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LETTER DATED 18 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 to you that part of the address of 17 July 1988 given by Mr. Saddam Hussein, President of the Republic of Iraq, that concerns the war, the achievement of peace between Iraq and Iran and Security Council resolution 598 (1987), and which defines Iraq's position on those matters and sets out the measures that it views as fundamental for the achievement of a comprehensive and lasting peace.

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

(Signed) Ismat KITTANI
Permanent Representative

Annex

Throughout the eight years of the war, regardless of the military balance and the military situation on the battlefronts, we have been saying that peace is a normal state and war an exceptional state and that the basic rule of life is peace. This is what we believe. This is what true Islam preaches, and it is corroborated by the laws of the civilized, benevolent and peace-loving peoples, those laws in the establishment and consolidation of which the great people of Iraq took part over thousands of years of civilization and with which the glorious Arab nation has been associated in strengthening their foundations.

At this time, when Iraq's strength and its decisive success in bringing defeat to the expansionist programme of the rulers of Tehran can be ascertained, and from a position of power and victory, we affirm what we believe and what we have urged under all circumstances.

Iraq calls for peace. Iraq believes in the coexistence of peoples and nations, particularly neighbouring peoples and nations, on a basis of full respect for sovereignty and non-interference in internal affairs. These are our principles, and these are the principles that were violated by the rulers of Tehran when they ignited the conflagration of war against Iraq and when they committed aggression against the countries of the region, publicly declared, in self-delusion and arrogance, that they would change their political systems and practised against them all manner of intimidation and blackmail.

Proceeding on the basis of our firmly established principles, and as we have always done over the past years, we extend today a hand of peace, an honourable peace, and we call upon the rulers of Tehran to draw the proper lessons from the defeats inflicted on them and on their futile conspiracies against Iraq, the countries of the Arabian Gulf and the other countries of the region during eight years of aggression.

The rulers of Tehran have persisted in the war and have rejected all the peace initiatives proposed to them and all the international resolutions adopted on the conflict, the most recent being Security Council resolution 598 (1987), and have proceeded throughout the past year to manoeuvre around that resolution, to give distorted and peculiar interpretations to the points it covers and to rearrange the sequence of those points in accordance with their whims and ambitions. Some international circles have, unfortunately, joined in this game. Regardless of the intentions of those circles and of their objectives in playing that game, the least that can be said of them is that they arose as a result of a misappraisal of the position. These circles have justified their attitude on the pretext of inducing an obdurate Iran which insists on continuing the war and which is capable of threats and blackmail, to accept peace. We have rejected this twisted logic and have refused to submit to blackmail. We have said that Iraq desires peace; but we will not accept every solution regardless of what it might be. We have said this over the past eight years, and the representatives of Iraq have said it in the international forums. This time last year, and before the adoption of Security Council resolution 598 (1987), we reaffirmed that position. We have stated that

position in the most difficult circumstances and at times when some suffered from the delusion that Iran was capable of achieving decisive victories under the slogan of what was called at that time the "Year of Decision", as proclaimed by the rulers of Tehran. We said that Iraq demanded a comprehensive and lasting peace, a peace based on the principles of mutual respect for sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs and mutual respect for dignity. Iraq rejects with full force any attempt at a piecemeal approach to the war or at infringing these principles, just as it rejects any suspect attempts at granting the Iranian régime, which has insisted on continuing the war and which bears full responsibility for it and for all the tragedies and losses to which it has given rise, any reward for its vacuous obstinacy and self-delusion.

The sound way of restoring peace - and there is no other way - must be pursued on the basis of clearly defined principles. Such principles have already been made public by us, in particular on 2 August 1986, and have been embodied in Security Council resolution 598 (1987) and in all the honest peace initiatives for which we have called or which have been adopted by the international community in the past. These principles are:

1. Full, complete and unconditional withdrawal to the internationally recognized boundaries.
2. Full, complete and prompt exchange of prisoners.
3. Signing of an agreement on peace and non-aggression between the two countries.
4. Non-interference in internal affairs and respect by each country for the choices made by the other.
5. That both Iraq and Iran should be positive with respect to all that might ensure the stability and security of the region and of the Arabian Gulf area in particular.

Whoever gives consideration to practical steps leading to a comprehensive and lasting peace must take into account as a prime consideration the full utilization by Iraq of the Shatt al-Arab in accordance with its rights and the norms of international law. The Shatt al-Arab is Iraq's major outlet to the sea, it was closed by the Iranian régime by armed force after 4 September 1980, and Iraq has been deprived of its use throughout the years of hostilities. The same must be said of Iraq's right, as a Gulf State, to enjoy full rights of free navigation in the waters of the Gulf and in the Strait of Hormuz.

These are serious and practical steps towards the establishment of a comprehensive and lasting peace. Any attempts that do not adhere to these logical and legitimate principles derived from the rules of international law, the norms governing relations between States and the principles for the solution of conflicts between them, are suspect and can have no other goal than to perpetuate the conflict, prolong the threat to security and stability in the Gulf region and nourish the evil, aggressive and cunning desires of the rulers of Tehran that the situation should remain unchanged.

The rulers of Tehran had been living with delusions of expansion, and their self-delusion and arrogance had led them to imagine that they were capable of imposing their wishes on Iraq and on the countries of the region, so that they became reckless. God, however, ultimately brought them defeat: "And calamities shall befall the covetous".

After the setback and defeat that has befallen them, the time has come for the rulers of Tehran to accept the way of peace and to abandon their dark dreams, their absurd slogans and their vacuous self-delusion.

