APPENDIX I

(A)

TEXT OF MESSAGE FROM SYRIAN PRESIDENT HAFIZ AL-ASSAD TO IRAQI PRESIDENT SADDAM HUSSEIN

Syrian Arab Republic Radio,
Damascus 1615 gmt 17 Jan, 91 (read by announcer)

Mr. President Saddam Hussein, President of the Iraqi Republic,

With pure brotherly and sincere patriotic feelings and from the premise of understanding the imminent dangers to the Arab homeland in general and fraternal Iraq in particular, I send you this message over the radio out of my desire to spare the nation and Iraq the grave consequences that may befall them. I am very hopeful that this message will be received by you with an understanding of my motives and that it will meet the desired response.

At this critical time for the Arab homeland - which the masses of our nation and all peoples and governments are monitoring and following very closely and with deep concern. can find no better way to address you than to underline the ties of fraternity that bind our peoples in Syria and Iraq and stress my conviction that the constant concern of our two fraternal countries must be to focus on confronting the challenges and dangers facing the Arab nation.

I have decided to address this message to you despite several years of differences in views and less than cordial relations, hoping that these views and relations will develop into what is good and more useful for our two countries and our nation. What we are facing makes it incumbent that we be frank and exchange views. Any harm that befalls Iraq will at the end, harm Syria and the Arab nation in one way or another.

When we see Iraq facing a serious danger as is now the case then differences between two fraternal countries diminish and disappear because what unites us is greater and more important than any temporary differences and gains that may appear before us - that is if it is true to say that we are expecting any gains.

A recognition of the gravity of the danger compels one to speak frankly, as is required by brotherly and pan-Arab ties. Hasten to express at the start, however, my hope that my words will not be taken to mean that I want to embarrass anyone. My only concern is to address the consciences and my objective is to let the minds and feelings interact and to have ideas and actions achieve the supreme pan-Arab interest and deny an opportunity to the enemies of our nation. They could not have dreamt of a better opportunity, particularly as it comes their way as a result of our own action and decision. Hence we must remove this opportunity completely through our action and decision, not because we are forced to do so by or out of fear of someone but on the basis of our belief in the need for this action and this decision. This is the role of courageous Iraq at this time. Thus, we must not allow the enemies of the nation to reap any gain by exploiting this opportunity.

327
If an Arab is living through circumstances which he believes to be sensitive, this should not prevent him from listening to his brother who is concerned for him. The Arab nation's interests are our concern and so are Iraq's, because we are both a part of the Arab nation. Thus, because of our shared views stemming from our common history, heritage, civilization, language, spiritual values, pains, hopes and fate and in everything entailed by our affiliation to the Arab nation from whose land the divine messages originated and whose contributions to thought, culture and values have been a source of amazement to the world partnership in word and deed in what we are facing is our right and duty. It is a brother's duty to express his views to his brother, who in turn is duty-bound to listen to his brother's views with the utmost interest and with an open mind, because both share the same fate. He who listens to his brother's view will not lose or be disappointed.

As I emphasise the serious danger confronting the nation in general and Iraq in particular and call for denying an opportunity to the enemies, I am not discussing here the right or the wrong of Iraq's occupation [Arabic: ijtihād] of Kuwait. That is another issue and this is not the time or the place to discuss it. What counts now is the dangerous and serious situation threatening Iraq. Our concern for Iraq - its land, people and army - is the same as our concern for ourselves, because Iraq is a dear and precious part of the Arab land and nation.

The party that benefits from the current situation is Israel which occupies Arab land and is planning and working to continue its expansion on Arab land; it is Israel that benefits from the current international situation and Arab contradictions. The Arabs, collectively and individually with Iraq foremost among them, are the losers. I can see that the interests of no Arab party or of Iraq are served by what is currently taking place. The Arab nation's basic interests, particularly at this historic stage, lie in genuine cohesion and solidarity and in every Arab country's securing reassurance for every other Arab country, even if they have differences on one or more Arab issues.

I do not want to believe that the feelings of Arabs about the unity of destiny have evaporated or that Arab solidarity has become impossible. I want to stress that fearful danger will consolidate the feelings about the unity of destiny and prompt action to achieve solidarity and solve Arab differences through dialogue and not compulsion. I want to underline in particular that the responsibility of Iraq, Syria and other Arab countries is to help provide reassurance and feelings of security for neighbouring Arab countries even if differences arise occasionally, because these differences can be settled through dialogue and in such way as to consolidate confidence among ourselves and remove fear. This would deepen the spirit of fraternity and achieve effective Arab solidarity and it constitutes an important step on the path towards future Arab unity achieved through conviction and faith that the nation's salvation lies in its unity.

