Thirty-fifth report of the Secretary-General pursuant to paragraph 14 of resolution 1284 (1999)

I. Introduction

1. The present report is submitted pursuant to paragraph 14 of Security Council resolution 1284 (1999) and covers developments pertaining to the issues of missing Kuwaiti and third-country nationals and missing Kuwaiti property, including its national archives, since the issuance of my previous report, dated 14 December 2012 (S/2012/931).

2. Following the High-level Coordinator’s briefing to the Security Council on 18 December 2012, the Council did not come to a decision on a way forward on the mandate set out in paragraph 14 of resolution 1284 (1999), nor did it agree to extend financing of the activities to implement the mandate.

3. In my letter to the Security Council dated 10 January 2013 (S/2013/13), I stressed my commitment to the implementation of the mandate. I noted that until such time as the Council reached an agreement on a way forward that would permit the use of funds from the escrow account, I would draw on existing staff and resources in an ad hoc manner to undertake activities aimed at fulfilling the mandate in paragraph 14 of resolution 1284 (1999).

4. Subsequently, on 4 February 2013, the Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs informed both the Permanent Representative of Kuwait to the United Nations, Mansour Alotaibi, and the then Permanent Representative of Iraq to the United Nations, Hamid Al Bayati, of the decision to assign Victor Poliakov, Senior Political Affairs Officer in the Department of Political Affairs, to temporarily and technically follow the dossier of the High-level Coordinator. The Senior Political Affairs Officer was tasked with visiting Kuwait and Iraq to meet with officials and ascertain the latest developments with regard to the issues relevant to the mandate.

II. Recent activities with regard to the repatriation and return of all Kuwaiti and third-country nationals, or their remains

5. The period under review was marked by the completion of the Iraq-Kuwait boundary maintenance project pursuant to Security Council resolution 833 (1993) and substantial progress towards the settlement of the matter concerning the Iraqi private citizens and their assets that remained on Kuwaiti territory following the
demarcation of the international boundary, as referred to in Security Council resolution 899 (1994). While those developments were not directly linked to the humanitarian issues outlined in paragraph 14 of Council resolution 1284 (1999), they constituted important confidence-building steps towards the further normalization of bilateral relations between Iraq and Kuwait.

6. Against this positive background and with a view to exercising his temporary responsibilities for the dossier of the High-level Coordinator, the Senior Political Affairs Officer visited Kuwait from 5 to 7 March and Kuwait and Iraq from 24 to 30 April. In Iraq, he was received by Hamid Ahmed, Acting Chief of Staff of the Office of the Prime Minister. He also met with Mohammed Shyaa Al-Sudani, Minister of Human Rights; Mohammed Hamoud, Ambassador in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs with responsibility for Iraq-Kuwait issues; and members of the diplomatic corps in Baghdad. On the sidelines of the seventy-ninth session of the Technical Subcommittee of the Tripartite Commission, held in Kuwait, as well as in the course of his visit to Iraq, the Senior Political Affairs Officer met with Arkan Saleh, Deputy Minister of Human Rights and Head of the Iraqi delegation to the Technical Subcommittee.

7. In Baghdad, the Minister of Human Rights noted the importance that Iraq attached to the humanitarian issue of finding and repatriating the remains of Kuwaiti and third-country nationals. Iraqi officials emphasized that the Prime Minister had made it clear that no effort should be spared to that end, a message that the Acting Chief of Staff had asked the Senior Political Affairs Officer to convey to the latter’s interlocutors in Kuwait. In discussions with Iraqi interlocutors, the Senior Political Affairs Officer noted that carrying out field operations aimed at finding the remains of the Kuwaiti missing persons in the next few weeks would be essential in further building trust between Iraq and Kuwait and improving the chances for the two countries to arrive at a mutually acceptable modality for the future of the mandate.

8. Mr. Saleh provided the Senior Political Affairs Officer with a comprehensive list of Iraqi field operations in 2013 aimed at locating mass graves containing the remains of missing Kuwaiti nationals. From 16 to 22 March 2013, the Iraqi team surveyed the Khamisiyah site in Dhi Qar Governorate, where 14 burial sites were identified. Excavations are to occur in the second half of 2013. In the beginning of June, the Senior Political Affairs Officer was informed by the Permanent Mission of Iraq to the United Nations that excavations had started at the Khamisiyah site on 25 May.

