S.A.D.R. SITS AT O.A.U. SUMMIT MEETING

The seating of the S.A.D.R. delegation as the 51st member of the O.A.U. at the 20th Summit Meeting of that body, November 12, 1984, took place with a minimum of controversy according to participants in attendance. Although Morocco, a founding member of the O.A.U. in 1963, withdrew from the organization following the seating of the S.A.D.R., only Zaire joined it in the protest by announcing that it would temporarily suspend its membership from that body.

The O.A.U. was formed in the 1960's in Addis Ababa (which was also the site for the 1984 Summit) chiefly for the purpose of assisting African nations to gain independence. Until November 12 every independent state on the continent, with the exception of South Africa, was a member of the O.A.U.

The action of the O.A.U. in seating the S.A.D.R. was in response to Morocco's intransigence on acceding to the O.A.U. negotiated resolution of the conflict between Morocco and the Polisario Front (S.A.D.R.) which dates to 1975 when Spain began to leave the territory of the former Spanish Sahara and attempted to turn its administration of that territory over to Mauritania and Morocco.

The long-term effect of the seating of the S.A.D.R. at the O.A.U. is not clear. Nonetheless, this disposition of a problem that had hindered at least two O.A.U. Summits and a number of committee meetings, seems to have given new life to the organization, at least for the short term. New O.A.U. Head, President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, along with other Heads of State or representatives of Heads of State, called for the organization's attention to a series of difficulties in Africa: the drought and famine in a number of African nations, including the host nation of the O.A.U., the continued problems of African debt repayment to the West due to continental, national and world economic factors, the continued problems of Namibia and South Africa.

The O.A.U. solution to the conflict in Western Sahara, one that was reiterated by the U.N. General Assembly in 1983, was to hold a referendum of the Saharawis within the guidelines formulated by the O.A.U. Implementation Committee on Western Sahara and which included oversight by both the U.N. and the O.A.U. Among choices for the Saharawis in the referendum was the option of independence. The referendum was to have taken place by December 1983, but at a meeting of the two parties (Morocco and the Polisario Front) in Addis Ababa in 1983, Morocco refused to negotiate directly with the Polisario.

The war in Western Sahara is estimated to be costing Morocco close to $3,000,000 per day. It has also brought about some interesting new alignments, notably the "federation" of Morocco and Libya. (See partial text of this agreement in this Letter.) A number of African nations have expressed regret that Morocco will not abide by its previous agreements with the O.A.U. for resolution of the conflict. Several African statesmen have termed Morocco's withdrawal from the O.A.U. as "inevitable and unfortunate," inevitable because Morocco knew that by blocking the path of compromise and dialogue, it was placing the O.A.U. itself and its decisions, on trial. Either the O.A.U. had to say that it would not stick with its recommendations, or it would have to seat the S.A.D.R.

September 23, 1984, Nigeria, a long-standing moderate member of the O.A.U. Implementation Committee on Western Sahara, withdrew from that committee because it noted, the Committee was unable to discharge the mandate given it by the O.A.U. Despite withdrawal from the Committee, Nigeria promised to work to find a lasting solution to the Western Sahara Conflict.

November 11, 1984, the eve of the O.A.U. Summit meeting, Nigeria extended recognition to the S.A.D.R. (See full text in this Letter.) and urged member states to assume their responsibilities. Despite rumored pull-outs by eleven nations, only Morocco and Zaire abstained from the meeting.
The following is part of a paper presented at the African Studies Association Meeting in Los Angeles on November 26, 1984.

U.S. policy to directly or indirectly support Morocco in its war against the Polisario has been one of the major factors in the continuing escalation of that war in western Sahara. Since 1975 when U.S. support of Morocco's claims to the former Spanish Sahara was demonstrated by visits of high-level military personnel to Morocco prior to the outbreak of the war and by major increases in arms agreements and deliveries to that country, there has been a consistent and contradictory pattern of the U.S. trying to satisfy its client state with sufficient assistance for the war while claiming an official policy of neutrality. That attempt by the U.S. has led to increasing instability in the entire region and to the anomaly of the U.S. indirectly assisting the "bête noire" of the Reagan Administration, Muammar Qaddafi of Libya, who in August and September 1984 signed mutual assistance agreements with Morocco, including a treaty of "union" and a military security agreement.

