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FOURTH COMMITTEE  
14th meeting  
held on  
Wednesday, 22 October 1980  
at 10.30 a.m.  
New York

UN/SA COLLECTION

SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 14th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. SINCLAIR (Guyana)

CONTENTS

AGENDA ITEM 85: QUESTION OF EAST TIMOR (continued)

- (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 18: IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES (continued)

- (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 87: 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) 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 88: UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL AND TRAINING PROGRAMME FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued)

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Distr. GENERAL  
A/C.4/35/SR.14  
3 November 1980  
ENGLISH  
ORIGINAL: SPANISH

The meeting was called to order at 10.45 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 85: QUESTION OF EAST TIMOR (continued) (A/C.4/35/3/Add.2)

- (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

Hearing of a petitioner

1. The CHAIRMAN reminded the Committee that, at its 8th meeting, it had granted the request for a hearing made by Mr. Roque Rodríguez and other petitioners (A/C.4/35/3/Add.2).
2. At the invitation of the Chairman, Mr. Alkatiri (Central Committee Secretary for External Relations, FRETILIN) took a seat at the petitioners' table.
3. Mr. ALKATIRI (FRETILIN), speaking on behalf of Mr. Roque Rodríguez and other petitioners, said that he wished to express his delegation's profound grief at the tragedy that had struck the Algerian people; all peoples of the third world were deeply attached to the Algerian nation, which had given enormous support to many countries in their struggle for independence.
4. In 1980, the international community was celebrating the twentieth anniversary of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) which had marked the beginning of a long process of decolonization and had become one of the most sacred foundations of the United Nations, whose existence and purposes were based on principles of justice, peace, self-determination, independence and freedom for all peoples. While the international community could feel satisfaction at the Organization's increased membership, it must be remembered that there were still some territories and peoples under colonial and foreign domination and oppression. That was the case in East Timor, where Indonesia's armed invasion, launched on 7 December 1975, had clearly been intended to impede the decolonization process initiated by the new Portuguese Government in compliance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and in co-operation with all political groupings in East Timor.
5. Indonesia's military aggression was a manifest violation of the Charter of the United Nations and of international law and was reflected as such in Security Council resolution 384 (1975), which had been adopted unanimously, and in which all States were called upon to respect the territorial integrity of East Timor and the Government of Indonesia was called upon to withdraw its forces from the Territory. The Security Council had reiterated that request in resolution 389 of 22 April 1976.
6. In their seven resolutions on the question of East Timor, the General Assembly and the Security Council, as well as the Heads of States or Governments of Non-Aligned Countries at their fifth and sixth summits in 1976 and 1979, had reaffirmed the right of the people of East Timor to self-determination and independence. Many

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(Mr. Alkatiri, FRETILIN)

Governments, political parties, religious organizations, trade unions and human rights groups throughout the world had also repeatedly condemned Indonesia's military intervention and had demanded the withdrawal of its troops from the Territory.

7. Indonesia's response to those demands had been to intensify its armed aggression against the people of East Timor and to sow destruction in the island. A third of the population of the Territory had died from the war, from famine caused by deliberate destruction of crops, from diseases because of the lack of medical attention, from mass executions and from the effects of chemical weapons. In a futile attempt to give some legitimacy to its annexation of East Timor, the Indonesian Government had dispensed with elections and had appointed the so-called "People's Assembly", which had supposedly decided to incorporate East Timor into Indonesia. Any claim to legitimacy on the part of the Indonesian Government was, however, absurd, since neither had the Special Committee on Decolonization taken part in any proceedings leading to the formation of the so-called "People's Assembly" nor had Security Council resolutions 384 (1975) or 389 (1976) on the question of East Timor been complied with.

8. The international community was all too aware of the tricks played by illegal and repressive régimes to cover up their neo-colonial designs. It could well be wondered, however, how the Indonesian Government could speak of decolonization when it was denying the people of East Timor its right to self-determination, how it could criticize the South African Government when it was itself ignoring the relevant General Assembly resolutions or how it could be represented in the Committee on Decolonization or in the United Nations Council for Namibia when it was responsible for a tragedy which was greater, in terms of the number of victims, than the tragedy of the South African, Namibian or Palestinian people.

9. For five years, the people of East Timor had been fighting heroically for their sacred rights and, despite their difficulties and enormous losses, had gained great victories and inflicted heavy losses on the Indonesian army and on its military installations. The Western press had published several reports concerning the strengthening of the FRETILIN forces and the intensification of military confrontations.

