

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

FIFTEENTH SPECIAL SESSION

Official Records



**22nd
PLENARY MEETING**

Saturday, 25 June 1988,
at 11.50 p.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. Peter FLORIN
(German Democratic Republic).

Programme of Work

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): I call on Mr. Richard William Butler of Australia, Vice-Chairman of the Committee of the Whole of the Fifteenth Special Session.

2. Mr. BUTLER (Australia), Vice-Chairman of the Committee of the Whole: On behalf of Mr. Ahmed, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole, I have the privilege to report to this plenary meeting of the special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament on the progress of our work to date.

3. The Committee of the Whole has been involved in intensive consultations in the search for a consensus concluding document of the special session. A short while ago the Committee agreed to suspend its work and to allow private consultations to take place in the search for consensus. At the present moment those consultations are continuing, and I think I can say there is hope that they will reach a successful conclusion. The fact is that a little more time is required for the completion of those consultations on this day, 25 June, and it is my submission to the Assembly, on behalf of the Chairman of the Committee of the Whole, that note be taken of these developments and that time be allowed for those consultations to continue on 25 June.

4. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): In view of the situation the Vice-Chairman of the Committee of the Whole has just described, we shall suspend this meeting until that body concludes its consultations.

The meeting was suspended at 11.55 p.m., Saturday, 25 June, and resumed at 5.25 a.m., Sunday, 26 June.

Scale of Assessments For The Apportionment of The Expenses of The United Nations*

5. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): I should like to draw the attention of members to document A/S-15/18/Add.3, which contains a letter dated 24 June 1988 addressed to me by the Secretary-General informing me that, since the issuance of his communications dated 31 May and 2 and 14 June respectively, Equatorial Guinea has made the necessary payment to reduce its arrears below the amount

*Resumed from the 20th meeting.

specified in Article 19 of the Charter. May I take it that the General Assembly duly takes note of this information?

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 3

Credentials of representatives to the fifteenth special session of the General Assembly:*

(b) Report of the Credentials Committee

6. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): I invite members to turn their attention to the draft resolution recommended by the Credentials Committee in paragraph 17 of its second report [A/S-15/36/Add.1]. I shall now call upon those delegations that wish to speak in explanation of vote on the recommendation of the Credentials Committee.

7. Mr. SERVAIS (Belgium) (*interpretation from French*): The fact that my delegation has not objected to the credentials of the delegation of Afghanistan cannot in any way be interpreted as implying recognition of the present régime in that country.

8. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): We shall now take a decision on the recommendation of the Credentials Committee contained in paragraph 17 of its report. In the Credentials Committee, the draft resolution was adopted without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to proceed in the same manner?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution S-15/1 B).

9. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): I shall now call upon those representatives who wish to explain their positions.

10. Mr. FISCHER (Federal Republic of Germany): I want to place on record our position on the credentials of the delegation of Afghanistan. It is important to note that the task of the Credentials Committee is not a political one. The Committee is not called upon to make political judgements about the Governments that issue credentials. The fact that we participated in the consensus on the report of the Credentials Committee does not imply any such judgement from our side.

11. Miss SOLESBY (United Kingdom): The fact that my delegation has raised no formal challenge to the credentials of the delegation of Afghanistan should in no way be taken to imply that the Government of the United Kingdom will deal with

the present régime in Kabul on a Government-to-Government basis.

12. Mr. KAMAL (Pakistan): In regard to the second report of the Credentials Committee, my delegation wishes to place on record its formal reservation to the credentials of the delegation representing Afghanistan at the third special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. In view of the decision taken by the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the realities of the situation in Afghanistan, Pakistan continues to adhere to its policy of withholding recognition of the régime in Kabul.

13. Mr. YU Mengjia (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): Agreement has been reached with regard to the question of Afghanistan, but the relevant document has not been fully implemented. Therefore my delegation maintains its reservations as regards representation of Afghanistan.

