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MEETING: 2 NOVEMBER 1975 UN/SA COLLECTION

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#### NOTE

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Documents of the Security Council (symbol S/...) are normally published in quarterly *Supplements of the Official Records of the Security Council*. The date of the document indicates the supplement in which it appears or in which information about it is given.

The resolutions of the Security Council, numbered in accordance with a system adopted in 1964, are published in yearly volumes of *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council*. The new system, which has been applied retroactively to resolutions adopted before 1 January 1965, became fully operative on that date.

## 1852nd MEETING

Held in New York on Sunday, 2 November 1975, at 10.30 a.m.

*President:* Mr. Yakov A. MALIK  
(Union of Soviet Socialist Republics).

*Present:* The representatives of the following States: Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, China, Costa Rica, France, Guyana, Iraq, Italy, Japan, Mauritania, Sweden, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania and United States of America.

### Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1852)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. The situation concerning Western Sahara:
  - (a) Report by the Secretary-General in pursuance of Security Council resolution 377 (1975) relating to the situation concerning Western Sahara (S/11863);
  - (b) Letter dated 1 November 1975 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Spain to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/11864)

*The meeting was called to order at 11 a.m.*

### Expression of thanks to the retiring President

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): Before we proceed to the discussion of the substance of the question on the provisional agenda of today's meeting of the Security Council, I should like to pay a tribute to my predecessor as President of the Council, Mr. Rydbeck, for his tireless efforts and for the magnificent diplomatic mastery with which he conducted the work of the Council during his presidency in the month of October. His duties were made arduous by the extremely complex and responsible task of guiding the activities of the Council in the solution of the thorny problem of the liquidation of the colonial order in Western Sahara.
2. I am convinced that all members of the Security Council will agree that Mr. Rydbeck made great efforts in the search for a just solution to this problem in accordance with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and the decisions of the General Assembly. I hope that the co-operation of the members of the Security Council with the President for November will be just as effective and fruitful as

it was during the October presidency of Mr. Rydbeck, and that the Council will be able to fulfil its responsibilities and carry out the tasks imposed upon it under the Charter.

### Adoption of the agenda

*The agenda was adopted.*

The situation concerning Western Sahara:

- (a) Report by the Secretary-General in pursuance of Security Council resolution 377 (1975) relating to the situation concerning Western Sahara (S/11863);
- (b) Letter dated 1 November 1975 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Spain to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/11864)

3. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): In accordance with the decisions taken by the Security Council [1849th and 1850th meetings], I propose now, with the consent of the Council, to invite the representatives of Spain, Morocco and Algeria to participate, without the right to vote, in the Council's consideration of the situation concerning Western Sahara.

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. Arias Salgado (Spain), Mr. Slaoui (Morocco) and Mr. Rahal (Algeria) took seats at the Council table.*

4. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): As members of the Security Council may recall, on 22 October 1975 [1850th meeting], the Council, acting in accordance with Article 34 of the Charter, adopted resolution 377 (1975), concerning the situation in Western Sahara, by which the Secretary-General was requested to enter into immediate consultations with the parties concerned and interested and to report to the Council as soon as possible on the results of his consultations in order to enable the Council to adopt the appropriate measures to deal with the current situation concerning Western Sahara.

5. Pursuant to that request of the Security Council, the Secretary-General efficiently and effectively fulfilled the mission entrusted to him. In the shortest possible time he conducted consultations with the heads of State and Government and Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the four countries interested and concerned—Morocco, Mauritania, Algeria and

Spain—as detailed in his report submitted to the Council relating to the situation concerning Western Sahara [S/11863].

6. I should like to draw the attention of members of the Security Council to paragraph 20 of that report, in which stress is laid on the fact that “the situation in the area remains grave”, and therefore the Secretary-General considers it “of the greatest importance that any action be avoided which might further escalate the tension”. It is also necessary to draw the attention of members of the Council to the fact that in the agenda adopted at the present meeting there is also reference to a letter dated 1 November 1975 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Spain to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Council [S/11864].

7. Yesterday, having considered the report of the Secretary-General on the results of his consultations with the parties interested and concerned, the members of the Security Council conducted intensive consultations in which the Secretary-General also participated. As a result of those consultations, a draft resolution [S/11865] was prepared and submitted for consideration at this meeting of the Council. Pursuant to the agreement of the members of the Council, and in keeping with past practice in the conduct of Council meetings, I propose to members the following procedure for the conduct of our work.

8. We shall first take a decision on draft resolution S/11865. We shall then have a discussion in which the Secretary-General will be the first speaker. After that, the interested and concerned parties, together with the members of the Security Council, will be able to give their views on the substance of the item on the agenda, as well as on the draft resolution on which we will have to take a decision immediately. As there are no objections, I shall take it that the conduct of business for the Council which I have proposed is adopted. As I already informed the Security Council, this very night, on 2 November, at the consultative meeting of the Council, draft resolution S/11865 was prepared. At that consultative meeting, agreement was also reached to the effect that the President of the Council would officially submit that draft resolution at today's meeting, and this is what I am doing.

9. Draft resolution S/11865 was agreed upon on the basis of the principle of consensus. This very morning the members of the Security Council expressed the wish that the draft resolution also be adopted by consensus. If there is no objection, I shall take it that the Council wishes to adopt draft resolution S/11865 by consensus.

*The draft resolution was adopted.<sup>1</sup>*

10. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): I now call on the Secretary-General.

11. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: Permit me to make just a few remarks. The report [S/11863] on the results of my consultations, on the basis of the mandate entrusted to me by the Security Council in resolution 377 (1975), is before the Council. In that report I have underlined the urgency of the situation and stated that the situation in the area remains grave. Yesterday, in the course of informal consultations of the members of the Council, I had the opportunity to inform the Council of various aspects of the situation which had not been mentioned in detail in my report. The members of the Council were thus in a position fully to assess the situation.

12. The resolution which has just been adopted by the Council urges all the parties concerned and interested to avoid any unilateral or other action which might further escalate the tension in the area. It further requests me to continue and intensify my consultations with the parties. I wish to assure the Council that I shall continue to do my best to contribute towards a solution of this problem.

13. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): I call on the representative of Spain.

14. Mr. ARIAS SALGADO (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): In appearing once again before the Security Council to continue consideration of the situation in Western Sahara, the Spanish delegation would first like to thank the outgoing President, Mr. Rydbeck of Sweden, for the effort and skill deployed in consultations with regard to this item during his presidency, which resulted in the adoption of resolution 377 (1975).

15. At the same time, I should like to express our confidence, which has already become a certainty, that under the expert guidance of Mr. Malik of the Soviet Union, demonstrated within the Council on numerous occasions, we shall be able rapidly to find a peaceful solution to the grave crisis existing now in Western Sahara.

16. In the statement which was made to the Security Council by the representative of Spain, Mr. de Piniés, on 22 October, he said that resolution 377 (1975) and the steps which the Secretary-General was to take in accordance with the mandate entrusted to him were primarily and fundamentally aimed at restoring the normal conditions prevailing in the area prior to the announcement made by the King of Morocco that a march upon Western Sahara would begin. The representative of Spain added:

“If we do not manage to dissipate tension, the consequences of the situation can in no way be blamed on the administering Power. It will then be necessary for the Council to assume the functions which States Members of the United Nations have entrusted to it under the Charter.” [1850th meeting, para. 114.]

17. Unfortunately, this fear has fully materialized. The Government of Morocco insists on continuing the planned march on the Sahara, refusing so far to heed the appeal made by the Security Council in resolution 377 (1975) to exercise restraint and moderation while the consultations entrusted to the Secretary-General are conducted. The draft resolution adopted a few moments ago confirms the reality which Spain has been denouncing since the very outset as the principal cause for the tension in the zone, when it reiterates, in paragraph 1, that no unilateral action should be taken in the matter. At the Security Council meetings held on 20 October, representative of Spain set forth the position of the Spanish Government with regard to the march on the Sahara as follows:

“The march on the Sahara announced by the King of Morocco constitutes an act of force, prepared and carried out by Moroccan subjects and authorities in order to jeopardize the territorial integrity of the Sahara and to violate an internationally recognized border. To carry out such a march as it has been conceived would constitute an act which is internationally unlawful, runs counter to the principles and purposes of the Charter, and is in contradiction to the resolutions of the General Assembly on the decolonization of the Sahara.”  
[1849th meeting, para. 6.]

18. This policy of the Government of Morocco, pursued outside the United Nations, continues to be the crucial question which must be settled without delay because it constitutes an unacceptable challenge to international legality with regard to decolonization and is an obvious cause for international friction, which has already become a threat to international peace and security.

19. Therefore, it is from every standpoint imperative for the Council to make it understood, through appropriate action in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, that this attitude of the Government of Morocco cannot be accepted as a basis for a peaceful settlement of the problem. This being so, the role which the Secretary-General has been called upon to play in Council resolution 377 (1975) is of fundamental importance. This role has now been strengthened by the resolution just adopted.

20. Thus my delegation would like publicly to express, on behalf of the Spanish Government, its thanks to the Secretary-General for his efforts to promote a peaceful solution to the decolonization of Western Sahara, and we should like to reiterate to him the full support of the Spanish Government in any initiative which would contribute to achieving this aim within the United Nations.

21. There is one aspect which, I believe, should be cleared up once and for all so that we may dispel any confusion that may exist in regard to the Spanish position on the decolonization of Western Sahara. At

the Council's 1849th meeting held on 20 October, the Spanish position, in so far as procedure is concerned, was that there should be a distinction drawn between the competence of the Security Council and the General Assembly on this question. The Security Council, in accordance with the powers and functions entrusted to it by the Charter, bears the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. Taking into account the fact that the situation in Western Sahara, as a result of the decision of the Government of Morocco to invade the Territory, jeopardizes the maintenance of international peace and security, there is nothing which could be more in line with the authority of the Council than to take the necessary measures to dispose of the causes of this situation. Such action by the Council, in the view of the Spanish delegation, would in no way impinge upon the authority of the General Assembly to take the necessary measures to accelerate decolonization of the Territory as provided in resolution 3292 (XXIX).