9. In April 2013, a specialized team of the Ministry of Human Rights of Iraq began surveying and excavating at a site in Wasit Governorate. On 3 April, excavations started at four mass grave sites, but it became apparent that those did not contain the remains of Kuwaiti missing persons. Military uniforms found in the graves indicated that they belonged to Iraqi soldiers. Nevertheless, samples were taken and sent to the National Forensics Institute of Iraq for analysis. From 5 to 10 April, possible burial sites were explored, surveyed and excavated in Samawa, Muthanna Governorate, but no skeletal material was found. The planned excavations in Salman Pak, 15 km south of Baghdad, were postponed for security reasons. At one location traces of chemical contamination had reportedly been found, and additional analyses were needed to obtain clearance before further work could be conducted.
10. During the visit of the Senior Political Affairs Officer, the Minister of Human Rights noted that Iraq would continue its work regarding the missing Kuwaiti persons as long as it was needed and that a lack of quality information about the location of mass graves containing their remains was hampering the search. Other Iraqi interlocutors added that witnesses had gone overseas, did not want to or feel safe to cooperate, and at times were evasive (e.g. asking for more money, switching off phones) when the moment came to debrief them.

11. Iraqi officials stressed that while Iraq was committed to finding the remains of the missing Kuwaiti persons and had shown goodwill and determination to that end by conducting extensive field operations, the continuation of this mandate under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations was not conducive to restoring the country’s international standing prior to the adoption of Security Council resolution 661 (1990).

12. In Kuwait, the Senior Political Affairs Officer was received by Mohammed Abdulla Abulhasan, Adviser in the Amiri Diwan; and Khalid Mohammed Al-Maqamis, Director, Coordination and Follow-up Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He met with Ali Al-Mumin, Ambassador of Kuwait to Iraq; the Chairman and the members of the National Committee for Missing Persons and Prisoners of War Affairs; and members of the diplomatic corps, including Mohammed Hussein Mohammed Bahr Aluloom, Ambassador of Iraq to Kuwait.

13. The Chairman and the members of the National Committee for Missing Persons and Prisoners of War Affairs summarized for the Senior Political Affairs Officer the outcome of the seventy-ninth session of the Technical Subcommittee, held in Kuwait on 25 April. At the session, discussions focused on the Iraqi missions to Khamisiyah with a view to preparing for excavations. It was proposed that search activities be increased in the Karbala and Samawa areas, which were visited by the Kuwaiti technical teams in 2003 and 2004 and where the remains of Kuwaiti and third-country nationals had been unearthed. The members of the National Committee reiterated the importance of receiving from the United States of America satellite imagery relating to 1991 and earlier, which could facilitate the location of mass graves. It was noted that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Iraq was to request from the Russian Federation imagery of the Khamisiyah site dating back to 1990 and 1991.

14. The National Committee for Missing Persons and Prisoners of War Affairs recalled that it had provided the Iraqi side with pictures of former Iraqi security officers believed to possess information about the burial sites and the coordinates of the known mass graves. The Senior Political Affairs Officer was told that the University of Alabama, in the United States, had developed new technology to analyse changes in the soil, which could help with the search for Kuwaiti and Iraqi human remains.

15. While commending the current search activities of Iraq, the National Committee for Missing Persons and Prisoners of War Affairs noted that all the 236 identified remains of missing persons and third-country nationals had been found by Kuwaiti specialized teams during search and exhumation operations in 2003 and 2004 in Karbala, Ramadi, Samawa, Nasseriya and at other sites. The National Committee underlined the need for Iraq to meet its commitments in the search for missing Kuwaiti nationals and achieve practical results, thereby expediting the realization of its international obligations in relation to the mandate.
16. Kuwaiti interlocutors stressed that the issue of missing persons remains a highly sensitive and emotional matter in Kuwait. The families of those whose remains have not been found and properly buried in Kuwait continue to live in pain and experience distress. They have the sympathy and support of Kuwaiti society.

