

INTERNATIONAL SECURITY UPDATE
May 28 - June 10, 2015

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1. [Violence in Iraq means millions need help](#) (06-10-2015)

Daesh's campaign of terror in Iraq has displaced more than 2.8 million people, causing a humanitarian emergency.

- U.S. officials have expressed extreme concern about the humanitarian situation in Iraq. The latest displacement of people from Ramadi contributes to one of the worst and most complex humanitarian crises in the world today.
- Atrocities like the [torture and murder of children](#) in terrorist-held areas encourage civilians to flee and deepen the humanitarian crisis.
- Since October 2014, [the United States has provided more than \\$407 million](#) in humanitarian aid to Iraqis in the region, and it continues to encourage other countries to contribute to U.N. humanitarian appeals for Iraq aid.

The United States also is the single largest donor of humanitarian assistance to people affected by the crisis in Syria. Since March 2011, [U.S. humanitarian aid](#) for the Syrian crisis exceeds \$3.5 billion.

You can help by supporting organizations like the [International Federation of Red Cross](#) and Red Crescent Societies and the [International Committee of the Red Cross](#), both of which offer valuable assistance to Iraqis and Syrians in need.

2. Obama, Iraqi Prime Minister Abadi After Their Meeting (06-08-2015)

REMARKS BY PRESIDENT OBAMA AND PRIME MINISTER AL-ABADI OF IRAQ

THE PRESIDENT: Well, it is a pleasure to be with Prime Minister Abadi and his delegation. Obviously, the United States has made an enormous commitment and investment in Iraq, and we're fortunate to have a reliable partner in Prime Minister Abadi.

The challenges that Iraq face continue to be significant. Obviously, ISIL, or Daesh, has been active in its terrorist activities, particularly in Anbar and some of the western portions of the country. We have seen successes, but we've also seen setbacks. In areas like Tikrit, we've seen the Iraqi security forces operate very effectively with the international coalition to drive back ISIL. Most recently, in Ramadi, we saw ISIL concentrate its forces to get what I believe will be a short-term tactical gain.

What we do know is that our success is going to be dependent on an effective partnership between the international coalition and the Iraqi government. And that's why a lot of our discussion today will focus on how we can build on the thousands of Iraqi security forces that we have already trained; how we can coordinate more effectively in getting weapons into the hands of those who are prepared to fight ISIL on a timely basis; how we can ensure that the work that the Prime Minister has done to maintain an inclusive government in Baghdad continues.

And in all of these discussions, what I found is that Prime Minister Abadi is very much committed to effective, inclusive governance. And there's a refreshing honesty, I think, on the part of the Prime Minister in recognizing that there remains a lot of work to be done. But as long as the international coalition sustains its efforts, and as long as Prime Minister Abadi and the Iraqi government stay committed to an inclusive approach to gaining back territory from ISIL and then instituting governance that is inclusive and serves the people, I'm absolutely confident that we will succeed.

I just realized I should have provided the translation for that. That was kind of a long sentence. Go ahead.

So the United States is going to continue to ramp up our training and assistance. We are going to continue to provide the supplies that are necessary for Iraqi forces to successfully mount offensive campaigns and not simply defensive campaigns inside of Iraq.

In discussions with the G7 and other coalition partners, they're absolutely committed to making sure that the Iraqi government can succeed in this process. And I'm confident that although it is going to take time and there will be setbacks and lessons learned, that we are going to be successful, ISIL is going to be drive out of Iraq, and ultimately it is going to be defeated.

PRIME MINISTER ABADI: (As interpreted.) I would like to thank President Obama and the United States, and the G7 countries, and the global coalition against ISIL for standing side by side with Iraq to defeat Daesh.

We are fighting several fights and combats against ISIL. We have won many rounds against ISIL. One round we lost was in Ramadi, but I say that we lost it only temporarily. And the Iraqi security forces and the Popular Mobilization Forces, all under the leadership of the commander-in-chief and the leadership of the Iraqi government, has taken control of the situation and are endeavoring very hard to liberate all the land in Iraq that is confiscated. And we have liberated a space and amount of land in Iraq that is many folds more than what they have in Ramadi.

And very frankly, Iraqis are fighting other land and they are fighting with the international community. And the United States, standing side by side with Iraq -- and that is very important because the fight there is one that is a psychological war and a moral war, and we will continue our efforts to defeat ISIL.

Undoubtedly, we will win the war -- we will win the war over ISIS that has a bad ideology, an ideology that is attempting at sabotaging archeological sites and killing citizens, and targeting and killing minorities, and causing destruction in Sunni cities. Of course, ISIS is fully (inaudible) on anything that has to do with the Sunnis, because ISIS ideology is a false one. And we shall be victorious.

Thank God, we are working on including all the components of the Iraqi people and we are continuing this effort. And our sons and our populations in Ramadi, those who fled the war scenes, come back to areas that are under the control of the Iraqi government. We welcome them, and we will continue to help them and do everything for them.

And as we fight Daesh in Ramadi, and we endeavor and work hard to expulse Daesh from that region, we sent two brigades to Mosul in order to put the area under -- the perimeter of the area under siege and to drive Daesh out of Ninawa.

The problem resides in the foreign fighters, the influx of foreign fighters that goes into Syria and into Iraq, and it creates more of the bloodshed, more of the destruction, and the bloodshed and blood-spilling of the innocents. This is what we discussed today and raised this issue at the G7 today. And this will require the effort and the mobilization of the international community to address.