AGENDA ITEMS 10 TO 16

Assessment of the implementation of the decisions and recommendations adopted by the General Assembly at its tenth and twelfth special sessions:

- (a) Report of the Conference on Disarmament;
- (b) Report of the Disarmament Commission;
- (c) Resolutions of the General Assembly in the field of arms limitation and disarmament;
- (d) Status of negotiations on arms limitations and disarmament in bilateral and various multilateral forums

Consideration and adoption of the Comprehensive Programme of Disarmament

Assessment of developments and trends, including qualitative and quantitative aspects, relevant to the disarmament process, with a view to the elaboration of appropriate concrete and practical measures and, if necessary, additional principles, taking duly into account the principles and priorities established in the final document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly, the first special session devoted to disarmament

Consideration of the role of the United Nations in the field of disarmament and of the effectiveness of the disarmament machinery

United Nations information and educational activities in the field of disarmament, including measures to mobilize world public opinion in favour of disarmament:

- (a) World Disarmament Campaign;
- (b) Other public information activities

Relationship between disarmament and development, in the light of the action programme adopted at the International Conference

Adoption, in an appropriate format, of the document(s) of the fifteenth special session of the General Assembly

14. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): The Assembly will now turn to the report of the Committee of the Whole of the Fifteenth Special Session [A/S-15/50] on agenda items 10 to 16. I request the Rapporteur of the Committee of the Whole, Mr. Pedro Núñez Mosquera of Cuba, to introduce the report.

15. Mr. NÚÑEZ MOSQUERA (Cuba), Rapporteur of the Committee of the Whole (*interpretation from Spanish*): It is my honour to place before the General Assembly for consideration the report of the Committee of the Whole of the Fifteenth Special Session, contained in document A/S-15/50. It has two main chapters, entitled "Introduction" and "Work of the Committee of the Whole". Annex I contains a list of proposals submitted by Member States, and annex II contains a list of non-governmental organizations and peace and disarmament research institutes that addressed the Committee.

16. The report objectively reflects the work done by the Committee of the Whole over the past few weeks. It is an expression of the persevering hard work of all delegations.

17. The introduction contains 14 paragraphs. It gives a brief description of the work of the Committee of the Whole from its establishment by the General Assembly on 31 May 1988 until its meeting of 20 June. This first chapter also covers, *inter alia*, the election of the Committee's Chairman, the 18 Vice-Chairmen and the Rapporteur. Reference is made to the decision to set up three working groups: Working Group I, under the chairmanship of Mr. Davidson Hepburn of the Bahamas, to deal with agenda item 10; Working Group II, under the chairmanship of Mr. Paul-Joachim von Stuelpnagel of the Federal Republic of Germany, to deal with agenda items 12 and 15; and Working Group III, under the chairmanship of Mr. Paul Bamela Engo of Cameroon, to deal with agenda items 13 and 14. Reference is also made to the Committee's decision to authorize its Chairman to ask Mr. Alfonso García Robles of Mexico to conduct consultations on agenda item 11 and to report subsequently to the Committee.

18. Another matter of some importance is the status of the documents that the Committee of the Whole had before it on agenda items 1 through 15, some of which were introduced in the General Assembly and others directly in the Committee of the Whole. All are listed in paragraph 14 of the Committee's report.

19. Chapter II of the report concerns the work of the Committee of the Whole on agenda items 10 to 15. There is a brief report on the substantive work of the working groups and on the consultations conducted by Mr. García Robles.

20. Working Group I held 13 meetings between 6 and 17 June, and the Committee of the Whole, at its 8th meeting, on 20 June, took note of the report of the Working Group [A/S-15/AC.1/18].

21. Working Group II held 11 meetings between 6 and 17 June, and the Committee of the Whole, at its 8th meeting, took note of the report of the Working Group [A/S-15/AC.1/19 and Add.1-3].

22. Working Group III held 12 meetings between 7 and 17 June, and at its 8th meeting the Committee of the Whole took note of the report of the Working Group [A/S-15/AC.1/20 and Corr.1]. At the same meeting a report of the Chairman of the Working Group [A/S-15/AC.1/21] was also presented.

23. In addition, at the 8th meeting of the Committee of the Whole, Mr. García Robles reported on the results of his consultations, which are reflected in the verbatim record of that meeting [A/S-15/AC.1/PV.8].

24. The final paragraph of the report reads as follows:

“At its 10th meeting, held on 25 June, the Committee of the Whole adopted its report, as contained in document A/S-15/AC.1/L.1 (Part I) and Corr.1 and A/S-15/AC.1/L.1 (Part III).”

25. I should like to make mention of the determination with which all delegations worked in the formal and informal meetings and during unofficial consultations, and the dedication demonstrated by all the Secretariat staff, in particular the staff of the Department for Disarmament Affairs. I am especially grateful for the assistance given me.