Throughout the brouhaha over the seating of delegates from the SADR at OAU meetings, until the 20th Summit in 1984, Morocco and Libya were opponents, with Libya sponsoring the seating of the SADR and Morocco opposing it. In broadcasts from his own nation, but beamed to Morocco, journalists have noted that Qaddafi frequently assailed King Hassan as an opponent of progressive Arab activity. Even prior to 1975, the outbreak of the war between Polisario and Morocco, Libya had actively supported the Front with arms and funds. From 1975 to 1983 Libya had been one of the chief supports of Polisario (arms and diplomacy). Morocco and Libya were such opponents that early in 1983 King Hassan had agreed to send Moroccan troops to Chad to bolster or replace French troops who were opposing the Libyan military presence there.

What caused the shift? The change in position by Morocco might be attributed to the following causes: its weakened position vis-à-vis the UN and the OAU, the failure of Morocco to receive what it considered to be substantial support by the U.S., benefits in jobs and "cheap" oil to be gained from closer ties with Libya.

Perhaps Morocco had hoped that without Libyan assistance, Polisario could no longer fight its war and the SADR could be prevented from sitting at the 20th Summit Meeting of the OAU. Subsequent events gave the lie to that hope.

Despite continued support from Washington (assistance with building the two "walls," surveillance information from the U.S. on Polisario movements, training of Moroccans in counter-insurgency equipment, all kinds of munitions and arms including radar equipment, helicopters, troop transport, cluster bombs, etc., etc.), Hassan apparently was dissatisfied with the amount of the assistance and with his status as a client state. About an hour before he signed the Ouja Agreement, he called the U.S. Ambassador on vacation in Maine to inform him of his plan, according to a number of U.S. newspaper reports.

What this does to U.S. plans to develop bases in Morocco for its rapid deployment forces is uncertain. Surely the State Department is hesitant to spend the $50 million to refurbish Sidi Slimane Airfield if Libya has access.
TEXT OF DECLARATION BY NIGERIA ON RECOGNITION OF S.A.D.R. (Dr. Ibrahim Gombari, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Nigeria, November 11)

"The Federal Military Government after very careful consideration of all aspects of the Western Sahara problem which has bedevilled our Organization over the past few years, has decided to recognize the Sahara Arab Democratic Republic.

"The Federal Government will also fully support the seating of the S.A.D.R. at the 20th Summit of the Organization of African Unity as the seating of the SADR, is central to the success of this Summit, if not the survival of the OAU.

"For the past few years, we have all watched helplessly as our continental Organization, the OAU, has been paralyzed over the seemingly intractable problem of Western Sahara. This unfortunate development has led to the abysmal neglect of other pressing challenges facing Africa. I need only mention the devastating drought, the famine, the continued deteriorating economic situation of our continent as well as political problems such as the disturbing developments in Southern Africa.

"It is now more than one month since the armed forces of the racist regime in Pretoria have engaged in brutal massacre of our defenceless brothers and sisters, and yet this outrage has not provoked any strong African reaction or collective initiative. The most deplorable thing is that while we have been distracted by artificial problems, we have allowed the imperialists and their stooges to take all the initiative in Southern Africa.

"The Federal Military Government of Nigeria is deeply convinced that this deplorable trend has to be arrested, we are also convinced that without the seating of the Delegation of the SADR, there is no likelihood of the 20th Summit being held. If that happens, we may as well say good-bye to the OAU as we know it.

"We wish, therefore, to appeal to OAU Member States, in the higher interests of Africa, to attend this Summit, and also urge them to participate fully and thereby ensure the success of this 20th Summit, as we are all aware, international Diplomatic usage permits of Nations attending conferences with other nations that they do not recognize."

November 11, 1984
Addis Ababa

NATIONS THAT RECOGNIZE THE S.A.D.R.

