



SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 11th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. ARNOUSS (Syrian Arab Republic)

later: Mr. GBEHO (Ghana)

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REQUESTS FOR HEARINGS

The meeting was called to order at 10.50 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 36: QUESTION OF NAMIBIA (continued)

Hearing of petitioners (A/C.4/41/4/Add.7 and 8)

1. The CHAIRMAN reminded the Committee that it had decided to grant the requests for hearings on the question of Namibia contained in documents A/C.4/41/4/Add.7 and 8.
2. At the invitation of the Chairman, Ms. McDowell-Head (Namibia Information Service) took a place at the petitioners' table.
3. Ms. McDOWELL-HEAD (Namibia Information Service) said that the struggle of the courageous people of Namibia under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) was of the utmost urgency. The major obstacles to Namibian independence were the Fascist South African régime, propped up by United States transnational corporations, and the Reagan Administration, in co-operation with certain Western allies. The United States media, including the major television networks and important newspaper chains, played an important role in perpetuating the brutal oppression of the people of southern Africa, for they were inextricably tied to the very companies which were exploiting Namibia's people and resources.
4. The brutal state of emergency existing in Namibia since 1972 and other draconian security measures imposed by the South African régime had gone completely unreported and the news blackout imposed by racist South Africa had elicited only weak protests from the mass media in the United States. The four giant Western transnational information corporations, AP, UPI, Reuters and Agence France Presse, controlled 97 per cent of international wire service news. Democratization of the media through a new world information and communication order was therefore imperative so that journalists could disseminate the truth about colonial oppression in Namibia and the developing world in general.
5. The National Alliance of Third World Journalists, an organization of Black, Hispanic and other minority journalists in the United States, was committed to the courageous fight of the Namibian and South African people under the leadership of SWAPO and the African National Congress (ANC). It had recently received a grant from the United Nations Council for Namibia to launch the Namibia Information Service, which was designed to provide information on the struggle of the Namibian people to the American public. Since most Americans knew little or nothing about Namibia, the United States Government was free to adopt the policies of its choice. For example, the sanctions bill recently passed by the United States Congress contained nothing on Namibia and was also replete with anti-ANC amendments.
6. Although it was still in the process of being set up, the Namibia Information Service had made some small inroads in its struggle with the multinational media. In addition to sending letters to the editors of major newspapers which gave inadequate or distorted coverage of Namibia and holding news conferences and press

(Ms. McDowell-Head)

briefings, it had helped to arrange meetings between SWAPO representatives and the foreign affairs editors and correspondents of major publications in order to pierce the news blackout on Namibia, and intended to set up media monitoring committees to record press coverage of Namibia. It would also be publishing articles on Namibia in black labour, church and student publications, and broadcasting news reports on local radio stations. As the anti-apartheid movement itself became better informed and covered the question of Namibia more forcefully, it would compel the media to provide more coverage. That in turn would exert pressure on the United States Government to change its policies towards Namibia and southern Africa. Through projects such as the Namibia Information Service, the wall of silence around Namibia could be pierced.

7. Ms. McDowell-Head withdrew.

8. Mr. Gbeho (Ghana) took the Chair.

9. At the invitation of the Chairman, Miss Allen (Local 1199, Drug, Hospital and Health Care Employees Union) took a place at the petitioners' table.

10. Miss ALLEN (Local 1199, Drug, Hospital and Health Care Employees Union) said that her organization consisted of some 80,000 health care workers in the New York metropolitan area, most of whom were Black and Hispanic women. As members of the trade union movement in the United States, they viewed with increasing alarm and anger the role of the United States Government in encouraging South Africa as it intensified its illegal occupation of Namibia and its acts of aggression against the front-line States. They were outraged at the racist economy in Namibia which maintained 92 per cent of the population, composed of Black workers, peasants and traders, in abject poverty or barely above subsistence level and kept the Black population enslaved with virtually no protective industrial legislation. They decried a system which prohibited Black workers from belonging to registered trade unions and denied legal status to the Blacks' independent unions.