10. The fight by the people of East Timor was gaining ever-increasing international support. In the United States of America - in the Senate, in Congress, in religious organizations and in universities - there was a broad movement of support for the cause of independence of the people of the Territory, and a number of international conferences and seminars had been held on the subject. Although the United States had provided weapons and other support for the war in East Timor, the people of the island were confident that the solidarity movement of the United States people would grow stronger and stronger and that the United States Government would then have to reconsider its military support to the repressive régime in Indonesia. The United States and the Western European countries, on whose economic and military support the survival of the Indonesian Government depended, should act constructively and call upon that Government to put an end to the war in East Timor and to apply the relevant General Assembly resolutions.

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(Mr. Alkatiri, FRETILIN)

11. The time had come for the Indonesian Government to acknowledge its historical mistake and to have the courage to put an end to the war in East Timor, whose people, under the leadership of FRETILIN, were prepared to bury the past and to bring in a new era of peace and prosperity, establishing good-neighbourly relations with all countries of the region and contributing to the economic development of South-East Asia. The FRETILIN leadership was prepared for a dialogue with the Portuguese Government which, assuming its historic responsibility for East Timor, had made a proposal that could lead to peace. The FRETILIN leadership was also prepared for a constructive dialogue, with all the Governments concerned, with a view to the application of the relevant General Assembly resolutions on East Timor, and would not deviate from the principles of freedom, independence and self-determination for its people.

12. Mr. Alkatiri withdrew.

AGENDA ITEM 18: IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES (continued) (A/35/23 (Parts III and IV), A/35/222, 223, 261 and 413; A/C.4/35/5 and Add.1-10; A/AC.109/593-597, 602, 603, 606, 608, 610, 613, 615, 617 and Corr.1, 618 and 621; A/C.4/35/L.2)

(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 87: 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/35/23 (Part III), A/35/178 and Add.1-4; A/C.4/35/L.3)

(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 88: UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL AND TRAINING PROGRAMME FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued) (A/C.4/35/L.4)

#### Hearing of petitioners

13. The CHAIRMAN reminded the Committee that, at its 8th meeting, it had granted requests for hearings made by Mr. Ep Haj Khatri Ould Said El Joumani and other petitioners (A/C.4/35/5/Add.1), Mr. Douihi Mohamed Rachid and other petitioners (A/C.4/35/5/Add.3), Mr. Leili Mohamed Salem and other petitioners (A/C.4/35/5/Add.4), Mr. Ahmed Mohmoud and other petitioners (A/C.4/35/5/Add.5) and Mr. Habbouha Habib and other petitioners (A/C.4/35/5/Add.7).

14. At the invitation of the Chairman, Mr. Douihi Mohamed Rachid (Secretary-General of the Front de Libération et de l'Unité) took a place at the petitioners' table.

15. Mr. Douihi Mohamed RACHID (Secretary-General of the Front de Libération et de l'Unité) deplored the tensions which had arisen in Africa because of the spirit of hegemony and aggression which had blinded Libya and Algeria. Those two countries had failed to heed the norms of international law and had thus imperilled the unity of the Moroccan Sahara.

16. The Front de Libération et de l'Unité, which viewed itself as an arm of the Moroccan people in their fight for the enjoyment of their fundamental rights, begun in response to the Spanish colonization, could not forget that that struggle, in which terrible blows had been dealt to colonialism, constituted a historical precedent. No one could deny that human, cultural and natural considerations proved that the Territory of Western Sahara had been part of the territory of Morocco for many centuries. That was an incontrovertible historical fact which could not be overlooked. The mere fact that the King of Morocco had denied a concession granted in 1766 by Sultan Mohamed Abdula to King Carlos III of Spain but had allowed fishing in the region's territorial waters indicated that Morocco had exercised authority over the territory of the so-called Western Sahara for centuries. The agreements of the nineteenth century and the Agreement of 1911 between France and Germany defined Morocco as that country situated between Algeria, the Mediterranean and the Atlantic coast of Africa. There was, too, an agreement intended to preserve Morocco's territorial integrity.

17. In addition to the above, there was at present a living historical reality which demonstrated the organic link between those territories and the rest of Morocco, a link which had been highlighted by the struggle for freedom and independence in the 1950s.

