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LETTER DATED 1 MARCH 1991 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF JORDAN TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

I have the honour to transmit to you the Arabic and English texts of the speech His Royal Hashemite Highness, King Hussein Bin Talal addressed to the nation on Friday 1 March 1991 regarding the situation in the Gulf Region following the cease-fire in the war being waged there.

I should be grateful if you would kindly have this letter and its two annexes circulated as an official document of the Security Council.

(<u>Signed</u>) Abdullah SALAH Ambassador Permanent Representative

Annex

[Original: Arabic/English]

In the name of God the Compassionate the Merciful

Brother citizens

Brother Arabs, in all parts of the Arab world,

Brother Muslims, in all parts of the world,

I send you greetings that spring from a pure Arab heart and conscience that believes in the will of God. On this historic moment I shall pause with you at two landmarks of Jordan's progress and that of the greater Arab nation.

The first is the thirty-fifth anniversary of the Arabization of the command of our Arab army, so that it may always remain a source of strength for our nation and people.

The second is the end of the Gulf crisis, which we sought from the outset to steer away from the dark tunnel it entered from the second of August until this day. This chapter ended at last, in one of the most cruel national disasters which our nation has ever endured. Now I address every one of you men and women, young and aged, Muslims and Christians, servicemen and civilians. I address every Arab and Muslim who lived the unfolding saga in his heart and mind, or who faced it as an inescapable reality. I address you, brother Jordanians, to tell you that we have every cause to hold our heads high. Never have we bowed them other than to Almighty God, nor will we now. Our vision was clear from the onset of the tragedy. We realized what the outcome would be if Iraq continued its occupation of Kuwait, and if we were not successful in solving the problem peacefully within the Arab framework. We tried our best to contain the problem in its early stages and at all subsequent stages before the outbreak of war. We sought to solve it and avert disaster through our concern for the greater national interest and our commitment to noble principles. We were not successful. I do not propose to go into the details of the sad drama because you know it well. You have lived it. I would like to say that the curtain has dropped on the final act, to herald a new dawn which beckons on the horizon. I realize that many of us in Jordan and in the Arab and Muslim world will carry with them as they look forward to a new tomorrow, painful memories which can be transformed into hatred and rancour if they are allowed to grow and fester. But vibrant peoples are those that can overcome their pain and grievance, and contribute lessons from which they themselves learn as they strive for their future, their hopes, and their aspirations. Dynamic nations do not allow bad memories to stall their progress or paralyse their ability to think. They emerge from the ashes and shake off the dust having drawn strength, confidence, and determination from their bitter ordeal, to resume normal life and to construct a brighter future.

You know that, after Iraq and Kuwait, Jordan suffered most from this crisis. We were isolated economically till our exports shrank. We were placed unwillingly in the war zone till our tourism ceased and our airspace was closed. We were obliged to shoulder over and above the responsibility of absorbing the Jordanian returnees who had worked in Kuwait. This entailed an additional burden to our financial and economic plight. Our standard of living was diminished, in the case of hundreds of thousands of our people, to below the poverty line. Unemployment soared to an unprecedented level. Our tankers were hit as they came from Iraq loaded with oil, without which, not only the wheels of the economy would grind to a halt, but so would our ability to provide drinking water, which requires energy to pump it from its various sources. Nevertheless, we did what we could to stay prepared to defend our country at all levels: we mobilized the armed forces, called up our reserves, equipped the People's Army, and provided basic food supplies for the country. We did not, however, bear a grudge towards anyone, nor did we place the blame on any. We realized that we would pay dearly for standing on principle, and maintaining our freedom of choice within a national context, and because of our geographical location.

Gloating and apportioning blame are not Arab traits, nor are they compatible with their spiritual values because they lead to enmity, hatred, and alienation. On the other hand, forgiveness and burying the past lead to healing the wounds and closing the ranks of the nation once again.

Let us place our trust in God and turn over a new leaf. Let everyone make an honest resolution to work for reconciliation and harmony, and to shun doubts, mistrust, and all causes of strife. Let us establish an inter-Arab relationship based on the fear of God, mutual trust, and faithfulness to the aspirations of our nation and its future generations to live in freedom, peace, security, and stability, so they can resume the quest for progress and fortitude, within its national character and Islamic values.

Let us turn over a new page, thanking God that the Gulf war has ended, that the bleeding has stopped, and that the people of Kuwait enjoy their independence once again. Let us pray to God that this be the last strife between Arabs, and that He may guide them to the true path, the path of righteousness, justice, fraternity, solidarity and affection.

As I say this a stream of images crowds my mind. Today our Kuwaiti brothers celebrate their return to their homes and the restoration of their independence. We share their happiness.

By contrast, our Iraqi brothers nurse their wounds and pain. We sympathize with them all, people and army, Arabs and Kurds, Sunnis and Shi'ites, in every city, village, and Bedouin camp. We all bear a responsibility towards Iraq, its heritage and history. We shall stand by the Iraqi people as they look forward to rebuilding their country and to healing their wounds. To all our brethren in Iraq we pledge that we shall neither forget them, nor the help they have given us in our moment of need.