11. Her organization's members supported the enforcement of General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) terminating South Africa's legal mandate in Namibia and believed that the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice urging States Members of the United Nations not to deal with the illegal administration of Namibia should be enforced by all Governments. They rejected the politics of apartheid, the Reagan Administration's policy of "constructive engagement" and any involvement of United States corporations with the exploitative apartheid régime in South Africa or Namibia. They reached out their hand in brotherhood to the workers of Namibia and called on the United Nations Special Committee on decolonization to recommend measures to bring about the speedy implementation of international law and the independence of Namibia.

12. Miss Allen withdrew.

AGENDA ITEM 19: IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES (Territories not covered under other agenda items) (continued)

Hearing of petitioners (A/C.4/41/3/Add.1 and 3)

13. The CHAIRMAN reminded the Committee that it had decided to grant the requests for hearings on Western Sahara contained in documents A/C.4/41/3/Add.1 and 3.

14. At the invitation of the Chairman, Mr. Felice (International League for the Rights and Liberation of Peoples) took a place at the petitioners' table.

15. Mr. FELICE (International League for the Rights and Liberation of Peoples) said that, since the founding of the United Nations, international bodies had rendered decisions that laid the juridical foundations for the political future of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic (SADR) but that those decisions had not resolved the issue of political sovereignty in the region. Two main positions existed: first, that legal decisions regarding Western Sahara constituted the juridical foundations of an independent nation governed by the Frente Popular para La Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro (Frente POLISARIO), the legitimate representative of the indigenous people of the Territory, and second, that the judicial record supported a claim to Moroccan political control in the Territory.

16. A review of the historical record of juridical decisions with regard to Western Sahara showed clearly, however, that those decisions constituted the foundation of a sovereign State, the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic. The evidence included resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly, the results of the Visiting Mission of the Special Committee on decolonization sent to the Territory in May-June 1975 and the October 1975 advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice. The legal foundations of an independent State had thus been in place since 1975. It followed therefore that the proclamation of the SADR by the Frente POLISARIO in 1976 had been a legitimate and legal act. The independent review of the situation in Western Sahara by the Permanent Court of the Peoples was further affirmation of the validity and legality of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic. Moreover, the SADR had been given formal diplomatic recognition by 63 other sovereign nations and the Organization of African Unity, which had decided to admit it as a full member.

17. Although the talks conducted by the Secretary-General in April and May 1986 with the Frente POLISARIO and Morocco had been an important beginning in bringing the sides together, he called on the United Nations to implement General Assembly resolution 40/50 which endorsed the call for self-determination found in resolution AHG/Res.104 (XIX) of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity.

18. Mr. Felice withdrew.

19. At the invitation of the Chairman, Mr. Addams (National Conference of Black Lawyers) took a place at the petitioners' table.

20. Mr. ADDAMS (National Conference of Black Lawyers) recalled that in 1975 Morocco's claim to Western Sahara had been unanimously rejected by the International Court of Justice. The history of the situation in Western Sahara established clearly the importance of the Saharan struggle, which had been recognized by the Organization of African Unity, and also showed that there was no historical basis for Morocco's claim to the Territory. Despite Morocco's once large sphere of influence, its national borders had never extended beyond the northern boundary of what was now Western Sahara. It was only after the discovery, in the 1960s, that Western Sahara's phosphate deposits were far larger and purer than Morocco's that King Hassan II had repeatedly laid claim to the Territory. In 1975, when Spain had promised a referendum for the Saharan people to vote on their future status, Morocco had invaded Western Sahara with hundreds of thousands of unemployed Moroccan citizens led by a vanguard of troops, in the infamous "Green March", and seized the northern third of the Territory containing the phosphate deposits. The Saharan Arab Democratic Republic (SADR) had been founded by the Frente POLISARIO the following year. In 1980, Morocco had attempted to consolidate its position by building a wall across the northern third of Western Sahara. In 1981, as SADR gained international recognition, King Hassan II had promised to allow a referendum in Western Sahara. That referendum had been continually delayed, however. SADR had now been recognized as a sovereign nation by 65 countries, but Morocco continued to refuse to permit the holding of a joint United Nations-OAU supervised referendum in the Territory.