The future is open for us to unify the entire Arab nation. Our nation, which is great with its tremendous inherent capabilities, message and heritage, is capable of offering the world and of providing for itself - as it did in the past - a spiritual, sociological and cultural light that will enrich mankind.
Mr. President Saddam Hussein: The current difficult, complicated, and dangerous situation in the Arab homeland was caused by Iraq's entry into Kuwait, its forcible annexation of Kuwait and its elimination of the presence of Kuwait as an independent state and a member of the Arab League and the United Nations. We believe that this is an illegitimate act on the part of Iraq and one which it had no right to carry it out, even from an unilateral point of view. This is because the method of force and violence is not a sound and appropriate means to achieve unity. It is rather an obstruction of any move towards unity.

Therefore, let Iraq's withdrawal from Kuwait be a prelude to the creation of a new atmosphere in which the serious dangers will evaporate and in which we will stand in one rank and as one force in the face of everything threatening our land, interests, dignity and fate.

Some may claim that Iraq will be the target of an attack even if it withdraws from Kuwait. I would like to stress in this regard our unequivocal brotherly pledge that if such an event were to occur after a withdrawal from Kuwait, Syria will stand with all its moral and material capabilities at the side of Iraq in one trench and we will fight together with all our strength and fortitude until victory is achieved.

Mr. President Saddam Hussein, the nation's interest must be placed above any other consideration and for this every sacrifice becomes small. The danger can be confronted through a sound decision and stand and this is what we expect of you. Any decision that you may adopt now to defuse the crisis and to spare Iraq and the Arab homeland the dangers of a destructive war will be recorded for you as the right and brave thing to have done.

We implore God to lead us on the right way. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.
In the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate. His Excellency Hafiz al-Asad, President of the Syrian Arab Republic:

Peace be upon you. I have read the letter you sent to us over the radio, as you said, despite the fact that you had the opportunity to send such a message to us through an envoy had you so desired, particularly as we have done this twice in the past year: first when we sent the Justice Minister as our representative on 21st May 1990; and again when we sent the Oil Minister who conferred with Syrian oil officials after 2nd August. The reason for using this method is that we learn of your message at the same time others learn of it, and perhaps we read it after anyone else who happened to hear it first over radio or television.

Anyway, such a method is not that bad if the intention is good; it is a method I favour under certain circumstances so that Arab public opinion, including our Iraqi people and the sons of our nation in Syria, can learn the facts. When I read your letter, Mr. President, images of the near and distant past came to my mind. It is only natural that we pay attention to the past, since it constitutes the essence of personality and the basis of history and is one of the most important indicators of future steps and behaviour. History can be used to predict the basic aspects of future behaviour and stances, if this background is well known. The past of nations and peoples is part of their personality and an individual's pasts reveal key aspects of their future behaviour. This is true except in the case of those who sinned in their past and then are helped by God in certain moments and under certain conditions after asking for repentance from the Almighty, because God is all forgiving and merciful. This does not apply, however, to the type of people who do not learn the lessons of their (nasty)behaviour.

Because we are facing a great test for our nation, a test of the nation's ability to continue its march on the path of pride and virtue it has chosen, God willing, we cannot simplify the nation's issues or address some of its issues without putting the part within the whole, the particular within the general, and the past within the present. Therefore, as we read your letter, it was inevitable that we would recall part of the past and not all of it not so as to pause at it without moving or without fearing God in accepting interaction with any decisive initiative to circumvent the abominable occurrences of the past, but in order to reassure oneself that today's word is a course of action for the present and the future and that the word is connected to a sure deed relevant to its apparent meaning, and that we will only act according to the lesson desired by God almighty when He asked Moses to see His face. God Almighty said to Moses: Dost thou not then believe? He said: Yea; But to satisfy my own understanding, (Qoranic verse).
On the basis of part of this divine lesson, as we said, and in order to provide a serious opportunity and not a mirage of words only, and regardless of the observations and arguments we have about the message, we picked a simple part of that past, the years of fighting between us and Iran, which we thank God have become an eloquent lesson in our life and that of our nation. They have become part of belief, goodwill, wisdom, peace and all aspects of virtue, glory, gallantry and heroism. We thank God that this war had ended. *Then will be between whom and thee was hatred become as it were thy friend and intimate* (Qoranic verse). God has reconciled and two sides on the basis of our initiative and the response of Iranian officials to make the past a lesson for building bridges of firm cooperation now and in the future, God willing.

I say: You remember, Mr. President, your answer to the criticism of your stand, how you said in your talks with the Arab delegations and figures who visited you that you were concerned about sparing the Iraqi people the dangers of war and that you would fight at the side of the Iraqi army if Iranian armies crossed the borders. Meanwhile, you worked to let the war continue. When the Iranian armies occupied Iraqi territory and Iraqi cities, you became more optimistic about the possibility of the fall of what you termed the regime in Iraq and you raised the slogan that the war was the means to achieve this. When this was happening, you were holding tripartite meetings to plot against Iraq during that tribulation, and the very same thing is happening today, namely your tripartite meetings with other parties and the American coordinators.