17. Kuwaiti officials informed the Senior Political Affairs Officer that Kuwait was interested in developing good-neighbourly relations with Iraq and did not want Iraq to remain unnecessarily under Chapter VII, provided that Iraq fulfilled its outstanding obligations related to boundary maintenance and payment of compensation to the Iraqi farmers, a position spelled out in the letter of 17 September 2012 from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Kuwait to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Iraq, as referred to in paragraph 17 of my thirty-fourth report (S/2012/931). It was stressed that the national interest of Kuwait lay solely in the necessity of finding and returning missing Kuwaitis, or their remains, as well as archives, and having for that purpose a United Nations-supervised mechanism with reporting responsibilities to the Security Council. Mr. Abulhasan observed that oversight by the United Nations gave strength and credibility to the activities associated with the search for missing Kuwaiti nationals and property.

III. Recent activities with regard to the return of Kuwaiti property

18. No credible facts or possible leads have emerged regarding the missing Kuwaiti national archives, whose return Kuwait considers essential, given their value for the history of the country. While in Iraq, the Senior Political Affairs Officer discussed the issue with Khalid Faisal Habeeb, Director of the Compensation and Properties Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Mohammed Khudair al-Anbare, Deputy Head of the Legal Division of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; and other Iraqi officials. In Kuwait, he met in turn with Nasser Al-Hayen, Deputy Director of the International Organizations Department, which is responsible in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for the file of the return of Kuwaiti properties and archives.

19. The Iraqi interlocutors gave their assurance that Iraq had no interest in or intention of keeping any Kuwaiti property or using it for political ends. A concerted effort had been made to find properties and investigate the fate of the archives. Every item recovered was immediately returned to Kuwait, and considerable rewards had been announced and paid as an incentive to Iraqi citizens to come forward with items or information. The Senior Political Affairs Officer was provided with the list of items (annex I) found by Iraq and returned from 2002 to 2012 to Kuwait. On 8 May, I was informed by Mohamed Ali al-Hakim, Permanent Representative of Iraq to the United Nations, that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Iraq intended to deliver to Kuwait 57 tapes from the Kuwaiti Television Corporation, about 400 books, three albums with photographs of members of the Government of Kuwait and silverware stamped with the logo of the State of Kuwait.

20. Being aware that both Iraq and Kuwait had established committees on the Kuwaiti national archives and other properties, the Senior Political Affairs Officer considered it important to encourage the holding of a joint meeting of those bodies as soon as possible, with a view to exchanging information and coordinating the way forward. Upon returning to United Nations Headquarters, he was informed by a
S/2013/357

communication from Iraq that the committees had convened on 15 May in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Kuwait. The Iraqi delegation was headed by the Ambassador of Iraq to Kuwait, and the Kuwaiti delegation was led by the Director of the International Organizations Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

21. The Iraqi delegation expressed its Government’s determination to resolve all outstanding issues pertaining to missing Kuwaiti properties and archives. It requested the Kuwaiti side to provide a description of the missing items from the archives of the Amiri Diwan, the Diwan of the Crown Prince and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Kuwaiti side commended the efforts made by the relevant Iraqi authorities towards finding and returning Kuwaiti properties. Kuwait suggested that regular, quarterly meetings of the joint committee be held to discuss relevant developments. During the meeting, the items referred to in paragraph 19 were handed over to Kuwait.

IV. Observations

22. The recent fulfilment by Iraq of its outstanding Chapter VII obligations related to its common border with Kuwait has put in place conditions conducive to greater progress in the relations between the two countries. There is thus a constructive atmosphere in which to decide the future of the mandate set out in paragraph 14 of Security Council resolution 1284 (1999). The objectives of the mandate have not yet been met, despite the Iraqi authorities’ strong commitment and efforts to deliver on both the Kuwaiti missing persons and property issues.