21. The war of occupation had drained Morocco's economy, and the Moroccan army had become demoralized despite the substantial aid it received from certain Western countries and some Gulf States to buy sophisticated weapons. Morocco also received military training and advice from South Africa and one Western country. Such assistance ensured that the Territory's phosphate deposits remained in pro-Western hands and gave Morocco the lion's share of the world phosphate market. The conflict threatened the security of both Morocco and Western Sahara, however, giving the West the upper hand in the region. Thus, the question of Western Sahara must be solved in order to both uphold the Saharan people's right to self-determination and prevent another wave of catastrophic wars in Africa which could plunge the continent into further economic chaos and make it vulnerable to renewed attempts to undermine its freedom and independence.

22. The Frente POLISARIO had recently hosted several hundred delegates from around the world at its refugee camps located in the Tindouf region of Algeria, bordering on Western Sahara and Morocco, and housing approximately 165,000 people, 95 per cent of whom were women and children. Visits had been organized to agricultural co-operatives, schools and health facilities. An address had been delivered by the Secretary-General of the Frente POLISARIO, and a parade of Saharan national institutions had been held, demonstrating clearly not only the existence of a nation State but also the development of its institutions and its people.

23. Africa's basic priority was the full liberation of the continent from colonial régimes and genocidal wars which prevented its abundant resources from being used for the benefit and development of its peoples. The OAU, at its founding, had made a political decision to accept Africa's colonial boundaries in order to minimize the potential for border conflicts between African nation States. Western

(Mr. Addams)

countries continued to manipulate the African continent however, with the assistance of friendly régimes such as that of King Hassan II, in order to maintain Western control of vital natural resources and stem the rise of alleged radical or pro-Eastern bloc countries. Politically and diplomatically, support for the Frente POLISARIO and SADR came from the Non-Aligned Movement. The conflict thus pitted an African monarchy aided by South Africa and certain Western countries against a populist, mass-based movement with broad diplomatic and international political support.

24. All the international law and diplomatic issues had been raised and addressed and it only remained for the West to stop supporting Hassan II's criminal occupation of Western Sahara and expropriation of its resources. The Frente POLISARIO had no choice but to continue its military and diplomatic struggle to regain the Saharans' national Territory. To end the bloodshed and prevent a further loss of north-west African sovereignty, Morocco must receive no more military assistance from Western nations and allies and the West must refuse to trade with Morocco in Western Saharan resources. Continued collaboration with Morocco also weakened Africa's ability to unite in opposition to South Africa, which should be its first priority. Morocco's collaboration with South Africa, withdrawal from the OAU and refusal to discuss the issue in the United Nations revealed what scant regard King Hassan II had for African unity or international law.

25. Resolution AHG/Res.104 (XIX) of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the CAU, endorsed by the General Assembly since 1983, was the only acceptable peace plan for Western Sahara. The Saharans must be allowed to exercise their right of self-determination in accordance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. King Hassan II must agree to a cease-fire and withdraw his troops and administration in order to allow the holding of a free and fair referendum for the Saharan people, organized and supervised by the OAU and the United Nations.

26. Mr. Addams withdrew.

AGENDA ITEM 19: IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES (Territories not covered under other agenda items) (continued) (A/41/23 (Parts VI and VIII), 168 and Corr.1, 332, 341 and Corr.1, 349, 367, 372 and Corr.1-2, 373, 375, 420, 433, 444, 478, 485, 673; A/AC.109/848-857, 858 and Corr.1, 859-868, 873 and Corr.1, 874 and Corr.1-2, 877 and Add.1)

(a) 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

(b) REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

AGENDA ITEM 104: INFORMATION FROM NON-SELF GOVERNING TERRITORIES TRANSMITTED UNDER ARTICLE 73 e OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS (continued) (A/41/23 (Part IV), 641)

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AGENDA ITEM 106: IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES BY THE SPECIALIZED AGENCIES AND THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS ASSOCIATED WITH THE UNITED NATIONS (continued) (A/41/23 (Part IV), 311 and Corr.1, 407 and Add.1; A/AC.109/L.1600; E/1986/114)