18. The Front de Libération et de l'Unité had dealt mighty blows to the Spanish colonizers and had forced them to reconsider their position. That stage of the struggle of the Saharan people had culminated in the historic march to achieve territorial integrity organized by King Hassan II of Morocco, in accordance with international law and the aspirations of the Moroccan people. The prospect of achieving territorial integrity and the withdrawal of the colonialists from those territories had been frustrated by collusion between France and Algeria - admitted by Algeria at the 1976 Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries - which had covered up events in the Territory.

19. Algeria's greed, supported by the colonial Power, had led to the establishment of what had been called the Frente POLISARIO, formed by a group united by treachery, which Algeria used to achieve its ends.

20. The principle of self-determination amounted to a major conquest for the peoples of the third world. It could not now be allowed to lose its meaning nor be used for colonialist ends. Algeria and Libya, in attempting to disrupt the unity of the Saharan people by every means possible, seemed to forget that any attempt to swim against the tide of history was condemned to failure and that the solution lay in returning to the cultural and historical origins of the Territories in question.

(Mr. Rachid, Front de Libération et de l'Unité)

21. Furthermore, it was well known that the so-called Frente POLISARIO merely amounted to a band of mercenaries and highwaymen recruited by the Algerian and Libyan intelligence services to further their base interests. The person who claimed to be the "Minister for Foreign Affairs" of an imaginary republic actually came from Mauritania and became a Mauritanian diplomat in Algeria, while the founder of the Frente POLISARIO had represented Mauritania at the United Nations. It was thus incomprehensible that the members of the Frente POLISARIO could claim to represent the Saharans and Moroccans.

22. The Front de Libération et de l'Unité stated unequivocally and resolutely that it would consider null and void any resolutions attempting to prejudge in any manner the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Moroccan Sahara, since it would contradict historical reality. Such a rejection would be in full accordance with the demonstrated will of the people of the Territory.

23. The Committee should, on the contrary, adopt resolutions reaffirming the territorial integrity of Moroccan Sahara and firmly condemning the designs of Libya and Algeria in North-West Africa which were merely a colonial conspiracy. The Committee should also call upon the Algerian authorities to release the nationals of Western Sahara who had been kidnapped and kept under inhumane conditions and should urge the Government of Algeria to open negotiations with Morocco to put an end to the tensions in North-West Africa. The Committee should similarly call upon certain countries, including Mali, Mauritania and Cuba, to desist from allowing their nationals to be recruited as mercenaries. Their present attitude amounted to collusion against the sovereignty of Moroccan Sahara, Morocco and the whole of Africa. It should not be forgotten that Libya had intervened in several African countries, including Tunisia, Chad, Mali and Uganda. His delegation had evidence of that, which it could place at the Committee's disposal.

24. In conclusion, he said that his organization, a loyal defender of the fundamental principles governing the United Nations and of the noble ideals of its Member States, trusted that the Fourth Committee would take appropriate measures to safeguard the inalienable rights of the Moroccan Saharan people.

25. Mr. Rachid withdrew.

26. At the invitation of the Chairman, Mr. Habib (President of the Association of Former Members of the Moroccan Liberation Army in the Saharan Provinces) took a place at the petitioners' table.

27. Mr. HABIB (President of the Association of Former Members of the Moroccan Liberation Army in the Saharan Provinces) said that the confrontation between Morocco and the colonialists went back to the seventeenth century, since when there had been a continuous struggle between those forces defending Morocco's territorial integrity and the designs of foreign Powers to seize Morocco's west coast. Following the Turin Convention of 1860, Spain had invaded the Sahara and Morocco under the pretext of territorial claims, but had immediately been faced with the opposition of the Moroccan Saharan people who had supported the King of Morocco. That support had been clear in the diplomatic relations between Morocco and Spain and in later clashes.

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(Mr. Habib)

28. That background indicated that Morocco had always been supported by the Saharans. There were documents which demonstrated, quite unambiguously, the unswerving loyalty and support of the Saharan people for Morocco. There was, for example, the General Conference held in Samara, at which the leaders of the Saharan race had elected their representatives, who had later pledged their loyalty to the Sultan in Marrakesh. Following the foreign invasion there had been the famous revolution by the Saharan tribes, which had severely shaken the French and Spanish colonialists.

