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Letter dated 13 April 1985 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 enclose herewith the text of a letter addressed to you by Mr. Tariq Aziz, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Iraq concerning recent Iranian statements to the effect that the only means of settling the conflict is the use of force and the continuation of the war. This is particularly clear from the sermon delivered by Mr. Khamenei, President of the Islamic Republic of Iran on 12 April 1985, the text of which is also enclosed herewith.

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

(Signed) Riyadh M. S. AL-QAYSI

Annex I

Letter dated 13 April 1985 from the Deputy Prime Minister
and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Iraq addressed to the
Secretary-General

It was a source of satisfaction for the Government of Iraq to welcome you in Baghdad last week and to exchange with you views on how to put an end to the armed conflict, on whose continuation the Iranian régime insists, in spite of all the resolutions adopted by the Security Council since 28 September 1980 calling for a cessation of hostilities and the achieving of a comprehensive, just and honourable settlement of the conflict.

The contacts which you made with us not only received the appreciation of my Government; together with those made by you in Teheran, they were the object of attention of the entire world. This is because of the absolute necessity felt by the world to put an end to this war, on whose continuation the Iranian régime insists despite the great human and material losses caused by it and the fact that it constitutes a threat to security and stability in our region and in the world. While initial hopes prevailed concerning the possibility that your task would be crowned with success, frequent news and information coming out of Iran have frustrated the hopes of those who uphold peace and justice in the world. During your visit to Teheran and subsequently, Iranian officials have emphasized that their only method of settling the conflict is the use of force and the continuation of the war. I refer in particular to the sermon by the President of the Republic of Iran on Friday, 12 April 1985.

Our reconnaissance information also confirms that, during the past few days and after your visit to Teheran and Baghdad, the Iranian régime has been massing forces in the border areas as a prelude to launching another attack against Iraqi territory. I should also like to draw your attention to the fact that last month, on 10 March 1985, we informed you of the Iranian régime's intention to launch an attack against our territory. In fact, two days after that date, on 12 March 1985, the aggression materialized. I should further like to recall our explanation to you at that time, i.e., that Iran had paved the way for that aggression by a deliberate violation of the agreement of 12 June 1984, when it shelled the city of Basra without any justification. It coupled that action with extensive misinformation campaigns. Today the same picture has emerged. The Iranian régime has now launched propaganda campaigns full of lies aimed at sowing confusion in international public opinion as a prelude to launching a new act of aggression. I need hardly emphasize to you that Iraq, which believes in peace, the United Nations Charter and international law as a basis for settling its dispute with Iran, will use all means at its disposal to defeat this anticipated aggression and any other aggression contemplated by the Teheran rulers against the sovereignty of Iraq and the security and safety of its people.

(Signed) Tariq AZIZ
Deputy Prime Minister
and Minister for Foreign Affairs

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Annex IIFriday sermon delivered on 12 April 1985 by the President
of the Islamic Republic of Iran

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate

Praise be to God, Lord of the Universe, prayers and greetings to our Prophet Muhammad and his pure, noble and magnanimous companions - Ali the Prince of Believers, Hasan and Husayn, Ali the son of Husayn, Muhammad the son of Ali, Ja'far the son of Muhammad, Musa the son of Ja'far, Ali the son of Musa, Muhammad the son of Ali, Ali the son of Muhammad, Hasan the son of Ali, and their present successor: may God confirm His pre-eminence over His servants and over the faithful of His land, and may he greet the Imams of the Muslims, the protectors of the weak and those who show the way for the believers. We commemorate this week the martyrdom of the late great Islamic scholar and thinker Ayatullah Sayed Mohamed Bager El-Sadr and of his defenceless sister Bent El-Huda, a martyrdom which in truth illustrates, the life, the struggle, the principles and finally, the fate of Musa the son of Ja'far. Our people are well acquainted with this great scholar and thinker, who is unique in the Islamic world and about whom so many great things have been said, but what I would like to add today is that the greatness of this scholar is equal to the wickedness of his assassins, and scholars and educators must work and strive for many years in order to equal his prestige and to put themselves in the service of the Islamic world.

Secondly, five years after that tragedy, the question that arises is this: have the world assemblies or the organizations which set themselves up as defenders of human rights or talk everywhere about fighting terrorism, violence and repression, have they asked the Iraqi régime why it so savagely murdered this great scholar and his defenceless sister? Why has this question not occurred to those who claim to be defenders of human rights? How can any organ countenance the arrest of this great man and his assassination after brutal torture. The marks of which witnesses could see on his innocent body? The Muslim people of Iran, the Iraqi people and all persons who believe in justice and good in the world are therefore entitled to be suspicious of the defenders of human rights. They are justified in not believing these liars [cries of "God is great" and applause from the crowd]. This is one of the evils that are overwhelming mankind today: the organizations which pose as defenders of human rights and assume the mask of humanism have become the tool of world power politics and the exploiters of peoples; they also exploit the human-rights organizations and thus deprive the peoples of this symbol. It is in truth most tragic and shows the degradation of human civilization, since the defenders of human rights adopt attitudes which are contrary to those rights. They raise their voices whenever there appears somewhere a movement which is opposed to the interests of those groups which seek domination, just as they raise their voices - and invoke humanism - whenever the interests of the great Powers are in jeopardy. When America receives a slap in the face in Lebanon, when the bandits are dealt a blow there or when terrorists, nihilists or those who oppose a popular humanitarian revolution which calls for independence and is therefore against the interests of the great Powers, are judged and punished there, the defenders of human rights then appear. Speaking everywhere about human

