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> 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

> > (covering its work during 1967)

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CHAPTER IX

IFNI AND SPANISH SAHARA

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ANNEX: QUESTION OF IFNI AND SPANISH SAHARA

67-26951

<sup>\*</sup> This document contains chapter IX of the Special Committee's report to the General Assembly. The general introductory chapter will be issued subsequently under the symbol A/6700 (Part I). Other chapters of the report are being reproduced as addenda.

# I. ACTION PREVIOUSLY TAKEN BY THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE AND THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

1. If ni and Spanish Sahara were first considered by the Special Committee in  $1963 \cdot \frac{1}{}$  The item was taken up again in 1964 and the Special Committee adopted a resolution which is contained in the Special Committee's report to the General Assembly at its nineteenth session.<sup>2</sup>/

2. At its meeting in 1965, the Special Committee did not specifically consider these Territories, but included relevant information on them in its report to the General Assembly at its twentieth session. $\frac{3}{2}$ 

3. At its twentieth session, the General Assembly adopted resolution 2072 (XX) of 16 December 1965 which urgently requested the Government of Spain to take immediately all necessary measures for the liberation of the Territories of Ifni and Spanish Sahara from colonial domination and, to this end, to enter into negotiations on the problems relating to sovereignty presented by these two Territories.

4. At its meeting in 1966, the Special Committee again considered these Territories and adopted a resolution which is contained in the Special Committee's report to the General Assembly at its twenty-first session (A/6300/Add.7, chapter X, para. 243). The operative paragraphs of this resolution read as follows:

"1. Invites the administering Power to expedite the process of decolonization of the Territory of Ifni and, in collaboration with the Government of Morocco, to make arrangements for the transfer of powers in accordance with the provisions of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV);

"2. Requests the administering Power to establish without delay appropriate conditions which will ensure that the indigenous population of Spanish Sahara is able to exercise its rights to self-determination and independence;

<sup>1/</sup> Official Records of the General Assembly, Eighteenth Session, Annexes, addendum to agenda item 25 (A/5446/Rev.1), chapter XIII.

<sup>2/</sup> Ibid., Nineteenth Session, Annexes, annex No. 8 (A/5800/Rev.1), chapter IX.

<sup>3/</sup> Ibid., Twentieth Session, Annexes, addendum to agenda item 23 (A/60CO/Rev.1), chapter X.

"3. Invites the administering Power to make arrangements in consultation with the population of Sahara, the Governments of Mauritania, Morocco and any other parties concerned, for a referendum which will be held under United Nations auspices to enable the indigenous population of the Territory freely to exercise its right to self-determination, and to report thereon to the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples before the referendum is held;

"4. Requests the Secretary-General to follow the progress of the implementation of this resolution and to report thereon to the Special Committee."

5. At its twenty-first session, the General Assembly adopted resolution 2229 (XXI) of 20 December 1966. In the eighth preambular paragraph of the resolution, the Assembly noted the decision of the administering Power to apply in full the provisions of resolution 2072 (XX). The General Assembly further noted, in preambular paragraph 9 of the resolution, the statement of the administering Power on 7 December 1966 (A/C.4/SR.1660), 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.

6. The operative paragraphs of this resolution read as follows:

"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;

"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

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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;

"5. Requests the Secretary-General, in consultation with the administering Power and the Special Committee, to appoint immediately a special mission to be sent to Spanish Sahara for the purpose of recommending practical steps for the full implementation of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly, and in particular for determining the extent of United Nations participation in the preparation and supervision of the referendum and submitting a report to him as soon as possible for transmission to the Special Committee;

"6. Requests the Special Committee to continue its consideration of the situation in the Territories of Ifni and Spanish Sahara and to report thereon to the General Assembly at its twenty-second session."

7. At its 508th meeting, on 6 April 1967, the Special Committee requested the Secretary-General to expedite the consultations envisaged in the above resolution concerning the appointment of a special mission to Spanish Sahara. A report of the Secretary-General to the Special Committee containing correspondence between him and the Government of Spain relating to the implementation of General Assembly resolution 2229 (XXI) is reproduced as an annex of the present chapter.