26. I have confined myself in this statement to introducing the report and outlining its technical aspects; it would not be appropriate for the Rapporteur to evaluate the results achieved. Representatives speaking on behalf of their Governments will have an opportunity to do that, but first and foremost it will be the peoples of the world that will assess our work. They deserve our best efforts; they will judge our actions.

27. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): If there is no proposal under rule 66 of the rules of procedure, I shall take it that there will be no discussion of the report of the Committee of the Whole.

Pursuant to rule 66 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the report of the Committee of the Whole.

28. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): In that connection, I suggest that the General Assembly proceed immediately to take note of the report of the Committee of the Whole, on the understanding that any delegation wishing to do so will be free to make statements of position on the subject afterwards. May I take it that it is the wish of the General Assembly to follow that procedure?

It was so decided.

29. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): The Assembly will now proceed to take a decision on the report of the Committee of the Whole of the fifteenth special session, contained in document A/S-15/50. May I take it that the General Assembly takes note of the report of the Committee of the Whole as the concluding document of the special session?

It was so decided (decision S-15/24).

30. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): I shall now call on representatives wishing to make statements in explanation of their positions. I remind speakers that interventions by delegations are limited to 10 minutes and should be made by delegations from their seats.

31. Mr. von STUELPNAGEL (Federal Republic of Germany): Speaking on behalf of the 12 member States of the European Community, I seize this opportunity to thank you, Mr. President, for the dedication and efficiency with which you have presided over our meetings.

32. The Twelve express their regret that this special session could not find consensus in the main part of its work and that no consensus could be reached despite the fact that in all caucuses—in the Working Groups, in the Committee of the Whole, and in small and large consultations—the atmosphere was remarkably good and the willingness of all delegations to contribute to success was visible. We had a wise, able and efficient Chairman of the Committee of the Whole, and the Working Groups had done some good preparation.

33. We regret that the concrete achievements during the last years and months in nuclear and conventional disarmament could not be translated to the global multilateral field and that we did not find consensus.

34. We should not now ask whose fault this was. What we must do is answer the question “How can we all maintain the role of the United Nations in the field of multilateral disarmament?”, and we must live up to our answer.

35. It is our hope that the findings of this special session, which are quite remarkable, may contribute to the development of a new spirit that will promote the ideals of what has been called “constructive parallelism of bilateral and multilateral disarmament” in a mutually improving manner. No delegation is allowed to neglect its responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security and for its share in the field of multilateral disarmament. What we will have to do now is to assess how next we can come to a consensus on those subjects on which finally we could not agree.

36. The Twelve would like to thank Mr. Ahmed for his untiring efforts, his patience and his fairness. He is not to blame if the outcome of this special session is unsatisfying. He tried his best, and we owe him much gratitude and recognition. The Twelve also want to thank the translators and all the other members of the Secretariat who assisted us at this special session.

37. Mr. CASTRIOTO de AZAMBUJA (Brazil): The third special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament is drawing to a close. It has been held in the wake of a long series of efforts by the international community in the field of disarmament, most notably the special sessions of 1978 and 1982. The presence in this Hall over the last few weeks of an impressive number of heads of State and Government and foreign ministers clearly shows the common will for a world more secure and less armed. Likewise it reflects the renewed vitality of the multilateral process and the global recognition of the unique role of this Organization in dealing with matters of universal concern.

38. In this spirit, President José Sarney addressed the special session [*10th meeting*] to voice the faith of the Brazilian people and Government in the salutary process of building international peace and security through disarmament. Moreover, he expressed the support of the Brazilian Government for the United Nations and its central role in the field of disarmament.

39. The Brazilian delegation participated in a constructive spirit both during the preparatory work and in the work of the Committee of the Whole and its three Working Groups. We co-operated actively with all delegations in the search for balanced solutions. In the course of this exercise we have time and again displayed our willingness to be flexible and constructive in approaching the many important issues before us. We have, I believe, contributed to the efforts undertaken here by presenting a document containing principles pertaining to disarmament and international peace and security. Those principles, formulated originally in the address of President Sarney, translate some of our deep beliefs in some crucial areas.

40. The Brazilian delegation has always been supportive of the untiring efforts of Mr. Mansur Ahmed, the Chairman of the Committee of the Whole, in trying to find compromise solutions for issues where a wide spectrum of views existed. We have consistently accepted his formulations as a middle ground with which we could all go along. We have also supported the efforts of the Chairmen of the three Working Groups and of the rest of the officers of the Assembly.

