

by consensus. The remaining three operative paragraphs were adopted by a roll-call vote of 46 to 37 with 49 abstentions. 152/ Finally the Committee then adopted the eight-power draft

152/ The voting was as follows:

In favour: Bahrain, Bangladesh, Belgium, Bolivia, Central African Republic, Chile, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, France, Gabon, Gambia, Guatemala, Honduras, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Malaysia, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Morocco, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Philippines, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Spain, Sudan, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United States of America, Uruguay, Yemen.

Against: Algeria, Barbados, Benin, Botswana, Chad, Comoros, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Democratic Yemen, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Ghana, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Jamaica, Kenya, Lesotho, Liberia, Madagascar, Malawi, Mexico, Mozambique, Nigeria, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Swaziland, Trinidad and Tobago, Uganda, United Republic of Tanzania, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Abstaining: Afghanistan, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bhutan, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Colombia, Costa Rica, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Ecuador, Egypt, Finland, German Democratic Republic, Germany (Federal Republic of), Greece, Haiti, Hungary, Iceland, India, Israel, Ivory Coast, Japan, Laos, Luxembourg, Mali, Mongolia, New Zealand, Niger, Norway, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Singapore, Sweden, Thailand, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Upper Volta, Venezuela, Zaire.

resolution as a whole by 48 votes to 32 with 52 abstentions. 153/

The two draft resolutions were adopted by the plenary of the General Assembly as resolutions 3458A and B (XXX) respectively. Part A - the 27-power-draft - was adopted by 88 votes to 0 with 41 abstentions. Part B - the eight-power text - received 56 votes in favour, 42 against and 34 abstentions. 154/

153/ The voting was as follows:

In favour: Bahrain, Bangladesh, Belgium, Bolivia, Central African Republic, Chile, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, France, Gabon, Gambia, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Malaysia, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Morocco, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Philippines, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Spain, Sudan, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United States of America, Uruguay, Yemen.

Against: Algeria, Benin, Botswana, Chad, Comores, Cuba, Cyprus, Democratic Yemen, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Ghana, Grenada, Guinea, Guyana, Jamaica, Kenya, Lesotho, Liberia, Madagascar, Malawi, Mozambique, Nigeria, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Swaziland, Trinidad and Tobago, United Republic of Tanzania, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Abstaining: Afghanistan, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Barbados, Bhutan, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Ecuador, Egypt, Finland, German Democratic Republic, Germany (Federal Republic of), Greece, Guinea-Bissau, Hungary, Iceland, Israel, Ivory Coast, Japan, Laos, Luxembourg, Mali, Mexico, Mongolia, New Zealand, Niger, Norway, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Singapore, Sweden, Thailand, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Upper Volta, Venezuela, Zaire.

154/ For the text of Resolution 3458 A and B and the voting in the plenary see below Annex V.

The Yema'a meeting of 26 February 1976

The General Assembly thus adopted two resolutions which, as pointed out by the Secretary-General, were contradictory in a number of aspects but had one thing in common, the reaffirmation of the right of the people of the Sahara to self-determination. 155/ Following their adoption the Secretary-General appointed in January 1976 Mr. Olof Rydbeck, Permanent Representative of Sweden to the United Nations, as his representative to assess the situation in the Territory with a view to carrying out the mandate entrusted to him by the General Assembly.

After visiting the Territory and discussing the situation with the Spanish authorities in Madrid at the beginning of February, Mr. Rydbeck on his return to New York expressed his conviction that the military situation prevailing in the Sahara made any genuine consultation of the Saharan population, difficult, if not impossible. 156/

On 24 and 25 February 1976 the Governments of Morocco and Mauritania respectively addressed separate invitations to the Secretary-General to send a representative to attend in an observer capacity an extraordinary meeting of the Yema'a fixed for 26 February. The Secretary-General after enquiring with the Spanish authorities was informed that they were not aware that such a meeting of the Yema'a was to be held on that date. A day later Spain informed the Secretary-General that, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Madrid Agreement, it would definitely complete its withdrawal from the Territory on 26 February. The communication added that the meeting of the Yema'a on 26 February "does not constitute the popular consultation provided for in the Madrid Agreement and in General Assembly resolution 3458 (B)", unless the necessary conditions were met, including in particular the presence of a representative of the Secretary-General as required by the resolution. 157/ In a

155/ See United Nations Press Release SG/SM/2306 of 26 February 1976.