# II. INFORMATION ON THE TERRITORIES-4/

# A. Ifni

8. Reports on the referendum held on 14 December 1966 on the Spanish Constitution indicated the following returns in Ifni: registered voters: 9,907; votes cast: 9,598; in favour: 8,229; against: 265; invalid: 106.
9. A total of 39.2 million pesetas<sup>5</sup>/ was spent during the period under review on housing and public works. Of this total, 12 million pesetas was spent on hospitals, schools and other public buildings; 23 million pesetas on the completion of port installations in Sidi Ifni; and 4.2 million pesetas on housing.

# B. Spanish Sahara

#### Constitutional developments

10. Results of the voting in the referendum on the Spanish Constitution held on 1<sup>4</sup> December 1966 were reported to be as follows: registered voters: 19,724; votes cast: 18,423; in favour: 17,027; against: 960; invalid: 436.
11. On 11 May 1967 a decree was promulgated setting up a General Assembly or <u>Yemā'a composed of tribal chiefs and forty representatives elected freely in the tribal units of the Territory. It would also include the president of the <u>Cabildo</u> and the mayors of El Aaiun and Villa Cisneros. The <u>Yemā'a</u> would have advisory functions on matters affecting the Territory, particularly those concerning economic and social development. It would meet every two months but the Governor General and also the president of the <u>Yemā'a</u> supported by one third of the membership would have the power to summon extraordinary sessions on urgent matters.</u>

<sup>4/</sup> This section was previously reproduced in document A/AC.109/L.420. This information has been derived from published sources and from the information transmitted to the Secretary-General by the administering Power under Article 73 e of the Charter on 29 June 1967.

<sup>5/</sup> The local currency is the Spanish peseta which is equal to \$USO.0168; 60 pesetas = \$US1.00.

# Population

12. The population for Spanish Sahara at the end of 1966 was reported by the administering Power to be 33,512. Of this total there was a reported urban population of 7,195; 4,188 for El Aaiun; 2,330 for Villa Cisneros; 381 for Semara and 296 for Guera. These figures apply to the indigenous population.

# Economic and social developments

13. Expenditure for the 1966 budget totalled 621,870,521.98 pesetas, broken down as follows:

															Pesetas
Administration	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	68,044,539.60
Agriculture .	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	13,292,114.33
Education	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	28,085,410.03
Communications	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	15,772,131.17
Health	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	24,968,756.30
Public works .	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	٠	•	•	•	•	•	•	213,918,151.66
Mining	٠	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	17,092,478.34
Police	•	•	٠	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	42,458,040.40
Other	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	٠	•	•	•	•	•	•	198,238,900.15
TOTAL						621,870,521.98									

14. It was estimated that social and economic expenditure in the Territory amounted to 380,950,000 pesetas. This included roads, power and water supplies, telecommunications, irrigation works and the completion of port facilities in Villa Cisneros and El Aaiun, as well as expenditure on education and public health. 15. On 18 May 1967, Spain was reported to have taken the first formal step to begin the development of Spanish Sahara's phosphate deposits through an international consortium. The Spanish Government was reported to have granted a contract to the International Minerals Chemical Corporation of Illinois (IMCC) a fertilizer company, to become associated with the Spanish <u>Instituto Nacional</u> <u>de Industria</u> (INI) and European capital in the venture estimated to cost initially \$US175 million. The IMCC is reported to hold a 25 per cent interest in the Sahara enterprise, 20 per cent going to European firms and 55 per cent being held by the Spanish State through the Instituto Nacional de Industria (INI). The

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consortium would have to develop a mining complex in the Sahara and build both a conveyor system and a loading port to process and move phosphate ore from the deposits, calculated at 1.4 thousand million tons.

