



General Assembly Security Council

Distr.
GENERAL

A/38/113
S/15636
7 March 1983
ENGLISH
ORIGINAL: ARABIC/ENGLISH

GENERAL ASSEMBLY
Thirty-eighth session
Item 64 of the preliminary list*
DEVELOPMENT AND STRENGTHENING OF
GOOD NEIGHBOURLINESS BETWEEN
STATES

SECURITY COUNCIL
Thirty-eighth year

Note verbale dated 2 March 1983 from the Permanent Mission of Iraq
to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

The Permanent Mission of Iraq to the United Nations presents its compliments to His Excellency the Secretary-General and has the honour to send him herewith the text of the open message addressed by His Excellency Saddam Husain, President of the Republic of Iraq, to the Iranian peoples.

The Permanent Mission of Iraq requests that the enclosed message be circulated as a document of the General Assembly, under item 64 of the preliminary list, and the Security Council.

* A/38/50.

ANNEX

Message dated 15 February 1983 from His Excellency Mr. Saddam Husain,
President of the Republic of Iraq

[Original: Arabic]

In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate

Before and during the war we sent, through the diplomatic and other channels, open letters to the leaders of Iran in which we called on them to refrain from launching aggression against Iraq and thereby yielding to the spirit of evil and serving the machinations and interests of foreigners. The last of these open letters was the statement which we disseminated and published through the Iraqi press agency prior to the last act of aggression committed by Iran against our territory which met with failure. In all these efforts we reiterated our appeal that aggression should be avoided and peaceful means used to prevent the bloodshed and deepening of wounds which jeopardize the present and especially the future relations between two neighbouring States. At all events, and in spite of the cruelty of the Iranian aggressor's régime's manoeuvres against our country, we affirm that we have sought by all possible means to ward off the dangers of these aggressive methods and have issued an appeal in favour of peace.

Motivated by our sense of responsibility and our real understanding of the geographical and other factors which clearly establish that Iraq and Iran are two neighbouring countries, that neither of them should disregard this evidence either at present or in the future and that Iraq cannot choose another site or move to a place far away from this geographical reality, all these efforts have failed. This failure is basically due to the aggressive and backward attitude of your régime and to the ill-will of some of its elements which have, implicitly or explicitly, become the servants of foreigners. Such was the tragic situation that recently prevailed during the invasion and the aggression against our country and resulted in several thousands of Iranian casualties without the Iranian people deriving any immediate or future advantage. After the failure of all these representations to your Governments, we owe it to ourselves, for the reasons previously stated and for other reasons, to send you this letter in order to tell you that it behoves every Iranian, wherever he may be, whether he hates us and whether he hates or does not hate our régime, to put to himself a specific question and to ask himself why this war, which is inflicting only losses and destruction on Iran, should be continued.

We are convinced that the reply to this question is a far cry from the buffoonery, slander and lies of the rulers and that it will enable you to come to the logical conclusion that it is not in the interest of the Iranian army and people to wage this war the pernicious adventures of which your leaders wish to perpetuate.

Gentlemen, the Iranian rulers tell you, as they have indeed declared publicly both before and during the war, that Iran is a Moslem State and that it is incumbent on it to liberate Iraq in order to make it a Moslem State in its image. We wish to examine this assertion with an open mind.

/...

The era of conquests is remote, if not over, and world public opinion now rejects, both in word and in deed, any expansion of a country, whichever it may be, at the expense of another in order to change the political map of States. Even when this is done by the great Powers, which have very much greater and more telling means and influence than Iran has, expansionism hides behind particular disguises and does not follow the same paths as those advocated by the leaders of Iran. Nevertheless, these countries have fewer and fewer chances of achieving their ends nowadays and anyone who adopts such methods exposes himself to rejection by most peoples of the world, and this places him in a serious impasse from which he cannot extricate himself except by retreating.

If such be the ambitions of the great Powers which believe in expansionism, how could Iran, whose potential is far less than theirs, achieve this aim? If, in their ignorance, your rulers tell you that the peoples of Iran were able to overthrow the Shah of Iran, who was supported by the United States of America, and that consequently they can a priori conquer Iraq on its own territory, you must reply to them that, whatever the intentions may be, the Shah of Iran was an Iranian leader, that the Iranian peoples rose up against him for known reasons and that that method and those results are not relevant to overthrowing the régime in power in Iraq or to the invasion of Iraqi territory, for Iraq has a noble people and a brave army united by the fatherland, the soul, the land, history and the leaders. If some have in the past harboured the illusion that this aim could be accomplished, the experiences of these three years of war and, in particular, the attempt to cross our frontiers during the fighting in East-Basra, East-Mandeli and East-Misan and the very recent fighting in East-Misan must have put the facts back into their rational and logical perspective.

Your rulers tell you that our régime is isolated from the people and that that situation facilitates their aggression and the achievement of their designs on Iraq. Be that as it may, the important thing is that the Iranians should ask themselves the following question: if the situation is as described by their rulers, why has our régime not fallen although we are in the third year of war?