156/ Press conference of Mr. Rydbeck, quoted in Le Monde 20/21 February 1976 and in A.F.P. dispatch, 18 February 1976.

157/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-first Session Supplement No. 23 Vol. II, Chapter XI, Annex I, para. 45 (A/31/23/Rev.1).

subsequent communication the Spanish Government informed the Secretary-General that "the persistence of circumstances beyond its control had made it impossible thus far to organize the popular consultations provided for" in the tripartite agreement and in resolution 3458 B (XXX). Consequently, the letter added, while Spain considered itself henceforth exempt from any international responsibility in connexion with the administration of the Territory, "the decolonization of Western Sahara will reach its climax when the views of the Saharan population have been validly expressed". 158/

For his part the Secretary-General in reply to the Governments of Spain, Mauritania and Morocco, recalled that under resolution 3458 (XXX)A he had been requested to make the necessary arrangements for the super-
vision of the act of self-determination which Spain had been asked to organize, whereas under resolution B he had been asked to appoint a representative to assist in the organization of the free consultations through which the Saharans' right to self-determination was to be exercised. However in the invitations he had received from Mauritania and Morocco he had been asked not to assist in the referendum or consultation but merely to send an observer just to take note of the decisions of the Yema'a. In the light of the above the Secretary-General concluded that, even if time had permitted, he should not send a representative "because it would not have been in line with the existing resolutions", and the presence at the meeting of a United Nations representative "would not by itself constitute fulfillment of the General Assembly resolutions referred to above". The Secretary-General added that it was evident that "neither the Government of Spain, as the administering Power, nor the interim Administration, of which Spain is a member, has taken the necessary steps to ensure the exercise of the right to self-determination by the populations of Western Sahara". 159/

On 27 February, the Permanent Mission of Morocco to the United Nations transmitted to the Secretary-General a message addressed to him by the President of the Yema'a in which he said that the Yema'a at its meeting of 26 February "had unanimously approved the reintegration of the Territory of Sahara with Morocco and Mauritania".

158/ Ibid., para. 50. See also A/31/56 and S/11997.

159/ Press release SG/SM/2306, 26 February 1976.

VIII. United Nations action on the Sahara since 1976

As of October 1980 Western Sahara remained on the list of Non-Self-Governing Territories. At its thirty-first and thirty-second sessions, the General Assembly adopted by consensus two resolutions 160/ in which, after reaffirming its commitment to the principle of self-determination of peoples in accordance with the Declaration on decolonization, it postponed substantive consideration of the question pending action by the Heads of State of the Organization of African Unity (OAU).

During the thirty-third session of the General Assembly, and, a few days before the Fourth Committee was due to take up again consideration of the question, the Secretary-General received a letter from the President of the Sudan, in his capacity of current Chairman of the OAU, informing him of the composition of the Ad Hoc committee on the Western Sahara established by the OAU and expressing the hope that all Member States of the United Nations would "refrain from taking any action likely to hamper" the work of the Ad Hoc committee or to delay arrival at a fair and peaceful solution to the problem. 161/ This request was strongly protested by the Frente POLISARIO and disputed by President Boumediene of Algeria, who in a letter addressed to his Sudanese colleague stated that consideration of the question by the United Nations was strictly in conformity with relevant OAU resolutions on the Western Sahara and deplored the fact that the OAU Secretariat had expressed the hope that the United Nations would avoid considering the question of the Sahara. 162/

The Assembly did, in fact, consider the question and adopted once again two resolutions: one sponsored by Algeria and 31 other countries, 163/

160/ Resolution 31/45 and 32/22.