23. As for the future of the mandate, I would like to recall the four options for carrying out the functions of the mandate, as contained in paragraph 25 of my thirty-fourth report (S/2012/931): asking the United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq (UNAMI) to fulfil this role; appointing an interim coordinator; replacing the High-level Coordinator; or assigning someone from United Nations Headquarters to assume the functions. In my previous report, I expressed hope that Kuwait and Iraq would come to a mutually acceptable arrangement on the issue. In its press statement of 20 June 2012 (SC/10680), the Security Council encouraged both sides to reach this most favourable outcome.

24. In connection with the future of the issue referred to in paragraph 14 of Security Council resolution 1284 (1999), Nuri Kamel al-Maliki, the Prime Minister of Iraq, was of the opinion that the mandate of the High-level Coordinator needed to be ended and the matter transferred to UNAMI (see annex II). The Prime Minister also noted that his country’s obligations under Chapter VII with regard to Kuwaiti property, the Kuwaiti archives and missing Kuwaitis and third-country nationals should be ended and those issues addressed under Chapter VI of the Charter. Furthermore, Hoshyar Zebari, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Iraq, informed me in a letter dated 30 May 2013 that an agreement had been reached with Kuwait during his recent visit to the country to transfer the responsibility for the issues of Kuwaiti prisoners and missing persons and Kuwaiti property to UNAMI under Chapter VI (see annex III).

25. Outlining the views of his Government, Sheikh Sabah Khaled Al Hamad Al Sabah, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Kuwait, noted that Kuwait supported the proposal to ask UNAMI to follow up on the issue of
missing persons and that of missing Kuwaiti property, including the national archives, in accordance with Chapter VI (see S/2013/324, annex).

26. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Iraq also indicated in his letter that in the event that the mission of UNAMI came to an end, the representative of the Secretariat could remain in his functions if necessary. The Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Kuwait also underlined that the Security Council should adopt a resolution that contained the following principal elements: (a) the follow-up of those issues would not end with the termination of the mandate of UNAMI; (b) the periodic reports of the Secretary-General on the issues of missing Kuwaiti and third-country nationals and missing Kuwaiti property, including the national archives, should be submitted on dates other than those of his reports on the activities of UNAMI; and (c) a UNAMI official whose sole responsibility would be to follow up on those issues should be designated (see S/2013/324, annex).

27. The common ground attained by Iraq and Kuwait regarding the issue of missing Kuwaiti persons and property is a significant achievement, signalling a new level of mutual trust and a fresh chapter in the relations between the two neighbouring countries.

28. Having carefully considered the views expressed by Iraq and Kuwait about the future of the mandate set out in paragraph 14 of Security Council resolution 1284 (1999) and noting their broad commonality, I would like to recommend to the Council that the mandate of the High-level Coordinator be terminated and its functions transferred to UNAMI, to be carried out under Chapter VI of the Charter. I take note of the proposals made by Iraq and Kuwait referred to in paragraph 26 above. Should the Council adopt a resolution, I will ensure its full implementation.

29. The Governments of Iraq and Kuwait have demonstrated statesmanship and respect for each other’s national interests in reaching a mutually acceptable and beneficial arrangement. Should the Security Council agree with my recommendation, Iraq will exit Chapter VII with regard to this file and will be one step closer to restoring its international standing prior to resolution 661 (1990), an objective long sought by the leadership of the country following the removal of the regime of Saddam Hussein. The transfer of responsibilities for the facilitation of the search for the missing Kuwaiti and third-country nationals, or their remains, to UNAMI ensures the continued work on this humanitarian file under Chapter VI.

30. The issue of missing persons has ethical, legal and humanitarian implications for Kuwait, as stated in the letter of its Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs (see S/2013/324, annex). The open cases continue to cause suffering to the bereaved families. I have taken note of the commendable commitment of Iraq to the successful resolution of this issue and its active field engagement to that end. It is my hope that the continued concrete actions of Iraq on the ground will expedite the realization of practical results while reinforcing confidence between Iraq and Kuwait. This will certainly advance the humanitarian objective of uncovering the fate of the missing persons, grim though it may be, and informing their families.