22. Therefore, it is not a question of denying any relationship that may exist between the grave situation created by the decision of the Government of Morocco and the substantive problem of the peaceful decolonization of the Territory but, rather, of specifying right now what might be the sphere of action, in accordance with the Charter, of the organs of the United Nations that are now dealing with this problem. In the view of the Spanish delegation, given the complexity of the situation, no one could object to the Security Council, the Secretary-General and the General Assembly acting concurrently to find, within the framework of the United Nations, a peaceful solution for the rapid decolonization of the Sahara.

23. In conclusion, my delegation believes that the Spanish position can be summed up in the following points. First, halting the march on the Sahara announced by the Government of Morocco is a *sine qua non* for finding any peaceful solution for the problem of decolonizing the Sahara; secondly, in the present situation, no peaceful solution of the problem of decolonizing the Sahara can be conceived outside the framework of the United Nations or in contradiction of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly; the basic foundation of which is the right of the people of the Sahara to self-determination; thirdly, in compliance with Council resolution 377 (1975), contacts and conversations with Morocco, Mauritania and Algeria were held at Madrid in order to find a peaceful solution to the international friction created by the planned invasion of the Sahara by the Government of Morocco. These conversations have not achieved their aim; fourthly, in view of the complexity of the problem and the grave situation in the area, as can be seen from the report submitted to the Security Council by the Secretary-General [S/11863], it seems necessary, in order to achieve rapid and urgent decolonization of the Sahara along the lines just stated, that the Council should ensure

that the march announced for 4 November by the Government of Morocco be halted and that the Secretary-General should continue consultations with the parties concerned and interested as indicated in the conclusion of his report and approved in the new resolution,<sup>1</sup> and that the General Assembly—that is, the Fourth Committee—should accelerate its consideration of the substantive problem so that a final and urgent decision may be reached with regard to the decolonization of Western Sahara in the light of the report of the United Nations Visiting Mission to Western Sahara<sup>2</sup> and the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice.<sup>3</sup>

24. Should the Government of Morocco, despite what has been said and despite the new resolution, not halt the march and attempt to violate the border of Western Sahara, an extremely grave situation will be created in the Territory because of the reactions that will inevitably occur. Therefore, should the new resolution also be unable to dispel the threat already denounced by the Spanish Government in the Council on 20 October and should events occur that make it impossible to find any formula for a peaceful solution within the United Nations, the Spanish Government, aware of its duties as the administering Power entrusted, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, with the defence of the Territory, its territorial integrity and the protection of its population against any abuse, states that if the march announced by the King of Morocco is held it will be repelled by every means available including the use of armed force.

25. At dawn today my delegation learned of draft resolution S/11865, prepared during the informal consultations held yesterday by members of the Security Council. In the light of the Secretary-General's report and of the progressive deterioration of the situation in the region, since no measure had yet been taken by the Government of Morocco to suspend the march on Western Sahara, the Spanish delegation, on the instructions of its Government, requested yesterday an extremely urgent meeting of the Council to denounce the worsening of the situation and to make clear the Spanish Government's position.

26. It wished also to request the Council to assume its responsibilities under the Charter to find a peaceful solution to the grave situation in the region. The Council, as a result of the informal consultations of its members, decided to adopt draft resolution S/11865 before my delegation had been given an opportunity to express its views in a public meeting.

27. My delegation would have preferred to be heard before the decision was taken, but I should like to make it quite clear that the problem with which we are now faced has reached such extremely grave proportions that procedural questions lose any importance if we achieve the basic aim of eliminating the cause of this tension which is contributing to the

progressive and accelerated deterioration of the situation in the area, making it impossible to find any peaceful solution to the substantive problem: the decolonization of the Sahara.

28. In that context and in view of the foregoing considerations, my delegation believes that it is of the utmost importance that the Government of Morocco accede to the Security Council's request, in paragraph 1 of the resolution, that it suspend the march on the Sahara. Since that march is the basic cause of the present tension in the area, its suspension would necessarily have the effect of establishing an atmosphere of understanding and dialogue among all the parties concerned and interested, as well as a solid basis so that the consultations and actions to be undertaken now by the Secretary-General in accordance with the new mandate in the resolution just adopted may achieve the results that I am sure we all desire.

29. Spain, as the administering Power of the Territory and as the country responsible for its defence in accordance with the Charter, is prepared to continue to offer the Secretary-General all the co-operation and support necessary for him to discharge that mandate, and is open to any solution which, within the framework of the United Nations and with due respect for all the relevant General Assembly resolutions on the Territory, would be acceptable to all the parties concerned and interested.

30. Mr. LAI Ya-li (China) (*translation from Chinese*): On 22 October, at the 1850th meeting of the Security Council, the Chinese delegation expounded its basic position on the question of Western Sahara. To put it briefly: we have always firmly stood for the termination of Spanish colonial domination over Western Sahara. In the meantime, in view of certain complicated factors and the actual circumstances surrounding the question of Western Sahara, we sincerely hope that the African countries concerned and interested, together with the people of Western Sahara, setting store by the over-all interests of unity against colonialism and imperialism, will find a reasonable solution to the problem existing in that region through friendly consultation, so as to preserve the unity and friendship among the countries and peoples concerned and interested and avoid further aggravation and complication of the matter. At the same time, we consider it necessary to maintain particular vigilance and to prevent the super-Powers from seizing the opportunity to meddle in the matter. In the aforementioned spirit, the Chinese delegation supported draft resolution S/11865.

31. Mr. SALAZAR (Costa Rica) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My delegation would first like to extend its congratulations to the President of the Security Council for the month that began yesterday. The fact that on the very day that you assumed that task, Mr. President, the Council began to work at such an extraordinarily active pace reveals your high

sense of responsibility and confirms how great and valuable is your experience in matters falling within the purview of the presidency of the Council. In paying a tribute to you for your great talents as a diplomat, my delegation wishes to offer you our full co-operation towards the successful conclusion of the difficult task you have assumed this month. My delegation would like to take this opportunity also to pay a tribute to and congratulate your predecessor, Mr. Rydbeck of Sweden, for the important work that he did when he served as President of the Council.

32. My delegation has studied with great care and attention the Secretary-General's report [S/11863]. The important criteria set forth in that report have made it possible for all the members of the Council accurately to take the pulse of the crisis. Both the report and other elements communicated orally by the Secretary-General to the members of the Council during the informal consultations have been gratefully received. I should like to express my congratulations to the Secretary-General for his enlightened action.

33. With regard to the item before us, my delegation would like to express the following views. The favourable opinion of my delegation with regard to the resolution just adopted stems fundamentally from its desire to join in the consensus reached in the Security Council as a result of very delicate and lengthy consultations in the informal meetings which went on into the early hours of the morning. My delegation believes that, with regard to such a sensitive item which raises such conflicting opinions, it would be unrealistic to believe that the theses one might have wished to see prevail could be stated fully in the resolution. The consensus was reached in difficult circumstances, so key importance should be attributed to the fact that the Council responded with the speed and urgency that the situation demanded. Perhaps more important than the resolution itself is the fact that the Council was able to take rapid and timely action. Its refusal to entertain any proposal to postpone consideration of such an extremely serious situation is the clearest demonstration of the Council's concern and of the fact that it considers seriously its responsibilities as the body entrusted with the maintenance of international peace and security.

34. Not wishing to disturb the consensus finally reached by the members of the Security Council and because of the importance my delegation attaches to the prompt action of the Council when it finds itself faced with a potentially explosive situation demanding its urgent attention, my delegation did not insist on the fact that the resolution should have contained other elements which would have defined and tackled more directly the crisis situation produced in Western Sahara. My delegation's view was clearly expressed in the informal consultations and we believe that a brief reference to the elements which we feel it would have been useful to take into account will not be superfluous. We continue to believe that if such a

reference at this stage of consideration of the matter has been avoided, it does not mean that the Council should not take these elements into account if the situation does not improve.

35. My delegation has repeatedly stated that the true cause of the events which led to the crisis was first the announcement by His Majesty King Hassan II of Morocco, and then the actions following that announcement that a march by 350,000 persons would be undertaken for the purpose of taking over the Territory of Western Sahara. Spain, as the administering Power, requested an emergency meeting of the Security Council, held on 22 October, at which the Council adopted resolution 377 (1975), the fundamental aspect of which was the request to the Secretary-General to undertake consultations with the parties interested and concerned. Since that Council meeting, my delegation has insisted that we should not fail to indicate the true cause of the problem as clearly as possible and, to achieve that aim, submitted its own draft resolution [S/11853/Rev.1], which clearly mentioned the real cause of the crisis threatening peace and security in the region. In order to reconcile that position with other views, the Council preferred to adopt a resolution which would first make it possible to approach the parties through the Secretary-General, so that they would be able by means of negotiation to resolve the crisis situation they were confronted with. The consultations and negotiations in implementation of the mandate given to him by resolution 377 (1975) were carried out by the Secretary-General with great intelligence and tact, and he reported on them to the Security Council [S/11863].

36. At that new stage of our examination of the problem, my delegation once again emphasized that a new resolution should not avoid explicit reference to the Government of Morocco and the actions being undertaken by it, which continued to constitute the cause of friction. Once again the Security Council preferred to avoid a specific reference to that Government and to the cause of the crisis; although the resolutions adopted thus far by the Security Council have avoided calling things by their proper names, no one should be misled into thinking that this means the Council is unaware of the real cause of the crisis. Nor can it be gainsaid that the latest resolution<sup>1</sup> was adopted because of other developments of which the Council had knowledge.