III. CONSIDERATION BY THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

## Introduction

16. The Special Committee considered Ifni and Spanish Sahara at its 552nd, 553rd, 559th and 560th meetings held at Headquarters from 6 to 14 September 1967. 17. In letters dated 22 August (A/AC.109/259), 25 August (A/AC.109/264) and two letters dated 28 August (A/AC.109/262 and A/AC.109/265), the Deputy Permanent Representative of Spain, the Permanent Representative of Mauritania, the Chargé d'Affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Morocco and the Permanent Representative of Algeria respectively requested that their delegations be authorized to participate in the discussions of the Special Committee on the question of Ifni and Spanish Sahara. The Special Committee decided without objection to accede to these requests.

# A. Written petitions

18. The Special Committee had before it the following petitions concerning Ifni and Spanish Sahara:

Petitioner	Document number					
Comité de Libération du Maghreb arabe	A/AC.109/PET.582					
"The Representatives and Notables of Spanish Sahara"	A/AC.109/PET.583					
Mr. Ezrolili Breika, Front de Libération du Sahara sous Domination espagnole	A/AC.109/PET.692 and Corr.1					

# B. General statements

19. The representative of <u>Spain</u> said that he believed the difficulties arising in connexion with the decolonization of Ifni could be solved through negotiations, which had already begun, between the Governments of Spain and Morocco, as his delegation had already stated in a letter dated 18 April 1967 addressed to the Secretary-General (see annex, para. 7).

20. As stated in a second letter, also dated 18 April 1967 (see annex, para. 4). respect for the wishes of the inhabitants formed the basis of his Government's policy concerning Spanish Sahara, and he reaffirmed that the principle of selfdetermination would be applied to the Territory. The Spanish Government had taken a very important step towards the political evolution of the Territory by establishing, pursuant to a decree of 11 May 1967, a General Assembly of Spanish Sahara, which included forty indigenous deputies elected directly by the indigenous inhabitants on the basis of universal adult suffrage, in addition to the representatives elected in accordance with the traditional procedures of the Territory. His delegation attached great importance to the offer made by his Government regarding the visit of a special mission to the Territory. The terms of that offer were reproduced in his delegation's second letter referred to above and it would be seen that the difference between that offer and what had been requested by the General Assembly was purely procedural. If a climate of peace, stability and tranquillity prevailed, it would be possible to devise a satisfactory formula to overcome any differences which existed.

21. The representative of Morocco said that, although, for procedural reasons and in a spirit of conciliation, his delegation had agreed to the simultaneous discussion of the questions of Ifni and Spanish Sahara, these Territories presented problems of a very different nature. The fact that Spain was making a series of statements on the various Territories under its administration should not be taken as an indication that all the Territories had the same character. The statement which had just been made by the representative of Spain deserved serious scrutiny and his delegation would comment on it at a later stage.

22. The representative of <u>Venezuela</u> reaffirmed his delegation's view that the process of implementing General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) must be accelerated.

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For that reason his delegation had voted in favour of General Assembly resolutions concerning those Territories. In operative paragraph 4 of resolution 2229 (XXI), the General Assembly had made specific recommendations to the administering Power concerning the holding of a referendum in Spanish Sahara under United Nations auspices, but those recommendations had not so far been carried out. There were no doubt many difficulties arising from the special characteristics of the Territory. The statements made to the Fourth Committee during the twenty-first session of the General Assembly by petitioners from Spanish Sahara had been contradictory and, in addition, certain vested interests were at stake and other parties were involved without whose co-operation it would be difficult to set up an effective procedure for a referendum. It was regrettable, in the circumstances, that it had so far not been possible to implement operative paragraph 5 of resolution 2229 (XXI) concerning the appointment of a special mission. Spain had once again stated its intention of accepting a visiting mission provided that its mandate was merely to study conditions in the Territory and its political, economic and social development. The visit of such a special mission to Spanish Sahara would make an important contribution to the work of the Special Committee and the General Assembly since it would provide first-hand information on the basis of which practical measures could be recommended to ensure the full implementation of the relevant resolutions. Every effort should be made to ensure that such a mission was appointed and sent to the Territory as soon as possible. 23. On the question of Ifni, he hoped that the consultations with the Government of Morocco, recommended in operative paragraph 3 of resolution 2229 (XXI), would be sufficiently constructive to allow the decolonization of Ifni in the near future, and he urged the parties concerned to implement that provision without delay. 24. The representative of Mauritania said that he had listened with close attention to the statements of the various delegations. His delegation had taken note of the decision of the countries concerned that they would seek a solution to the problem of Ifni on a bilateral basis; it found in that decision a confirmation of the fact that Ifni and Spanish Sahara represented two essentially different situations.