Are we today before a message that is searching, as it said, for an honourable and notable opportunity for the Arab nation, or is the message merely an extension of past policies? Duty requires that we should not close the door of optimism to the possibility that any Arab will take up - at this crowded crossroads facing all Arabs - to crowd at and enter the door of nobility, honour and great principles of *jihad* instead of crowding at the doors of shame, bribery and loss of all values of the real man, the noble Arab and the Muslim believer.

Mr. President, we become very happy and hope grows within us when the crowd of believers increases and cohesion before the door of dignity becomes stronger. A stand in this direction is the one that achieves all honest deeds, including unity of the nation which we believe lies basically in unity of belief, stand and fate. I do not think that we differ in describing the truth of our situation when we see that the nation as a people is fully united, including the Syrian people, in virtue and the jihad imposed on us by the course we have selected for ourselves together with the great Iraqi people, thus strengthening our backs and arms with our belief and reliance on God, the Omnipotent.

History will record whether President Hafiz al-Assad has interacted with and joined this course with real belief and reliance of God so as to become strong and increase the strength of the ranks of believers and to spend his remaining years in honour. We also beseech God Almighty to grant us and our nation a glorious end and uninterrupted belief for the rest of our lives.
Mr. President, we have no wish to impose on you or those listening to this reply letter of our by going into the background of things and how they developed until what God wanted has come about for those who opted for his path of promised glory by achieving an overwhelming victory over the gathering of infidelity and infidels, traitors and heretics and hypocrites and apostates, God willing, no matter how great the equipment and how many the numbers of this gathering. Thus God will make of them a lesson the way He did with the army of Ibraha - a lesson they failed to learn, having themselves become corrupt and corrupted others.

I do not want to go over the background on an occasion such as this, nor did I want to go into how God wants the 19th governorate in the Iraq of faith and dignity to be a major arena for battle on behalf of faith and right in the name of God and the nation, in the name of Palestine, Lebanon and the Golan, and in the name of the downtrodden all over the world. This battle will also be in the name of those wronged by the foolish, infidel and accursed US administration and of all those who met with treachery, injustice and oppression at the hands of the Zionists and certain corrupt isolated Arabs until the Arabs have become divided into two camps; the camp for which God wanted faith with its attendant good, pride and sovereignty where there is no oppression or oppressed, and no injustice or unjust, no torment or tormented and no destitute languishing helplessly in their destitution; and the camp of infidelity and infidels, the debauchers, the corrupt, the Zionists and the criminals who have turned their backs on the nation and exchanged honour for ill-gotten gain. May all of them be accursed by God, when the gap separating the two camps and gatherings has so widened and is ever widening that there is no room left for neutral onlookers among the Arab nation. What is the case of those who are still in the opposing camp?

And yet, if anyone wants to discuss the nation's affairs to determine the positions that serve it through dialogue and set out the commitments of the Arab leaders who are prepared to commit themselves, we are available to achieve this with all sincerity. "Then will he between whom and thee was hatred become as it were thy friend and intimate" [Qoranic verse]. "Will you be doing this? It is true thou wilt not be able to guide every one, whom thou lovest; but God guides those whom He will. And he knows best those who receive guidance." [Qoranic verse]. Then you will be able to see all the background from a new perspective. "if you are satisfied with someone, you are likely to turn a blind eye to his mistakes, but if you are dissatisfied with someone, you are likely to spot his faults."

You will then realise that those who split from the ranks of the gathering of believers will be in an unenviable position, having faithful and God by letting his chance and history's slip through their fingers.

Therefore, the 19th governorate has become a battle arena and has lined up with the other Iraqi governorates to broaden and entrench the basis of faith and to lend, in the name of God, additional reinforcement in this grand battle in which the human being in this nation and his usurped land will be liberated so that the nation will emerge, after obtaining a new lease on life and spirit, with its feet firmly on the ascending road. No obstacle will be capable of stopping the ascending march, God willing.
I had never imagined, Mr. President, that you were under the same illusion as Husni and others, when they imagined that we demand a surety for our heroic, patient army or for our dear people, to protect us inside Iraq from the aggression of the aggressors in exchange for a token of humiliation which we would offer, God forbid. And despite the fact that the dear Syrian army is the nation's army when it has faith, we assure you that the army of faith in Iraq is capable of protecting its land, honour and virtue as well as the nation's honour. No other army beside the faithful Iraqi army will be able to battle the gathering of the infidels unless it has faith in the same principles in which the Iraqi army believe and unless as its faith is heightened in mind and spirit to the level obtained by the Iraqi army. God is omnipotent. Peace be upon you.

[Signed] The slave of god, the faithful Saddam Hussein.