



Security Council

Distr.
GENERAL

S/20001
10 July 1988
ENGLISH
ORIGINAL: ARABIC

LETTER DATED 9 JULY 1988 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF IRAQ
TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

On instructions from my Government, I have the honour to transmit herewith a letter dated 9 July 1988 from the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Iraq concerning the adoption by the Iranian Consultative Assembly of an act decreeing the continuation of the war against Iraq, together with the following enclosures:

1. Draft act on the continuation of the war against Iraq;
2. Excerpts from the Iranian Constitution;
3. Communiqué of the General Command of the Iranian Armed Forces;
4. Text of a letter from Montazeri to Khomeini;
5. Khomeini's reply to Montazeri.

I should be grateful if you would have this letter and its enclosures circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Ismat KITTANI
Permanent Representative

Annex

Letter dated 9 July 1988 from the Deputy Prime Minister and
Minister for Foreign Affairs of Iraq addressed to the
Secretary-General

1. I have the honour to inform you that, on 5 July 1988, Tehran radio broadcast a report that the Iranian Consultative Council had approved an act decreeing the continuation of the war against Iraq until the achievement of what it called "the final victory" and making that a strategy of Iran governing domestic and foreign policies in all political, economic, cultural, legal and military areas. It stipulated that this principle was to be taken into account in all political and legislative matters and planning (the text of the above-mentioned act is given in enclosure 1).

2. This Act assumes a very serious character since it reaffirms basic truths to which we have long drawn attention in our correspondence and talks with you and with the members of the Security Council. The first of these truths is that, by reason of its aberrant creed enshrined in the basic provisions laid down in the Iranian Constitution, in particular, in its introduction under the heads "The form of government in Islam" and "An ideological army" and in article 3, paragraph 16, which are quoted in enclosure 2 and in the light of the acts of aggression which it committed against Iraq in 1979 and 1980, in preparation for its commission of actual armed aggression against it on 4 September 1980, the Iranian régime bears the full responsibility for starting the war and for the aggression against Iraq. The second of these truths is that, although eight years have passed since the aggression which it committed against Iraq, in circumstances where the international community as a whole is unanimous about the necessity of ending the war and establishing lasting and comprehensive peace on the basis of Security Council resolution 598 (1987), the Iranian régime continues to reaffirm its basic tendency and established course of war and aggression. Among other truths made clear by the draft act is the corroboration beyond any shade of doubt of the fact that the Iranian Government disregards and violates the international obligations imposed on it under the United Nations Charter, particularly the obligations laid down in Article 2, paragraph 4, Article 24, paragraph 1, and Article 25, and the principles set forth in the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations of 24 October 1945, the principles set forth in General Assembly resolution 3314 (XXIX) of 14 December 1974 on the Definition of Aggression. The correct conclusion to be drawn from the open and blatant breach of these obligations is that the Iranian Government rejects, as it has done for eight years, the jurisdiction of the Security Council over the conflict and has, in fact, rejected the binding resolution 598 (1987).

3. These irrefutable truths make it incumbent on the Security Council to proceed without delay to draw the prompt and correct conclusions that follow from the Iranian draft Act, which is backed up by the positions and policies maintained by the Iranian régime since the beginning of its aggression against Iraq on 4 July 1980 and by its persistence in that aggression up to the present. In the

forefront of these conclusions is the fact that the Iranian régime has rejected resolution 598 (1987), which requires a move to the imposition of sanctions on it under Chapter VII of the Charter and the terms of article 10 of the resolution.

Any hesitation in this matter will have no legal basis and will contribute to the prolongation of the war. It will also enable the aberrant and anachronistic Iranian régime, which defies the will of the contemporary international community, the will for peace and co-operation among peoples, to continue its aggression against Iraq and against the countries of the region and to threaten world peace and security.

4. In support of the correct conclusions to which we have drawn attention, we would point out that, on 8 July 1988, the General Command of the Iranian Armed Forces issued a communiqué (the text is given in enclosure 3), from which it is clear that the draft Act approved by the Iranian Consultative Assembly is being promptly implemented by the Iranian authorities. The exchange of letters between the actual leader of the régime, Khomeini and his deputy, Montazeri, the text of which is also annexed to this letter, shows beyond any shadow of doubt the Iranian insistence on continuing the war and the aggression against Iraq, the flagrant rejection of the provisions of the United Nations Charter and the categorical rejection of resolution 598 (1987) which this conduct represents (enclosures 4 and 5).