25. The position of Mauritania with regard to Spanish Sahara was well known. By reason of its geographical position, that Territory was an integral part of Mauritania. Moreover, from the ethnic and religious point of view, it did not

differ from the independent portion of Mauritania. In fact, so-called Spanish Sahara was inhabited exclusively by Moorish tribes which were mostly nomadic and were in no way different from the other tribes living in the north-western part of Mauritania. Their language derived from a dialect spoken only in Mauritania. Furthermore, those tribes were of the same race as the inhabitants of Mauritania and had the same religion, customs and culture. The frontier separating them was entirely artificial. The Mauritanian character of Spanish Sahara and the fact that it belonged to Mauritania were clear from the <u>White Book</u> issued in 1960 by the Moroccan Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

26. For the Mauritanian Government and people it was beyond doubt that so-called Spanish Sahara was an integral part of Mauritania's national territory. That position, adopted by Mauritania long before its accession to independence, was not, therefore, based on any political calculations; it represented the will of a nation anxious to preserve its sovereignty and territorial integrity.

27. It should not, however, be concluded from that position that Mauritania opposed equitable application of the principle of self-determination to the peoples living in Spanish Sahara, because the Mauritanian people was convinced that its cause was just and had confidence in its brothers who still lived under colonial domination. In accepting the principle of self-determination, Mauritania was demonstrating its deep attachment to the principles proclaimed in the Charter of the United Nations and its desire to facilitate the Special Committee's difficult task of decolonization.

28. Moreover, the firm and friendly ties existing between Mauritania and Spain enabled Mauritania to envisage the possibility that at the proper time it could work out, by agreement with the administering Power, the formula that would permit the people of so-called Spanish Sahara to exercise their right of selfdetermination.

29. Mauritania wished to live in friendship and maintain amicable relations with all the countries of the world, particularly its neighbours. Furthermore, it believed in the value of dialogue and the need for the peaceful settlement of international disputes. It was in that spirit that it had voted in favour of General Assembly resolution 2229 (XXI). That resolution, however, represented for Mauritania only a compromise between the different conflicting positions and did

not make it sufficiently clear that on the question of whom the Territory belonged to, Mauritania was the only country directly concerned. It was essential to take the necessary steps, in conformity with the freely expressed will of the inhabitants of so-called Spanish Sahara and by a procedure acceptable to all parties concerned, to liberate the Territory from colonial domination, so that it could become an element of stability in the region. Such a solution would ensure peace and harmony among the nations bordering on that part of north-western Mauritania.

30. The representative of Morocco recalled that he had already stated at a previous meeting the reasons why his delegation had accepted the compromise adopted by the Special Committee for the consideration of the question of Ifni and Spanish Sahara, a matter which closely involved Morocco's vital interests. Since an attempt might be made, however, to create a distinction in status between those two Territories, his delegation deemed it necessary to recall that the colonial Power held control over the various regions of Morocco by virtue of a "protectorate treaty" which invested that Power with administrative authority over the northern zone and, in the south, over the provinces of Tarfaya, Ifni and Río de Oro, although Morocco's sovereignty extended to all those Territories. After an initial series of negotiations, Spain had recognized the independence of the northern zone and effected a transfer of power. In 1958, new negotiations had been undertaken with a view to the return of so-called Spanish Sahara and Ifni to Morocco; unfortunately, although those negotiations had progressed far, they had not produced a final solution. Nevertheless, the fact that some parts of Moroccan territory remained under Spanish administration did not mean that Spain had restored to Morocco all of the territory over which Morocco had rights. Not all parts of that territory were under the same administration: some of them were administered by the Khalifate, others by the Spanish administration of Tetuan, by Spanish officials or by the military authorities. The difference in administration did not, however, alter in any way the terms of the treaties or the legal status of those Moroccan territories. That principle was recognized by the United Nations, which, whenever it had dealt with a Non-Self-Governing Territory, had expressly called upon the administering Power to do nothing that might violate the territorial integrity or alter the legal status of the Territory in question.