Just to give an example and an idea -- 40 suicide bombers conduct operations and they kill many -- and many of them are killed, but these people are from outside and they are coming from outside Iraq.

Also, another thing is that ISIL smuggles oil and tries to generate revenue out of oil smuggling and to generate and funnel money into its terrorist activities. To stop this activity of ISIL, this will require the effort of the international community. We also see that a mobilization is needed by the international community to stop ISIL from recruiting. ISIL recruiting must be stopped, and this can be done by a global intelligence-sharing effort. Iraq cannot do it alone. It doesn't have the resources. But along with our global partners, we can do it.

We believe that by protecting the Iraqis and our citizens, and with the help of our allies, with the help of the global community, the international community, and the G7, we will be able to defeat ISIL and be victorious in Iraq.

3. [G7: Sanctions stay until Russia honors cease-fire](#) (06-08-2015)

Leaders of the Group of 7 (Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, the United Kingdom and the United States) have agreed to keep sanctions against Russia in place as long as Russia continues to violate the cease-fire agreed to in meetings in Minsk, Belarus, President Obama said.

“The G7 is making it clear that, if necessary, we stand ready to impose additional, significant sanctions against Russia,” [Obama said June 8](#) at the conclusion of a two-day meeting with other

leaders at Schloss Elmau, Germany. The leaders discussed economic, security and development priorities, including standing up to Russian aggression in Ukraine.

G7 leaders expressed concern over the recent increase in fighting and urged Russia to halt its support to the separatists and influence them to fully implement the Minsk agreements made in September 2014 and February 2015. The leaders reiterated their condemnation of Russia's purported annexation of Crimea and their refusal to recognize the peninsula as part of Russia. "This is now the second year in a row that the G7 has met without Russia — another example of Russia's isolation — and every member of the G7 continues to maintain sanctions on Russia for its aggression against Ukraine," Obama said.

Obama noted Russia's weakened economy: The ruble and foreign investment have dropped, while inflation has increased. The Russian central bank has expended more than \$150 billion in reserves, and Russian energy companies and banks are struggling, cut off from key technologies and financing.

"Russia's actions in Ukraine are hurting Russia and hurting the Russian people," the president said. Obama added that the G7 remains strongly united in its support for Ukraine. G7 leaders welcomed Ukraine's progress on reforms and agreed to continue working with international financial institutions to provide economic support and technical assistance to help Ukraine.

4. Global coalition reaffirms strategy to degrade, defeat Daesh (06-05-2015)

Anti-Daesh global coalition members reaffirmed strong international will to degrade and ultimately defeat the terror group during a recent meeting in Paris.

"I emerged from this meeting confident that we will defeat them through our unity, our determination, and our commitment to create a future of opportunity and peace for people in Iraq, in Syria, and indeed in the entire region," said Deputy Secretary of State Antony Blinken.

The Ministerial Meeting of the Small Group to Counter Daesh, a group of representatives of 25 countries plus the United Nations and the European Union, met June 2 to coordinate anti-Daesh strategy.

More than 60 countries and international organizations participate in the global coalition to defeat Daesh.

The group issued a ministerial declaration reaffirming a multifaceted, long-term strategy against Daesh and unanimous support for an Iraqi government plan for the liberation of Anbar province. "In Iraq right now, we have the right strategy: a combination of coalition airstrikes; training, equipping, assisting; and effective local partners," Blinken said.

The deputy secretary said the struggle against Daesh must ultimately be won by the Iraqi people. "We must therefore do all that we can as quickly as we can to help Iraq bring fully capable and inclusive national security forces that will operate professionally and under a unified chain of command," Blinken said.

The ministerial declaration stressed the need to defeat Daesh beyond the military campaign, through disrupting access to funding, ending the flow of foreign terrorist fighters and addressing associated humanitarian crises.

“We’re also doing all that we can to aid the region’s victims of violence, who include millions of refugees and displaced persons from both Syria and Iraq,” Blinken said.

The United States has provided nearly [\\$3.7 billion in humanitarian aid](#) to those affected by the war in Syria and more than \$407 million to help displaced Iraqis. It remains the single largest donor of humanitarian assistance to people in the conflict zone.

5. [Amb. Power at U.N. Security Council Meeting on Ukraine](#) (06-05-2015)

Remarks by Ambassador Samantha Power, U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations, at a UN Security Council Meeting on Ukraine, June 5, 2015

Thank you, Mr. President, for organizing today’s meeting to speak to the recent developments in eastern Ukraine. And I join others in thanking our briefers, Under Secretary-General Feltman and OSCE Deputy Chief Monitor Hug, for providing the Security Council and the international community with the facts underlying the escalation in violence, which are critical in a conflict where some continue to try to obscure the truth.

On June 3rd, combined Russian-separatist forces launched multiple, coordinated attacks west of the Minsk line of contact in Donetsk. The attacks were concentrated on the towns of Marinka and Krasnohorivka.

The Russian Federation and its separatist allies have offered multiple – often conflicting – explanations for these attacks.

In some instances, Russia and the separatists have blamed Ukraine for inciting the attacks. For example, a Russian presidential spokesman attributed the violations of the ceasefire to the “provocative actions by the Ukrainian armed forces,” claiming, “the Ukrainian side has repeatedly taken similar efforts to escalate tensions against the backdrop of international operations.” Similarly, the so-called “Defense Minister” of the self-proclaimed Donetsk People’s Republic blamed Ukraine for “provocations” and, what he called, “a breach in the Minsk agreements,” which led to the fighting. Exactly what the so-called provocations are was never explained.