161/ A/33/364. The letter was dated 7 November 1978.

162/ A/33/397.

163/ A/C.4/33/L.7/Rev.1. The other sponsors were: Afghanistan, Angola, Barbados, Benin, Botswana, Burundi, Cape Verde, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Democratic Yemen, Equatorial Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Jamaica, Kenya, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lesotho, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Mozambique, Panama, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Seychelles, Syrian Arab Republic, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, United Republic of Tanzania and Viet Nam.

the other sponsored by Mauritania, Morocco and 10 other Member States. 164/ The 32-Power draft, which was adopted by 90 votes in favour, 10 against with 39 abstentions 165/ and became resolution 33/31A, inter alia recalled resolution 1514 (XV), as well

164/ Egypt, Gabon, Gambia, Guatemala, Jordan, Mauritius, Oman, Qatar, Senegal, and Zaire. A/C.4/33/L.8/Rev.1.

165/ The voting was as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Ecuador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, Iceland, India, Jamaica, Kenya, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mexico, Mongolia, Mozambique, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Rwanda, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Republic of Tanzania, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Against: Central African Empire, Egypt, Gabon, Grenada, Indonesia, Israel, Mauritania, Morocco, Nicaragua, Zaire.

Abstaining: Bahrain, Belgium, Burma, Canada, Chad, Chile, Denmark, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, France, Gambia, Germany (Federal Republic of), Honduras, Iran, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Luxembourg, Mauritius, Nepal, Netherlands, Oman, Paraguay, Portugal, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay.

as the conclusions of the 1975 Visiting Mission and the Advisory Opinion of the International Court of Justice, took note of the decisions of the OAU on the question, welcomed the unilateral cease-fire decision taken by the Frente POLISARIO in July 1978 following the overthrow of the régime of President Ould Daddah, reaffirmed the inalienable right of the people of Western Sahara to self-determination and independence and the responsibility of the United Nations with regard to the decolonization of the Territory, requested the Special Committee on decolonization to continue to keep developments in the Sahara under review and asked the Administrative Secretary-General of the OAU to keep the United Nations Secretary-General informed of the progress achieved with regard to the implementation of the decisions of the OAU concerning Western Sahara. The 12-Power draft which was adopted by 66 votes in favour, 30 against with 40 abstentions 166/ and became

166/ The voting was as follows:

In favour: Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Bolivia, Brazil, Central African Empire, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Grenada, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Indonesia, Iran, Israel, Jordan, Liberia, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Morocco, Nepal, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Paraguay, Philippines, Qatar, Samoa, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Thailand, Turkey, Uganda, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Yemen, Zaire.

Against: Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Barbados, Benin, Botswana, Burundi, Cape Verde, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Democratic Yemen, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Jamaica, Kenya, Lesotho, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Mozambique, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Seychelles, Syrian Arab Republic, Trinidad and Tobago, United Republic of Tanzania, Yugoslavia.

Abstaining: Belgium, Bhutan, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Chad, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Djibouti, Fiji, France, German Democratic Republic, Germany (Federal Republic of), Greece, Hungary, India, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Luxembourg, Malawi, Mexico, Mongolia, Netherlands, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Tunisia, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, Venezuela, Zambia.

resolution 33/31 B, inter alia recalled resolutions 1514 (XV) and 1541 (XV), as well as the relevant decisions of the OAU on the question, took note of the appeal by the current Chairman of the OAU, invited the Organization of African Unity to take prompt action to find a just and equitable solution to the question of Western Sahara, appealed to all States in the region to refrain from any action that might impede the efforts of the OAU to arrive at a just and peaceful solution of the problem and requested the OAU Administrative Secretary-General to inform the United Nations Secretary-General of the results achieved by the Ad Hoc committee.

The Thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly opened two months after the signature of the peace agreement between the Government of Mauritania and the Frente POLISARIO, 167/ and the subsequent annexation by Morocco of the southern third of the Sahara which Mauritania had thereby renounced. At the same time the OAU Heads of State and Government, meeting at Monrovia, had called for the exercise of the right of self-determination by the people of Western Sahara in a free referendum, 168/ and a month later the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries held at Havana had expressed deep concern at the serious situation in the Sahara because the decolonization process had not been carried to its conclusion. 169/

Speaking as a petitioner before the Fourth Committee the representative of the Frente POLISARIO 170/ stated that a war of aggression and of colonial occupation was being waged by Morocco against the Saharan people and warned that the "collusion" between Morocco and certain countries - he singled out Egypt and the United States - opened the way to an internationalization of the conflict. He praised Mauritania for its decision to put an end to its "unjust war" in Western Sahara and pointed out that the agreement between that country and POLISARIO had definitively broken down the political alliance borne of the "so-called" Madrid Agreement, inasmuch as Mauritania had admitted the illegality of the effort to deprive the Saharan people of their right to self-determination and had recognized the Frente POLISARIO as the sole legitimate representative of the Saharan people. The representative of POLISARIO concluded by stating his movement's

167/ See A/34/427 and S/13503. The agreement is reproduced in Annex VIII.

168/ See A/34/552.

169/ See Political Declaration, paragraphs 96-98 contained in document A/34/542.

170/ A/C.4/SR. 14 and 15.

readiness to confer with the Moroccan government and to negotiate with it, as it had done with Mauritania, the restoration of peace, justice and fraternal co-operation.

The representative of Algeria declared 171/ that the problem of decolonization in the Sahara had reached proportions which threatened the peace and stability of the entire region. Morocco had responded to the Frente POLISARIO's willingness to end the war by increasing its armaments, expanding its territorial annexation, calling upon Powers outside the African continent, and more serious still, on a super-Power which would henceforth guarantee Morocco its military support. In the meantime diplomatic support for POLISARIO was increasing in all international fora, as witnessed by the increasing number of countries which had recognized the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic. Those successes were a reflection of POLISARIO's military success in the field. The Algerian representative praised the resolution on the Sahara adopted by the OAU at its Summit Conference at Monrovia as well as Mauritania's decision to put an end to its conflict with POLISARIO. By annexing the part of the Sahara that Mauritania was preparing to evacuate, Morocco was attempting to institutionalize its Anschluss policy without regard for the decisions of the OAU, for Mauritania's sovereign right to negotiate, or for the fundamental rights of the Saharan people.

The representative of Morocco 172/ criticized the inclusion of the question of the Sahara on the agenda of the Fourth Committee since the Territory had been decolonized once and for all in accordance with international law, the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and the wishes of the population concerned. The agreement that Mauritania "had been forced to sign" in Algiers had no international legal value because one of the two co-signatories had no international legal personality, and because it was in direct contradiction to the OAU decision in Monrovia which called for a referendum on self-determination in the Territory. Those manoeuvres revealed the true hegemonistic intentions of Algeria, which had formed "mercenary bands" in the guise of a national liberation movement of Western Sahara. A full-scale war was being imposed on Morocco by a neighbouring country, but Morocco, secure in its natural right to self-defense, was determined to make every sacrifice necessary to defend its territorial integrity and national unity. However, Morocco was willing to put an end to the conflict and had called for negotiations

171/ A/C.4/34/SR.19.

172/ A/C.4/34/SR.23.

between Morocco and Algeria to resolve the controversy which risked plunging the whole region into conflict and chaos.