29. Action by the French colonialists against the deceased King Mohammed, the symbol of Moroccan unity, had provoked stiff resistance by the Saharans. When Spain had finally recognized Morocco's independence and territorial integrity, it had been celebrated throughout the Sahara under the Moroccan flag. When in 1956 it had become clear that Spain had no intention of returning Western Sahara to Morocco, the Army of Liberation and Resistance had been established to fight in the zones occupied by Spain and France. The history of the opposition to colonialism consistently confirmed the Moroccan character of Western Sahara and that region's loyalty to the mother country, and the constant concern of the King of Morocco for that Territory.

30. The Saharan people had defended their Moroccan civilization against all colonialist designs on every front. Due to the dauntless efforts of His Majesty King Hassan II, which had culminated in the glorious "Green March", Spain's illegal presence in Western Sahara had been ended and Morocco's legitimate sovereignty over that Territory had been re-established. The Moroccan character of Western Sahara had become evident with the ending of that abnormal situation. The Saharan people, proud of their historical origins, had welcomed with great satisfaction their re-integration into the Moroccan homeland and would not allow the POLISARIO mercenaries nor the agents who supported them to cast doubt upon their nationality or to shake their loyalty to Morocco. Ninety-five per cent of the Saharan people had clearly expressed their conviction of the Moroccan character of Western Sahara and their desire to retain their centuries-old Moroccan identity. The United Nations and all international and regional bodies involved with the problem of Western Sahara should thus consider that that question had been resolved with the re-incorporation of the Territory into Morocco. The United Nations should also unreservedly condemn Algeria's provocation, which merely heightened tension in the region. The Saharan people would defend their rights by every means at their disposal.

31. Mr. Habib withdrew.

32. At the invitation of the Chairman, Mr. Salem (Citizen from Moroccan Sahara) took a place at the petitioners' table.

33. Mr. SALEM (Citizen from Moroccan Sahara) said that, when Morocco had been striving to re-establish its legitimate sovereignty over the Territory of what had then been referred to as Spanish Sahara, it had enjoyed exemplary terms of fraternal relationship and good neighbourhood with Algeria. At the Rabat Summit Meeting in 1974, President Boumediene had recognized the legitimacy of Morocco's rights in the

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(Mr. Salem)

Sahara. Unfortunately that position had changed once the Territory of the Sahara had freed itself from Spanish colonialist domination. The Spanish and Algerian régimes had hatched a conspiracy to deprive Morocco of its legitimate rights and had concluded secret agreements on which Algeria had based its refusal to negotiate with Morocco. During the period of transition, the conspiracy had reached its climax when units of the Algerian army had entered the Sahara openly and with flags flying; the incursion had been made with the assistance of Spanish officials. In order to break up the unity which had just been achieved, the Algerian régime had forged innumerable identity documents and had thus created a spurious refugee problem so that the United Nations would become an accessory for the creation of disunity among the population. Algeria had accordingly proposed the holding of a referendum in the name of alleged self-determination.

34. So that Algeria's responsibility might be clearly identified, the treacherous manner in which the Algerian régime had dispersed Saharan families far from their homes should be investigated, citizens of Moroccan Sahara who had been abducted should be freed immediately and permitted to return to their homes, while police controls and other obstacles to their return should be eliminated. The Red Cross, together with representatives of the organization he represented, should be permitted access to the refugee camps, under the auspices of the United Nations, in order to distinguish between those refugees who were truly members of the population of the Sahara and those from other countries such as Mauritania and Mali.

35. Moreover, it was essential that there should be an end to the inhuman conditions in which persons who had been abducted were kept and that the criminal acts of the Frente POLISARIO mercenaries and their supporters should be strongly condemned. The population of Moroccan Sahara should clearly enjoy the same rights and freedoms as other peoples of the world. Algeria could not deny its responsibility in the matter and should heed the dictates of the world's conscience. Moroccan unity was based on justice and could not be nullified by the actions of mercenaries who were the puppets of another country. The population of Moroccan Sahara had recovered its freedom at the cost of great sacrifice and painful losses; it was proud to belong to Morocco and rejected any proposal for a referendum and what was termed self-determination. There could be no denying the Moroccan identity of the Sahara, which had always been and would continue to be Moroccan.

36. Mr. Salem withdrew.

37. At the invitation of the Chairman, Mr. Bouayada (Deputy of Tantan, Rassemblement national des indépendents) took his place at the petitioners' table.

38. Mr. BOUAYADA (Deputy of Tantan, Rassemblement national des indépendents) said that he wished to make the Committee aware of the views of the democratically elected representatives of the population of Moroccan Sahara, formerly Spanish Sahara, whose inhabitants had placed great hopes in the spirit of justice and objectivity of the General Assembly; he therefore yielded the floor to Mr. Maalainine.