41. Despite the strenuous work done by all delegations over the past weeks, however, it has not been possible to arrive at a full substantive text. My delegation, as many others, had hoped for a document that, building on the consensus of the Final Document of 1978 [*resolution S-10/2*], would reflect the new developments in the field of disarmament.

42. This is not the last special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. Others will follow, and the endeavour to build a world of peace and security based on the Charter will continue. We still have an enormous task ahead of us in the years to come—namely, implementation of the Programme of Action of 1978. This dynamic process will continue in the Conference on Disarmament and the Disarmament Commission and at future regular and special sessions of the General Assembly.

43. We were perhaps a bit too ambitious at this juncture. The good results of bilateral negotiations between the super-Powers encouraged many to believe that such gains could be translated into a new impulse for multilateral negotiations. Our recent experience has shown that that was not necessarily, nor immediately, the case.

44. Brazil continues to be fully engaged in our common endeavour of strengthening the role and primary responsibility of the United Nations in matters of disarmament and international peace and security.

45. My thanks must finally go to you, Mr. President, for your guidance and leadership throughout.

46. Mr. KATEKA (United Republic of Tanzania): We are coming to the end of the third special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. This session opened on a high note, with the participation of many heads of State or Government in the general debate, and we were led to believe that it would realize considerable achievement. Unfortunately, we were mistaken. The euphoria created by the improved relations between the two major nuclear Powers did not permeate this session. While we welcome the emerging dialogue between the two super-Powers and the improved climate in their relations, we have to be cautious. We have had such spells before, ranging from peaceful coexistence to détente. But such moments have come and gone, only to be replaced by periods of hostility and uneasiness. Such is the reality of international life.

47. Regrettably, those fluctuations in super-Power relations have had an impact on the United Nations and the three special sessions of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. For example, in 1978, which marked the tail end of détente, we managed to have a successful first special session on disarmament. Four years later, in 1982, relations between the super-Powers were at a low ebb, and thus the second such session did not achieve much. Now, in 1988, when relations between the United States and the Soviet Union are at their best, we are faced with the irony of the third special session being a failure.

48. The events of the last few hours and the frantic efforts to salvage the session are testimony to the lack of political will to have a fruitful conclusion to this special session. It has been a typical case of too little, too late. What we have witnessed shows that it does not follow that improved relations between the two super-Powers will always be to the advantage of multilateralism. What we have witnessed here during the past four weeks is ample evidence of obstructionism on the part of some and a conspiracy of silence on the part of others.

49. We have been reminded from time to time that our multilateral negotiations are inconvenient and uncalled for in view of the success in the bilateral dialogue between the two super-Powers. We are thus expected to behave like disinterested onlookers while the fate of mankind is determined by the mighty Powers. We think the United Nations should not be held hostage to bilateral negotiations; we cannot accept that. We reject the attempt by some Powers to hijack this session by dictating the direction of the

agenda to issues that are of greater significance to the majority of mankind. We have heard arguments, for example, that arms are not a cause but, rather, a symptom of international tensions. But do we need to remind the special session that the arms are the very cause of all our troubles?

50. We have been disappointed by attempts to revise and water down the Final Document of the first special session, as evidenced by the refusal of some Powers to reaffirm its validity. They have told us that we should be forward-looking and not look to the past. But we could rewrite the 1978 Final Document in the document of this session—which, unfortunately, we have not managed to adopt—without any adverse consequences. In 1978, for example, we said that

“No real progress has been made . . . in the crucial field of reduction of armaments For more than a decade there have been no negotiations leading to a treaty on general and complete disarmament.” [See resolution S-10/2, para. 17.]

Who can fault that passage from the 1978 document?

51. Aside from the Treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Elimination of Their Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles—the INF Treaty—which reduces only a tiny fraction of nuclear missiles, what have we achieved in the decade since 1978? Even the convention on chemical weapons has to this day eluded the Conference on Disarmament.

52. What, then, are we going to give to the international community to justify the four weeks we have spent in intensive negotiations? The answer is: Nothing. The necessary good will for success was lacking from the days of the Preparatory Committee and from the first day of this special session. The priorities that were set out in 1978 have largely been ignored. In our negotiations, efforts were made to downplay the priority to be accorded to nuclear weapons, which pose the greatest danger to mankind and to the survival of civilization. Those who believe that nuclear weapons have maintained world peace for the past 40 years have ensured that prominence was not given to the question of nuclear weapons. But, unfortunately, undiminished security can only be achieved by genuine efforts to reduce and ultimately to eliminate nuclear weapons. It cannot be achieved by nuclear deterrence or by such language as “limited nuclear war” and “mutual balance of terror”.