37. It should be clearly stated that the further action taken by the Security Council is based on the report of the Secretary-General and is in accordance with paragraph 1 of resolution 377 (1975) as action to be taken by the Council. My delegation would like to state that clearly, because it should not be mistakenly thought that this new action by the Council—and this is, of course, an assertion that my Government is making in keeping with its own interpretation of matters—was induced by the announcement by the

Government of Spain that it was ready to defend the integrity of Western Sahara by all means within its power, including the use of its armed forces.

38. My delegation, to tell the truth, was not surprised by the Spanish announcement, because of the responsibilities which, under the mandate of the United Nations, were entrusted to it with regard to Western Sahara. Spain, or any other administering Power of a Territory which is in the process of decolonization under a mandate of the General Assembly, does bear ineluctable and clear duties, one of the most important of which is—and no one should be surprised at this—protection of the inviolability of the Territory. I must ask: is there no explicit threat of violation of the territorial integrity of Western Sahara? So it was in keeping with the most traditional norms of responsibility incumbent upon an administering Power that Spain stated its decision to maintain and ensure and safeguard the territorial integrity of Western Sahara. For anyone who might, out of error or ill-intention, wish to look at this problem from any other angle I think what I have said is sufficient.

39. My delegation also cannot but feel that it is a very positive factor that, within the context of the resolution just adopted, specifically in two of the preambular paragraphs, there is a clear and unambiguous reference to the continuity of the decolonization process, which has been carried out in accordance with General Assembly resolution 3292 (XXIX), a reference which can have no other meaning than the one correctly attributed to it—that the Council is merely considering the crisis which has occurred by reason of the unilateral action of a nation, and that the process of decolonization must continue and proceed at the rate decided upon by the Assembly. Any thesis intended to link the substance of the problem of Western Sahara, one we believe should end with self-determination, with the present crisis, which we hope is temporary, is a mistaken and improper interpretation of the resolution just adopted.

40. Mr. SAITO (Japan): The delegation of Japan wishes first of all to congratulate you, Mr. President, on your accession to the presidency of the Council for the month of November. The Council has already greatly benefited from your able guidance, as demonstrated during the informal consultations held yesterday. I am confident that the Council will discharge its responsibility in a most effective and constructive manner under your presidency. My delegation wishes also to take this opportunity to pay its tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Rydbeck of Sweden, for his outstanding and fruitful services to the Council in October.

41. My delegation joined in the Council's adoption by consensus of draft resolution S/11865. It is a great satisfaction to my delegation that the Council has once again fulfilled its responsibilities promptly and unanimously in order to meet the grave situation in the

area of Western Sahara. In view of that situation, the Council's action today is appropriate and timely.

42. My delegation examined the report of the Secretary-General on the results of his consultations pursuant to Security Council resolution 377 (1975) on the situation in Western Sahara. That report is brief, but comprehensive. It contains extremely valuable first-hand information which has enabled the Council to consider what further appropriate measures are deemed necessary to deal with the present situation in the area. We are highly appreciative of the Secretary-General's achievement in implementing the Council resolution within such a short time. His report on his consultations with the four Governments brought home to the Council very clearly the positions of those Governments on the question of Western Sahara. Thus, as the result of his visit, the Council has obtained the useful information on the basis of which the Council has been able to take this action.

43. My delegation wishes to state that its satisfaction with the Secretary-General's mission derives not only from the manner in which he expressed the Council's concern over the situation but also from his constructive approach and activities in expediting all possible measures to seek an acceptable settlement of the explosive situation. As the Secretary-General has pointed out in paragraphs 18 and 19 of the report, his consultations with the parties concerned and interested are continuing in the hope that all of them will agree eventually to an acceptable solution. Taking this into account, my delegation fully supported the resolution just adopted, in which the Council requested the Secretary-General to continue and to intensify his consultations with those Governments.

44. Despite the Secretary-General's visit to the region, the situation concerning Western Sahara remains grave. We continue to be concerned over a situation which might increase the tension. The Council in its resolution 377 (1975) appealed to the parties concerned and interested to exercise restraint and moderation and to enable the mission of the Secretary-General to be undertaken under satisfactory conditions. It is a source of satisfaction to my delegation that those Governments have given their full co-operation to the Secretary-General in the performance of the mission entrusted to him by the Council. I earnestly hope that similar co-operation will continue to be extended to him.

45. In conclusion, in view of the situation prevailing in the area, my delegation sincerely hopes that all the parties will heed resolution 377 (1975) and the resolution just adopted by exercising self-restraint and refraining from any unilateral or other actions which might aggravate the situation in the area pending the achievement of a solution acceptable to all the parties.



46. Mr. BENNETT (United States of America): Mr. President, let me express appreciation for the quick way in which you assumed the duties of the presidency of the Council and moved rapidly in this moment of crisis. The Council will have reason to call on your long experience during the month, which promises to be a very busy one in this body. Let me also express the appreciation of my Government for the distinguished way in which your predecessor, Mr. Rydbeck of Sweden, conducted the affairs of the Council during the previous month.

47. On the question at issue, I should like to state our admiration for the manner in which the Secretary-General has approached this very serious problem and for the energy and dedication with which he has sought a common accord. My Government supports fully the terms of the resolution that we have just adopted by consensus and we encourage the Secretary-General to continue his vigorous efforts with the parties concerned and interested. We hope a solution can be found that recognizes the views of the parties in accordance with all the General Assembly and Security Council resolutions that have a bearing on the means by which a dependent area achieves the goal of self-determination.

48. We also call on all the parties involved to avoid any action that could turn this important area of the world into a scene of confrontation and possible human tragedy. The ties that link the peoples of the region should make all equally aware of the necessity of finding a peaceful and mutually acceptable solution.

49. Mr. MURRAY (United Kingdom): Mr. President, may I begin by complimenting you on behalf of my delegation on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council, on your energy and skill in dealing with the problems which we have faced over the past two days and on leading us to the consensus which we have just adopted. I hope that there will be no misunderstanding when I say that we trust that the remaining 28 days of your presidency will be less arduous than the first two. Nevertheless, we have no doubt that you have responded correctly to the urgency of the situation and that your own personal contribution has been decisive in bringing us the results which we have jointly achieved. I should like also to congratulate your predecessor, Mr. Rydbeck of Sweden, on the wisdom and skill with which he guided our earlier discussions on this question and which he showed in dealing with the other important matters that came before the Council during October.

50. There is no doubt that, in spite of the efforts made earlier in the Council to reduce tension in the area, the situation remains grave. The information which you and the Secretary-General placed before us yesterday evening gives additional cause for concern. We have no doubt, therefore, that it was right for the Council to act decisively and swiftly. We hope that all the parties concerned and interested will

pay heed to the Council's call to them to avoid any unilateral or other action which might further increase tension in the area. That is the immediate need.

51. The next step is for the Secretary-General to push ahead with urgency the consultations which he has already begun with all the parties concerned and interested to find a peaceful and equitable solution. In this connexion, I should like to congratulate the Secretary-General on the way in which he has so far performed the task which we entrusted to him in resolution 377 (1975) of 22 October and for the admirable report which he has presented to us. Although it is clear that differences remain, his report demonstrates the willingness of all parties to make use of his good offices to find a solution to the problem. We believe that he has made an excellent start and that it is his continuing efforts which offer the best hope of achieving a peaceful and equitable outcome, acceptable to all.

52. Mr. OYONO (United Republic of Cameroon) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, may I be allowed first of all to say how pleased I am to associate myself with my colleagues in congratulating you on your accession to the presidency of the Security Council for November. I am personally satisfied, first of all because you are an eminent and respected diplomat and it is always rewarding to work with you; secondly because my delegation appreciates your personal contribution as well as that of your delegation to the promotion and implementation of the ideals of peace, justice and progress which inspire the Organization, and finally because my country enjoys excellent co-operative relations with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. I should like to take this opportunity also to pay a tribute and express my gratitude to your predecessor, Mr. Rydbeck, for the competence, authority and ability with which he conducted the work of the Council during October.

53. The delegation of the United Republic of Cameroon was happy to form part of the consensus in favour of draft resolution S/11865 concerning the situation at present prevailing in Western Sahara. My delegation was all the more prepared to do so in that it is deeply convinced, in the light of the excellent report of the Secretary-General, which he was good enough to complement orally, that the situation is grave. Tension keeps mounting in the region and could at any time lead to military confrontation, endangering international peace and security, as some delegations have just stressed. It is incumbent on the Security Council to assume its specific responsibilities in this respect—as it has just done—and to act with speed and decision by taking preventive measures in order to avoid the worst.

54. Once again we launch a solemn appeal to all the parties concerned and interested to abstain from any unilateral or other action which could aggravate the tension in that part of Africa and jeopardize interna-

tional peace and security. We ask these parties to give their full assistance to the Secretary-General in the accomplishment of the difficult and delicate task with which the Council had entrusted him and to continue the consultations that have been taking place since the adoption by the Council of resolution 377 (1975).

55. Finally, I should like once again to express my gratitude to the Secretary-General and to his associates for the efforts which they ceaselessly deploy to safeguard international peace and security and, as regards particularly this matter of Western Sahara, for the attainment of a just solution, acceptable to all parties.

56. Mr. VINCI (Italy): In addressing myself to you, Mr. President, I should like to start by saying that it appears to us that we are no less lucky this month than we were in October. You have taken over where Mr. Rydbeck left off on Western Sahara and acted with the same energy, skill, foresight and mastery to which you referred. It is thanks to you—as it was to Mr. Rydbeck—and to the capacity and organizational aptitude of both yourself and the members of your delegation that we have managed, in a relatively short time compared with previous cases, to reach agreement on the resolution we have just adopted by consensus.