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rights, they try to make people believe that the spies and adversaries of humanity are victims. But when violence is aimed at peoples, revolutions and humanitarian movements, at eminent persons and thinkers of the humanitarian Islamic organizations, there is no discernible reaction on the part of those who claim to defend human rights, as if these thinkers had never existed. When the European or American passengers of a hijacked plane are in danger, this is a terrifying event, but the murder of the innocent inhabitants of villages in the south of Lebanon by the tanks, armoured cars and guns of Israeli terrorists represents a trivial and commonplace operation, and the martyrdom of Mohamed Baqer El-Sadr, this prominent person of the Islamic world, and his defenceless sister, has never even been mentioned.

Why do the Islamic organizations not make these defenders of human rights face up to their responsibilities? Because our people know these defenders of human rights; they have no longer any illusions about them and ask nothing of them; but we want all peoples, by the grace of God, to know the truth.

The reality today - apart from the war - is the question of the crimes committed against our country by the régime in power in Iraq, the attacks on towns and the use of chemical weapons. These attacks have become so serious that the United Nations and its Secretary-General have had to intervene directly to find out what is really happening. Of course, as you know from news reports, we have ourselves described the facts fully and frankly. We have explained the Iranian viewpoint, namely, that as far as the attacks against towns and the resulting danger to our civilian population are concerned, our position is clear and needs no long explanation for those who want to understand. We have already said that we will never concede that civilians should be victims of the war and that we have been patient long enough; but if we now respond in a like manner, our operations will simply be reprisals, for we are convinced that the Iraqi régime understands only the language of force, like all the upholders of force the world over, like all the tyrants who understand only this language because they resort to force whenever they have the means, and think better of it only when they have to face a situation or a movement which prevent them from using force. We have started reprisals as a means of dissuasion, to make them regret their actions [cries of "God is great" and applause from the crowd]. We have said that, as we have proved at the front, we are capable of striking terrible blows at the enemy, when we want to and when we think it worthwhile. As far as reprisals are concerned, we have a long arm and the means to inflict even more violent blows on Iraq, to make Iraq regret having embarked on this path [cries of "God is great" and applause from the crowd]. What we have to recognize is the naïvety of the masters of the Iraqi régime, who imagined that by attacking towns and ships, threatening civilian aircraft and using chemical weapons they would force us to accept an imposed peace. That is the mistake of the ruling clique in Iraq, the same mistake that it made at the beginning of the war. They thought that by imposing the war on us they could crush the revolution, but how great was their mortification! It is a revolution that reposes on the people, a revolution that owes itself to God. It is the revolution of a people united, armed with its faith, and no war can defeat it. Their error was to believe that, through war, they could weaken our revolution or even crush it. They should have known from experience that they were mistaken. The war has weakened neither our people nor our revolution; on the contrary, it

has intensified both the revolution and the revolutionary fervour of the people and their unity around their leaders, to whom the dangers threatening the revolution suddenly appeared to be less serious. The people - and indeed, we, too - did not know what price we would have to pay for independence and freedom. We thought that the matter had been settled, but we have all had to agree that it is not. The independence and liberty of a people are very difficult to bear for our foes, since they are ready to impose war on us, to hatch plots and to spend millions in order to destroy our achievements. Yes, they are prepared to impose war and to spend colossal sums in order to crush the revolution. This is what led us to grasp the importance of our revolution, the importance of the freedom and independence which we have acquired. Would the forces of domination in the world permit a people of any kind to free itself from their domination? When any people achieves its independence against their wishes, they bar its path in this way. We did not know this before the war, but we are becoming increasingly aware of it as we assess the full importance of our independence and our liberty. They made this mistake because they believed that they could weaken the revolution and force it to retreat. That was a serious mistake and now they are repeating it. This influential group which controls Iraq's policy and is naïve and childish enough to fancy that it can attack towns and use chemical bombs in order to exert pressure on our people and make us accept an imposed peace - as well as the worst and most shameful of wars - is mistaken [applause from the crowd and curses for the iniquitous]. We have shown that in this war, our argument is logical and we keep our word. From the start until the present day, our position has not changed concerning the war and the conditions for ending it. The malicious world news media try to make out that our point of view is illogical. Some people within the country - and I know not whether we should regard them as just ignorant or as traitors - use the freedom of expression accorded them by the Islamic Republic to repeat the words of the enemy within the country, trying to present the attitude of the Islamic Republic and of the Iranian people towards the war as illogical. Yet our position is indeed logical, since we have said from the outset that the aggressor must be punished, and no one can deny it. When a people is subjected to aggression and a régime shows its aggressive nature and its inability to act otherwise than by force, what attitude should be taken towards it? That régime has organized the aggression, and when it fell into the trap and found itself bogged down, do you want us to say: "you made a mistake, now go back whence you came." Is that logical? The punishment and condemnation of the aggressor are accepted by all sensible people who are honest and in full possession of their faculties.