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31. His delegation had been deeply gratified to hear the Spanish representative's statement that the problems involved in the decolonization of Ifni could be resolved through a frank and open dialogue between Morocco and Spain. Morocco, reaffirming its confidence in the administering Power, hoped that the two countries would be able to reach an amicable settlement of the problems still pending between them. In fact, the dialogue with Spain had already been undertaken; the two Heads of State had exchanged messages during the ; ear and, in his last letter, General Franco had reaffirmed his desire to settle the problem of Ifni in a spirit of friendship and co-operation with Morocco.

32. With regard to Spanish Sahara, Morocco had already given a detailed explanation of its position to the Special Committee, the Fourth Committee, the General Assembly and the Organization of African Unity (OAU). Since gaining independence, Morocco had been seeking the return of that Territory by every means possible. It had repeatedly expressed its desire that the problem should be settled in the same spirit of understanding which had already enabled Morocco and Spain to settle a number of problems in the past. Since the dialogue had not reached a successful conclusion, however, Morocco had been obliged to seek other solutions. In June 1966, at the Addis Ababa meeting of the OAU, Morocco had stated its reasons for adopting that new attitude. It had not changed its basic position but was simply searching for a new procedure that would enable it to obtain the liberation of the peoples of southern Morocco. It had therefore asked Spain to hold in so-called Spanish Sahara, under the auspices of the United Nations, a consultation of the people which would enable the inhabitants of the Territory to express their will. The unilateral measures taken by Spain Río de Oro and the institutions it had established there no doubt provided grounds for optimism, but Morocco hoped that Spain would co-operate with the United Nations with a view to holding in complete honesty and sincerity and in complete freedom, a referendum which would enable the peoples concerned to make their wishes known. Morocco had always attempted to settle its problems with its neighbours by dialogue. Spain also had declared its willingness to adopt such a policy, and past events gave Morocco every reason to hope that useful co-operation with Spain could be established.

33. The representative of Algeria said that the discussions of Ifni and Spanish Sahara in the United Nations showed that problems could best be solved through mutual understanding. The United Nations had a duty, wherever possible, to facilitate the solution of problems through negotiation between the parties concerned, and the question of Ifni clearly lent itself to such a solution, the parties being the administering Power and Morocco. A similar approach should guide the settlement of the question of so-called Spanish Sahara. Any solution of that problem, as was generally recognized, must take into account the interests and aspirations of the people of the Territory. The statements which the Special Committee had heard from the representatives of Spain, Morocco and Mauritania encouraged the hope that a solution could be reached in conformity with the terms of General Assembly resolution 2229 (XXI). However, he wished to draw the Committee's attention to its responsibility for ensuring the strict implementation of that resolution. Although everyone recognized the delicacy of the task entrusted to the administering Power, to the other parties concerned and to the Special Committee, the Committee had a duty to consider what measures were necessary for the implementation of the resolution.

34. Many ethnic, economic and cultural ties linked Algeria with so-called Spanish Sahara, and his country had a keen interest in the matter, since the successful decolonization of the Territory was essential for the development of friendly relations among the independent countries of the region. The Committee must continue its task objectively and without undue timidity. In that connexion, he paid tribute to the diligence, patience and understanding shown by the Chairman in his consultations with the parties concerned.