AFRICA: ALGERIA, ANGOLA, BENIN, BURUNDI, BOTSWANA, CAPE VERDE, CONGO, EQUATORIAL GUINEA, ETHIOPIA, GHANA, GUINEA BISSAU, LESOTHO, LIBYA, MADAGASCAR, MAURITANIA, MAURITIUS, MOZAMBIQUE, NIGERIA, RWANDA, SAO TOME AND PRINCIPE, MALI, SEYCHELLES, SIERRA LEONE, SWAZILAND, TOGO, CHAD, TANZANIA, UGANDA, BURKINA FASO (formerly Upper Volta), ZAMBIA, ZIMBABWE.

ASIA: AFGHANISTAN, IRAN, KOREA (DR), LAOS, SYRIA, VIETNAM, YEMEN (D).

LATIN AMERICA: BOLIVIA, COSTA RICA, CUBA, DOMINICA, ECUADOR, GRENADA, GUYANA, JAMAICA, MEXICO, NICARAGUA, PANAMA, PERU, SURINAME, VENEZUELA.

OCEANIA: PAPUA NEW GUINEA, NAURU, SOLOMON ISLANDS, TUVALU, KIRIBATI, VANUATU.

DEBATE ON THE WESTERN SAHARA IN U.N. DURING THE 38TH GENERAL SESSION:

Mr. Heller, Mexico:

"The position of Mexico on the question of Western Sahara was well known. Basing itself on the principles of non-intervention in the internal affairs of States, the right to self-determination and the peaceful settlement of disputes, and bearing in mind the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice, Mexico had recognized the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic in 1979. It favoured a solution to the problem within the framework of General Assembly resolution 1514(XV). It welcomed the constructive attitude of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic and supported the efforts of OAU and its Implementation Committee on Western Sahara. It welcomed the proposal to organize a referendum under OAU auspices with the collaboration of the United Nations. It regretted, however, that no progress had been made in that direction.

"His delegation was a sponsor of draft resolution A/C.4/38/L.2, which contained the text of resolution AHG/RES.104(XIX), adopted unanimously by the OAU Assembly of Heads of State and Government at its nineteenth ordinary session. It was convinced that conflicts should be resolved by political negotiations, and therefore considered that draft resolution A/C.4/38/L.2 would contribute to the settlement of a dispute which brought fraternal peoples into armed conflict."

Verbatim of Debate
38th Session
New York
MORE DONATIONS FOR SAHARAWI REFUGEES SOUGHT
MAKE YOUR HOLIDAY BY GIVING MILK TO SAHARAWI
CHILDREN IN THE TINDOUF REFUGEE CAMPS $§§§

In the past few months a number of donations for the Saharawi refugees have been received by the SPSC Letter. Those funds have been forwarded to the refugees through Rencontre et Développement and Services Caritas, located in Algeria. The two groups represent Protestant and Catholic church groups and help to coordinate assistance by a number of humanitarian groups and support groups in conjunction with the Saharawi Red Crescent. R & D and Caritas have developed a program of refugee needs 1985.

In reading their publication sent with a letter a few weeks ago, it appears that to supply ONACO milk (a kind that the babies and young children can absorb), the sum of 504,000 Dinars a year is needed. This sum will provide milk for 1,000 young children. The contributions that the SPSC Letter has forwarded barely makes a dent in the sum needed for milk for a single day.

If you have not yet made a contribution, but intend to, don’t wait any longer. Send it today. Some of the posters described in the last newsletter are still available. We'll send them out on the basis of first contribution (over $7 for one poster, over $14 for two), first served. Make some Saharawi child's nutrition boost one of your holiday gifts this year.

PUBLICATIONS UPDATE

1. The Minority Rights Group, LTD, an international human rights group and educational charity based in London is publishing a new edition of their report on the peoples of the Western Sahara. The report, "The Western Saharan," is being written for MRG by Tony Hodges, author of two books on the Western Sahara. The report will be about 15,000 words and will contain maps, tables, a bibliography and footnotes. It will retail for $3.95 U.S. and can be ordered from the Minority Rights Group LTD, 29 Craven Street, London WC2N 5NT.