This argument, this set of arguments, have been undermined by some of the separatists themselves, who seem to have forgotten to run their tweets and their blog posts by Moscow. During the attacks, one tweeted, “Marinka is ours!” – posting a photo of armed soldiers atop a tank flying the separatists’ flag. A post on a separatist website said, “As a result of a massive attack by [DPR] armed forces, Marinka has been liberated.”

In other instances, Russia has argued that the attacks were justified because the areas that are actually part of the separatist-controlled territory under the Minsk agreements are these areas. They are not. This was the case Russia made about Marinka and Krasnohorivka yesterday, at a meeting of the OSCE. We’ve seen this tactic before; when combined Russian-separatist forces encircled and attacked Debaltseve immediately after signing the package of measures at Minsk on February 12th, 2015. As a separatist commander Eduard Basurin told Reuters on February 15th, “Of course we can open fire [on Debaltseve]... The territory is internal: ours. And internal is internal. But along the line of confrontation there is no shooting.”

The problem with this line of argument is, quite simply, that it is false. At no point did the Minsk Agreements recognize Marinka and Krasnohorivka as separatist-controlled territory. Nor did they grant the separatists control over Debaltseve or other areas combined Russian-separatist forces have

seized, or tried to seize. Yet for Russia and the separatists, it seems the contact line can shift to include the territories that they feel they deserve.

The Kyiv-born surrealist master Mikhail Bulgakov put this problem a different way: “The tongue can conceal the truth, but the eyes, never!” In this case, the objective eyes in eastern Ukraine belong to the OSCE’s Special Monitoring Mission, the SMM. And what they tell us is that, on the evening of June 2nd and early morning of June 3rd, “SMM observed the movement of a large amount of heavy weapons in DPR-controlled areas – generally in a westerly direction toward the contact line – close to Marinka, preceding and during the fighting.” So, to repeat: according to the SMM, heavy weapons from the Russian-backed separatist side moved westward “preceding as well as during the fighting.”

The SMM tried to contact high-ranking DPR personnel over an hour-and-a-half period on the morning of June 3rd, but reported, “Either they were unavailable or did not wish to speak to the SMM.” The eyes do not conceal the truth. And the truth here is that the recent violence was rooted in a combined Russian-separatist assault.

These and other joint attacks by Russian-separatist forces have deadly consequences. At least 5 Ukrainian soldiers were killed, and 38 wounded, in the assault on the towns. The number of casualties is surely higher, but we do not, unfortunately, have reliable reports from the separatists’ side. That is because, as the UN’s Human Rights Monitoring Unit noted in its May 15th report, independent media have been prosecuted, threatened, and otherwise muzzled in separatist-controlled territory.

We also do not know how many Russian soldiers were killed in recent attacks – or in any of their operations in eastern Ukraine, for that matter. Russia continues – despite incidents such as the recent capture of two special operations Russian soldiers in Schastya last month – to deny any military involvement in eastern Ukraine.

And just last week, President Putin signed a decree classifying any death of Russian soldiers in “special operations” in peacetime a state secret, a policy which previously was limited to wartime only. Not content with denying their military service in life, Russia now denies their loved ones the respect and closure – not to mention social services – for their service in death. And it denies the Russian people knowledge to which they are entitled – of a conflict their government has been fueling with weapons, training, and soldiers. No matter what your opinion of the open secret that is Russia’s military involvement in eastern Ukraine and occupied Crimea, the dignified recognition of one’s dead should have primacy.

Of course, suffering is hardly limited to those involved in the fighting. Civilians living near and along the front lines continue to endure profound hardship. Approximately 1.3 million Ukrainians have been displaced by the fighting. Small children on the front lines have gotten used to going to school and sleeping in basements. Families live underground for months at a time. The elderly and disabled are trapped with little access to vital medicine and other forms of assistance. A health professional working in Debaltseve said, “I’ve met elderly people who say that they would just like to die. They don’t have depression; they just don’t want to be 80 years old and living in a basement.”

By now, the international community is quite familiar with Russia’s playbook when it comes to efforts to occupy the territory of its sovereign neighbors – as it did in Crimea, and before that in Transnistria, Abkhazia, and South Ossetia. The consensus here, and in the international community, remains that Minsk’s implementation is the only viable way out of this deadly conflict.

The Ukrainian government has made good faith efforts to honor that consensus – notwithstanding the seemingly endless violations by Russia and the separatists – and deliver on the commitments made at Minsk. Ukraine is holding direct dialogue with the separatists, a bitter pill to swallow, but one they have swallowed for the sake of peace and for the sake of the implementation of the Minsk Agreements. At the same time, Ukraine has undertaken critical efforts, with the participation of Ukrainian civil society, to address pervasive problems it inherited from its predecessors, like widespread corruption, as well as to pursue crucial reforms such as decentralization. Ukraine cooperates with the international monitors and bodies, and has committed to address identified areas of concern. The United States will continue to raise tough issues and these areas of concern, including some raised here today by the briefers, with the Government of Ukraine, and we will support the government and Ukrainian people as they continue their efforts toward meaningful reform.

Yet Russia – and the separatists it trains, arms, fights alongside, and with whom it shares command and control systems in eastern Ukraine – continues to ignore this consensus, flouting the commitments it made at Minsk. It goes right on applying its playbook in new territories – as though this Council and the world are too blind, or too easily deceived to notice.