31. Moreover, any future activities on this file should take into account that the Tripartite Commission, chaired by the International Committee of the Red Cross, remains the primary, independent and fair international mechanism for dealing with the issue of missing persons. Close contact and coordination with its members is a prerequisite to achieving positive results in settling this longstanding humanitarian issue.
32. Understandably, Kuwait views the return of State archives seized by the regime of Saddam Hussein as indispensable for the preservation of the country’s historical records. Along with the issue of missing Kuwaiti nationals, this file remains at the top of the country’s agenda. I consider regular meetings of the recently created joint committee on properties as a step towards setting clear benchmarks for achieving progress and organizing the search for the missing Kuwaiti national archives and other properties. I welcome and encourage the continued efforts made by Iraq to clarify the whereabouts of the missing Kuwaiti archives and other items and bring about their return to Kuwait. UNAMI would facilitate such efforts, should the Security Council concur with my recommendation outlined above in paragraph 28 above.

33. In advance of a decision by the Security Council on the mandate, I would like to take this opportunity to reiterate my deep appreciation to the late Yuli Vorontsov and to Gennady Tarasov of the Russian Federation, who, in the capacity of High-level Coordinator, devoted their time and professional skills to carrying out from 2000 to 2012 the mandate set out in paragraph 14 of Security Council resolution 1284 (1999) and ensuring that its implementation builds trust between the two countries and contributes to the full normalization of their relations.
Annex I

Kuwaiti property handed over to the Kuwaiti authorities*

1. In 2002, the documents listed below were handed over to the Kuwaiti authorities at the Iraq-Kuwait border under United Nations supervision:
   - State Security records: 69 boxes containing 182,133 documents;
   - Ministry of Foreign Affairs: 126 boxes containing 666,762 documents;
   - Ministry of the Interior: 196 boxes containing 1,032,794 documents;
   - Documents regarding the Iraq-Kuwait border: two boxes containing 5,879 documents;
   - Ministry of Oil: 19 boxes containing 83,156 documents;
   - Ministry of Defence: three boxes containing 1,540 documents;
   - Kuwaiti Department of Citizenship: 1,099 bags containing 357,825 files;
   - Certificates of Kuwaiti citizenship: 103 bags containing 357,825 certificates;
   - Records of issuance of Kuwaiti citizenship: 251 records;
   - Kuwaiti Department of Museums and Antiquities: one file containing 123 documents;
   - Register of Kuwaiti civilian aircraft;
   - 2,806 microfilms belonging to the Ministry of Information, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the National Bank of Kuwait and the Kuwaiti press;
   - The handover reports confirm that, on its first cursory examination of the files of the Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Kuwaiti delegation found five files belonging to the Amiri Diwan, containing 1,022 documents, and two files belonging to the Council of Ministers, containing 195 documents.

2. A number of oil paintings and silver swords were handed over in late 2002.

3. A large number of books belonging to the Kuwaiti National Assembly library were handed over in 2005.

4. On 2 March 2009, in the presence of the High-level Coordinator on the issue of Kuwaiti missing persons and property, Ambassador Gennady Tarasov, the Ministry handed over the Kuwaiti radio archive consisting of nine boxes containing all of the 4,539 audio and visual cassettes.

5. On 24 July 2009, the Ministry handed over 22 wooden boxes, a metal case and a plastic container containing silver coins, Kuwaiti postage stamps and the sum of 2,121,166 (two million, one hundred and twenty-one thousand, one hundred and sixty-six) Kuwaiti dinars in old-issue banknotes belonging to the Central Bank of Kuwait. The Security Council welcomed the return, describing it as a positive step taken by Iraq to further the confidence-building process.

* Security Council resolution 687 (1991) refers to the obligation of Iraq to return all Kuwaiti property.
6. On 20 February 2012, the Ministry handed over to the Kuwaiti authorities 136 microfilm cassettes containing the archive of *Al-Kuwait Al-Yawm*, the official gazette. The cassettes were handed over to the Ministry by a civilian in return for a sum paid by the Ministry at his request.

7. On 16 April 2012, the Ministry handed over to the Kuwaiti authorities Kuwaiti banknotes, coins, papers and safe keys belonging to the Central Bank of Kuwait.

8. On 17 April 2012, 15 microfilm cassettes containing the archives of the Kuwaiti newspaper *Al-Anba’* were handed over to the Kuwaiti authorities.