Has the Iraqi régime invaded our territory, or has it not? It itself recognized that it had been the aggressor: the proof is that, last year, it announced that it had begun the war and would continue it. Now, everyone in the world who is concerned about the Iran-Iraq war knows that Iraq is the aggressor. That is clear. The conditions of punishment of the aggressor have been imposed by us not out of rancour; it is a right which must be fulfilled. They have invaded our country and caused damage valued at billions of dollars. They have destroyed towns, demolished installations, razed houses to the ground, burnt down farms and brought the whole of human activity to a standstill (to say nothing of the losses in human life and the missed opportunity for reconstruction following the revolution). The extent of the material damage done to the Iranian people is

undeniable. Who but the aggressor could have done this? That is why we have said that he should pay for the war damage, bearing in mind that, from the outset, we have set another condition, namely, Iraq's withdrawal from our territory. Those peddlars of beneficence on the international scene - who pretend to support our interests - said to us: "First accept the cease-fire and then we shall ask them to withdraw from your territory." But we refused firmly and forcefully and I myself said to the person who came here: "If we had accepted the cease-fire at that time, would we have recovered our land by now?" We would certainly not have done so, because those in the Middle East who accepted a cease-fire in similar conditions - you know very well what losses they have suffered. In the light of experience, we do not think that it is in our interests to accept a cease-fire in these conditions, knowing who asked us at the time to accept it: the very people who distribute pamphlets within the country, who say what they like in complete freedom, and the Islamic Republic permits them to do so. These self-same people, whether ignorant or hypocrites, asked us at that time to accept the cease-fire and told us that to refuse would be against the interests of the Iranian people. If we had listened to them then, we would not today have freed a single foot of the territory that our brave fighters have liberated [cries of "God is great" and applause from the crowd].

Our valiant fighters, by the grace of God, have ensured the fulfilment of one condition, namely, the restoration of the occupied territories. They have reached the frontier and recovered these lands and punished the enemy, forcing them to retreat. But the two other conditions remain. We have seen that this arrogant, tyrannical, godless entity which currently holds sway in Iraq cannot understand that our conditions are extremely fair: payment of compensation and punishment of the aggressor. That is when we understood. We have announced that, as long as Saddam Hussein remained at the head of the Iraqi régime, our war with that régime would continue [cries of "God is great" and applause from the crowd]. We were told that, by saying that, we were humiliating the Iraqi régime and that, by insisting that it must be overthrown, we were treating it with scorn. We are asked why we say that that régime must be overthrown before the war is ended. We say so because it is the height of common sense. That régime is arrogant. It began the war in order to destroy the Islamic Republic, so why should it not be blamed? It began the war in order to overthrow the Islamic Republic of Iran and stifle the revolution. As far as we are concerned, we announced just conditions and we have always said that it should be punished and should pay compensation, and these are reasonable words which no one in the world could dispute. As for those who refuse these just conditions, we can only say to them that we shall continue the war until that régime is destroyed [cries of "God is great" and applause from the crowd], and we shall do so if God so wishes. The defenders of the Iraqi régime in the world cannot save it. It is a régime which cannot survive. Under attack, it must either surrender or be destroyed. This is obviously not what is wanted by America, which hopes that this war will end as quickly as possible in favour of Iraq. The analyses that some have carried out abroad - which certain naïve people have accepted - namely, that America wants the war to continue so that the two parties are weakened, are based on an unrealistic and erroneous interpretation. What America actually wants is not for the Iraqi régime to be weakened; on the contrary, it wants it to be strengthened, and it wants the Islamic Republic and its revolution to collapse. America wants the Islamic Republic to be weakened or destroyed. It wants neither the weakening nor the destruction of Iraq, because

that régime is useful to it. Iraq has passed its test in the eyes of America and it has proved that it is at the disposal of that country and ready to bow to its wishes. The links between the two countries are becoming stronger every day: America grants Iraq loans and supplies it with goods and, most probably, weapons - indirectly, as we know; and it probably also supplies Iraq with arms directly. Visits are exchanged at the highest level, and it was decided a few days ago that an American delegation would go to Iraq. America definitely does not want the Iraqi régime to be weakened or destroyed; on the contrary, it wants to strengthen it. However, despite the desire of America and those who wish the Iraqi régime to survive in order to repay their money and their loans, I assure you that these policies will not succeed, because the force of Islam and the Islamic revolution will finally triumph over the Iraqi régime. [Cries of "God is great" and applause from the crowd].

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate: Say "God is one, God is eternal; he neither begat nor was begotten, and he has no equal".

Peace be with you, and may His mercy and blessing be upon you.