I request that this letter be circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Tariq AZIZ
Deputy Prime Minister and
Minister for Foreign Affairs
of the Republic of Iraq

Enclosure 1

Draft act on the struggle against arrogance and continuation
of the war

(Tehran radio, 5 July 1988, 2.30 p.m.)

The public meeting of the Islamic Consultative Council saw the approval of the draft act on the assiduous struggle against world arrogance, particularly the United States, and continuation of the war until the achievement of the final victory and its status as a strategy of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Article 1 of this draft act provides that the assiduous struggle against world arrogance, with the Great Satan (the criminal United States) at its head, at the international level and continuation of the war against the aggressor Iraqi régime until the achievement of the final victory constitute a strategy of the Islamic Republic of Iran which governs domestic and foreign policies in all political, economic, cultural, legal and military areas and that this principle must be taken into account in all political and legislative matters and planning.

Our correspondent reported that Mr. Hashemi Rafsanjani, Speaker of the Islamic Consultative Assembly and Deputy Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, spoke at this meeting about the United States attack on the Iranian passenger aircraft and termed it a disaster unprecedented in contemporary history. He said that this terrible disaster merited investigation and study.

He added: "We will not allow ourselves to disregard revenge, and we are the ones who will set the time, not the United States". The Deputy Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces said: "This disaster, which is worse than Hiroshima, is a further instance that exposes the United States character". He stressed that "This day will be regarded as a day of trial for world and international circles. We shall see what is the reaction of the United Nations Security Council, the International Court of Justice and the other international circles that have termed themselves humanitarian".

Enclosure 2

Excerpts from the Islamic Constitution of the Islamic Republic
of Iran

Introduction

The form of government in Islam

"With regard to the Islamic content of the Iranian revolution, which has been a movement aimed at the triumph of all oppressed and deprived persons over their oppressors, the Constitution provides the necessary basis for ensuring the continuation of the revolution at home and abroad. In particular, in the development of external relations, the revolution will strive, in concert with other Islamic and popular movements, to prepare the way for the formation of a single world community - 'This your nation is a single nation and I am your Lord, so worship Me' - and to assure the continuation of the struggle for the liberation for all deprived and oppressed peoples in the world."

An ideological army

"In the formation and equipping of the country's defence forces, due attention must be paid to faith and ideology as the basic norms. The army of the Islamic Republic and the corps of guards of the Islamic revolution are to be organized with this in mind, and they will be responsible not only for guarding and preserving the frontiers of the country but also for fulfilling the ideological mission of jihad in God's path; that is, extending the sovereignty of God's law throughout the world."

Article 3

"In order to attain the objectives specified in article 2, the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran has the duty of directing all its resources to the following goals:

(...)

16. The formulation of the foreign policy of the country on the basis of Islamic criteria, brotherly commitment to all Muslims and the unstinting support of all oppressed and deprived people throughout the world."

Enclosure 3

Full text of the communiqué of the General Command of the
Armed Forces

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate

O free Islamic people,

The war which was imposed on our country eight years ago for the purpose of eliminating the Islamic revolution is a manifestation of the rancour and wrath of arrogance against our Islamic revolution of liberation. The world well knows that we are not the ones who began the war and that we were not the ones who wanted it but that we did not hesitate for a moment to defend the future and Islam.

Today our people is facing a great, divine and historic test. The important thing is that future history will be ours and that we must be steadfast and resist and be optimistic about the decisive divine victory.

O mighty people, through your unjustly treated defence full of resolution and relentlessness, you have proven to the world that nothing will assuage you but justice. Today, when arrogance breaks its teeth in its attempts against our country and the United States attacks the Persian Gulf with the support of reactionism, in order to strengthen and consolidate Saddam's aggression, not shrinking from downing a passenger aircraft in order to be revenged on you; when your just and truthful words concerning the need to chastise and destroy the aggressor have fallen on deaf ears in the political circles in the world which come under the influence of the tyrannical powers, in particular the United States; and, when unbelief as a whole stands against pure Islam, of which your revolution constitutes a manifestation, we need steadfastness and resistance more than ever before.