53. My delegation had intended to underscore a few areas of its concern, but owing to the lateness of the hour we shall refrain from doing so. However, we should like to conclude by saying that, while we realize that the third special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament is not the end of the disarmament process, we leave New York disenchanted by the lack of any achievement. We leave without a clear message to the world of the seriousness of our effort. Observers will look with disapproval at how we failed to build on the 1978 achievement. It is a sad commentary on the state of

disarmament negotiations on the multilateral level. Objective observers will not fail to notice that at the eleventh hour we made an attempt to find some face-saving mechanism, but that we did not succeed. No amount of patchwork could overcome the differences. We cannot feel proud of this.

54. Mr. YAMADA (Japan): As we conclude the third special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament I wish to express the sincere appreciation of the Japanese delegation to you, Mr. President, for the excellent leadership you have exerted. I would like to extend my heartfelt gratitude to my dear friend, Mr. Mansur Ahmed, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole, for his untiring and devoted efforts to bring the special session to a success conclusion. My delegation's appreciation also goes to Mr. Hepburn, Mr. von Stuelpnagel, Mr. Engo and Mr. García Robles, and to Mr. Núñez Mosquera, who have rendered valuable assistance to the Chairman of the Committee of the Whole.

55. My delegation deeply regrets that the many hours of very hard work we all put in have not been able to produce a concluding document based on consensus. However, my delegation feels that the intensive search for consensus has been a very valuable process. We were able to identify areas of convergence on many of the major disarmament issues which we should be tackling in the years to come. We were indeed very close to agreement. We should not take this as failure.

56. I note in particular that on the two issues to which the Government of Japan attaches high priority—the nuclear-test ban and nuclear non-proliferation—we found a large body of the international community sharing our belief on the direction in which we should be proceeding.

57. It is also encouraging that we reached an extensive measure of consensus on the issues related to the machinery that would be of particular relevance as we continue our multilateral disarmament efforts. We should not let those significant agreements drift away. We should continue to exert utmost efforts in these and other areas. In doing so, we should make the best possible use of consensus, or the seeds of consensus identified through our efforts during the past four weeks. The Government of Japan pledges its full commitment to the task ahead of us.

58. Mr. OTT (German Democratic Republic): I have the honour to deliver a joint statement on behalf of the delegations of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Hungarian People's Republic, the Mongolian People's Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the Socialist Republic of Romania, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

59. The third special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament has been an important event in the ongoing international dialogue on security and disarmament. With this session, the United Nations had to respond to the challenges of our time. It provided a universal forum for a broad dialogue

for paving the way towards the solution of the most crucial problems humanity confronts at present and will confront in the future. At this session ways and means have been outlined on how we can—and, indeed, must—take the chance given by recent improvements in the international climate to foster and broaden the process of disarmament, confidence and co-operation. These main elements should become the prevailing features of international relations.

60. This special session has had a real chance to contribute to harmonizing the efforts undertaken in other forums dealing with issues of disarmament and security in the bilateral, regional and multilateral work. It is therefore to be regretted that it was not possible, despite the great efforts made by many delegations, to reach consensus on a substantive concluding document. The conditions for that were more favourable than ever before in the last few years.

61. At the beginning of this session the Treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Elimination of Their Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles entered into force, and at their Moscow summit meeting the leaders of both countries made new headway with regard to further agreements on arms limitation and disarmament. These achievements were promoted by the actions of many States, anti-war movements and peace-loving forces on all continents. Disarmament, being a universal human aspiration, has become a universal goal of mankind which can indeed be attained.

62. Guided by the conviction that disarmament is the main road to security, socialist countries have not only submitted concrete disarmament proposals but also by deeds have promoted the achievement of respective measures. They have taken an active and a constructive part in the deliberations of this special session. In the memorandum entitled "Security through Disarmament" [A/S-15/26, *annex*] and in other working papers, as well as in the statements made by their representatives during the general debate, the socialist States have outlined ways and means to solve the broad spectrum of disarmament issues, to strengthen international security and to ensure greater confidence and create an atmosphere of trust.