57. At the same time, we must acknowledge that the positive outcome of our intensive consultations of yesterday and this morning would not have been possible without the report of the Secretary-General. It is an admirable report of a no less admirable mission. Both excel in clarity and shortness. I wish to express to the Secretary-General and the members of his staff our gratitude and admiration for their accomplishment. The report of the Secretary-General was the main factor of inspiration in our work, to the point that much of the wording used in the resolution just adopted was taken from that document. Naturally, each of us sitting at this table can certainly take some pride in having made some contribution, varying in degree, of course, to today's decision, working as we did under your leadership, Sir, in a remarkable spirit of co-operation and harmony. However, in all fairness, each of us will certainly recognize that the main credit must go where it belongs, namely, to the Secretary-General.

58. There is one point in the Secretary-General's report which my delegation considers most encouraging. I refer to the fact that, in spite of the still existing differences between the parties concerned and interested, they were unanimous in acknowledging the role that the United Nations must play in the peaceful solution of this problem. We noted from the first statement we heard this morning that, notwithstanding conflicting views and positions which are quite alarming and confirm the seriousness of the situation, that unanimity has not broken down. Our

earnest hope is, therefore, that the Secretary-General will be given and ensured enough scope and time by all sides to bring to a successful conclusion his very important and delicate task.

59. In the brief statement I made on 22 October [1850th meeting], I stressed the intricacies and complexities of a situation in which so many interests and principles are involved—one more reason, in my view, to expect from the parties concerned and interested enough understanding and co-operation, since without an improvement of the present serious conditions the chances of a peaceful solution would diminish.

60. Mr. TCHERNOUCHTENKO (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from russian*): Mr. President, may our delegation congratulate you on your accession to the high post of President of the Security Council and express the conviction that under your leadership the Council will function efficiently, carrying out the responsibilities entrusted to it under the Charter of the United Nations. At the same time, we should like to express our thanks to your predecessor, the representative of Sweden, Mr. Rydbeck, who guided the work of the Council with great skill and profound knowledge of his task in the complex and crucial conditions which obtained in October.

61. The delegation of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic fully supported the draft resolution on the situation concerning Western Sahara, and in connexion with this decision of the Security Council we should like to make the following remarks.

62. For the past 10 days the Security Council has been considering for the second time the question of the situation concerning Western Sahara, which clearly indicates that there still remains a serious situation in that area. In keeping with resolution 377 (1975), the Secretary-General has carried out his mission and conducted consultations with the parties concerned and interested. Together with other members of the Council, the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR would like to express its thanks to the Secretary-General for the efforts which he has deployed in the interests of peace and the normalization of the situation in that area, and for the report which he has submitted to the Security Council [S/11863].

63. In paragraph 20 of the report—and this has already been stressed by other members of the Council—it is said that “the situation in the area remains grave”, and that it is “therefore of the greatest importance that any action be avoided which might further escalate the tension”.

64. In these conditions, the Security Council made the right decision and took urgent and positive action, which is reflected in the resolution which it has just adopted. That resolution meets the important

objective of avoiding any unilateral or other action which could lead to new tensions in the area.

65. We should like to express the conviction that this appeal of the Security Council will not go unheeded by the parties concerned and interested. At the same time our delegation would like to express the hope that the important mission of the Secretary-General and his consultations with the parties concerned and interested, which will be continued and intensified in accordance with the new resolution of the Council, will be crowned with success, and that the Council will eventually have the satisfaction of seeing the removal of the tension in that area.

66. At the same time, our delegation adheres to the view that, at its present session, the General Assembly should pay the most serious attention to the question of Western Sahara, which is already on its agenda. Consideration of the decolonization of this Territory has obviously been protracted; therefore measures must be taken in order to implement the decolonization of Western Sahara and the establishment of peace and security in the area. It is the duty of the United Nations to ensure the implementation of the provisions of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, one of the most important documents of the United Nations, and of other decisions of the General Assembly. It is necessary to ensure all the necessary conditions for the people of Western Sahara to achieve its legal right to self-determination.

67. In conclusion, the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR would like to stress once more the importance and positive significance of the resolution just adopted by the Security Council and to express the conviction that this decision of the Council will foster the strengthening of peace and security.

68. Mr. de GUIRINGAUD (France) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, I should like at the outset to address to you the congratulations of the French delegation on your accession to the presidency of the Council. This is not a mere formality; I am speaking in all sincerity and in the genuine conviction that in less than 48 hours you have already made a significant contribution to our work and to our efforts to find a solution to a problem which very properly concerns the international community. You may rest assured that the French delegation will give its full support to you for the duration of your mandate and especially each time your important functions prompt you to ask the Council to work towards a decrease in tension and for the maintenance of peace.

69. I shall not forget the valuable contribution which your predecessor made to our work during an earlier phase of the deliberations on the question which we are discussing today. I extend to him the thanks of my delegation for the remarkable way in which he con-

ducted, on this subject as well as on other no less important matters, the work of the Council during the month of October.

70. The rapidity and efficacy with which the Secretary-General carried out the mission which was entrusted to him by the Council testifies once again to his great personal authority, as well as to his devotion to the cause of peace. We should like to express our thanks to him. We are extremely pleased that in so short a time and thanks to the remarkable report with which he provided us we have been able to get a clear idea of the positions of the parties concerned. I should also like to address the thanks of my delegation to the associates of the Secretary-General who assisted him in his delicate mission.

71. There is no question that the task of the Council has been greatly facilitated by the clarity of the report of the Secretary-General. As the representatives of several countries have pointed out during the consultations, if the situation in the region under consideration remains grave, several positive elements, and therefore several elements of hope, have emerged. It is indeed clear that none of the parties concerned and interested in the dispute with which we are dealing rejects in advance the possible intervention of the United Nations, and consultations are continuing.

72. It is on the basis of these considerations that the Security Council was in a position to prepare the draft resolution on which we have just voted. Unquestionably our consultations have been lengthy and relatively difficult, but it is to the honour of the Council that it managed to stay within the limits of what was acceptable to all the parties, to take into account the complexity of the problem. None the less, the situation in the region remains grave, and in these circumstances the Council has a heavy responsibility. We are all perfectly cognizant of this, and that is the reason for the appeal which, without further ado, we address to all the parties concerned and interested.

73. Although the wording of the text adopted by the Council today differs from that of resolution 377 (1975), the French delegation feels that the appeals to the parties for restraint and moderation are now more important than ever, for it is only thus that a worsening of the situation can be avoided. As a Mediterranean country having a kinship, through so many common interests, with the States of the region, France wishes that peace might be maintained there and that consultations might be undertaken in order to achieve a satisfactory solution to the problem which motivated the convening of the Council.

74. Mr. JACKSON (Guyana): Although the Council is meeting to consider a very grave situation—the situation concerning Western Sahara—the seriousness and urgency of which is beyond doubt, I should like none the less to begin my intervention by congratu-

lating you, Mr. Malik, on your assumption of the office of the presidency for the month of November. The fact that from the very first day of your presidency you were called upon to superintend discussions on this very delicate situation is not, I hope, an omen of things to come during the remainder of this month. Whatever problems the month of November may have in store for us, however, I am confident that your many years of experience in international negotiations and your well-known diplomatic skills and talents will stand us all in good stead. May I also, Mr. President, say a special word of thanks to your predecessor, the representative of Sweden, Mr. Rydbeck. He conducted the affairs of the Council with characteristic skill, patience and tact, right down to the last days of October, when we began consideration of the serious situation concerning Western Sahara. And it is to this situation that I now turn.

75. The present gravity of the situation is almost universally recognized, for there has been deterioration since last we met. The very real danger of a serious breach of peace and security in the area is now revealed in bolder relief. Indeed, the seeds of armed conflict which were earlier evident are now on the verge of germination. We are, I fear, almost at that point in time when the momentum of events can take an uncontrollable turn.

76. When it adopted resolution 377 (1975) on 22 October, the Security Council made essentially four determinations:

—First, it stated that it was acting under the provisions of Article 34 of the Charter of the United Nations, which deals with the pacific settlement of disputes;

—Secondly, it recognized, as specified in the Charter, that it was the General Assembly which had responsibility for dealing with the substantive aspects of the question of Western Sahara;

—Thirdly, it entrusted the Secretary-General with the task of entering into immediate consultations with the parties concerned and interested, and enjoined him to report to the Council as soon as possible in order to enable the Council to adopt appropriate measures to deal with the disturbing situation concerning Western Sahara;

—Finally, the Council addressed an appeal to the parties concerned and interested to exercise restraint and moderation.

77. Pursuant to resolution 377(1975), the Security Council received and considered the report of the Secretary-General. It is an admirable report, reflecting the care, patience, dedication and skill of the Secretary-General. We applaud him for his untiring efforts and extend to him our profound appreciation for his report,

which precisely and succinctly reflects the positions of the parties concerned and interested, and contains two most important observations—observations which appear in paragraphs 19 and 20.

78. My delegation notes that some of the parties concerned and interested have viewed the circumstances relating to the so-called "Green March" and the decolonization of Western Sahara as somehow linked. While it may be true that one action may have been conceived and promulgated with the desire of influencing decisions on the other issue, my delegation firmly adheres to its previously stated and deeply held position that the two issues—that is, the decolonization of Western Sahara, and action likely to endanger peace and security in the area through creation of *faits accomplis*—should be kept separate and distinct by the Council.

79. Thus, in the view of my delegation, the Security Council quite correctly was pre-eminently concerned with the observations contained in the Secretary-General's report in paragraphs 19 and 20. The resolution we have just adopted takes account of those observations. The Secretary-General has been requested to continue and intensify his consultations—in other words, to conclude his consultations as soon as possible. My delegation fully supports the Secretary-General in his efforts to deal with the present grave situation. My delegation also hopes that none of the parties concerned and interested will approach these further contacts in a manner likely to delay or, indeed, to frustrate the Secretary-General in his efforts. The Council, however, as the resolution indicates, remains ready to adopt further measures that may be necessary.

