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Chairman: Mr. PALMA (Peru)

<u>later</u>: Mr. PASTINEN (Finland)

CONTENTS

AGENDA ITEM 50: IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE STRENGTHENING OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY: REPORTS OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued)

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The meeting was called to order at 10.35 a.m.

## AGENDA ITEM 50 (continued)

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE STRENGTHENING OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY: REPORTS OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

Mr. GAUCI (Malta): I have had the opportunity over the past three years to discuss at some length the theoretical parameters of Malta's perceptions on this particular item. In brief, we favoured the objective elaboration of the Declaration, and emphasized its political significance, when it was originally adopted on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations. Thereafter, we consistently laid stress on the need for practical application of its stated intentions, and pointed out the deficiency of efforts limited only to mere repetition of principles or further elaboration of theory.

Today, therefore, I do not propose to substantiate even further, with supporting evidence, the position we have outlined in the past, except to stress that events over the past year have again confirmed its validity. Instead, I will share some thoughts with the Conmittee on the way my Government intends to apply, in practice, over the next few months and in the future, what we had advocated in the past; we feel now that the time has come for us to render a practical contribution to the strengthening of international security, as the phrase should properly be understood. This is offered by Malta, to the fullest extent of its own capability, in the interests of progress in our region and throughout the world.

Now that we are a truly independent country, we have at the national level taken a firm decision which radically alters Malta's traditional role, forged for us over hundreds of years of recorded history, when the people of Malta had no say in the shaping of their international relations. The existing foreign military bases in Malta will be closed down in March 1979. From an economic point of view, on account of the distortion caused to our national economic structure through having for almost two centuries serviced mainly the exigencies of a military base for a former colonial Power, this decision entails severe social, financial and economic repercussions which will make our prospects for unaided national development more difficult.

This is because during the period of colonial administration, we were squeezed dry like a lemon, and given grossly inadequate compensation in the process. On our attaining political independence we found we had inherited an economy completely deprived of the infrastructure or potential for indigenous growth. We are struggling to minimize these cumulative adverse effects on our national economy through intensive sub-regional negotiations; despite these obstacles, Malta feels, nevertheless, that on balance the causes of peace are paramount, and hence the military bases will be closed down at the appointed time next year. This is an irrevocable decision, freely arrived at by the people of Malta in accordance with the democratic processes to which we are attached, and in pursuit of our natural inclination towards peaceful endeavours.

This decision is intended as a genuine and spontaneous confidence-building measure from which all countries will derive benefit, whether large or small, whether near or far. It is, we believe, through measures such as this one and of such scope and magnitude, that individual countries can make an effective contribution to the stated objectives of the reduction of military forces, the elimination of foreign military bases, and the lessening of tension in a region. With the greatest respect, we consider this type of confidence-building measure as being much better suited to its intended purposes than those limited merely to the prior announcement of the periodic display of military might by opposing military alliances, which have often been hailed as a major achievement in our discussions here. We express appreciation to the many countries that have shared, encouraged and supported our pre-announced intentions. In this same

spirit, we have taken note, with interest and with sympathy, of the offer made by the President of Cyprus concerning a demilitarized and disarmed status for his island. It is a concept we can share with a great feeling of solidarity

As a corollary to our decision applied at the national level, it is also Malta's resolve that from now on, our unflagging and consistent efforts will be directed towards increasing the sectors of peaceful co-operation in our region; this we consider essential, since at the present time unfortunately the established pattern of relations in the Mediterranean region has rested on suspicion, division, and almost instinctive confrontation. Our aim is gradually but surely to tilt the balance in a positive direction, thus reversing the present trend because of its inherent danger.

The abject failure of the special session on disarmament to agree on anything specific, and the current trends for further sophistication in the strategy and in the destructive capability of lethal weapons, is all the more reason for urgent concerted political concertation to alleviate the causes which give rise to this apparently remorseless militaristic confrontation.