39. Mr. MAALAININE (Deputy of Smara, Mouvement populaire) said that it was imperative that world public opinion should be properly informed on the different

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(Mr. Maalainine)

aspects of the question as well as on the attitude of the people of Moroccan Sahara towards the tension in the area, which was no more than an artificial tension resulting from manoeuvres designed to undermine the stability of the region. A reading of the political, intellectual and cultural history of Morocco showed that Morocco had always been linked to the territory of the Sahara and that the identity of Morocco within the international community was based on the geographical and ethnic unity which existed between north and south. The colonial Powers had always tried to undermine Moroccan sovereignty, in particular at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, and, as a result of collaboration between France, Spain and Germany, had endeavoured to thwart Morocco's struggle for territorial integrity.

40. When Morocco had achieved independence in 1956, the task of uniting the country could only be accomplished slowly because of the colonial division of the territory. The Moroccan troops had fought exhausting battles and had emerged victorious. The armies of freedom, manned by the sons of Sagüia el-Hamra, had made a great contribution to the struggle, which had culminated in the recovery of the territory in 1958.

41. Ifni had become the issue in 1969 and Morocco had continued its struggle for territorial integrity. During that period the Spanish position had been to adopt an evasive and dilatory attitude.

42. When the item had been discussed in the United Nations in 1957, negotiations had been hindered by the discovery of phosphates in the Sahara. The Spanish authorities, in collaboration with the Algerian régime, had then tried to perpetuate their presence in the region. King Hassan, in announcing the existence of a new imperialism which menaced the existence and sovereignty of his country, had sought the opinion of the International Court of Justice, at The Hague, which had ruled that there was no doubt that the Sahara had no owner at the time of its occupation by Spain and that its inhabitants had a clear relationship with Morocco. The Court had thus recognized the inalienable right of the people of the Sahara to national and ethnic identity. Following the opinion handed down by the Court, the "Green March" had taken place, representing the culmination of the feelings of loyalty which had prevailed, and the colonialists had withdrawn from the territory of the Sahara. The Saharan people had never lost their Moroccan identity and were prepared neither to negotiate it nor to have it questioned. Their loyalty to King Hassan II was proof of those feelings.

43. The people of Moroccan Sahara had thus expressed their will and had irrevocably decided their own destiny. It was therefore to be hoped that the United Nations would take due account of such wishes and aspirations and would strongly condemn the intervention of Algeria and its intermediary, the Frente POLISARIO, in the Sahara.

44. Mr. Maalainine withdrew.

45. Mr. ECHAKARA (Kenya) said that the fighting in Western Sahara constituted a threat to world peace and security. It was to be regretted that the high hopes

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(Mr. Echakara, Kenya)

which had led to the founding of the United Nations and to the fundamental principle that basic human rights should override selfish economic interests had been forgotten.

46. He deplored the fact that some States had continued to frustrate the process of decolonization of the Non-Self-Governing Territories and that scarce resources were being wasted on useless wars. During its current session the General Assembly should take energetic measures against States which had ignored its resolutions, so that a climate could be created in which it would be possible for all to enjoy peace and social progress.

47. His delegation considered that peace could be achieved in Western Sahara only if Morocco respected the resolutions of the United Nations and OAU and withdrew its troops from Western Sahara.

48. Kenya supported the inalienable right of the people of Western Sahara to self-determination and independence and the efforts of OAU and the United Nations to promote a peaceful settlement; it condemned the armed intervention of Morocco. The suffering of innocent people in Western Sahara resulting from the war was a matter of special concern and it was therefore essential that the international community should renew its efforts to reduce hostilities and ensure respect for the relevant United Nations resolutions.

49. The CHAIRMAN announced that Ghana and Trinidad and Tobago had become sponsors of draft resolution A/C.5/35/L.2; the Congo, Ghana and Pakistan had become sponsors of draft resolution A/C.5/35/L.3; while Austria, Ghana, Greece and Pakistan had become sponsors of draft resolution A/C.5/35/L.4

Request for a hearing (A/C.4/35/8)

50. The CHAIRMAN said that he had received a communication containing a request for a hearing on the question of Belize. In accordance with the usual procedure, the communication would be distributed as a document of the Committee for consideration at its next meeting.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.