On this day we see the beginning of a new Arab era, a new dawn between Iraq and Kuwait marked by reconciliation and reconstruction in both countries.

Today, pains and sorrows turn into hope and determination. Today is a day for reflection and self-appraisal, to heal the wounds, restore Arab unity, and lay solid foundations for a better future. The nation did not start with us that it should end with us.

This is the day when we should consider how to revive and develop the Arab regional order, to make it more capable of containing our problems and facing the challenges that face our nation.

It is a day of determination for us to build our national strength, to restore confidence in ourselves and to safeguard our values and beliefs.

It is a day when all should turn to solving their problems, the border issues being at the forefront, so that the nation will never again find itself in a situation of conflict that could lead to its ruin. It is the day when serious thinking ought to commence on how our abilities should complement construction and development in a context of cooperation, to safeguard our human and natural resources and to release the potential of our nation's youth.

It is the day on which we ought to bear witness to the interrelation of interests amongst the nations of the world, the interdependence amongst its peoples, the need to live in harmony with each other, to enjoy our resources in a framework of equality and by the grace of God to fulfil the trust of future generations. On this day we should also not be impervious to the anguish of the Palestinian Arab people, who look to the day of salvation when they too can rejoice as do the Kuwaiti people today. The Palestinian people look to a world that has applied international legality with the same vigour that it demonstrated over the question of the occupation of Kuwait, and await the same firmness and decisiveness in applying international legality to its humanitarian and national demands.

It has been said that Palestinians showed happiness when missiles hit Israel. If that is correct, should the world not analyse the cause for this happiness? I suggest to the Israeli leadership and people that they scrutinize this phenomenon closely for the Palestinians, like all living mortals, are also human, and it is humanity that constitutes their love for life, virtue and peace as it does for others. One cannot distinguish a line between this reaction to the attacks and the continued neglect by the international community of their suffering, a fact which can only have had a brutalizing effect. Such "happiness" is no more than a reflection of deep-seated and profound sorrow, coupled with despair of attaining international justice and of having waited so long for salvation in freedom and the right to a life with dignity.

On this day we urge the world again to address the question of Palestine by the same criteria that it has applied over the question of Kuwait. We should also like to renew our pledge to the world that we are committed to striving for the attainment of a just and durable peace that guarantees the national rights of the Palestinian people on their national soil. Foremost among these rights is their

right to self-determination and to representation in a peace process aimed at resolving the Arab/Israeli conflict. These rights constitute the basis for the achievement of lasting peace and enduring stability in the region, a goal which we seek jointly with the international community, guided by the noblest of values and by a commitment to the application of all international principles with equal enthusiasm and dedication.

On this day we must also focus attention on the growing disparity between rich and poor nations in this region which predicates continuing social and political unrest if it is not addressed institutionally through planning in order to cope with the challenges to stability in this region and to world peace, and not just as an expression of charity. In our opinion this means a great deal for it addresses the core of international dealings with our region as an integrated region rather than a series of bilateralism.

On this occasion I should also like to thank all those who helped us during this crisis and who understood and appreciated our principled stand, our propensity for peace and our dedication to conflict resolution through peaceful means. We would like to assure the whole world that Jordan throws its arms open wide to all those who wish to establish friendly relations based on mutual respect and cooperation. Jordan extends its hand to all those who reciprocate with warmth and honour that we may work together in the knowledge that rhetoric will yield to meaningful deeds. Jordan will always belong to its nation, will always strive for international cooperation in achieving prosperity for all. This is Jordan's long-standing belief which, God willing, it will never abandon.

Here in Jordan we are proud of our democratic experiment which in this crisis has been a foundation stone of the edifice of our national unity. It has revealed the awareness of our people, their fears for the nation's welfare and their deep concern for regional devicements in a context of responsible national and patriotic participation.

I congratulate you all in progressing on the path of democracy which we shall strive to consolidate and enhance. At the outset of this new phase, as we prepare ourselves to resume the process of reconstruction, we shall propose the national charter for national endorsement that we may, in the light of the charter, organize and, God willing, guide our participatory process with greater cooperation in the service of our country and our Arab nation equally. Our historic national responsibilities lie in providing the elements of success for our experiment which may offer a model for our Arab brethren, in their turn, to expand their participatory process in the service of their countries.

We in Jordan are confident that the Arab peoples have a greater sense of solidarity and harmony than the recent crisis suggests. They are capable of overcoming the causes of division and fragmentation which we have always cautioned against. Popular participation in the framework of democratic institutions is the guarantor of upholding that solidarity among peoples just as responsible freedom and respect for human rights and human dignity are the guarantors that prevent decision makers from following the paths of adventurism.

For it is through the widespread adoption of democracy in Arab countries that we can best save our nation from the pitfalls of armed conflict. We also see in democracy a sure way of preserving harmony in the Arab nation on an acceptable basis which would lead the nation to the realization of its hopes in interdependence, strength, progress and prosperity.

"It may be that you dislike a thing which is good for you and it may also be that you prefer a thing and it may be the worst for you. God knows all and you know not" (Al Bagara 216).

May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