We recognize that this will be a difficult, long-term process, and that formidable obstacles stand in the way. We have encountered the forces of obstruction in the past, and they will not easily disappear in the future, unless our efforts are strenuous and concerted. We feel, however, that none of the nations in the Euro-Mediterranean region can be complacent over the present situation. Difficult as it is to reverse the inertia of the status quo, we feel it is absolutely essential to do so. The inherent dangers of the present situation call for a determined effort to bring about peaceful change, and consequently no opportunity should be lost to launch a concerted approach in that direction.

For this purpose, Malta is providing an opportunity for a good start to be made, in February of next year.

I should like to stress that we are not working in a vacuum. A great deal of spadework has already been done. I have outlined in past interventions in previous years my country's active contribution to the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. An essential point which, whether by accident or design I do not profess to judge, originally had been overlooked, has now rightly been recognized - that is, the close links between Europe and the States bordering the Mediterranean.

These links go back beyond the origins of recorded history, and have left a legacy and a foundation on which a solid future can be projected. The Mediterranean is Europe's window to the world, the cradle of its civilization, and the jugular vein of its trade; the Mediterranean provides the sinews for Europe's economic development, is an important outlet for its trade, and component element in its search for economic and political independence, without which Europe' voice will remain muted and hesitant on the international stage.

As a result of Malta's endeavours, with the active involvement of the European Mediterranean countries, the Helsinki Final Act signed three years ago contained a specific chapter in which were outlined in broad terms the parameters of co-operation and security in Euro-Mediterranean relations.

In particular, the parties to the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe declared their intention:

"... of contributing to peace, reducing armed forces in the region, strengthening security, lessening tensions, ... and widening the scope of co-operation, ends in which all share a common interest, as well as with the purpose of defining further ... objectives".

Subsequently, after a Review Conference in Belgrade, a practical decision was taken to hold a meeting of experts on the Mediterranean which:

"... within the framework of the Mediterranean Chapter of the Final Act, would consider the possibilities and means of promoting concrete initiatives for mutually beneficial co-operation concerning various economic, scientific and cultural fields".

The non-participating Mediterranean States have been "invited to contribute to the work of the meeting". Since this particular meeting will discuss specific subjects of co-operation between Mediterranean countries, it will be natural for the invited countries, eventual partners of co-operation, to be allowed to participate in an effective and dignified manner at this meeting. Co-operation, to be meaningful, has to be on a basis of equality.

In the light of a practical recognition of what needed to be done, that decision represented a welcome though overdue and hesitant step. It is in fact the first meeting of its kind ever to be held. It provides an opportunity honestly to review the past and to plan rationally for a brighter future.

My country naturally attaches maximum importance to this initial start, and we are dedicated to ensuring its success. We have designated as Executive Secretary for this meeting one of our most experienced civil servants. Invitations to all participating States have already been sent out. We are in the process of preparing several papers on potential sources of co-operation, and we have invited all the other countries to do likewise.

We are optimistic that, as a result of this meeting, short as it unfortunately is, a rood proundwork can be laid for the important work that will still lie ahead in the future, and that recommendations will be made which will enable solid plans to be prepared and pursued. We intend to concentrate on and to work consciously for the building of a hediterranean identity, which has been lacking in the past, and to envisage imaginative attempts to show that the issues on which the divisions of the past have been fed and nourished do not preclude common interests and endeavours.

We feel, for a start, that definite improvements can be made in the rather minimal existing co-operation between regional organizations, which have previously regarded the lediterranean as being on the periphery of their research and activities.

In this, as in all other matters, co-operation is essential for success, and my Government has in the intervening period utilized every opportunity and every forum open to us to encourage the active involvement and preparation of all concerned, so as to pave the way for a successful outcome of the meeting.

The subjects for discussion are many, varied and inseparably linked. We know we shall have a long road to travel. There are difficult challenges to be overcone in the attempt to secure the aims we seek, that is, economic and social progress in the countries of the region and the

peaceful resolution of obstacles that stand in the way - obstacles that are of primary concern to European countries, and ones in regard to which European countries should have a primary role in all attempted solutions. These obstacles are a running sore in the body politic of international relations; but they need not necessitate permanent paralysis. On the contrary, they are more likely to be resolved within a broader approach.