80. Having regard to all the circumstances bearing on the Council's consideration of the question properly before it, paragraph 1 of the resolution just adopted is of paramount importance. The simplicity and the nature of the language must not, in the view of my delegation, be misinterpreted: it is couched in terms which are courteous and diplomatic, but its intent is clear. It goes beyond an appeal, and infers the necessity for all the parties concerned and interested to live up, individually and collectively, to their obligations under the Charter in relation to the maintenance of international peace and security.

81. It is the fervent hope of my delegation that in the foregoing context no action, unilateral or otherwise, will be taken by any party or parties to escalate tension in the area. We expect the parties concerned and interested to co-operate fully with the Secretary-General and to refrain from adopting attitudes and taking actions either likely to render his task more difficult or which presume a capacity to pre-empt action by the General Assembly.

82. Mr. SALIM (United Republic of Tanzania): Mr. President, I should like to begin my statement by

joining my colleagues in extending our very profound congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Council. I honestly and sincerely believe that the Council is privileged to have a personality of your experience, eminence, talent and skill to preside over our deliberations this month, which promises to be quite an active month, to put it mildly.

83. The fact that through your leadership, which was very clearly demonstrated in our proceedings in the informal consultations, the Security Council was able this morning to adopt by consensus the draft resolution submitted to it testifies to the talents and experience that I alluded to earlier. It is my confidence and hope that, as we begin the deliberations of the Council for the month of November, you will continue to provide the inspiring leadership and that the Council will be in a position to take decisive decisions with the maximum of agreement. I should also like to pay a tribute to your predecessor, the representative of Sweden, not so much for having left some leftovers for you to handle, Mr. President, but for the excellent way that he guided our deliberations last month.

84. The Council is meeting against the background of an escalating grave situation in Western Sahara. This gravity is clearly reflected in the report of the Secretary-General. Yet, quite clearly, the situation has taken a turn for the worse since that report was prepared and circulated. There is no doubt that unless moderation and restraint prevail, the developments in the area could have the most tragic consequences.

85. When therefore my delegation associated itself with the resolution which the Council has just adopted, it did so with the clear knowledge that by that decision the Security Council had demonstrated its will to avert a confrontation in the area and to encourage a peaceful solution of the decolonization of Western Sahara in conformity with the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations.

86. We believe that the resolution leaves no room for ambiguity or misinterpretation. The Council's will that the parties concerned and interested refrain from taking any unilateral or other action is clearly affirmed. In this connexion we wish to stress that the fact that this position has been unanimously endorsed by the Council eloquently demonstrates the Council's determination that nothing be done to alter the status of the Territory. My delegation wishes to underscore this point. We appeal to all parties concerned and interested to pay heed to this call by the Council. We emphasize the fact that the United Nations cannot and should not condone any attempts to create a fait accompli.

87. When the Security Council adopted resolution 377 (1975) it was certainly our hope that the appeal it contained would be heeded. It was the Council's desire then, as it is now—perhaps with greater firm-

ness—that a halt be put to any action, unilateral or otherwise, which might escalate tension in the area. Regrettably, that appeal has not elicited the response we desired and had a right to expect. And as we express our confidence that the current decision of the Council will be positively responded to by those concerned in order to defuse tension and create conditions of normalcy so that the people of Western Sahara can exercise their right to self-determination in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and other relevant Assembly resolutions, we should like to stress again, if we must, that nothing, absolutely nothing, should be done to tamper with the legitimate rights of the people of the Territory itself.

88. As the resolution clearly points out, the question of Western Sahara is on the agenda of the General Assembly at its thirtieth session. The Assembly has before it the report of the Visiting Mission to the Territory,<sup>2</sup> the Mission to which I had occasion to allude in my statement of 22 October, the Mission which was led by the representative of the Ivory Coast, Mr. Aké, a Mission which was carried out with maximum seriousness and determination, and with the co-operation of the parties concerned and interested. The General Assembly also has the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice,<sup>3</sup> an advisory opinion which was specifically solicited by the parties concerned and interested, and supported by the Assembly, which, through its resolution 3292 (XXIX), asked for that opinion. It is therefore only logical that the General Assembly will in due course pronounce its position on the processes of decolonization of the Territory, taking into account both the Mission's report and the opinion of the International Court of Justice, but, above all, taking into account the wishes of the people of Western Sahara.

89. I should like to make one last but no less important point before concluding my statement. The resolution which we have just adopted requests the Secretary-General to continue and intensify his consultations. This was both logical and opportune. When in resolution 377 (1975) we requested the Secretary-General to enter into consultation with the parties concerned and interested, my delegation had every confidence that he would leave no stone unturned to find a solution which would defuse tension and create conditions conducive to an eventual settlement of the problem.

90. The efforts exerted by the Secretary-General, in the hours and days after the adoption of the resolution, fully justified our confidence. We pay a tribute to his commendable and untiring efforts. We express our gratitude for the serious and profound report that he submitted to us. Our gratitude is not only related to his written report [S/11863], but also to his well thought-out oral report to the Council last night when we were having our informal consultations. We believe that, given the co-operation of all the parties concerned

and interested, the Secretary-General's efforts will bear positive results in dealing with the present grave situation. We therefore solemnly appeal to the parties to extend fully such co-operation.

91. Mr. RYDBECK (Sweden): Mr. President, I should like first of all to extend to you the sincere compliments and congratulations of the delegation of Sweden upon your assumption of the office of President of the Security Council. The wise and experienced leadership that we can expect throughout this month has already been amply demonstrated during our consultations yesterday and this morning. I promise you the unreserved co-operation of the Swedish delegation. I also wish to thank you for the very kind words which you addressed to me. I wish to thank also the other members who during their turn to speak addressed kind words to the previous President of the Council.

92. Before proceeding to speak briefly on the substance of the matter before the Council, I wish to avail myself of this opportunity to thank, on behalf of the Swedish delegation, the outgoing Secretary of the Security Council, Mr. Kurt Herndl for his many years of distinguished service to the Council. I personally had the experience last month of observing how important his services are. I wish him luck in his new important assignment.

93. My delegation joined in the consensus on the draft resolution just adopted. We would have preferred a text containing a more direct reference to the immediate cause of the crisis situation, namely, the proclaimed march into Western Sahara. In our view, however, the urgency and gravity of the situation made it imperative, above all, that the Council act swiftly and unanimously, and we are pleased that agreement could be reached and, in fact, the resolution just adopted leaves no room for misunderstanding. My delegation urgently appeals to the parties concerned and interested to heed the consensus decision of the Council and to avoid any unilateral or other action which might further escalate tension in the area.

94. From reports reaching us last night and today, the gravity of the situation in the area is in fact continuously increasing. Already in the Secretary-General's report of 31 October a very disturbing picture was painted, and the Secretary-General underlines in his report the gravity of the situation in words that, although measured, leave no room for misunderstanding. Other information has later become available which reinforces the very serious concern that we all must feel.

95. The dangers are centred around the intended march by vast masses of people into Western Sahara. The risks of serious incidents and confrontation are increasing. It is obvious that events can take a turn whereby the parties lose control, with the resulting

danger to peace and security in the area. Once again the Security Council has entrusted to the Secretary-General the task of trying to explore all avenues towards an orderly solution of the very serious problem. We owe our deepest gratitude for his untiring efforts, conducted with great skill and dedication, and for his admirable, lucid and helpful report covering the initial part of his mission. We have the fullest confidence in the Secretary-General's great ability to deal with this crisis, a situation of the utmost complexity and delicacy. The Secretary-General has the unreserved support of the Swedish delegation, as I know he has also of all other delegations.

96. We appeal to all parties concerned and interested to give the Secretary-General their fullest co-operation in every respect. This is a case where the United Nations has a specially crucial role to play. Our main hope now lies with the effectiveness of United Nations efforts to assist in defusing this very dangerous situation. The main thrust of the resolution which we have just adopted is a call for an intensification of all efforts towards a peaceful solution, but it is a call also for the realization of fundamental principles governing decolonization of dependent Territories. Only a solution taking full account of the rights and the wishes of the population of Western Sahara is in keeping with those basic principles of the Charter.

97. Mr. EL HASSEN (Mauritania) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, before briefly dealing with the substance of the problem, I should like to begin by discharging the pleasant duty of expressing to you the congratulations of my delegation at your assumption of the presidency of the Council. We are convinced that, with your competence and your qualities as an experienced diplomat, you will be able to guide our work to a successful conclusion. I should also like to express our thanks and gratitude to your predecessor, Mr. Rydbeck, for the tact and courtesy with which he guided our work last month.

98. The problem of the Sahara is a specific problem which, in our view, cannot be considered in an automatic and programmed way, as if it were a matter of making a computer operate. Quite fortunately, that has never been the policy of the General Assembly and that has never been the policy of the Security Council when specifically dealing with problems of decolonization.

99. Indeed, the General Assembly, in its wisdom, has always taken into account the political circumstances and the characteristics particular to each situation. I believe that the main credit of the Visiting Mission to the Territory was that it brought out the specificity of the problem of the Sahara and its indivisible character. That is why we do not think that it is realistic to attempt to isolate one aspect of this problem and to wish to find a solution without taking into account the substance of the question itself.



100. The peaceful march envisaged by the Moroccan Government cannot be validly or usefully and objectively considered unless one examines the fundamental problem of decolonization proper to the Sahara. The link between this march and the decolonization of the Sahara is recognized by Spain itself, as can be seen in the report submitted to us by the Secretary-General.