We must not let ourselves be deceived. The consequences of Russia's contempt for Minsk and the rules undergirding our international peace and security are too great – both for the integrity of the international system, and for the rights and welfare of the Ukrainian people. We cannot fail to see and fail to act. We must not stop applying pressure until Ukrainians get the stable democracy, the territorial integrity, and sovereignty they yearn for and deserve. Thank you.

6. Passage of Implementing Legislation for Nuclear Security Treaties (06-04-2015)

This week, President Obama signed into law implementing legislation for treaties that represent legal cornerstones of the global nuclear security architecture, the strengthening of which is a key goal of the Nuclear Security Summits. This legislation will also enhance protections against threats from nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons.

The legislation amends the Convention on the Physical Protection of Nuclear Material (CPPNM), the International Convention for the Suppression of Acts of Nuclear Terrorism (ICSANT), and two Protocols to the Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts Against the Safety of Maritime Navigation (SUA). The Department of State is now preparing the instruments of ratification of these important treaties for the President's signature.

I want to personally thank the U.S. Congress, particularly the House and Senate Judiciary Committees, for their efforts on this critically important legislation. It is a laudable example of the good we can accomplish when two branches of government and two parties come together to strengthen our nation's security. It is also yet another indication that the United States is committed on a bipartisan basis to eliminating the greatest threat to global security: nuclear terrorism.

The CPPNM amendment establishes new international norms for the physical protection of nuclear materials and facilities, including protection from sabotage. It also provides for expanded cooperation among state parties and defines new criminal offenses that must be made punishable by state parties under their domestic law. Once our national ratification actions are completed, the United States will work with other countries to secure the 16 additional ratifications that are needed in order for the amendment to enter into force with the goal of achieving this by the end of the year.

The ICSANT provides a specific legal basis for international cooperation in the investigation, prosecution, and extradition of those who commit terrorist acts involving radioactive material or a nuclear device, or any device that may emit radiation or disperse radioactive material.

The SUA Protocols establish the first international treaty framework for criminalizing certain terrorist acts, including using a ship or fixed platform in a terrorist activity, transporting weapons of mass destruction or their delivery systems and related materials, and transporting terrorist fugitives.

U.S. ratification of these treaties will honor U.S. pledges made at the 2010 Nuclear Security Summit and at the Proliferation Security Initiative 10th Anniversary Meeting in 2013. We call on all countries who share our commitment to preventing nuclear terrorism to join and fully implement these treaties.

7. Joint Statement Between Pakistan and United States on Security, Strategic Stability, and Nonproliferation Issues (06-03-2015)

Under Secretary of State for Arms Control and International Security Rose Gottemoeller and Foreign Secretary Aizaz Ahmad Chaudhry co-chaired the seventh round of the U.S.-Pakistan Security, Strategic Stability, and Nonproliferation (SSS&NP) Working Group in Washington, DC on June 2, 2015. The delegations had a productive exchange of views on issues of mutual importance, including international efforts to enhance nuclear security, peaceful applications of nuclear energy, nonproliferation, export controls, regional stability and security.

The U.S. delegation welcomed Pakistan's efforts to harmonize its strategic trade controls with those of the Nuclear Suppliers Group and other multilateral export control regimes. Both sides emphasized the desirability of continued outreach to integrate Pakistan into the international nonproliferation regime. Pakistan stressed the need for access to peaceful nuclear technology as a socioeconomic imperative.

The delegations reaffirmed the high importance that both countries attach to preventing the proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) and their means of delivery to states as well as non-state actors. The United States and Pakistan resolved to work together to achieve the objectives of United Nations Security Council (UNSC) Resolution 1540, and noted that both have consistently supported and implemented relevant UNSC Resolutions.

The Pakistan delegation welcomed the understanding reached between the Islamic Republic of Iran and P5+1 on April 2, underscored the importance of resolving the nuclear issue peacefully, and expressed its earnest hope that the parties concerned will be able to finalize a comprehensive settlement.

The United States underscored its continued efforts to realize the agenda set forth in President Obama's 2009 Prague speech, including the importance of commencing negotiation of a Fissile Material Cutoff Treaty (FMCT) in the Conference on Disarmament (CD), noting its readiness to address all issues raised in the course of negotiations, as allowed for in CD 1299. Pakistan underlined its preference for a broader Fissile Material Treaty (FMT) that addresses the asymmetries in existing stocks and highlighted that Pakistan's position on FMT will be determined by its national security interests and the objectives of strategic stability in South Asia.

Both sides noted the high priority that arms control has for the international community. The United States outlined its nuclear stockpile reductions, explained its efforts to seek congressional approval to ratify the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty (CTBT), and reaffirmed its commitment not

to conduct further nuclear test explosions. Pakistan noted its continued support for CTBT-related resolutions in the United Nations General Assembly, and its consistent stance that it will not be the first in its region to resume nuclear testing.

Both sides recognized their shared interest in strategic stability in the region. The United States welcomed Prime Minister Sharif's 2014 statement to the United Nations General Assembly in which he noted that, to promote stability, Pakistan is prepared to explore new confidence building measures. Reaffirming that statement of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, Pakistan reiterated its longstanding proposal of pursuing nuclear restraint, conventional equilibrium and conflict resolution in South Asia. Pakistan also reiterated its commitment to Credible Minimum Deterrence and to pursue measures in the region aimed at building confidence and lessening the risk of armed conflict. The United States and Pakistan emphasized the importance of meaningful dialogue and progress in this area and expressed the hope for lasting peace in South Asia and the resolution of outstanding territorial and other disputes through peaceful means.