Some might remark that peaceful co-operation is not something new. Certainly it is a useful phrase which features regularly and prominently in official documents and communiqués. It is much harder, however, to translate it into action. It is sufficient for me to recall, for instance, that, despite the clear evidence of increasing pollution in the Mediterranean, it took years of effort before action to halt this trend was agreed upon. In any case what we have in mind is something creative and constructive which transcends mere political rhetoric. I said in the general debate:

"Malta's objective is to turn the Mediterranean area into a hive of friendly co-operation, throbbing with peaceful activities so demanding in time and resources that none will be left for military confrontation, and the tensions of the past will eventually be relegated to our history books, so that we shall truly have transformed the Mediterranean into a zone of peace, through common endeavours". (A/33/PV.32, p. 46)

In order to secure these objectives, we believe it will eventually be found necessary to establish a platform of political consultation designed to encourage and to monitor progress, to serve as visual evidence of cumulative achievement which in public consciousness will show the tangible benefits of increasing peaceful co-operation, thus generating a commitment to the continuation of the positive processes initiated.

In this connexion, we were pleased to note from statements made in this Committee - and I wish to mention in particular statements made by the representatives of China and Libya - that many countries share our aims for the creation of a zone of peace in the Hediterranean. We were also very encouraged to hear from the statement of the representative of Singapore

of the progress made, in a different region, by the countries of ASEAN (Association of South-Mast Asian Nations), where, to quote his own words,

"regional differences have become muted through co-operation in common pursuits ... Formed 11 years ago, ASEAN has gone a long way towards promoting understanding, peace and stability in the subregion.

1 conomic co-operation among the five member States is now a concrete fact; rutual consultations have become a habit and a valuable aspect of their conduct of relations with each other and with States outside the Association". (A/C.1/33/PV.41, p. 36)

In a recent review on ASEAN The Times of London commented that "1978 will be remembered as the year in which the seal of future co-operation in economic matters was set". Ny delegation wishes to convey its varmest congratulations to the countries of ASEAN on their achievements, and we wish them further success, just as we have on several occasions in the past praised and encouraged Latin American countries on their inspiring regional initiatives, which provide practical evidence of successful concerted action.

Against the background of the evident trends towards, and benefits from, regional integration, with these concrete examples in mind and considering that in both cases, as also in the case of the two major groupings in Europe, a platform for consultations is considered a necessary foundation for progress, my Government found it difficult to understand the reluctance of countries to accept similar proposals for the establishment of a committee to monitor progress on the Mediterranean, just as we found it difficult - even alarming - to understand the reluctance of some countries to accept the broad concept of the Mediterranean as a zone of peace and co-operation. We for our part unhesitatingly reaffirm our commitment to those undertakings and our intention to continue our ceaseless efforts to bring them about.

Perhaps I might be permitted to recall what I said in the debate on this item here last year:

"the experience of the last two years" - now three years - "has proved that the absence of progress cannot but be ascribed to the lack of specific machinery designed to implement the provisions of the declarations subscribed to and the commitments assumed. It appears to

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the Haltese delegation that the establishment of such a forum is a fundamental first step, a prerequisite, for the concertation of the required efforts. We envisage the machinery as a Committee charged with planning and encouraging the realization of all the objectives set out in the declaration on the Mediterranean" - part of the Helsinki Final Act. "The Committee would be invited to co-ordinate the implementation of the security, political and economic objectives. It would be responsible for the elaboration, with the participation of all States directly interested, of an agreed and co-ordinated plan, bringing together all these different aspects, and constantly monitoring execution. The Committee would naturally include all the Mediterranean States to bring about the required dialogue and concertation of ideas. Several of the objectives, particularly the reduction of armed forces, can best be realized with the full co-operation of the super-Powers, since progress would be more rapidly forthcoming if they were assured that their interest in stability is not overlooked. It should be stressed, however, that when the objectives of Mediterranean unity are achieved, it would no longer be necessary for non-Mediterranean forces to remain in the Mediterranean". (A/C.1/32/PV.49, pp. 25-26)

That remains our position today; and it will remain our position until the required progress is achieved. This is one approach as seen by a small country whose only interest is peace and peace of mind. We have taken note also of other suggestions going in the same direction, and we will make our contribution to those endeavours when they are taken up.