2. Trois Français au Sahara Occidental, 1784-1786. This new book by Maurice Barbier recounts how two centuries ago three Frenchmen were shipwrecked on the Sahara Coast and were made prisoners by the inhabitants of the region. These texts are the first detailed descriptions of the Western Sahara. Harmattan Press. Available from Association des Amis de la RASD, B.P. 244, 75227 Paris Cedex 05. 80FF

Also available from the Association are La Guerre au Sahara occidental, Claude Bontems, 223 pages, 160FF and Le Groupe National de Chants et Danses El Ouali, 40 pages, 25FF. The Association offers a number of publications. All in French.
An international colloquium of lawyers concerned with the juridical foundations of the SADR took place in Paris at the French National Assembly October 20-21, 1984 with about 150 participants from twenty-one nations attending. Following a series of papers on different aspects of the S.A.D.R., from the logic of its Constitution to its exercise of statehood, the Colloquium issued a concluding statement: The SADR is a living reality in whose heart the Saharawis recognize themselves as a people." The Colloquium, sponsored by a number of well-known jurists, among them Max Jacob of the Paris Court, also called for seating the SADR at the upcoming OAU Summit Meeting.

U.S. representative at the Colloquium was Jeffrey M. Schulman, a lawyer who has written several articles on the legal issues of the Western Sahara and who has visited the territory.

TENTH EUROPEAN CONVENTION OF THE SAHARAWI PEOPLES SUPPORT COMMITTEE

The Tenth European Convention of the Saharawi Peoples Support Committee met in Bologna, Italy, November 16, 17, 18, 1984. The meeting opened the evening of November 16 with a short report of support work in Italy and with a discussion of the limited budget of the Coordination Committee.

Saturday, November 17, the delegates listened to the report of the Saharawis through the representative of the Saharawi Red Crescent and other Polisario representatives. The remainder of the meeting was devoted to reports from all the Support Groups attending the meeting and to plans for providing support and material assistance for the refugee Saharawis.

Of particular concern to Support Committee delegates was the need for food, clothing, medicines, shelter, and materials for schooling for the refugees. Despite the self-sufficient orientation of the refugees who are involved in a number of self-help projects, the climate of the camps and the location require continued assistance. Algeria now states that 165,000 refugees are in the refugee camps. In August, 1984, a severe storm destroyed a number of tents in the Tindouf region.
The news of the "merger" between Libya and Morocco that occurred in August 1984 and of a subsequent mutual security agreement signed by the two nations in September 1984 is old news to our readers now. What has not been available to many of you, however, is the text of that agreement. The document was forwarded to the United Nations in mid-October 1984 and was entered as Agenda Item 123 (A/C.6/39/4). The referendum for adoption was overwhelmingly passed in Morocco.

TREATY ESTABLISHING A UNION BETWEEN THE STATE OF THE KINGDOM OF MOROCCO AND THE STATE OF THE SOCIALIST PEOPLE'S LIBYAN ARAB JAMAHIRIYA

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate

Praise be to God

Blessings and peace be upon the Prophet of God, his Family and his Companions

The Kingdom of Morocco and

The Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya,

Aware of the dangers to which the Arab nation and the Islamic world in general and the usurped land of Palestine and the Holy City of Jerusalem in particular are exposed as a result of the policy of violence and aggression that the Zionists, seized by sinful pride, blinded by arrogance and overcome by conceit, continue to follow in flagrant abuse of all that is hallowed and held sacred by Islam and in violation of the rights of Muslims and Arabs, those same Zionists being unmindful of the principles and ideals on which the international community is based and taking no heed of the resolutions adopted by international organizations and forums at the various levels,

Realizing that averting such insidious dangers threatening the Arab nation and the Islamic world, and in the first instance Palestine and Jerusalem, requires unanimity of outlook, the strengthening of determination and the mobilization of efforts in order to repulse aggression, make truth triumphant and safeguard the interests of Arabs and Muslims and defend their right to existence and dignity,