The delegations discussed international efforts aimed at improving nuclear security with a central role of IAEA including through the high level focus by the Nuclear Security Summit process and the Global Initiative to Combat Nuclear Terrorism. In this context, both countries expressed their desire to see the 2016 Nuclear Security Summit result in a strengthened nuclear security architecture. Accordingly, both countries aspired to ratify the Amendment to the Convention on the Physical Protection of Nuclear Material in accordance with national laws and procedures. The United States expressed full confidence in Pakistan's indigenous efforts to strengthen nuclear security, and welcomed Pakistan's efforts to strengthen export controls and border security including through ongoing efforts for installation of radiation portal monitors at border crossings, as well as Pakistan's hosting of IAEA training activities at its Nuclear Security Center of Excellence.

Both delegations took note of the entry into force of the Arms Trade Treaty. The delegations discussed issues related to the Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC) and the Biological Weapons Convention (BWC) and would continue such consultations.

The delegations reaffirmed that the Working Group remains an invaluable forum for discussing issues of critical mutual importance and stated that they looked forward to future sessions.

The SSS&NP is a working group under the auspices of the U.S.–Pakistan Strategic Dialogue.

8. U.S. Envoy Allen at Brookings-Doha U.S. Islamic World Forum (06-03-2015)

John Allen, Special Presidential Envoy for the Global Coalition To Counter ISIL

Thank you Bruce (Bruce Jones) for your generous introduction and thank you to Salman Sheikh, Will McCants, Tamara Wittes and your entire team for hosting such a significant and comprehensive dialogue. Ambassador Al-Rumaihi, Ambassador Smith, excellencies, it's a pleasure to be with you and to see so many familiar faces today. I've arrived here today from Baghdad with a stop in Paris ... not your typical route to Doha, but one in keeping with the theme of this conference: "Changing Assumptions."

Of course, The Brookings-Doha Center is one of several magnificent institutions here in Qatar ... institutions that from their very beginning have challenged the way we think about exchange and partnership between the United States and the Islamic World. It is centers of excellence like this one, in addition to this city's world-renowned cultural institutions, which make Doha an increasingly important meeting place between East and West.

In few other places across the world can you see a Rothko in the morning, attend a lecture on the history of Gulf Security in the afternoon; and listen to a Stravinsky symphony that evening. In fact, it is these kinds of opportunities that Igor Stravinsky himself, the great Russian-American composer, credited with his creativity. He said that it was through exposure to his own false assumptions -- not to fonts of wisdom or established knowledge -- that he developed as an artist. And indeed, these are communities -- both Doha and Brookings -- that have invested in the difficult work of rethinking assumptions and imagining our world in new ways.

When it comes to this region, the relationship between the United States and the world, and even the nature of the global order, this is a time when assumptions are rapidly changing. As President Obama said last September at the UN General Assembly, this is a moment where the world is "at a crossroads," a period where the old order is passing and a new order is coming into being.

Tragically, and often horrifically, the rise of ISIL has upended many of our assumptions ... and in deeper ways than regional security or politics. As someone who spent four decades as a U.S. Marine, I have come closer than many to inhumanity. I have never before seen the kind of depravity and brutality in this region that ISIL represents, and in fact, celebrates.

While few of us could have imagined the rise of such a divisive force, there is potentially another set of lessons we can learn from the global response to ISIL, which I will henceforth refer to by its Arabic acronym, Daesh.

Several years ago, few would have assumed that so many nations, from so many different traditions, with different political systems, faiths, and interests, could come together, as a Coalition, over multiple lines of effort, to confront a shared threat.

For the past nine months, in my role as the President's Special Envoy for the Global Coalition to Counter Daesh, I have been privileged to help lead this collection of strong and diverse partners we have sought to build and bind together.

From the onset of this campaign, we have understood that countering Daesh would require an enduring effort. And indeed, success will require us to persist, adapt, and constantly reassess our activities in light of both victories and setbacks ... setbacks such as experienced in Ramadi last month.

Having arrived in Doha from a Ministerial of the Coalition's Small Group in Paris, where ministers from the Campaign's leading partners discussed the way forward, I am confident that Ramadi has actually redoubled our resolve. And in Baghdad this past weekend, where I met with senior government and security officials, I saw how the same was true for our Iraqi partners.

Having been part of four previous Coalitions over the course of my career ... having commanded a Coalition of 50 nations in Afghanistan, I've seen how important it is to understand the ups and downs of a campaign within the context of long-term strategic objectives.

Yes, it is vitally important that we learn from the experience of Ramadi ... and that we learn the right lessons. But it is also imperative that we see the direction of our campaign from a more expansive horizon than last month or the next.

Today, we are nearly a full year from the series of horrific events in Iraq which compelled the United States to act, and ultimately, to convene a broad global coalition. It was at this time last June

that Daesh fighters began pouring down the Tigris River Valley. It was a moment where Iraq was under siege and largely isolated in the world. Multiple Iraqi cities fell, entire Iraqi divisions collapsed, and the northern approaches to Baghdad were exposed.

On 10 June, Mosul, a city of more than 1.5 million people, collapsed. A few weeks later, it was from that city's Nur al-Din Mosque that Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi would proclaim the so-called Caliphate.

To the west, Daesh broke through the border town of al Qaim, and poured east along the Euphrates River towards Baghdad. Daesh's spokesman, Abu Mohammed al-Adnani, vowed: "The battle would soon rage in Baghdad and [in the holy city of] Karbala."