35. Algeria remained open to all suggestions which would take into account the responsibilities of the administering Power, the nature of the positions adopted by Morocco and Mauritania, and the Charter principles of the liberation of peoples, peace and good-neighbourliness. There was a measure of common ground among the Powers concerned; it was recognized that the problem of Ifni and that of the Sahara were different in nature, and the parties had also agreed to take note of the statement made by the administering Fower, although in so doing they were not expressing any value judgement regarding the measures taken by Spain in the Sahara, since those could only be assessed in the context of the implementation of

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resolution 2229 (XXI). Responsibility for the fact that the Special Committee had not been able to take the measures envisaged in that resolution must be borne by the various parties concerned. The Committee should now recommend that all interested parties, including the General Assembly, consider the short-term and long-term measures necessary for the implementation of resolution 2229 (XXI). In the light of the statement of the administering Power, it should be possible to ensure the dispatch of a mission to the Sahara, and the question of the implementation of the other provisions of operative paragraphs 4 and 5 could then be considered.

36. The representative of <u>Morocco</u> said he had already indicated his Government's reservations regarding the suggestion that Ifni and so-called Spanish Sahara were different in nature. Morocco's position had always been that those areas formed a single territory. Two other portions of Morocco formerly under Spanish administration had already been returned, and the problem of Ifni was in process of solution. It was his hope that the problem of so-called Spanish Sahara could represent the fourth stage in the process and be solved either in the same manner or differently. However, his delegation had always made it clear that the geographical situation of various areas did not affect their status as integral parts of independent Morocco. The attitude which his delegation had taken in order to facilitate the Special Committee's debates must not be taken to imply acceptance of the thesis that so-called Spanish Sahara had a status different from that of Ifni.

37. The representative of <u>Spain</u> welcomed the constructive tone of the statements of the preceding speakers and those made at the previous meeting. The views of his delegation on the Territories of Ifni and Spanish Sahara had been stated in the past and were to be found in the Special Committee's reports and in the records of the Fourth Committee and the General Assembly. In the case of Ifni, what was important was that a dialogue had been initiated. With regard to Spanish Sahara, his delegation attached importance to the fact that the General Assembly had accepted the principle of self-determination for the Sahara - a principle advocated by the Spanish Government. That meant that, when the time came, the Saharans could choose to form an independent nation or follow whatever course they wished, since it was not only the interests of indigenous peoples, but also their aspirations, that must be paramount.

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## IV. ACTION TAKEN BY THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

#### Consensus adopted by the Special Committee

38. At its 560th meeting on 14 September 1967, the Special Committee decided, on the proposal of the Chairman, to adopt the following consensus concerning Ifni and Spanish Sahara:

"The Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples heard the statement of the representative of Spain in which he indicated that a dialogue had already been initiated at a high level between the Governments of Spain and Morocco with regard to Ifni. This dialogue is in line with paragraph 3 of General Assembly resolution 2229 (XXI) which:

'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)'.

"The Committee hopes that the two parties will continue the dialogue in accordance with the above-mentioned resolution.

"With regard to Spanish Sahara, the Special Committee notes with regret that the provisions of resolution 2229 (XXI) have not so far been implemented by the administering Power. In view of the limited time available to the Committee, it has not been possible for the Committee to have a full debate on this question.

"The Special Committee therefore agrees that the question of Ifni and Spanish Sahara be referred to the Fourth Committee for consideration at the twenty-second session of the General Assembly, in order to envisage the necessary measures for the implementation of the above-mentioned resolution.

"Subject to any decisions by the General Assembly at its twenty-second session, the Special Committee will further consider this item during its meetings in 1968."

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#### ANNEX\*

## Report of the Secretary-General

1. General Assembly resolution 2229 (XXI) of 20 December 1966 on the question of Ifni and Spanish Sahara reads as follows:

## "Question of Ifni and Spanish Sahara

"The General Assembly,

"<u>Having examined</u> 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,

"<u>Having taken note</u> of the oral and written statements of the petitioners from Spanish Sahara,

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

"<u>Recalling further</u> the resolution adopted on 16 October 1964 by the Special Committee,

"Reaffirming its resolution 2072 (XX) of 16 December 1965.