101. I wish to emphasize that this decolonization will not be valid or conducive to promoting peace and security in the sub-region unless it takes account of this specific characteristic, a characteristic which basically resides in respect for the national unity and territorial integrity of the States concerned. The haste with which it is desired, it seems, to deal with this problem, avoiding an examination of the substance, is not in our view likely to facilitate the conclusion of the contacts that the parties had undertaken, and could undertake, in conformity with Security Council resolution 377 (1975) and Article 33 of the Charter. Nor is it likely, I believe, to facilitate the Secretary-General's consultations, in which my country places the greatest hopes.

102. As for my country, it will continue, despite the difficulties, to lend its faithful co-operation to the Secretary-General in the complex task that has once again been entrusted to him by the Security Council. In doing that, we wish to demonstrate our continued support for the United Nations, so that it may find a just and equitable solution to this problem. But my country hopes that it will not be placed in the difficult situation of being obliged to choose between its very existence and a prefabricated and artificial solution having nothing to do with reality. I think it must be very clear to everyone that, faced with such a choice, Mauritania cannot but choose Mauritania.

103. In conclusion, I should like to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General for the speedy and effective work he has done and, particularly, for the conciseness and clarity of the report he has submitted to the Council.

104. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): I give the floor to the representative of Morocco.

105. Mr. SLAOUI (Morocco) (*interpretation from French*): I should like to repeat to the Council Morocco's position, a position that has not changed since the Council's last meeting on the question. My country states again its determination to have recourse to all the peaceful means for reaching a solution that will maintain its inalienable right to its national existence and the integrity of its territory.

106. Morocco has at no time departed from that attitude. It has not made any threats to anyone. On the contrary, His Majesty King Hassan II, aware of his responsibilities, has, for example, welcomed

Mr. Solís, the Spanish envoy who came to Marrakesh to propose that the King undertake with Spain a process of decolonization in order to find a way to solve the problem of the decolonization of the Sahara that would take into account Morocco's right to respect for its national unity. In doing that, His Majesty King Hassan II had in mind resolution 377 (1975), recently adopted by the Security Council, which committed the parties to direct negotiation. Mr. Solís expressed his satisfaction at the spirit of great understanding and the will for peace demonstrated by his Moroccan partners. In order to exhaust every possibility for dialogue, the Mauritanian and Moroccan Governments agreed to send, at the invitation of the Spanish Government, an important delegation to discuss all the aspects of the question, and in fact the Governments concerned have done so without any reservations.

107. Morocco has proved—if there was any need to do so—its good faith; it has neglected no peaceful means that take account of its right, as a Member of the United Nations, to its national existence and the protection of its integrity. And, at the appropriate moment, Morocco will prove that the rights of the Moroccan people and nation are well founded, historically, legally and humanly. Thus, my country has not for a moment deviated from the path of great moderation which it has always followed. In those circumstances, how great was our surprise to hear some recent information concerning Spain's change of attitude, and some threats made by one of the very countries upon which moderation had been urged in the Security Council's latest resolution. How can one speak of a *casus belli* when there are negotiations under way between the only parties concerned? Is it a *casus belli* not to undertake discussions with a State that has not demonstrated how it could be concerned in the present matter? We cannot but be extremely concerned about these aggressive statements that could serve as a pretext for all kinds of so-called preventive undertakings. With regard to our relations with the administering Power, we have always proposed recourse to the procedures for the peaceful settlement of the colonial dispute between us, a dispute which, in its Order of 22 May last,<sup>4</sup> the International Court of Justice recognized did indeed exist.

108. Morocco solemnly proclaims that it is prepared to continue or to engage in any negotiations for a final settlement of the dispute. It will persevere in the search for a peaceful solution. That is why it believes that the announcement of the new attitude taken by Spain towards the "Green March" should have prompted the Security Council to adopt a resolution addressed more directly, and even exclusively, to the administering Power.

109. Morocco will continue to work within the framework of the peaceful path that it has definitely chosen. It will act within the framework of the legitimacy of its rights and will remain open, for its part, to any

initiative towards consultation or negotiation. Of course, it rejects all threats and all attempts at provocation, of whatever kind and from whatever side they may come. It will remain calm and will not allow itself to be drawn into an escalation of provocation. Acting in that way, Morocco will remain faithful to its traditional policy, based on the maintenance of peaceful and friendly relations with all the States pursuing the same aims.

110. Before concluding my statement, I should like to thank the members of the Council for their prudence and for the efforts they have made during the consideration of this question. I should also like to thank the Secretary-General for the integrity and the conscientiousness with which he has fulfilled his task.

111. It is a great pleasure for me to be able to extend my congratulations to Mr. Rydbeck on the remarkable way in which he carried out his task last month and to you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council, a post for which your talents and your competence make you well suited.

112. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): I give the floor to the representative of Algeria.

113. Mr. RAHAL (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*): The presidency of the Security Council has passed from the representative of Sweden to the representative of the Soviet Union and it is for me a pleasant duty to express first of all to Mr. Rydbeck the gratitude and admiration of my delegation for the dignity with which he carried out his high responsibilities and for the great care, effort and time which he devoted to the problem of Western Sahara, which, as everyone knows, holds so much interest for my Government. As the conduct of the proceedings of the Council is entrusted to you, Mr. President, we are convinced that the Council will continue, by devoting its attention to this problem and attaching to it the priority it merits, to carry out its responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security in our region.

114. Mr. President, we know your outstanding qualities and your great competence but, above all, we know the friendly relations which bind your country to ours and to all the other countries of the region. In the light of those considerations, we are convinced that under your leadership the Security Council will be able to take the measures that are indispensable in order to reach a satisfactory settlement of this problem, a settlement which we are seeking as a matter of priority and, if we are to believe all the statements we have heard here, all the other countries of the region also are seeking. I should not like to follow the speakers who have preceded me in either their rhetorical exercises or their juridical exegeses. The situation which has been created in our region, in which the people of Algeria are living at the present time, is sufficiently grave for me to content myself with the most sober declaration possible, a statement

devoid of all oratorical effect but one whose simplicity and precision are aimed above all at stressing my Government's high degree of awareness of the present situation and, at the same time, the unfailing determination with which it intends to face any future changes in that situation.

115. I have already had the opportunity of saying, on behalf of my delegation, that I did not wish to take advantage of this debate in the Security Council to broach a problem which had not been submitted to the attention of the Council. Members of the Council have not been convened here in order to decide on the future of Western Sahara. They have gathered here, and have had the kindness to allow my delegation to participate in this meeting, because a grave threat to peace and security in a region which encompasses Algeria has suddenly arisen, and it is within the bounds of the Council's responsibilities, and within the framework of the mission entrusted to it under the Charter of the United Nations, that its members have been convened here in order, first of all, to exercise their responsibility to take the measures necessary to put an end to that situation and then to go beyond the difficulties presented by the situation today and to undertake action in order to avert the very clear and precise threats which at present hang over our country and the future of our people. I shall remain faithful to that attitude by limiting myself to referring to the present threat which looms, as I have just said, over the peace of our region, but I should merely like to say that the whole situation rests on the definition of the sovereignty of the Territory of Western Sahara.

116. This sovereignty does not belong to Spain. Spain is the administering Power of a Territory which it colonized. I must recognize the fact that the Spanish Government has indicated with all possible clarity that the Government of Spain wishes to put an end to its presence in the Territory both as a colonial and as administering Power. But this by no means signifies that the Spanish Government has the right to dispose of a sovereignty which it in no way has the right to exercise. That is to say first of all that any attempt on the part of the Spanish Government to dispose on its own of the sovereignty of the Territory of Western Sahara must be considered, first by my Government, then by the entire international community, as an illegal attempt, null and void.

117. It also means that any interpretation of those facts which implied that any negotiations at a bilateral level or a trilateral level, or multilateral level could lead to disposal of sovereignty over the Territory of Western Sahara would be considered by my Government, and certainly by the international community as a, whole, as implying usurpation of property, to be condemned as such, and absolutely inadmissible.

118. In saying this, I do not wish to attribute to the Spanish Government any intention whatsoever; I do



not want a trial of intention. I merely want to explain here, with the maximum precision possible, the position of the Government of Algeria on this particular aspect of sovereignty over the Territory of Western Sahara. Nor does this sovereignty belong to the countries bordering on the Territory of Western Sahara. The claims which have been made on the subject cannot be considered valid simply because they are presented as being valid.

119. We were told a few moments ago that in good time arguments would be put forward, documentation would be submitted, in order to uphold these claims. Very well, I am prepared, as most certainly are all the representatives of the States Members of the United Nations, to listen to this argumentation, to study these documents. But, to my knowledge, the presentation of these theses has already been made, and not only in the political body represented by the Security Council or the political body represented by the General Assembly. The presentation of these theses, the support for them, and the setting out of historical or other arguments in their favour, has already taken place before the highest juridical body of the Organization. This was done before the International Court of Justice, which gave an opinion<sup>3</sup> on this question which was founded on the examination precisely of those arguments and those documents. I think that our point of view on the subject is now clear.

120. It is not a question for us of a tendentious interpretation of history. It is not a question for us of embodying our claims or our intentions in a political attitude which apparently has a legal basis. It is a question of a precise and clear reading of a decision which is equally clear and precise in its wording. No one at this stage after the consultative opinion on this question handed down by the International Court of Justice can claim that sovereignty over the Territory of Western Sahara belongs in whole or in part to one or more States bordering on that Territory.

121. This second aspect should also be very clear and very clearly recorded as a final position of the Government of Algeria. If sovereignty over the Territory of Western Sahara belongs neither to Spain nor to the countries bordering on this Territory, it is because it belongs quite simply to the people inhabiting that Territory. It must be recognized that this obvious fact, which everybody should have appreciated immediately, took some time to penetrate, not only in the form of a position of principle, not only in the form of an evocation of a period that is past, not only in the light of prospects for the future, but in the light of a principle which we have applied to all peoples, which we continue to defend for all other peoples and which in all full logic, in all justice and in all legality must apply also for the population of the Sahara.