O mighty people, who have learned the way of glory and honour from your leader, you must fill all the theatres of war with capable and competent fighting forces in order to defend the revolution and the homeland. You must strive, through Islamic and revolutionary ideology, to remove the ambiguity and hesitance that the world has begun to talk about with regard to the course of the war and the future of the war, which is a consequence of the psychological war launched by the enemy. You must rise up with lofty purpose. Do not let opportunities slip from your hands. You must implement the resolve of the Government and people to continue the sacred defence to the last man and with all your might.

The people naturally expects that use will be made of all the great capacities that exist, whether military, popular, technical or national, and of the ability of institutions to devise a more disciplined and more effective military and combat organization so that it may be constantly in the service of the defence of Islam and of the country. In the light of the valuable efforts being made by the distinguished Deputy Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, these capacities can, God willing, be put to use. In the matter of the defence of Islam and of the country, there must, however, be no hesitancy or surcease even for a single moment.

The General Command of the Armed Forces calls in all sincerity upon the people, which is at the beginning of the long road that awaits it, to maintain its full state of alert, to fill the battle fronts with reinforcements and trained forces and to stand with heads raised high before a blood-sucking enemy endowed with the constant support of the forces of arrogance. The ill-omened union between arrogance and reaction in support of the Iraqi régime and against the Islamic revolution will, God willing, be eliminated. In these sensitive times, the General Command of the Armed Forces calls the attention of the free, Muslim, Iranian people to the following delicate and important points:

1. All those capable of bearing arms and going to the battle fronts must present themselves speedily at the bases of the Revolutionary Guards and the headquarters of the resistance in all parts of the country in order to register their names and make their way to the fronts or to the military training centres so that they can be dispatched as required and in accordance with organizational preparedness.

2. All Malik al-Ashtar forces and all members of the mobilization corps who have a combat specialization, whether in the official Guards or the honorary Guards, must remain in service in response to the request of the Islamic Revolutionary Guards in order to make up the shortfall in personnel and operational units.

3. The executive agencies and those in skilled professions must provide all possible assistance in the dispatch and training of volunteer combatants and in all other measures for the reinforcement of operational units.

4. The General Staff Committees in the provinces and the cities must provide the necessary backup so that the above-mentioned points can be implemented.

5. The plan for the dispatch of forces to the sacred defence front will be announced in detailed communiqués to be issued in the near future.

Peace and the mercy of God be upon you.

8 July 1988
16 Tir 1367
General Command of
the Armed Forces

Enclosure 4

Text of letter of Montazeri to Khomeini

Tehran radio, 4 July 1988, 2.30 p.m.

In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate

"Surely we belong to God, and to Him we return"

To the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, the great Ayatollah Imam Khomeini, may God lengthen his shadow. After greetings, salutations and condolences to the Imam, the Iranian people and the families of the martyrs to the recent American crime, and after supplication for the granting of high standing to all martyrs in the way of righteousness, I state as follows:

The recent distressing crime of the United States in the Persian Gulf and its military aggression against an Iranian civil passenger aircraft causing the martyrdom of some 300 innocent Muslims - a matter that cannot be passed over - reveals once again to the entire world the anti-humanitarian aspects and the hypocrisy of the United States Government.

The United States, through this crime which is not evident to it as such, has demonstrated that it has no regard whatever for humanitarian principles and international resolutions and that it has become the principal enemy of Islam, the Iranian Muslim people and all the oppressed peoples of the world.

From close examination of the crimes and outrages committed by the clients of the United States in the region, it is clear to us that the underlying root of the Iraqi régime's aggression against Iran, of Israel's enraged aggression against Arab territory, of the slaughter of the oppressed Palestinian people in the occupied territories, of the killing of pilgrims to the Kaaba at Mecca by the House of Sa'ud and of the other crimes and iniquities in the region is the United States itself and its colonial ambitions.

It is the United States itself which has defended and which continues to defend the Iraqi régime in instigating and pursuing a war which actually came about in order to preserve United States and Israeli interests. In fact, were it not for United States support for the Iraqi régime and that of its clients in the region, the war would have come to an end years ago with the final victory of Islam. It is this criminal United States which has prompted an enraged Israel, the criminals of the House of Sa'ud and reaction in the region to commit outrages, crimes and massacres.