Shortly thereafter, Daesh launched a multi-pronged attack further into northern Iraq, massacring minority populations, enslaving hundreds of women and girls, surrounding tens of thousands of Yazidis at Sinjar mountain, and opening a clear route to Erbil, the region's capital. All of this prompted U.S. action.

First: We surged intelligence assets over Iraq from one ISR sortie per month to 60 per day. The aim was to gain a more granular picture of the ISIL network, which would be essential to any future operations.

Second: We established joint operations centers in Baghdad and in Erbil, restoring critical relationships between Iraq's central government and Kurdish commanders.

Third: We deployed Special Forces teams to assess Iraqi Security formations, with a focus on Baghdad's defenses, ensuring that those defenses could hold, and that our personnel would be protected.

Fourth: We focused on helping the Iraqis maintain their political process following national elections to stand up a new government.

Coalition Assembly/Organization

These actions were absolutely essential in the immediate term, but were by no means sufficient to counter the scope and scale of the threat. At root, Daesh is not an Iraq or Syria problem; Daesh is a regional problem with global implications.

It was out of a keen awareness of the global implications of this emergency ... and the unthinkable human implications if it were allowed to go unabated ... that President Obama and Secretary Kerry resolved to build a Global Coalition last September. And it was then that the White House asked me to assist in organizing, consolidating, and coordinating this Coalition as the President's Special Envoy.

In my service over the past nine months I have now traveled to 24 capitals, many of them repeatedly, and during that time we have assembled a global Coalition of more than 60 nations.

Unlike other Coalition campaigns I have been a part of, we have had to build this Coalition from whole cloth. When I served as Commander of our NATO forces in Afghanistan for instance, our authorities and organizing mechanisms came from the UN and later from NATO. During this campaign, we have had to develop an organizational framework to sustain a long-term campaign while simultaneously taking action to confront the current emergency.

Last December in Brussels, the Global Coalition to Counter ISIL's objectives and commitments were first outlined in a Joint Statement agreed to by 60 partners who declared their unanimous commitment to counter Daesh along five mutually reinforcing lines of effort.

As I often say, while it is the Coalition's kinetic actions that receive the most attention, it is the aggregate effect of the Coalition's activities across multiple lines of effort that will ... in the end ... determine the Coalition's success.

That is why in every visit I make to a Coalition Capital and in every conversation I have with a prime minister, king, or president, I describe our campaign as organized over five lines of effort:

- A military component to deny safe haven and provide security assistance
- Disrupting flow of foreign fighters,
- Disrupting access to financial resources,
- Providing humanitarian relief and stabilization support
- Counter-messaging – or defeating Daesh as an idea.

Over each of these five central lines of effort Coalition activities are directed by specific working groups co-led by two or three Coalition partners.

For the Counter-ISIL Finance Working Group the co-leads are Italy, Saudi Arabia and the United States;

- or Foreign Terrorist Fighters, the Netherlands and Turkey;
- or Counter-ISIL Messaging, the U.A.E., the UK and the United States;
- for Military Support, the United States and Iraq;
- and for Stabilization Support, Germany and the U.A.E.

The kind of diverse and robust global leadership and activity we have enjoyed within this Coalition is, in my experience, unprecedented... in both scope and level of activity in so short time. And as we work to operationalize and intensify our activities, we have an opportunity to challenge assumptions about what a collection of committed nations can make possible.

Briefly, let me provide an overview of the Coalition's progress over of our central lines of effort and some of the ways the Coalition is evolving to confront an adaptable enemy.

Military/Security Line of Effort

Our first line of effort is focused on providing security support for our partners on the ground. While these efforts are the purview of CENTCOM and its partners, it is the task of the Coalition and me, serving as the President's Special Envoy, to ensure that Coalition activities over each of the lines of effort are synchronized and mutually reinforcing.

As I have indicated, Ramadi is a loss we must understand. But we should also not forget that Daesh has been defeated from Babil to Diyala to Ninewa, in Kirkuk Province, at Mosul Dam and Mount Sinjar, at the Rabiya crossing, and in its assault on the KRG.

- In Kobane, where Daesh hoped to yet again achieve a media spectacle for the entire world to see, they were soundly defeated.
- In Tikrit, when PM Abadi asked for help at a decisive moment, the Coalition delivered, helping ground forces break through.
- Today, Daesh has lost over twenty-five percent of the populated territory it used to hold in Iraq.
- The Coalition has played a vital role in helping local forces make these gains.
- 15 partners are helping to build the ISF's capacity.
- Six partners are contributing to the Coalition's advise and assist mission.

Building the capacity of Iraqi security forces will take time and it is only recently that our four building partner capacity sites became fully operational. With each passing week, we will see greater effect from the forces these camps produce and send to the battlefield.

Daesh's operations in Ramadi also highlighted the vital importance of Al Anbar Province, not simply as part of a shaping operation to take Mosul, but as a strategic priority.

It's one third of Iraqi territory. It is of great strategic importance to both Jordan and Saudi Arabia. Heading East, it's the gateway to Baghdad, Karbala and Najaf. And heading West, it's the means Daesh uses to exploit the Syrian border.

Unlike his predecessor, Prime Minister Abadi believes in functioning federalism, in the decentralization of authorities to the provinces. So through the central government in Iraq, a strong effort is underway to arm tribes, provide resources, and empower Sunnis in Anbar to address a Sunni threat in their midst.

We also want to support the decisions of the legitimate local leadership in Anbar, the Anbar Provincial Council, who are working directly with the Prime Minister and central government. In particular, we want to respect the unanimous decision of the Anbar Provincial Council to request the participation of the Popular Mobilization Forces in security operations.