The overwhelming majority of the other speakers in the Fourth Committee expressed themselves in support of the exercise by the people of Western Sahara of their right to self-determination and independence, called for the implementation of the 1979 OAU decisions concerning the Territory, welcomed the agreement between Mauritania and the Frente POLISARIO under which Mauritania had renounced its territorial claims to the Western Sahara, and urged Morocco to withdraw its forces from the Territory. Criticism, often strong, was expressed of the decision by Morocco to annex the southern part of Western Sahara relinquished by Mauritania. The role of POLISARIO as the sole legitimate representative of the Saharan people was stressed by a large number of speakers. Several delegations warned about the risks of a conflagration in the north-west corner of Africa if the conflict was allowed to escalate. In that connexion concern was expressed by some that the supply of weapons to Morocco by one super-Power might encourage Morocco's intransigence and make the search for a political solution more difficult to achieve. 173/

One delegation, on the other hand, declared its agreement with the position of Morocco that the process of decolonization in Western Sahara had been completed in 1975 with the recovery by Morocco of its lost sovereignty over the Sahara. 174/

The resolution adopted by the Fourth Committee and later by the General Assembly 175/ was introduced by Guyana 176/ and even-

173/ See interventions by India (A/C.4/34/SR.15), Angola, Botswana, Democratic Yemen, Guyana, Haiti, Jamaica, Madagascar, Mexico, Mozambique, Yugoslavia (A/C.4/34/SR.16), Sao Tome and Principe and Nicaragua (A/C.4/34/SR.17), Barbados, Cape Verde, Congo, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Viet Nam (A/C.4/34/SR.18), Afghanistan, Algeria, Guinea-Bissau and Sierra Leone (A/C.4/34/SR.19), Burundi, Costa Rica, Ethiopia, Iran (A/C.4/34/SR.20), Rwanda, Togo, Uganda (A/C.4/34/SR.21), Ghana, Grenada, Lesotho, Trinidad and Tobago and Zambia (A/C.4/34/SR.22), Benin and Algeria (A/C.4/34/SR.23).

174/ Gabon, A/C.4/34/SR.22.

175/ Resolution 34/37. The resolution is reproduced below in Annex VI.

176/ A/C.4/34/SR.21.

tually co-sponsored by 40 other Member States. 177/ By that resolution, the Assembly inter alia reaffirmed the inalienable right of the people of Western Sahara to self-determination and independence and the legitimacy of their struggle to achieve that right; took note with satisfaction of the decision concerning Western Sahara taken by the OAU Assembly of Heads of State and Government at Monrovia and that part of the Political Declaration adopted by the Havana Conference of Non-Aligned Countries; welcomed the peace agreement between Mauritania and the Frente POLISARIO; deeply deplored the aggravation of the situation resulting from the continued occupation of Western Sahara by Morocco and the extension of that occupation to the territory evacuated by Mauritania; urged Morocco to join in the peace process and to terminate the occupation of the Western Sahara 178/; recommended to that end that the Frente POLISARIO, "the representative of the people of Western Sahara" 179/, should participate fully in any search for a just, lasting and definitive political solution of the question; requested the Special Committee on decolonization to continue to consider the situation in Western Sahara as a priority question, and requested the OAU Administrative Secretary-General to keep the United Nations Secretary-General informed of the progress achieved with regard to the implementation of the decisions of the OAU concerning Western Sahara.

177/ Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Barbados, Benin, Botswana, Burundi, Cape Verde, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Democratic Yemen, Ethiopia, Ghana, Grenada, Guinea-Bissau, Haiti, Iran, Jamaica, Kenya, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lesotho, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Mexico, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Panama, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Sao Tome and Principe, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Uganda, United Republic of Tanzania, Viet Nam, Yugoslavia and Zambia.

178/ The first draft (A/C.4/34/L.2) "demanded" the withdrawal of the occupation forces and respect for the territorial integrity of Western Sahara and the sovereignty of its people in order to ensure the complete and speedy implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

179/ The original draft referred to POLISARIO as "the sole and legitimate representative of the people of Western Sahara".

The resolution received 85 votes in favour, 6 against and 41 abstentions. 180/

180/ The voting was as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Iran, Jamaica, Kenya, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lesotho, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Poland, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Seychelles, Singapore, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syria, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Against: Central African Republic, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Guatemala, Morocco, Saudi Arabia.