Thus, in accordance with the saying of the Commander of the Faithful (Peace be upon him), "I swear by God that any people that is exposed to enemy attack in its own home will become abused", and in accordance with the instructions of His Eminence, it is clear that the serious danger is indeed the United States and its aggression on many occasions against Islam, the Quran and the oppressed peoples of

the world. The time has come for orders to be issued to enter upon the sacred defence of the country's frontiers, to engage in a struggle of principle with the main enemy, namely the United States, on the political, economic, cultural and military fronts, and to implement those orders. This is particularly so since the main enemy has entered the arena together with its clients in the region, and negligence cannot be justified by any logic whatever. Your Eminence is aware that in the overall struggle with the United States slogans or the conduct of publicistic ceremonies will not suffice ... If we wish to engage in a struggle of principle against the major root and cause of outrages, oppression and corruption, the only way before us is that of acquainting ourselves with the various forms of United States and imperialistic domination on the fronts on which Islam, the great Islamic nation and the oppressed of the earth are being attacked. It is certain that such an important duty with regard to the political, economic and military sectors of the enemy must be made clear to our people and to the other oppressed peoples. There must be precise planning in order to enter the overall and fundamental struggle against that enemy.

I am confident that if Your Eminence were to issue such orders, the forces of the revolution and the cells of the resistance within and outside the country would assume their struggle against United States material, political, economic and military interests. The oppressed peoples and the Islamic liberation movements must plan for the realization of this struggle of principle. It is certain that the Islamic world will stand united and will be a torch of fire burning the United States, its clients and all colonialists from both East and West. The United States will not henceforth permit itself to strengthen the Iraqi régime, the House of Sa'ud and Israel so that they may engage in aggression, war and slaughter against Muslims.

We are surprised that the people of the United States, which has savoured the taste of colonialism and endured the crimes of the British, should allow its criminal Government to commit such outrage and such bloodshed. I am most hopeful that Your Eminence will issue orders, if there is interest in doing so, so that the millions of the Muslim masses in the world may place exceptional material and moral means at the disposal of the war and the struggle against the main enemy of Islam, the Quran and the oppressed peoples.

In conclusion, I request God Almighty to grant victory to all the Muslims and the miserable of the earth on all fronts. Well-being and long life to Your Eminence.

Enclosure 5

Text of Khomeini's letter of reply to Montazeri

(Tehran radio, 4 July 1988, 8.30 p.m.)

In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate

His Eminence Ayatollah Montazeri, long may he continue to edify us: Your letter was a consolation for the sufferings of all those who suffered blows at the hands of the Great Satan, the occupied United States.

The free peoples of the world are constantly exposed to blows at the hands of the great Powers, particularly the criminal United States of America. As long as they do not desist from their resolve to counter world unbelief and polytheism and the hegemonistic United States, they will daily witness a new crime.

The Iranian people must be aware that this day is a day of struggle and war against all the Satans who usurp the rights of all the poor in the world in order to procure a life of luxury and weapons whereby they can rule the world of the poor for ever.

Our war is today not with Iraq and Israel. Our war is not with Saudi Arabia and the sheikhs of the Persian Gulf. Our war is not with Egypt, Jordan and Morocco. Our war is not with the great Powers of East and West. Our war is between our mission and all injustice and oppression. Our war is the war of Islam against the inequality that prevails in the capitalist and communist worlds. Our war is the war of the poor against the wealthy and the rulers who have no concern or pity for them in the Islamic countries. This war knows no weapons and is contained by no frontiers. This war knows naught of home, wealth, defeat, bitterness, want, poverty and hunger. This war is the war of belief and the war of revolutionary, ideological principles against the tyrannical, luxury-loving, squalid world. Our war is a holy war of honour, pride and uprightness against the enemies of the peoples. Our fighters breathe in the world of pure belief and the world of faith. The Muslims of the world know that the war between arrogance and Islam will never let the criminals rest and that its blows will be directed against all those who live in palaces. You, who are regarded as a part of the wealth of this revolution, are striving, through your support for Mr. Hashemi, to build a world filled with dignity and elevation. The Iranian people must know that the filthy hands of East and West have united today to destroy Islam and the Muslims. We must not permit the efforts of our revolutionary sons at the front to go for naught. In order to establish and apply the provisions of glorious Islam, we must define our union and move with firm steps towards the victory of Islam.