These Anbari leaders do not view these forces from a strictly sectarian prism and understand that the PMF forces can play a vital role in holding the line against Daesh. Indeed, many PMF fighters are not Shia-hardliners but Iraqis who volunteered last summer, answering Grand Ayatollah Ali Sistani's fatwa to defend Iraq.

But, there also remain some extremist militia elements influenced by Iran and others where Iran plays a significant leadership role. As we have said many times, it is critical that all forces fall under the command and control of the Government of Iraq in order for counter-ISIL operations to be successful. Prime Minister Abadi reaffirmed this at the Paris Ministerial meeting less than 24 hours ago.

Stabilization efforts

As more territory is taken back from Daesh, we must also ensure we're poised to empower the Iraqi government to act in relief of liberated populations.

We are working closely with the Iraqis, with the support of our Coalition partners, and in particular the Arab states, to help Iraq develop stabilization and recovery plans. The UAE and Germany are leading those efforts, and Italy is playing an important role in developing police.

On Stabilization, the UN Development Program, in coordination with the Iraqis, has created a funding mechanism that channels contributions from international partners to Iraq to complete rapid projects in liberated areas. The fund is focused on restoring basic service and governance. At the Ministerial this week in Paris, several partners joined the United States in committing substantial sums to these efforts.

Counter-Finance

Squeezing Daesh access to financial resources is one of the most effective mechanisms we have to disrupt operations and management of the so-called Caliphate.

We are sharing information to block their access to the global financial system and uncovering their points of access in the region and abroad for financial support.

Still Daesh's financial resources are diverse. Beyond its oil enterprise, which we have degraded, their portfolio includes:

- In the recent raid on Abu Sayyef, we collected substantial information on Daesh financial operations.
- And we're gaining a much clearer understanding of Daesh's organization and business enterprise.
- Massive criminal extortion of populations under its control.
- Looting, kidnaping for ransom, human trafficking, a slave trade, and potential profit from sale of plundered antiquities.
- Da'esh also operates in territory where there is an extensive criminal infrastructure to support illicit financial activity, much of it dating back to historical smuggling routes and to the efforts exerted by the Saddam regime to subvert sanctions in the 1990s.

Counter-Messaging

The Coalition's counter-messaging line of effort is also contesting Daesh's narrative across platforms and languages. It is important that key, credible Muslim voices and scholars have spoken out and rejected Daesh's ideology. In the Arab world, it's important that the voice discrediting Daesh is an Arab voice and that it has an Arab face.

The UAE has established a joint center to help coordinate counter-Daesh messaging in the region and we are discussing other regional messaging centers.

Foreign Fighters/With focus on Rehabilitation-Reintegration

The final line of effort I will mention today, and the area where I will devote the most attention, involves countering foreign fighters. This is an issue of prominent concern at every Coalition gathering, including yesterday in Paris, and in nearly all of the conversations I have in capitals across the world. And rightly so.

While Turkey's 900km border with Syria is the main point of entry to the battle space, the burden of meeting the foreign fighter threat clearly cannot rest with the Turks alone.

In fact, the Turkish border is the last line of defense in this equation. Comprehensive approaches to reduce FTF flow must function as a strategic "defense in depth"... starting at the point of radicalization... the point where someone chooses to fundamentally alter their life on the path of radicalization.

Last year's UNSC Resolution 2178 calls upon all nations to strengthen their borders, share information, and adjust their laws to criminalize traveling for terrorism.

Within the Coalition we have begun to make important progress, working to share information and harmonize our practices. More than 30 coalition partners have now made legal and justice reforms intended to make it more difficult to travel to the battlespace.

But we also face a new reality: potential foreign fighters need no longer leave their home countries – or even their homes – to be radicalized and be recruited. And the potential for radicalized individuals to conduct attacks in their home countries is becoming an increasing concern as so called "Lone Wolf" attackers.

That is why we need nations working together at each link along the chain: at every border between a potential foreign fighter and the battle space, in their home communities, and at the point of recruitment and radicalization, which is often a personal computer or cell phone.

The journey to become a foreign fighter is a journey across transitions. Transitioning to radicalization. Transitioning across borders. Transitioning into the battlespace. Between each transition is a flow segment, and our mission must be to understand and impede, or disrupt, or stop the FTF inside each segment.

While the majority of FTFs travel to Iraq and Syria by air there is no one route they take – and FTFs increasingly use circuitous routes or "broken travel" to avoid detection.

There is also no one "type" of foreign fighter, no single method of recruitment, no one source of financial support for travel.

Within the Global Coalition to Counter ISIL, we are establishing mechanisms and partnerships to address the diverse and multi-faceted nature of the threat.

In fact, the Coalition's Foreign Fighter Working Group is organizing Coalition action around nine fronts, ranging from border control, to information sharing, to mapping travel and post counter-offensive FTF flows.

One critical issue we need to address is how we manage to reach, rehabilitate, and reintegrate the thousands of young people who become known to us, and who will need our help returning to their societies as productive members. From the point of radicalization and recruitment to the process of

rehabilitation, we as a Coalition and a community of nations must work together to confront this generational challenge.

There is no denying that many societies find the idea of rehabilitating foreign fighters objectionable. And indeed, those who have broken the laws of our lands must be held accountable. But long-term detention cannot be the sole means of dealing with returning foreign fighters.

I believe we must strive to be a Coalition of compassionate states. Especially when certain Coalition partners have experienced success, the promise of rehabilitation and reintegration is one we ought to embrace.