Believing that the adoption of such a course would be a decisive factor in allowing the Arab nation and the Islamic world to regain their time-honoured glory, take up a position befitting their glorious past and devote their efforts to advancing their peoples and preparing them to enter the twenty-first century armed with all they need to assure them of high standing among the developed peoples in the fields of science and technology and in all other spheres of human and socio-cultural progress,

Bearing in mind the difficulties in the way of Arab unity revealed by past experience, the concern dictated by wisdom for the set-backs which have arisen from underrating such difficulties in the past, and the unremitting work and assiduous effort required for proper organization so as to reach the desired goal in a gradual manner, without haste in planning or improvisation in embarking on execution,

Aware, in particular, of the firm bonds uniting the peoples of the Arab Maghreb, bolstered by their common origin, geography, history, religion, language, styles of living and patterns of civilization; and considering the aspiration of those peoples and their leaders, from remote times, to establish a union among them which would consolidate links based on community of destiny and contiguity and which would advance those peoples towards the formation of an integral unit of not inconsiderable weight in political and economic spheres among the peoples of the
developed world, and particularly among the States of the Mediterranean Basin, which share, notwithstanding the characteristics peculiar to each one of them, a socio-cultural heritage which derives its essential features from common spiritual and intellectual values,

Desirous of meeting these aspirations and contributing to the achievement of this ambition so that it may, in a manner characterized by realism, leave the visionary realm and enter the domain of effective application,

Realizing that the most appropriate means to that end is to establish a union between them such as to provide a basis for the introduction of more extensive structures with the goal of serving the unity of the Arab and Islamic peoples and attaining the pride and dignity to which they aspire, and

Considering that such a union would form a corner-stone for the unity of the Arab Maghreb and, consequently, a historic step in the achievement of the unity of the Arab nation,

Have agreed as follows:

**Article 1**

There is established, under the terms of this Treaty, a Union of the State of the Kingdom of Morocco and the State of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, to be called the Arab-African Union.

**Article 2**

The Presidency is the supreme organ of the Union, shall be jointly exercised by His Majesty the King of Morocco and His Excellency the Leader of the Revolution of 1 September and shall alone have the power to issue decisions.

**Article 3**

There shall be established, under the authority of the Presidency, a permanent secretariat, the seat of which shall alternate between the two countries and which shall have permanent representation in both of them. The Secretary-General of the Union shall be a national of the State in which the seat of the permanent secretariat is not situated, and the Assistant Secretary-General shall be a national of the other State. Alternation shall occur at two yearly intervals.

**Article 4**

The Union shall have the following councils:

- Political Council;
- Defence Council;
- Economic Council;
- Cultural and Technical Council.

These councils shall, subject to the decision of the Presidency, be made up of delegates from each of the two States, the number of representatives of one State being equal to the number of representatives of the other State.

They shall perform a consultative role, and their function, each in its sphere of competence, shall be:
To study the issues submitted to it by the Presidency;
To propose solutions;
To prepare such plans as are requested by the Presidency, whenever it deems it useful to do so.

Article 5

The Union shall have an Assembly made up of members of the Chamber of Representatives in the Kingdom of Morocco and of members of the General People's Congress in the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. The function of this Assembly shall be to submit recommendations to the Presidency with a view to strengthening the Union and achieving its goals.

Article 6

The Union shall have an Executive Committee made up of the Council of Ministers in the Kingdom of Morocco and the General People's Committee in the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and entrusted with the implementation and follow up of the decisions of the Presidency.

The Executive Committee shall hold periodic meetings, in each country alternately.

Article 7

The Union shall have a Union court of justice, concerning the composition of which a decision shall be issued by the Presidency.

If a dispute should arise between the two Parties with regard to the implementation or interpretation of this Treaty, either of them shall have the right to bring the matter before the court for a ruling.

The judgements and opinions of the court shall be final and binding.