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- (b) REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

AGENDA ITEM 12: REPORT OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL (continued) (A/41/3 (chaps. I, VI and IX))

AGENDA ITEM 107: UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL AND TRAINING PROGRAMME FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued)

AGENDA ITEM 108: OFFERS BY MEMBER STATES OF STUDY AND TRAINING FACILITIES FOR INHABITANTS OF NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued) (A/41/664)

27. Mr. WOLFE (Jamaica), recalling that the Eighth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries held recently at Harare had commemorated the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Non-Aligned Movement, said that, from its inception, the Non-Aligned Movement had been in the vanguard of international support for the struggle of colonial and oppressed peoples. It was widely acknowledged that it was largely as a result of the efforts of the non-aligned countries within the United Nations that the process of decolonization had sharply accelerated, particularly in the period following the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

28. Although there was a perception that the decolonization process was now more or less complete, however, the people of Namibia continued to be denied their inalienable rights to freedom and independence, despite the fact that it was over 20 years since the General Assembly had terminated South Africa's mandate over Namibia and over 8 years since the Security Council, in its resolution 435 (1978), had adopted the United Nations plan for Namibian independence. The arguments advanced from time to time concerning the supposed benefits accruing to Namibian people as a result of the activities of transnational corporations and other



(Mr. Wolfe, Jamaica)

foreign economic interests could not be sustained in the face of the illegality of those activities and the current severe recession and high unemployment prevailing in Namibia. Accordingly, Jamaica supported fully the decision taken by the United Nations Council for Namibia to institute legal proceedings in the courts of Member States against corporations and concerns engaged in the plunder of Namibia's natural resources. His delegation also believed that consideration should be given to further legal action to secure the release of the dividends and profits realized from such illegal actions, which could be turned over to an escrow account to be held for the Namibian people until they attained their independence.

29. The social, economic and political situation in the other Non-Self-Governing Territories should be monitored constantly by the Fourth Committee. The administering Powers concerned should also be reminded constantly of their special obligation to ensure the harmonious development of the Territories under their control and the critical importance of keeping the people of those Territories fully informed of the options open to them for the exercise of their right to self-determination and independence.

30. Many of the small colonial Territories continued to encounter serious obstacles to their self-determination, as was evidenced by the experience of some of the British dependencies in the Caribbean. The United Kingdom representative had assured the Committee that it was his Government's policy neither to impose nor to prevent independence and had underscored the significance of the fact that none of the remaining Territories under British administration had as yet indicated any desire to become independent. The situation was more complex than that, however. The various working papers of the Special Committee indicated that the inhabitants of those Territories often perceived independence as the logical and inevitable outcome of the decolonization process there, but ruled out that particular option for the immediate future because they feared that their Territories would not be viable owing to their small size, limited resources, inadequate economic and social infrastructures and underdeveloped political institutions.

31. Those had certainly been the findings of the Special Committee's Visiting Mission to Anguilla in 1984, as reported in document A/AC.109/849. At the time, moreover, there had been much dissatisfaction among the general public with certain provisions of Anguilla's new Constitution, such as the excessive powers vested in the Government, the absence of a provision for a leader of the Opposition, and the clauses on land tenure and citizenship. The Governor of Anguilla had appointed a Constitutional Review Committee in response to those criticisms, and independence was being spoken of as an eventual possibility. Given the evolving situation in that Territory, Jamaica recommended that consideration be given to sending another visiting mission there in the near future. It also strongly recommended that a visiting mission should be sent to Bermuda, if the referendum on the issue of independence scheduled for April 1987 was held as planned in that Territory. In the case of Montserrat, the Special Committee's working paper (A/AC.109/857) indicated that the Chief Minister of the Territory had concluded that, with such a small population and with tourism as its only source of foreign currency, improvements in the Territory's economic infrastructure were needed before it could seek independence.