122. Why have I expanded on this question of sovereignty over the Sahara? It is because, in the view of my delegation, it is this question which is central to all the events which have led us to the deplorable situation which the Security Council is now considering. The Algerian delegation knows the obligations and the needs of diplomatic action. It also knows the concern we must all show to avoid exacerbating conflicting positions and to resolve our difficulties in an atmosphere of good understanding and without hurting anybody's sense of honour. This has led you to prolong your meetings and it has prompted the various members of the Council to seek, sometimes in the most difficult conditions, the best means of indicating the will of the Council by using language that does not offend any of the parties.

123. But, leaving aside this concern, which we understand and which we share, we should still call things by their proper name. I have no objection to the Security Council saying, and even thinking, that the settlement of the present situation should involve all the parties concerned and interested. That is indeed the case. But which of the parties concerned and interested has created the situation? While I appreciate the fact that in your statements and resolutions you do not go beyond the use of diplomatic language, may I be allowed, at this stage of your work and at a time when the situation has proceeded from a situation of potential danger to one of imminent danger, to say that not all the parties concerned and interested created the situation. This situation was created by the Government of Morocco. It was created by the Government of Morocco when that Government decided, after the report of the United Nations Visiting Mission and after the opinion of the International Court of Justice, to organize a massive and peaceful popular march of 350,000 Moroccans to go and take possession of the Sahara Territory, which—it considered—is Moroccan territory.

124. I hesitate to use an argument which is as elementary as the one I am now going to develop, but members of the Security Council will surely agree with me that the peaceful character of a measure does not simply result from the character which is attached to it and that it does not suffice to be told that this is only a peaceful march to deduce automatically that, yes indeed, it is a measure which has no hostile character, which respects the normal rules of peace and security and which, furthermore, should not be condemned or stopped but perhaps even encouraged and applauded.

125. I was present at the last meeting of the Council and I witnessed the verbal gymnastics of my colleague, the representative of Morocco, who tried to define an invasion for us and who explained that the march envisaged by the Moroccan Government could not be considered an invasion. Out of respect for the dignity of the Council and in order not to prolong a statement which I wanted to contain within very reasonable

bounds, I do not wish, as I was saying, in turn, to give in to dialectics of that nature but I wish to say that whatever qualifiers the Moroccan Government attributes to its initiative, the Algerian Government considers that this march, if it crosses the borders of the Sahara Territory, would constitute a violation of the sovereignty of that Territory, an act contrary to international law, an initiative of a nature which would alter the balance of this region and, finally, a decision, the incalculable consequences of which would directly affect the peace of this region and the future relations of all countries bordering on the Territory of Western Sahara.

126. The Moroccan initiative, if it wishes to be based on the territorial claim which I mentioned earlier, loses all justification the moment this claim itself loses its validity. It does not suffice for a country presenting claims to be convinced,—whether it is sincere or not is of little significance—for these claims to be entertained, even less for them to be satisfied. But these legal considerations notwithstanding, I must say that the Algerian Government finds itself more sensitive to this prospect of the implementation of the decision announced by the Moroccan Government since, as has been reported by all the press agencies represented on the spot, this initiative was clearly marked from the very outset by hostility towards Algeria.

127. It is easy to come here and say in this hall that Morocco has no feeling of hostility against any of its neighbours and that it does not understand the emotion—to say the least—which has been shown by those neighbouring countries in the face of that initiative. The fact is that for some time already that hostility has been fomented among the Moroccan people and directed against Algeria. I said this before and I stressed to what degree the Algerian Government, the Algerian people and all of the press and information media of Algeria have continued to maintain an attitude of restraint and moderation, and how hard Algeria has endeavoured not to enter this process of the escalation of verbal violence. This is not simply a gratuitous assertion on the part of the representative of Algeria. I said this and I repeat it: the whole world has been a witness to this moderation and the whole world continues to witness this moderation which, unfortunately, may have been interpreted not merely as a sign of weakness but perhaps also as a sign of a lack of interest and consequently as an encouragement to proceed with an undertaking that is not only contrary to international principles, but which also runs counter to the relations existing in this region and to the co-operation which has finally made a good start between many countries. In fact, it has transformed relations marked by friendship into something marked by extremely dangerous hostility.

128. For some time now the delegation of Morocco to the United Nations has regularly informed us of the support which the Moroccan Government has obtained

for its claims, and sometimes for the support which would endorse its decision to launch a peaceful march into the territory of Western Sahara. I am convinced that if the delegation of Morocco, instead of limiting itself to giving us a list of the names of countries, were also to communicate to us the terms on which these countries were granting their support to the Moroccan initiative, the problem would be much clearer. But I should like to point out that, despite this support—real or imaginary—of the Moroccan initiative, that initiative, if it were to continue, would unquestionably constitute one of the most serious precedents that we have ever had the opportunity of seeing. If we place this initiative in an African context—and I have no need here to make assumptions because obviously this is an initiative which is within the framework of Africa—I am convinced that not a single African country will fail to see the consequences, both immediate and long-term, of the success of such a solution if applied to the various border and territorial problems which arise on the African continent. I may have the opportunity of developing these points further but, having drawn the Council's attention to the assessment which the Algerian Government has made of the present situation, I come to the position taken by the Security Council on this matter.

129. The Security Council, on 22 October, adopted resolution 377 (1975) by which it also appealed to all the parties concerned and interested to show restraint and moderation so as to defuse the situation created in that region and to allow the United Nations—and more specifically, the General Assembly—to find the political way to solve the problem of the decolonization of Western Sahara. At that time we said that, whatever the wording of the resolution might be, what was important for us was the result that such a decision could bring about. By its resolution 377 (1975), the Council entrusted to the Secretary-General the task of establishing contact with all parties concerned and interested and of reporting to the Council as soon as possible so that it could take the appropriate measures which you would judge necessary. The delegation of Algeria would like first of all to say to the Secretary-General how much it appreciates the speed with which he has carried out his mission and the clarity, objectivity and accuracy of his report.

130. The Security Council met yesterday in informal consultations during the day and late into the night, and is meeting again today on the same question and now also on the basis of the report of the Secretary-General and of the supplementary statement which the Secretary-General has made to the Council. This to our mind illustrates the importance which the Council attaches to this situation and the urgency with which it wishes to deal with it.

131. The Security Council prepared its draft resolution S/11865 without giving a chance to the parties concerned and interested to participate in that elaboration. It was the Council's right to do so, and I do

not say this to criticize its working procedures; on the contrary, we are pleased that the Council has this concept of its responsibilities. If we had been consulted and had the possibility of expounding our point of view, we would have asked that that draft resolution, which is now a resolution,<sup>1</sup> be couched in more precise language and meet the true objective of the Council at this session.

132. The Security Council, in its wisdom, preferred to use less direct wording, more diplomatic language, but it is clear, not only in our minds but also in the minds of all the members of the Council who have quite plainly stated this in their explanations of vote, that this decision has as its main objective to defuse the situation which surrounds the settlement of the Sahara problem, which means that this decision is directed at the initiative of the Moroccan Government, and that, when the Council urgently asks all parties concerned and interested to avoid any unilateral or other action which might further aggravate tension in the area, it addresses itself in particular and primarily to the Moroccan Government. At any rate, that is how we understand this draft resolution, as we also understand the fact that the Secretary-General is to continue and intensify his action, not only to reach, by means which he has used heretofore, a solution to the problem of sovereignty over Western Sahara, but to put an end to what is already more than an incident and is almost a tragic situation.

133. I should like to say here, without futile bragging and without oratorical flourishes, that the Algerian Government remains faithful to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, that it continues to attach the highest value to peace and security in its region, that it continues to place in the front rank of its concerns the friendly and fraternal relations which it has always wished to maintain and strengthen with the countries of that region and that, in view of all this, it has avoided any action which might aggravate the situation and increase tension; however, conscious of its responsibilities, it will know how to face any future changes in the situation.

134. Algeria does not threaten. Algeria is a country that knows the price of the dignity of peoples. The Algerian people has paid dearly for the integrity of its territory; the Algerian people has paid a high price for the drawing of its boundaries; the Algerian people wishes to be respected; it respects others; it respects the principles for which so many of its own have paid with their lives.

135. I have been authorized by my Government to declare here, with all the solemnity this statement merits, that if the Security Council and the international community are not in a position to assume their responsibilities, Algeria will assume its own responsibilities, and to state here in the most formal manner that Algeria is not prepared, either today or tomorrow, to recognize or endorse any situation of fait accompli which could result from any kind of unilateral action.

136. The position of Algeria is clear: we consider that sovereignty over the Territory of Western Sahara is the responsibility of the United Nations; we consider that the Organization has duties in respect of the people of Sahara, and that is why, as we have affirmed in the past, we continue to believe that the solution to this problem has to be found within the Organization and by the General Assembly, which has already put this question on its agenda and which is to discuss it next week. We see no need to anticipate that debate. We do not understand the haste of some who try to press claims which in any case have not been recognized. That haste is only an additional argument for the non-acceptability of those claims.

137. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): The list of speakers is exhausted. Now I should like to speak in my capacity as the representative of the UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS. Before dealing with the substance of the question, I should like to thank all those who in their statements have congratulated me and expressed kind words to me personally and to my country in connexion with my having assumed the office of President of the Security Council. On my part, I should like to express thanks, mine personally and those of the delegation of the Soviet Union, to my predecessor, the representative of Sweden, Mr. Rydbeck, who held the post of President of the Council in October, and to congratulate him on his tireless efforts and the magnificent diplomatic skill with which he guided the work of the Council during his presidency.