What it all amounts to, in the final analysis, is a common determination to work together in an attempt to improve the existing situation and to promote a better future through peaceful co-operation in joint efforts between the States of any one region, and others whose participation and contribution is essential, in a concerted approach which takes into account the specific characteristics of the region, as well as universal norms for reducing tension, preserving stability and enhancing the prospects for co-operation and peace. The rejerity of littoral States bordering the Mediterranean have insistently and publicly stated their desire to advance the realization of this objective, which has now been clarified and concisely defined in the Final Document of the special session on disarmament. It is an objective which is deserving of universal support.

As if symbolic of our hopes, in addition to the successful initiatives on pollution and on renewable sources of energy, which I have mentioned in previous interventions, two events have taken place recently which constitute a good beginning and an augury for further success. In September this year, in a joint initiative of the Tunisian and Maltese National Commissions for UNESCO, a meeting was held which decided on a programme of studies on the interaction of European and Arab cultures in Mediterranean islands, with Malta as its centre. Towards the end of last month, another important event took place:
Radio Mediterranean went on the air for the first time, broadcasting from Malta in three languages - Arabic, English and French - news and events of direct interest to Mediterranean countries.

These, then, are our present preoccupations and future intentions. These are partially reflected in a draft resolution which is shortly to be introduced, on whose provisions my delegation was consulted, and we are therefore glad to be in a position to co-sponsor this draft.

I also read with appreciation the statement made yesterday by the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Poland. We have a natural sympathy for the ideas he expressed. We favour proposals designed to reach the hearts and minds of men in the constant search for peace. Consequently, we share his hope that draft resolution 1/C.1/33/L.50, introduced yesterday, will be adopted by consensus, since, as he explained, wide consultations have been carried out, and modifications accepted in the text which had originally been proposed, including, if I may say so, some amendments made informally by my delegation. I might add that, at a symposium held two years ago among educational authorities, the programme of studies on peace, which the educational establishment in Malta carries out at the primary school level, received the top award.

Mr. HULINSKY (Czechoslovakia) (interpretation from Russian): The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic attaches exceptional importance to achievement of the objectives reflected in the United Nations Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, of 1970. The eight years which have elapsed since that Declaration was adopted have confirmed the importance of constant implementation, strengthening and development of the principles of peaceful coexistence among States with different social and economic structures - principles which were basic to that Declaration. Czechoslovakia has always adhered to the provisions of the Declaration and has made every effort to implement them. We have taken this stand together with our allies, the States members of the Warsaw Pact, in a common endeavour, with other countries, irrespective of their social structures, to lay the foundations of durable peace and to strengthen the process of detente, not only in Europe but elsewhere in the world.

As the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Czechoslovakia, Bohuslav Chnoupek, declared in this context during the general debate at this session of the Assembly:

"A valuable contribution to that development is, in our view, the positive results of Czechoslovakia's relations with its western neighbours." (A/33/PV.18, p. 27)

He went on to say that:

"In fact, we have been enriching the process of détente by developing mutually advantageous co-operation with practically all European countries and other States in all continents, including those with which our relations in the past were insignificant or did not exist at all." (Ibid., p. 28-30)

The Government of Czechoslovakia welcomes the declared intentions of the overwhelming majority of United Nations Member States at this session as in the past, reflecting their desire to develop relations among themselves based on the principles of the policy of détente.

In making a general evaluation of the development of international affairs in the recent past, we have every reason to say that the will of peoples to take the path of detente and of peaceful co-operation in order to halt the arms race and eliminate war from the life of mankind for all time is becoming more and more the main motivating and determining force in the life of the international community. Peoples wish to live in conditions of durable peace and security, irrespective of the political, social or economic systems of their respective countries, or of the participation or non-participation of their Governments in military alliances. They want to determine the path of their own development, continuing their struggle for liberation from the colonial and racist yoke and to achieve independence and social progress.

It has become possible to achieve many obvious and very positive results in that direction. The process of liberation from colonialism is irreversibly nearing completion. In taking the path of detente, which reflects the shift in the international balance of power to the benefit of the forces of peace and progress, we have come to that boundary beyond which political detente must be accompanied by military detente.