"<u>Noting</u> that the Spanish Government, as the administering Power, has not as yet applied the provisions of the Declaration,

"<u>Having regard</u> 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,

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

"<u>Noting further</u> 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.

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> "1. <u>Reaffirms</u> 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;

> "3. <u>Requests</u> 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. <u>Invites</u> 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, <u>inter alia</u>, 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;

"5. <u>Requests</u> the Secretary-General, in consultation with the administering Power and the Special Committee, to appoint immediately a special mission to be sent to Spanish Sahara for the purpose of recommending practical steps for the full implementation of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly, and in particular, for determining the extent of United Nations participation in the preparation and supervision of the referendum and submitting a report to him as soon as possible for transmission to the Special Committee;

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"6. <u>Requests</u> the Special Committee to continue its consideration of the situation in the Territories of Ifni and Spanish Sahara and to report thereon to the General Assembly at its twenty-second session."

2. In a letter dated 19 January 1967, the Secretary-General transmitted the text of the resolution to the Permanent Representative of Spain to the United Nations. The letter reads as follows:

"I have the honour to transmit herewith, for the attention of your Government, the text of resolution 2229 (XXI) on the question of Ifni and Spanish Sahara adopted by the General Assembly at its 1500th plenary meeting on 20 December 1966.

"I wish to refer, in this connexion, to operative paragraphs 3 and 4 which are addressed to Spain as the administering Power for the Territories in question. I wish also to refer to paragraph 5 by which the General Assembly requested me, in consultation with the administering Power and the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Impelementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, to appoint immediately a special mission to be sent to Spanish Sahara. I should appreciate receiving at an early date the views of your Government concerning the proposed mission."

3. At its 508th meeting on 6 April 1967, the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples decided, in view of its programme of work as established for 1967, to request the Secretary-General to expedite the consultations envisaged in General Assembly resolution 2229 (XXI) concerning the appointment of a special mission to Spanish Sahara. In a letter dated 11 April 1967, the Secretary-General informed the Permanent Representative of Spain that, having regard to this decision, he would appreciate receiving at an early date the information requested in his letter dated 19 January 1967.
4. In a letter dated 18 April 1967, the Permanent Representative of Spain addressed the following reply to the Secretary-General's letter dated 19 January 1967:

"I have the honour to refer to the topic of the Sahara, referred to in your letter of 19 January 1967. I have dealt with the subject of Ifni in a separate note, since the two matters are quite unrelated.

"As my delegation has repeatedly stated, respect for the wishes of the inhabitants of the Territory forms the basis of Spanish policy concerning the Sahara.

> "On 18 November 1966, a deputation of Saharians handed the (then) Under-Secretary for Trusteeship and Non-Self-Governing Territories two communications  $\underline{a}$ / in which the representatives of the indigenous population stated that it was for the latter themselves to decide freely concerning their future. The first of these documents was signed by all the tribal chiefs. The second contained the signatures of the 14,000 Saharians who of a total population of 27,000 inhabitants, were of voting age at that time.

"However, Spain, which in taking this position is acting in accordance with the principles of the United Nations, cannot allow conflicting interests to interfere with the wishes of the people of the Sahara.

"Your Excellency wished to know my Government's views concerning the contents of paragraph 5 of resolution 2229 (XXI), in which the General Assembly requests Your Excellency 'in consultation with the administering Power and the Special Committee, to appoint immediately a special mission to be sent to Spanish Sahara'.

"Allow me, Your Excellency, to quote the exact wording of the Spanish proposal concerning a possible visit to the Sahara Territories. It may be of use to recall it. The representative of Spain stated in the Fourth Committee on 7 December 1966: 'As proof of its sincere intention of applying the principle of self-determination to this Territory (the Sahara), the Spanish delegation is willing to hold conversations with the Secretary-General with a view to considering the appointment of a commission to visit the Spanish Sahara.'