Furthermore, who has been fighting against aggression in these last three years if not the Iraqi army and people? If the Iraqi army and people were not satisfied with their régime, they would not have behaved in the way that many of you have witnessed on the battlefields in the three years of war. Even if relations between our régime and our people were not so deep-rooted and excellent, by whom are your rulers authorized to change the political situation in a neighbouring territory whose Constitution provides that "Islam is the State religion" and which, in everyday life, applies the spirit and justice of Islam in all the basic precepts. If the Iraqi people is dissatisfied with its régime, it refuses to be humiliated to the point of being liberated by Iran, because this people has taught many other peoples of the region throughout history to reject injustice and submission and is able at any time to rise up against any régime that it rejects, as it did in the recent past 20 years before the new Iranian leaders came to power.

/...

Why then are the Iranian rulers determined to humiliate the Iraqi people and to shed the blood of Iranians? We leave it to you to answer this question yourselves but we, for our part, are convinced that among the Iranians there is a growing number of discriminating people who are perfectly aware of the answer to this question.

Furthermore, what is this merchandise that the Iranian leaders wish to export to Iraq and other countries of the region? Is it not precisely the merchandise which the Iranian leaders are now offering and which they use in their relations with their people, this rejected merchandise which has destroyed Iran and filled its jails with Iranians who had, however, played a leading role in the fall of the Shah's régime? Is this merchandise more valuable than that which has tragically set the peoples of Iran against each other? Is it better than that which has been refused by the members of the clergy, the mujtahidin or the mujahidin (who base themselves on interpretation or tradition)?

That being so, is it conceivable that a human being, whoever he may be and however zealous he may be, can think that he will be able to foist this unsaleable merchandise, which the Iranian citizens and thinkers themselves reject, on the Iraqis and peoples of the region by exporting it by force of arms or occupation?

Islam is the last revealed divine religion and the venerable prophet Mohammed (may the blessing and peace of God be upon him) is the last of God's prophets and emissaries to date. This amounts to saying that the margin of interpretation of the law by the faithful in their daily life and conduct has widened as compared with the pre-Islamic period. If this is so, as it actually is, by what right do the Iranian leaders deny the peoples of the region and the people of Iraq the right to choose their own way of life and why are they determined to export a hostile and backward system at the very time that it is rejected by a large part of the militant and fighting people of Iran to the extent of taking up arms against it?

Your régime, gentlemen, is based on war and the pursuit of war; that is why it has rejected and continues to reject all international efforts that have been made, especially by the Islamic States, to end the conflict and ensure mutual respect, by the parties, of their right to live, to choose their own way of life and to maintain their security and sovereignty. Analyses carried out by various authorities have shown that an end to the fighting would put the régime in the position of being unable to tackle the difficulties inherent in the internal situation and to solve the problems of Iran successfully. It is clear that that régime is able to establish a relationship with its people only in situations of crisis. We are nevertheless fully convinced that the war which enables that régime to remain in power is leading it to the very disaster which it precisely thought to avoid by initiating a conflict and that Iran will lose much more than it has lost so far. On the other hand, ending the war will make it possible to save Iranian lives, will offer that country constructive possibilities and will allow it to husband the wealth which it is now squandering because of the conflict and its continuation. Continuing the war will not solve the problems of the millions of Iranians who are homeless and without the means of existence.

/...

Only through peace will it be possible to solve their problems. Not to choose peace amounts to choosing misery and devastation. You, gentlemen, who obey the orders of your leaders are violating the spirit of Islam for you are attacking a neighbouring country in defiance of the injunctions of the prophet (may the blessing and peace of God be upon him) when he said "Thy neighbour first and then thy brother". You are, moreover, attacking a holy land which contains the sepulchres of the Imam Ali, of our Master and ancestor Husain, may God be pleased with him, and our noblest ancestors. The Iraqis are not alone in fighting to defend this land at the risk of their lives; it is defended by the divine virtues, for God, may He be glorified and exalted, is on the side of the right and against injustice, at the side of those who are attacked and against the aggressors and He blesses those who defend a sacred land and not the hostile aggressors who invade it.

Your leaders made a very great mistake when they interpreted our appeal for peace as a sign of weakness. As we said, it is only because we are motivated by our sense of responsibility vis-à-vis the peoples of the world and our noble Iraqi people that we issue this appeal. We realize that continuation of the war will only deepen the wounds and reopen old ones, which will seriously jeopardize the relations between the Iranian and Iraqi peoples. It is for that reason that we call for a stop to the fighting, not for the reasons wrongly imagined by the Iranian leaders which continue to mislead them and make them adopt a senseless attitude. We and our people, at the very time that our thoughts and attitudes appear to be more subtle than the scent of a flower, wield a strength comparable to that of Dhulfagar, the sword of our ancestor the Imam Ali (may God be pleased with him).

The aims of Khomeini and his Seids will not be achieved. The land of Najaf and Karbala will not be trodden underfoot by the invaders and the Iraqi land will continue to be proud, cherished and pure. Motivated by our sense of responsibility, we have simply wished, in this letter, to make the Iranian people and army aware of an important aspect of the truth in order to help, as we have done, to save lives and end the war and destruction. We therefore hope that the Iranians will take note of these facts and refrain from embarking on any other adventure in the region of Misan or any other region, on the Al-Shib front or any other front. The fate that awaits the expansionist invaders will be more cruel and more bitter than that which has befallen the thousands of Iranian victims as a result of the decisions of their leaders who do not have the slightest regard for the well-being of their people. May peace be with those who aspire to peace and believe in it. God is the greatest: God is the only aim of our action.

Saddam Husain
15 February 1983