(Mr. Wolfe, Jamaica)

32. Recognizing the particular difficulties of the small colonial dependencies, Jamaica had in the past recommended that administering Powers seek greater assistance from the United Nations specialized agencies in strengthening the fragile economies of the Territories as they moved towards self-determination. In the case of the British dependencies in particular, it would be very useful if the programme of action adopted recently by the Commonwealth Heads of Government to help reduce the vulnerability of small island developing States and increase their self-reliance through bilateral and multilateral action was extended to include the dependent Territories as well. They too would benefit greatly from immediate assistance by international financial institutions and from training programmes in priority areas such as the promotion of access to markets, the stabilization of earnings, and industrialization.

33. Given the imperative need for both the Fourth Committee and the Special Committee to continue to oversee the expeditious decolonization of the remaining Non-Self-Governing Territories, a process which required the full co-operation of the administering Powers concerned, Jamaica had noted with dismay the announcement by the United Kingdom Government that it was terminating its involvement in the work of the Special Committee, and hoped that that Government would reconsider its position.

34. Mrs. BERMUDEZ (Cuba) said that reliable sources indicated that the International Monetary Fund was preparing to grant a South African request for a further massive loan of \$1 billion. Simply to entertain such a request was an affront to the international community which for years had called on its organizations and specialized agencies to help implement General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) in their respective areas of competence and had specifically condemned the relations of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank with the Pretoria régime. That criminal régime needed the loan in question simply to increase its power, reinforce its racist, repressive, aggressive and colonialist policies, and continue to challenge the world. The International Monetary Fund was considering increasing its assistance to the racist régime at precisely the moment when the Namibian people and their sole legitimate representative, SWAPO, as well as the peoples of other colonial Territories, needed concrete assistance from the specialized agencies and other organizations of the United Nations system in order to liberate themselves. The United States and other Western members of the Fund, pursuing their so-called policy of "constructive engagement" with South Africa, refused to use their decisive influence to terminate the Fund's collaboration, and the United States was moreover insisting on linking the independence of Namibia to the withdrawal of Cuban internationalist forces from Angola, as a means of blocking the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and a possible peaceful solution to the problem of southern Africa. The Committee should propose that the General Assembly strongly condemn the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and all those who were helping to strengthen the Pretoria régime.

35. Many small Territories, which were equally entitled to self-determination and independence, remained under foreign domination while their administering Powers resorted to all manner of pretexts in order not to provide the information called

(Mrs. Bermúdez, Cuba)

for under Article 73 e of the Charter, or to provide inadequate information, while keeping the Territories dependent in order to serve their own economic and strategic interests. Often, those Territories continued to be occupied only because of their strategic military importance, and the result was economic, political and social underdevelopment. In the South Atlantic, the military occupation of the Malvinas by the United Kingdom had caused bloodshed between two Member States and only the United Kingdom's continuing inflexibility prevented the return of the Territory to Argentina and perpetuated a colonial anachronism.

36. The United States, for its part, had been the most recent foreign Power to occupy the Territory of Guam and, denying independence to its Chamorro people, had appropriated virtually all the island's arable land in order to transform it into a gigantic military base that threatened all the peoples of the Pacific. By maintaining its colonial presence in Puerto Rico also, the United States was similarly threatening the Caribbean region, although, like the Chamorro people, the Puerto Rican people had kept alive their cultural identity and their desire for self-determination.

37. Not only was the list of Non-Self-Governing Territories not growing shorter as fast as it should but it would actually be longer if it included all the Territories which had not yet achieved the goals pursued by the United Nations. Certain administering Powers sought to distort historical facts and to deny their all too obvious colonial presence by claiming that it was inappropriate for the Fourth Committee to consider certain colonial issues, as was the case with Micronesia and Puerto Rico.

38. Faithful to its anti-colonialist principles, Cuba would support any draft resolutions which benefited the interests of peoples under criminal foreign domination.

#### REQUESTS FOR HEARINGS

39. The CHAIRMAN informed the Committee that he had received three additional communications containing requests for hearings on agenda items 19 and 36. He suggested that, in accordance with the usual practice, the communications should be circulated as Committee documents for consideration at a subsequent meeting.

40. It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 12.30 p.m.