9. On 27 June 2012, the Ministry handed over to the Kuwaiti authorities 27 boxes from the Office of the Prime Minister, containing cassettes from the archives of Radio Kuwait, and two books belonging to Kuwait University.
Annex II

Note verbale dated 7 May 2013 from the Permanent Mission of Iraq to the United Nations addressed to the Office of the Secretary-General

The Permanent Mission of the Republic of Iraq to the United Nations presents its compliments to the Office of the Secretary-General and has the honour to attach herewith a copy of a letter from Nuri Kamel Al-Maliki, Prime Minister of the Republic of Iraq, addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations (see enclosure).

The Permanent Mission of the Republic of Iraq would deeply appreciate it if the attached letter could kindly be forwarded to its highest destination.
I received with pleasure your letter of 8 April 2013, in which you noted the positive developments in Iraqi-Kuwaiti relations and Iraq’s fulfilment of its obligations pursuant to the Charter of the United Nations.

My Government has assiduously strived to fulfil all the obligations imposed on Iraq by the Security Council pursuant to Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, in particular the obligation to implement Security Council resolution 833 (1993). I have directed the competent Iraqi authorities to do all that is required with regard to the maintenance of the border pillars and the demarcation of the border. With the support of your representative in Iraq, Mr. Martin Kobler, all relevant procedures have been completed fully. With regard to compensations for Iraqi farmers, I have ordered the formation of a committee to designate the farmers’ names and specify the compensation owed to each of them. I have furthermore instructed the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to transfer the sum of $1.4 million that is deposited with the United Nations Secretariat to an Iraqi bank, in preparation for its disbursement to those Iraqi farmers who are entitled.

My Government looks forward to your cooperation with regard to the question of the return of all Kuwaiti and third-country nationals or their remains, as well as the return of Kuwaiti property and the Kuwaiti archives. The former United Nations High-level Coordinator, Mr. Kobler and the Kuwaiti Government can all testify to the tremendous efforts made by my Government to find those missing persons or discover their remains and locate Kuwaiti property and the Kuwaiti archives and to return them to Kuwait, in implementation of Iraq’s obligations in that regard.

We hope that you will understand Iraq’s role and the actions it has taken in that regard, as well as the need to end the mandate of the United Nations High-level Coordinator and transfer the matter to the United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq. In addition, Iraq’s obligations under Chapter VII with regard to Kuwaiti property, the Kuwaiti archives and missing Kuwaitis and third-country nationals should be ended, as those matters can be addressed, in the future, under Chapter VI of the Charter of the United Nations.

(Signed) Nuri Kamel al-Maliki
Prime Minister
Annex III

Note verbale dated 3 June 2013 from the Permanent Mission of Iraq to the United Nations addressed to the Office of the Secretary-General

The Permanent Mission of the Republic of Iraq to the United Nations presents its compliments to the Office of the Secretary-General and has the honour to attach herewith a copy of a letter from Hoshyar Zebari, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Iraq dated 30 May 2013 addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations (see enclosure).

The Permanent Mission of the Republic of Iraq would deeply appreciate it if the attached letter could kindly be forwarded to its highest destination.
I write with reference to the expiration of the mandate of the High-level Coordinator appointed pursuant to paragraph 14 of Security Council resolution 1284 (1999) to follow up the issues of Kuwaiti prisoners and missing persons and Kuwaiti property. In view of its humanitarian dimensions, the issue of prisoners and missing persons is of the utmost importance to the Governments of the Republic of Iraq and the State of Kuwait.

After consideration of the options which you put forward with regard to the two issues, we reached an agreement with the State of Kuwait during our visit of 29 May 2013 to transfer responsibility for those issues to the United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq (UNAMI) under Chapter VI of the Charter of the United Nations. When the mission of UNAMI comes to an end, the representative of the Secretariat could remain in his functions if necessary.

Lastly, I should like to express our appreciation for your efforts to support and assist Iraq in completing the fulfilment of its outstanding obligations as set forth in the Security Council resolutions concerning the situation between Iraq and Kuwait.

(Signed) Hoshyar Zebari
Minister for Foreign Affairs