There is a general understanding on many important questions that are related to the restructuring of international economic relations and to the establishment of a new economic order in the world which would ensure the liquidation of the economic backwardness of the developing countries and the dynamic development of the whole of mankind.

Even now all this has become a foundation on the basis of which it is now possible to move ahead. The Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security of 1970 and its implementation in practice in all areas of relations among States must become a component of this process. However, at the same time, when as a result of the continuous efforts of the socialist, non-aligned and other countries it becomes possible to preserve the trend towards létente, one feels more and more the increased activities of the forces of international reaction and militarism. There is an intransigent opposition to the mir of détente, an exposition which is reflected in the arms race and its increased pace and the tendency to achieve military superiority over the socialist and other progressive States. The situation in this regard is dangerous and was very clearly pointed out by the Political Advisory Committee of the States members of the Warsaw Treaty which met in Moscow on 23 November of this year.

In the declaration that was adopted at that meeting it was confirmed again that the States members of that Treaty renounce with determination the desire to achieve military superiority and feel

"... that the rost important task of international policies at this time is a trend to achieve as speedily as possible a breakthrough in the negotiations on the cessation of the arms race and on disarmament."

The meeting in Moscow launched an appeal to all European States and to all the countries of the world to strive to achieve concrete measures to ensure lasting peace and security. In particular, it appealed to the States members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) to renounce the decisions taken at their Washington session to increase their military appropriations and to develop new programmes of armaments and armed forces and to engage in concrete negotiations on restrictions of strategic nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction.

At the same time the States members of the Warsaw Treaty proposed to take immediate steps to achieve a mutual reduction of conventional armaments and armed forces, as well as of the military budgets of all countries. Their proposals include a wide range of questions all of which are related to the strengthening of the security of States and a decrease of the threat of war, in particular by the conclusion of a world treaty on the non-use of force and implementation of the decision that the participants in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe should not be the first to use nuclear weapons. Also, measures are contemplated to strengthen guarantees of security of the non-nuclear States. It is also proposed to renew negotiations on, for example, the question of the reduction of the components of the military potential of both sides in Europe that cause the most concern to the other side.

The States members of the Warsaw Treaty also advocate new efforts at the international level to eliminate military bases on foreign territories; to bring about the withdrawal of foreign military forces from the territories of other States; and to achieve the creation of nuclear-weapon-free zones and zones of peace in many regions, including Europe. They have also confirmed their readiness to disband the Warsaw Treaty Organization at the same time as NATO, as a first step leading to the elimination of those military organizations.

At the same time the socialist States advocate the implementation of the decisions of the tenth special session of the General Assembly, including the convening of a world conference on disarmament. As was stressed in the joint declaration of the States of the Warsaw Treaty on 23 November:

"Each of these subjects has its own significance from the standpoint of strengthening peace and the security of the world's peoples. The talks on each of them have reached a more or less advanced stage, at which the discussion and the search for solutions relate not simply to general ideas but directly to questions of military hardware. ... But it should be absolutely clear that practical results can be achieved only if all participants in the talks take a constructive approach." (A/33/392, Annex, p. 6)

The establishment of true peace and security would require that the process of détente be broadened to include all regions of the world and all questions of international policy.

Together with the questions of détente in the military field and disarmament, we are greatly disturbed by the fact that international conflicts are not yet settled everywhere; by the fact that there are still hotbeds of tension; by the existence of racist régimes and apartheid; by instances of massive and gross violations of fundamental human rights, and by the occurrence, even in United Nations forums, of the propaganda of war and hatred. Without going into the details of all those very complex questions, we want none the less to stress the necessity for an increase in international efforts, including United Nations efforts, to achieve the speediest possible solution of those problems.

Czechoslovakia appreciates the position taken by the progressive Arab countries at the conference recently held in Baghdad on the question of the settlement of the Middle East conflict in the interest of peace. It is a fact that the separate deals which are being prepared behind the backs of the Arab people are not in keeping with the interests of international security.

Czechoslovakia supports with determination the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia in their struggle for national independence and against every attempt to impose unequal partial solutions on them true to the spirit of the policies of neo-colonialism.