Article 8

The purpose of the Union shall be:
To strengthen the ties of brotherhood between the two States and their peoples;
To promote the progress of the Arab nation and to defend its rights;
To participate in the safeguarding of peace wherever it is based on justice and equity and characterized by permanence and stability;
To pursue a joint policy in the various fields;
To contribute to the unification of the Arab Maghreb and thus to the achievement of the unity of the Arab nation.

Article 9

The joint policy referred to in the preceding article shall be aimed at the attainment of the following objectives:
In the international field: the strengthening of the ties of brotherly friendship between the two countries and the establishment of close diplomatic co-operation between them;

In the field of defence: the safeguarding of the independence of each of the two countries;

In the economic field: the endeavour to achieve industrial, agricultural, commercial and social development in each of the two countries and the adoption of such measures as may be necessary in order to achieve that end, in particular through the creation of joint enterprises and the elaboration of general or specific economic programmes;

In the cultural field: the establishment of co-operation for the development of education at the various levels and at the preservation of the spiritual and moral values deriving from the magnanimous teachings of Islam, the safeguarding of the Arab national identity and the adoption of such measures as may be necessary for the attainment of all these objectives, in particular the exchange of teachers and students and the establishment of joint academic, cultural or specialized research institutions.

**Article 10**

The Union shall have an administrative budget and a development budget.

**Article 11**

Each of the two States shall show absolute respect for the sovereignty of the other State and undertakes not to intervene in the internal affairs of the other State.

**Article 12**

Any aggression against either of the two States shall be deemed to be aggression against the other State.

**Article 13**

The Union shall not preclude the conclusion by either of the two participating States of agreements similar or analogous to the Treaty on which it is based, and either of them may conclude such agreements with third States.

Other States belonging to the Arab nation or the African community may accede to this Treaty and become members of the Union, subject to the consent of the two Parties.

**Article 14**

A special committee, whose members shall be appointed by the Presidency, shall submit draft supplementary agreements aimed at clarifying and expanding the foregoing provisions.

The drafts referred to above shall be submitted to the Presidency for a decision.
**Article 15**

The interests of each of the two States shall be represented in the other State by a minister or resident representative (amin).

**Article 16**

This Treaty shall enter into force upon its approval by referendum by the people of the Kingdom of Morocco and the people of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya in accordance with the procedures applicable in each of the two States.

Done at Oujda on Monday, 16 Dhulqada'ah A.H. 1404, corresponding to 13 August A.D. 1984.

(Signed) HASSAN II  
King of Morocco

(Signed) Colonel Muammar QADDAFI  
Leader of the Revolution of 1 September

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**WAR CONTINUES IN THE WESTERN SAHARA DESPITE NEW WALL, NEW ARMS, NEW ALLIES IN AREA**

October 13, 1984 the Saharawi Peoples Liberation Army launched an "offensive Greater Maghreb" against Moroccan concentrations between Z'Moul Niran and El-Kachbiyine. The attack took the Moroccans by surprise. In a few hours of combat, the new "wall" proved vulnerable to Saharawi attack. In October days that followed, the Polisario attacked and succeeded in controlling over 30 kilometers of the "wall" until the SPLA withdrew with prisoners and arms. Enemy reinforcements were sent from Smara and Zag, but the SPLA was able to hold them off.

A series of attacks against the Moroccan defense line had also occurred in August and September. Attacks occurred at Rouss El Khachbiyine, Zak, Jderia, Oudi Ourg, Rouss Skekima, El Chebabyine, Fadrat El Jdari, Natfia (Zak), Laatif, Ourgziz, Taref El Khachbi, Mahbes Jneinat, Oudei Taichatt, Rouss Ouissekou, Benkara, Aftat El Abhaj, M'guissem Lamhar, Tachkent, Oudei Yahia M'Hamed, El Moulosi, Seheb Onouaill, Caret Redi, Khanget Zerbia, Oum Rous, Rouss Chiab, Megsem Tihirmet, Dehlou, Benkara, etc.

Two of the ten Moroccan military personnel captured during the October attacks met with foreign journalists in the liberated territories of the SADR on October 25, 1984.