Abstaining: Bahrain, Bangladesh,* Belgium, Burma, Canada, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Denmark, Egypt, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Iceland, Indonesia, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Jordan, Lebanon, Luxembourg, Malaysia, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Paraguay, Philippines, Portugal, Qatar, Spain, Thailand, Tunisia, Turkey, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom, United Republic of Cameroon, United States, Uruguay, Yemen, Zaire.**

Absent: Bolivia, China, Comoros, Democratic Kampuchea, Djibouti, Dominica, Dominican Republic, Gambia,* Guinea, Iraq, Kuwait, Maldives, Mauritius, Oman, Romania, Senegal,** Sierra Leone,* Solomon Islands, Somalia.

* Later advised the Secretariat it had intended to vote in favour.

** Later advised the Secretariat it had intended to vote against.

ANNEX I

Resolution 2229 (XXI). Question of Ifni and Spanish Sahara

The General Assembly,

Having examined the chapter of the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples relating to the Territories of Ifni and Spanish Sahara, a/

Having taken note of the oral and written statements of the petitioners from Spanish Sahara,

Recalling its resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960 containing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples,

Recalling further the resolution adopted on 16 October 1964 by the Special Committee, b/

Reaffirming its resolution 2072 (XX) of 16 December 1965,

Noting that the Spanish Government, as the administering Power, has not as yet applied the provisions of the Declaration,

Having regard to the decision taken by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its third ordinary session, held at Addis Ababa from 5 to 9 November 1966, concerning the Territories under Spanish administration,

Noting the decision of the administering Power to apply in full the provisions of General Assembly resolution 2072 (XX), c/

Noting further the statement of the administering Power on 7 December 1966 relating to Spanish Sahara, in particular with regard to the sending of a special United Nations mission to the Territory, the return of exiles and the free exercise by the indigenous population of its right to self-determination, d/

a/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-first Session, Annexes, addendum to agenda item 23 (A/6300/Rev.1), chapter X.

b/ Ibid., Nineteenth Session, Annexes, annex No. 8 (part I) (A/5800/Rev.1) chapter IX, para. 112.

c/ Ibid., Twenty-first Session, Annexes, addendum to agenda item 23 (A/6300)/Rev.1), chapter X, annex.

d/ Ibid., Twenty-first Session, Fourth Committee, 1660th meeting paras. 1-4.

1. Reaffirms the inalienable right of the peoples of Ifni and Spanish Sahara to self-determination in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV);
2. Approves the chapter of the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples relating to the Territories of Ifni and Spanish Sahara, and endorses the resolution adopted by the Special Committee on 16 November 1966, e/
3. Requests the administering Power to take immediately the necessary steps to accelerate the decolonization of Ifni and to determine with the Government of Morocco, bearing in mind the aspirations of the indigenous population, procedures for the transfer of powers in accordance with the provisions of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV);
4. Invites the administering Power to determine at the earliest possible date, in conformity with the aspirations of the indigenous people of Spanish Sahara and in consultation with the Governments of Mauritania and Morocco and any other interested party, the procedures for the holding of a referendum under United Nations auspices with a view to enabling the indigenous population of the Territory to exercise freely its right to self-determination and, to this end:
 - (a) To create a favourable climate for the referendum to be conducted on an entirely free, democratic and impartial basis, by permitting, inter alia, the return of exiles to the Territory;
 - (b) To take all the necessary steps to ensure that only the indigenous people of the Territory participate in the referendum;
 - (c) To refrain from any action likely to delay the process of the decolonization of Spanish Sahara;
 - (d) To provide all the necessary facilities to a United Nations mission so that it may be able to participate actively in the organization and holding of the referendum;

e/ Ibid., Twenty-first Session, Annexes, addendum to agenda item 23 (A/6300/Rev.1), chapter X, para. 243.