests the Secretary–General to streamline UNAMI's tasks to the following:

a. Provide advice, support, and technical assistance to the Government of Iraq, the Independent High Electoral Commission, and other Iraqi institutions in efforts to strengthen electoral preparation and processes to ensure free and fair elections, with full, equal, meaningful, and safe elections for women, including the federal parliamentary elections in Iraq and the parliamentary elections in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq, through transparent and inclusive processes, including through regular

technical reviews and detailed reports on electoral preparations and operations, as part of the Secretary–General's regular reporting cycle.

a.

b. Facilitate, during the interim period, progress towards the final resolution of outstanding issues between Iraq and Kuwait, including the return of Kuwaiti property and national archives, and the repatriation or return of all Kuwaiti and third-country nationals or their remains, consistent with resolution 2107 (2013) and requests the Secretary-General to make recommendations by May 31, 2025 and submit them to the Council to establish an appropriate follow-up mechanism to support continued progress should these issues not be resolved by the end of UNAMI's mandate.

c. Promote, support, and facilitate the following developmental and humanitarian tasks, in coordination with the Government of Iraq, and by the Secretary–General's transition plan for UNAMI, to be completed by December 31, 2024:

• The safe, informed, voluntary, and dignified return or local integration of internally displaced persons and displaced Iraqis in Syria, through the efforts of the United Nations Country Team, while welcoming national measures taken and timely access to legal help and civil documentation for internally displaced persons and displaced Iraqis in Syria, including those at risk of statelessness, especially children without birth registration or other legal identity documents; programs dedicated to the reintegration of displaced people and survivors of terrorist attacks and atrocities, and support for the reconstruction of areas liberated from ISIS.

• Coordinate and implement programs to improve Iraq's capacity to deliver effective basic civil and social services, including health care, psychosocial support services, and education, to its people and continue to support regional and international donor coordination in Iraq to promote national ownership by national needs.

o o Efforts by Iraq, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and others, through coordination with national institutions, regional organizations, and as appropriate, civil society, donors, and other international agencies, on economic reform, capacity building, conditions for sustainable development, resilience building, recovery, and reconstruction, including in areas affected by terrorism.

• The contributions of United Nations agencies, funds, and programs to achieving the objectives outlined in this resolution under the unified leadership of the Secretary–General through the Special Representative for Iraq, supported by his designated deputy.

d. Promote accountability, human rights protection, and judicial and legal reform, with full respect for Iraq's sovereignty and national ownership, to strengthen the rule of law, improve governance in Iraq, and support the Government of Iraq. Economic development goals and projects.

e. While commending the Government of Iraq for signing and implementing the National Action Plan and for its efforts to fulfill its commitments in coordination with relevant United Nations agencies, noting the importance of treating children affected by armed conflict first and foremost as victims, and encouraging the Government of Iraq and the United Nations country team, including UNICEF, to strengthen the protection of children, including the reintegration of children, through Iraqi national legislation and Iraq's obligations under international law, and to further institutionalize the measures taken in the implementation of the Action Plan.

7 - Recognizes that the security of United Nations personnel is essential for the United Nations to carry out its work for the benefit of the people of Iraq and calls on the Government of Iraq to continue to provide security and logistical support to the United Nations presence in Iraq.

8 - Requests from the Secretary-General to report to the Council every six months, three times in total, with the first report delivered before the 30^{th} of November 2024, on the progress made in paragraph 6 towards the transfer of all remaining responsibilities and tasks of the Mission.

9 - Decides to keep the matter under consideration.

To serve as a roadmap for ending UNAMI's mission in Iraq and restructuring the United Nations institutions operating in Iraq in a new way...

Recommendations:

Following the assessment of the status of UNAMI and the progress of Iraqi initiatives in the country, it is crucial for Iraqi governmental bodies to prioritize the effective implementation of the United Nations Sustainable Development Plan (2015–2030), whose international indicators still warn of declines in the Iraqi situation. Resolution 2732/2024 addressed a number of them, which require this paper to establish some recommendations to move forward to implement the above resolution away from what is stated in Article 9 thereof, which are:

• It is recommended that attention be paid to the development of agriculture as a means of combating climate change and preventing the migration of rural populations to urban areas. In compliance with Iraq's ratification of the Paris Climate Agreement.

• Support be provided for the transition towards renewable energies and the resolution of the energy crisis in the country. This is a matter of great urgency, as the energy crisis has the potential to impede the country's transition to a state of stability, which is a key objective of the Sudani's government.

• Increased interest in the third goal of the Sustainable Development Goals related to health care in Iraq.

• The government adheres to the tenets and objectives outlined in Goal 16 of the Sustainable Development Goals. Furthermore, it is of the utmost importance that the government implements the aforementioned goals in a manner consistent with the text of the government program, particularly in the following areas: combating organized crime and corruption, reducing child labor, ending exploitation against women, strengthening institutions, establishing a solid justice system, resolving displacement problems, and restoring stability to troubled areas.

• The implementation of the contents of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), which Iraq ratified in 1971.