Czechoslovakia expresses its solidarity with the principled peaceful policy of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. The people of Viet Nam, after 10 years of struggle for independence against foreign aggression, is now fighting with determination all the attempts to institute hegemonism being made by international reaction, which also wishes to establish its acmination over the peoples of South-East Asia.

We support also the desire of the Korean people to achieve without any foreign interference, the unification of Korea, and the actions of the Democratic Republic of Korea directed to that end.

Czechoslovakia also supports the just solution of the question of Cyprus in accordance with relevant General Assembly and Security Council resolutions.

In taking this stand in favour of the peaceful elimination of hotbeds of tension and the settlement of international disputes on the basis of the principle of mutuality, we fully recognize the legitimate character of the struggle of peoples for their liberation and independent development, and will continue to give our support to the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America which are struggling to achieve those just objectives.

Czechoslovakia, like other countries of the socialist community, feels it is important continually to increase international efforts to resolve the most important problems facing mankind - such as the problems of the improvement of the standards of living of all peoples in all countries and the eradication of racism, apartheid and the propaganda of war and hatred. It is also important that all Governments, without any exception, should assist in preparing opinion of the peoples in their countries, including the youth, for mutual understanding and co-operation among States.

A different approach such as the military psychosis, the education of youth in ideas of hate and of hostility of countries against other countries, are of course not in keeping with the commitments of States under the Charter. They are also obstacles to the achievement of détente and the elimination of tensions.

Therefore, our delegation supports the idea of raising the question of educating world public opinion at this session of the United Mations. We greatly appreciate the humanitarian initiative along the same lines expounded by the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish Labour Party, Comrade Edward Gierek.

The delegation of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic has joined other delegations of countries from all continents, in co-sponsoring the draft declaration under this heading, which at the meeting that was held yesterday was so convincingly introduced by the representative of the People's Republic of Poland, the Deputy Foreign Minister, Comrade Kulaga.

The thirty-third session of the General Assembly has shown that there is an increased determination of the overwhelming majority of peoples and Governments to achieve durable peace and security throughout the world. This constructive and highly responsible approach to the solution of the main problems which are faced by the international community shows the clear isolation of those who want to oppose this general trend. However, it is important that United Nations should participate with even more determination in combining all the efforts of all States to achieve the elimination of tensions, to put an end to the arms race, to achieve freedom and social progress, and equal international co-operation on the basis of mutual respect of national independence and sovereignty, and non-interference in the domestic affairs of all countries. We are convinced that this is the only path leading to an improvement in the effectiveness of United Nations in accordance with the principles of its Charter.

Czechoslovakia has always advocated progress in this direction. "e have participated most actively in the work of the organs of the United Nations, including the Security Council, in the negotiations on disarmament, in discussions on security in Europe, and in all our relations with all States. Our policy is peaceful and our country will in the future as well continue to exert every effort to implement the Declaration on the strengthening of international peace and security.

The CHAIRMAN: Before adjourning the meeting, I would draw the attention of the members of the Committee to a rather important fact. As members will recall, by the instructions of the President of the General Assembly and by decision of the General Committee, a tentative cut-off date for all Committees has been fixed for 8 December. That is Friday of this week. Accordingly, we have scheduled and planned our work so that we can finish by that cut-off date. I do not think that as we were able to dispose of all the disarmament items within the time limits which we set for ourselves, there had been any doubt that we would be able to do so - until this moment, that is.

I have just been shown, by the Secretary of the Committee, the list of speakers on item 50 during this week. As often happens, there seems to be a great accumulation of speakers for Friday. This, as the members will readily appreciate, will make it impossible for us to finish our work in time. If anything, Friday should be completely reserved not for interventions in a general debate but for the consideration of the documents which we have to consider, and also for some of the concluding business which I believe is customary when the Committee is about to wind up its work.

Therefore, I would urge all delegations which have inscribed their names for Friday, most earnestly to reconsider their position, not to the effect that they would abandon their plans to speak, obviously not, but to the effect that they would speak earlier. I suggest that members be good enough during the day to approach the Secretariat to indicate an earlier day when they will speak.

The delegation of Morocco has indicated its wish to become a co-sponsor of draft resolution A/C.1/33/L.58