Earlier this year I met with key Muslim leaders and social scientists in Singapore who have successfully de-radicalized young men, and in so doing supported their successful return to society.

The numbers are not as high for Singapore as they are for some others, but their success is notable: out of 57 releases, they have only had one recidivist.

Belgium, Austria, and Germany, have also developed successful reintegration programs and lessons to provide in a western context. For its part, Saudi Arabia has developed a set of effective practices for their specific cultural and national context at their Mohammed bin Nayef Center.

To confront this challenge, there will be no one-size-fits all solution. Any successful approach will have to respond to uniquely local social conditions and realities. At the same time, some of the forces which compel young men, and increasingly young women, to become foreign fighters, are thoroughly global and modern in their nature.

It is a horrible irony that such an anti-modern force as Daesh has such a deft understanding of certain insecurities that come with being a young person in a modern, multi-cultural world. Daesh is practiced in exploiting a sense of rootlessness and separation that many young people feel in their communities.

Whether in minority communities in the West, in certain Arab societies, or in Southeast Asia, a feeling of disenfranchisement and otherness is present and powerful for many. There is a separation between these young people and what is defined as mainstream or the majority culture. There is separation between the opportunities young people see on their smart phones and those they believe are available to them in their own lives. There is separation between these young people and the true depth and richness of the Islamic faith.

We must save our children. We must guard against the manipulation of these separations and anxieties, while at the same time working to address their root causes.

Truly, this is no small task. It is a matter of working together as a Coalition and a community of nations to ensure that the promise of modernity is available and achievable to all.

In my discussions with Islamic scholars and Imams over the years, I have been told that it is by embracing modernity and connecting with the world, not through their rejection, that a Muslim can fully appreciate the richness of their faith.

Whether during my service in Anbar, in Afghanistan, and within units under my command, I have seen this kind of Muslim faith practiced and lived. It is an experience that challenged me to be a better Christian. And I am grateful for my exposure to the rich and true nature of the faith of Islam.

Developing this sense of shared understanding and mutual respect strengthens our ability to act in shared purpose, which is absolutely essential in the fight in which we are now engaged.

When Daesh seeks to divide and conquer, we must draw strength from the diversity of our Coalition.

When Daesh succeeds only when men and women feel little connection to their governments and to their societies, it is necessary for all of us to work together to offer better models.

When Daesh defines itself by what it seeks to destroy, we must define our ultimate efforts by what we seek to build together.

Daesh Affiliates

And when we see groups and individuals seeking to affiliate and align with Daesh in several parts of the world, we see clearly how these challenges are not unique to one region.

Indeed, the growth in the number of Daesh affiliated groups is a challenge that the Counter-ISIL Coalition is beginning to confront. When the Coalition coalesced last fall, partners came together to counter Daesh in Syria and Iraq, not forces who were affiliated with them globally. Since Daesh declared the Caliphate nearly a year ago, we have seen organizations in several countries seeking to become an affiliate or “distant province” of the so-called Caliphate.

But not every group who raises the black flag represents the same threat. Many of these groups are made up of simple criminals or contained insurgencies. At the same time, there are certain affiliates who could present a clear danger to Coalition capitals and our homelands. As a Coalition we need a sound strategic framework for judging both the sophistication of these groups and the scale of their connection to core Daesh.

In trying to determine the threat of a potential Daesh affiliate, I find it useful to ask a series of questions.

- First, what command and control does core Daesh have over this group?
- Second, has Daesh leadership decided to link itself publicly with this group, and coordinate their propaganda and messaging?
- Third, can core Daesh and this potential affiliate exchange resources, including funding and fighters?
- Fourth, and most importantly: can this group threaten a Coalition homeland?

If the answer to most of these questions is “yes,” the Coalition has ways to mitigate the threat. On three lines of Coalition effort: Counter financing, counter foreign fighters, and counter messaging, we can build on our current capabilities to counter Daesh affiliates.

We must also not forget that Daesh’s legitimacy is tied to a so-called caliphate, a proto-state with a specific geography. That means our overarching objective must remain countering core Daesh within Iraq and Syria. Squeezing and defeating Daesh there strikes a blow at the distant provinces, too.

Conclusion

As a Coalition, we cannot eliminate every rivalry, whether between different nations, different faiths, or those who hold political and historical grievances against one another. In coordinating to counter Daesh, in prizing a spirit of mutual interest and mutual respect over differences, we can change assumptions about how nations work together.

Over nine short months we have come together with dozens of partners to confront the current emergency, while at the same time creating structures and organizing mechanisms to hold together strong partners over an enduring campaign.

Having commanded a theater of war in a major coalition effort in Afghanistan, I'm beginning to see strategic momentum building. But sustaining that momentum takes daily attention across the Coalition and within the LOEs and working groups. It means learning from setbacks, not letting them define your long-term campaign.

And this will be a long campaign. Aspects of it, like defeating Daesh's ideology, will likely take a generation or more. But we can and must rise to this challenge. In an age where we are more interconnected than at any time in human history, Daesh is a global threat.

If we do not defeat this threat with strength and unity, our collective future will hold more groups like Daesh, who use the tools of modernity – the ease of world travel, our global financial markets, the Internet – to wreak havoc on the progress that humanity has achieved at such cost over the centuries.

The leaders and experts assembled today arguably know better than anyone the importance of unity of effort, the sustained pursuit of peace, and the need to adapt and thrive even in challenging circumstances. As we continue the fight to degrade and defeat Daesh, we all in the Coalition hope we can count on your efforts and your energy.