138. As has been pointed out, his presidency was burdened by a number of complicated and difficult problems. With the active participation and support of the Security Council, he discharged his duties admirably. Under his experienced guidance the Council made a number of important decisions, among them, resolution 377 (1975) on the problem of Western Sahara which was adopted by consensus. In that resolution, as is known, the Council requested the Secretary-General to enter into immediate consultations with the parties concerned and interested. The Council appealed to the parties concerned and interested to exercise restraint and moderation so that no action would be taken which would lead to a worsening of the situation in Western Sahara and hamper the work of the Secretary-General as entrusted to him by the Council. A concrete result of this decision of the Council was the visit of the Secretary-General to the capitals of four States and his talks to the heads of Governments and Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the parties concerned and interested: Morocco, Mauritania, Algeria and Spain.

139. I should like to express our deep gratitude to the Secretary-General for the great and useful work which he carried out, in an unprecedentedly short period of time, in keeping with his implementation of Security Council resolution 377 (1975) on the problem of Western Sahara. I assume that I shall be

expressing the general view in paying due tribute to the effectiveness and mastery with which the Secretary-General was able to deal with the mission entrusted to him, which was by no means simple, in the shortest possible time, to carry out consultations with heads of States, Governments and Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the four parties concerned and interested. The Secretary-General has submitted to the Security Council a report on this question. Yesterday, in conversations with the Secretary-General, I expressed my own view in respect of this report, saying that this was a document prepared in a most masterful way, "skilfully elaborated", as they say in English.

140. Special attention was drawn by me to paragraph 20 of the report, where stress is laid on the fact that the situation in the area remains grave, and therefore the Secretary-General considers it of the greatest importance that any action be avoided which might further escalate the tension. It is precisely this important conclusion in the report of the Secretary-General which required of us, the members of the Security Council, and the Security Council as a whole, an urgent consideration of this report yesterday, 1 November, with a view to taking a decision in order to avoid any further escalation of tension in this area.

141. All the members of the Security Council, in their statements at yesterday's lengthy informal consultations, drew attention to that paragraph of the report of the Secretary-General. They stressed the seriousness of the situation in the area, and insistently and resolutely spoke in favour of having the parties concerned and interested avoid any action and, among them, unilateral action, which could lead to the further aggravation of tension in the area. The members of the Council laid stress on the fact that in its consideration of this question, and taking into account the fact that growing tension could become a threat to peace, the Council must act swiftly and effectively in order to avert a possible armed conflict and must promote a peaceful settlement of the existing situation.

142. The delegation of the Soviet Union considers that, in the light of further escalation of tension in this area, and in the light of the facts which were brought out during our discussion, the Security Council, being the principal body of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security, should act quickly and resolutely in order to remove the serious threat to peace in this area.

143. The delegation of the Soviet Union further considers that the resolution just adopted by the Council on the question of Western Sahara is directed precisely towards achievement of this goal. The resolution contains an urgent appeal to all the parties concerned and interested to avoid any unilateral or other action which might further escalate the tension in that area. It requests the Secretary-General to continue and intensify his consultations with the

parties concerned and interested, and to report to the Security Council as soon as possible on the results of those consultations in order to enable the Council to adopt any further appropriate measures that might be necessary in connexion with the situation in that region.

144. The discussion of the question of Western Sahara in the Security Council has shown that the members of the Council are in favour of such a settlement of the problem, as it would put an immediate end to the colonial régime in this Territory and implement the principle of self-determination for the people of the Territory, in keeping with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and the decisions of the United Nations on the question of Western Sahara.

145. As already stressed by the delegation of the Soviet Union in its statement of 22 October in the Security Council [1850th meeting], the position of the Soviet Union is that the future of Western Sahara has to be settled by the people of that Territory. The colonial status of the Territory must be ended. The people of Western Sahara have every right to determine their fate. The Soviet Union opposes any action which would hamper the efforts of the indigenous population of Western Sahara to exercise that right. This would be especially inadmissible now that, as a result of the successes of the national liberation struggle of the African peoples, the process of decolonization is coming to an end on the African continent, which has suffered so much.

146. The delegation of the Soviet Union expresses the hope that all the parties concerned and interested, showing a profound sense of responsibility, will respond to the decision just adopted by the Security Council and to the urgent and firm appeal contained in the resolution to avoid any unilateral or other action which might lead to aggravating tension in that area which is already troubled and fraught with danger. I believe that this resolution will contribute not only to defusing tension in Western Sahara but also to settling the problem of the Territory on the basis of the exercise by its people of the right to self-determination.

147. Speaking now as PRESIDENT, I shall now call on the representatives of Spain and Morocco, who have asked to exercise their right of reply.

148. Mr. ARIAS SALGADO (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I shall be very brief. A series of allegations were made in the statement of the representative of Morocco which my delegation believes it necessary to clarify.

149. The official Spanish position has, I believe, been clearly presented in the Council, not only at this meeting, but also at the 1849th and 1850th meetings by the representative of Spain. The interpretation

given in those statements of the scope and the terms of the resolution adopted, which, on the instructions of my Government, I had the honour to reiterate at this meeting, is indeed the Spanish position in this matter. Now that this problem has been clarified, I should like to add in support of this affirmation a simple reference to the report of the Secretary-General in which, with the objectivity, clarity and precision that characterize that report, the Spanish position has been reflected.

150. Another point which is absolutely clear in the Spanish position, and which should not lead to any confusion, is the need for the General Assembly to examine the substance of the matter as quickly as possible in the light of the provisions of resolution 3292 (XXIX). It is within that framework, and in the light of what is stipulated in paragraph 3 of that resolution, that all the discussion with regard to problems of sovereignty, the interpretation of the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice and the scope of the conclusions of the Visiting Mission to the Territory must be considered.

151. Having made these two essential points, my delegation feels obliged to return to the root of the problem as it existed at the beginning. Within the Council the fundamental problem continues to be—and I regret to say “continues to be”—the halting of the march on Western Sahara. The context of this problem before the Council is clear, that this situation has an internal cause and effect relationship which no one can deny; I think that has been made sufficiently clear during this debate.

152. My delegation would now like to emphasize what we said in our statement a few moments ago. Spain is ready to make all possible efforts to prevent a deterioration of the situation, but there can be no doubt that, if the objective limits are stretched beyond what is tolerable, this situation would reach a dimension the consequences of which are difficult to forecast. My delegation hopes that the Government of Morocco, bearing in mind the resolution just adopted by the Security Council, will understand what these limits are and will act to promote peace and security in the region.

153. Mr. SLAOUI (Morocco) (*interpretation from French*): I should like to say a few words regarding the statement made by the representative of Algeria. It would not be difficult to take up the representative of Algeria on the points which he developed in his statement and which are obviously extraneous to the problem being considered by the Security Council today. However, I believe that neither the place nor the time is propitious for this, and I reserve the right to do so on the appropriate occasion.

154. None the less, I wish to assert the fact that the Moroccan and Algerian peoples have links which go

beyond the bitterness now being shown by the Algerian delegation. That being so, I protest against the insinuations of the representative of Algeria which might lead the Security Council to believe that a dispute exists between the Moroccan people and the Algerian people, and that consequently the Moroccan Government was entertaining and nurturing hostility towards Algeria. I solemnly declare that all those insinuations are designed merely to provide reasons for, now and in anticipation of, interventions of any kind in the area for which the Algerian Government has already made preparations.

155. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): I now call on the representative of Algeria in exercise of his right of reply.

156. Mr. RAHAL (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*): I too shall not take up much of the Council's time. First, I should like to say that I tried to make my statement earlier in this meeting as clear as possible—to the point that, on behalf of my Government, I take full responsibility for everything I said. There were no insinuations in my remarks; indeed, they were very precise. We attach all the proper value, as we have always done, to the ties existing between our peoples—whether it be the Algerian and Moroccan peoples, the Algerian and Mauritanian peoples, or the Algerian and Saharan peoples. We were the first to say that these ties were lasting ties and could not be put in question by the difficulties of the moment.

157. With regard to the hostile tendencies shown by Moroccan public opinion towards Algeria, the Algerian people are informed of them—but they are not the only ones: international opinion is also informed. And it has not been the Algerian information media that have stressed the unwonted and inexplicable nature of the hostility directed against a country simply because it does not support the Moroccan claims—claims that Algeria, in all good conscience, regards as absolutely without foundation.

158. As for the insinuations—for they were indeed insinuations—just made by my colleague and friend the representative of Morocco with regard to Algeria's intentions, they fall, I think, within the framework of a manoeuvre so crude that I shall not take the time to reply to them. I have said that Algeria, the country and the people, are prepared to defend their ideas and their principles. Those are not insinuations. They are statements. I hope that all the parties concerned and interested take them to mean what they do indeed mean.

159. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): Before I adjourn this meeting, I should like to request the Secretary-General to send urgent cablegrams containing the complete text of the resolution

adopted at today's meeting of the Security Council to the Governments of all the parties concerned and interested.

160. In conclusion, I deem it necessary to state that the Security Council will of course continue carefully to watch the development of events in the situation concerning Western Sahara and will meet immediately if the need should arise for the possible adoption of

any further appropriate measure that may be required, as is provided for in the resolution adopted today.

*The meeting rose at 2.15 p.m.*

*Notes*

<sup>1</sup> See resolution 379 (1975).

<sup>2</sup> *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirtieth Session, Supplement No. 23, vol. III, chap. XIII, annex.*

<sup>3</sup> *Western Sahara, Advisory Opinion, I.C.J. Reports 1975, p. 12.*

<sup>4</sup> *Western Sahara, Order of 22 May 1975, I.C.J. Reports 1975, p. 6.*



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