"And so that there should be no doubts concerning the scope and purpose of any such visit, Mr. Piniés made the following points, which we consider essential: 'The Commission would observe the situation in the Territory directly and objectively, and would be able to form an opinion concerning the problem. A group of impartial and disinterested persons, not representing any countries that have shown a direct interest in Spanish Sahara or harbour any territorial ambitions concerning it, would assess actual conditions in the Territory, which would no doubt provide an opportunity for seeing what Spain has accomplished up till now, becoming acquainted with future plans and ascertaining the wishes of the inhabitants of the Sahara regarding their future destiny, which they will make known in due time by means of the process of self-determination.'

"If Your Excellency will compare Spain's very clear proposal with the wording of resolution 2229 (XXI), you will readily see that this is one of the reasons why we were obliged to vote against the resolution. We felt that we were entitled to expect a response more in keeping with the scope of our invitation.

<u>a</u>/ See A/AC.109/PET.583.

"The Spanish Government is not withdrawing its proposal, but it does consider that our offer must be dealt with strictly as it stands, within the bounds clearly defined. I myself stated in the plenary that the United Nations visit should be made... in an atmosphere entirely free from passions and in the absence of any prejudices or preconceived attitudes. Unfortunately the situation created by extraneous elements is quite different from what we asked for. A veritable torrent of high feeling has been unleashed, creating acute tensions, and preconceived attitudes are becoming dangerously complex. In view of that situation, Spain cannot forget that under Article 73 of the Charter it has the duty to guarantee a system of peace and security in that Territory. And it hopes that reason will prevail so that our proposal of December 1966 may be carried out with the prudence and efficiency intended.

"I can assure Your Excellency that, in keeping with its policy, my Government is resolved to allow the indigenous inhabitants - and them alone to freely exercise their right to self-determination. To this end steps are already being taken to apply the necessary practical measures to enable the people of the Sahara to decide their future in complete freedom."

5. In a letter dated 15 May 1967, the Secretary-General, in acknowledging the letter of the Permanent Representative of Spain, stated as follows:

"As you are aware, the above-mentioned resolution envisages that the appointment of the special mission would be made in consultation with the administering Power and the Special Committee. Accordingly I am now inviting the views 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.

"When the views of the Special Committee are available, I shall in the light of those views and within the context of operative paragraph 5 of the above-mentioned resolution be ready to discuss with you all matters relevant to the appointment of the special mission."

6. In a letter of the same date addressed to the Chairman of the Special Committee in transmitting the letter of the Permanent Representative of Spain, the Secretary-General stated as follows:

"As you are aware, operative paragraph 5 of the above-mentioned resolution envisages that the appointment of a special mission should be made in consultation with the administering Power and the Special Committee. Accordingly I would appreciate receiving an indication of the views of the members of the Committee on the matter."

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7. In another letter, also dated 18 April 1967, the Permanent Representative of Spain dealt separately with the references in General Assembly resolution 2229 (XXI) to Ifni. The text of the letter reads as follows:

"I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter of 19 January 1967 enclosing General Assembly resolution 2229 (XXI).

"I am replying separately with regard to the resolution's references to Ifni, which, as my delegation pointed out on more than one occasion during the last session of the General Assembly, presents an entirely different problem from that of Sahara.

"My Government's position with regard to Ifni has often been stated in the Special Committee, the Fourth Committee and the plenary General Assembly. It is a very clear position which is entirely consistent with the principles approved by the United Nations and is based on respect for the self-determination of peoples and the friendly co-operation of States.

"In view of the special characteristics of the Territory of Ifni - which distinguish it fundamentally from Sahara - the Spanish Government, as it has made abundantly clear on previous occasions, is prepared to enter into negotiations with the Government of Morocco 'bearing in mind the aspirations of the indigenous population' - in the actual words of the resolution in question - in order that an agreement may be reached which satisfies all the interests involved and, at the same time, faithfully observes the guiding principles approved by the United Nations for dealing with this question."