63. The delegations of the socialist States regard it as positive that, all in all, a businesslike atmosphere prevailed at the special session. Unfortunately, the existing differences of opinion turned out to be stronger than the will for co-operation and for a balanced consensus. We should like to highlight the important contributions made by representatives of non-governmental organizations and scientific institutions regarding key issues of war and peace.

64. It should not be overlooked that at this session many new constructive ideas have been advanced. Such ideas relate to, among other things, an integrated approach towards international peace and security. They cover a wide range of measures concerning arms limitation and disarmament, verification, confidence-building and the disarmament machinery. We consider these initiatives and the discussion on

them to be an indication that, step by step, a new thinking on international security and disarmament and a comprehensive approach to these questions is taking shape. On the other hand, outdated stereotyped thinking is persistent and still influences the policy of some States in the field of disarmament.

65. There is growing recognition, however, that in our interdependent world lasting peace and international security require multilateral co-operation in the field of disarmament.

66. The delegations of the socialist States reaffirm the various proposals they have submitted at this session. We will spare no efforts in order to achieve further progress in elaborating and adopting the various internationally agreed measures. We attach special importance and give priority to further steps to reduce nuclear weapons, leading to their final elimination.

67. An issue of special importance will be the intensification of the work at the Conference on Disarmament on measures leading to a comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty in harmony with the Soviet-American full-scale, stage-by-stage negotiations.

68. The intensification of efforts to solve the few outstanding problems of a convention on the prohibition of chemical weapons will prove the potential of the single disarmament negotiating body to achieve agreement on a measure of genuine disarmament. We appeal to all States to promote this objective.

69. In our endeavours for nuclear disarmament we will continue to promote the strengthening of the régime of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons as well as the creation of nuclear-weapon-free zones. Our session has proved again the growing support for such important measures as steps towards achieving a nuclear-weapon-free world.

70. The prevention of an arms race in outer space through the conclusion of an international agreement or agreements is an urgent task and is the subject of important proposals which should be pursued with all resolve and international co-operation, for the peaceful uses of outer space should be promoted. We will also further pursue the objective of prohibiting radiological weapons.

71. At this special session it became even more apparent that besides nuclear disarmament, constructive efforts are also needed in the conventional field. The socialist States share this view. In Europe we work for the commencement in 1988 of negotiations on substantial reductions of armed forces and conventional armaments from the Atlantic to the Urals. These disarmament measures should be accompanied by a reduction of military expenditures in order to improve the conditions for the social and economic development of the peoples and to enhance international co-operation on a mutually advantageous basis.

72. The socialist States believe the authority and role of the United Nations in the field of disarmament need to be increased and that its political, legal and moral status needs to be enhanced. In

particular, full use should be made of the potential of the Security Council, in accordance with Articles 26 and 47 of the Charter.

73. To consolidate the progress achieved over recent years in the field of arms limitation, disarmament and confidence-building, as well as to achieve a decisive breakthrough, collective efforts by the international community of States are imperative. The socialist States have always worked in a businesslike manner and with a readiness for compromise to reach concrete results and bring about a substantive concluding document. We are ready in the future to co-operate with all countries in making disarmament a continuous, comprehensive and irreversible process.

74. Let me take this opportunity to thank you personally, Sir, and the Secretary-General and his able staff for the excellent work done. In particular, I should like to express our gratitude to Mr. Ahmed, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole, for his tireless efforts in trying to bring this session to a successful conclusion. Our thanks also go to all the other officers of the Committee, and especially to the Chairmen of the Working Groups.

75. Mr. YU Mengjia (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): The current special session on disarmament has attracted the attention of many Governments and peoples. Many heads of State or Government and ministers for foreign affairs from many countries have travelled far to the United Nations to express their desire for peace and disarmament and to state their respective positions on disarmament.

76. In order for the Assembly at this session to achieve success many delegations, on the basis of a spirit of active participation and reality, have put forward many suggestions to promote disarmament. Many non-governmental organizations from the five continents and persons devoted to disarmament have contributed to giving publicity to disarmament and to advocating disarmament.

77. In a period of almost a month we have carried out intense work and frequent consultations. We had originally hoped that as a result of those efforts we would achieve good results to promote the work of disarmament. However, we have not reached agreement on a concluding document, and we cannot but express our regret about that.

78. As everybody knows, all countries have a responsibility for world peace. Every country has its own position and views on disarmament. In order to reach a consensus document, the various sides must try their best to find common ground, while their differences remain. Many countries have made serious efforts in this regard. However, we must frankly point out that a certain country with special disarmament responsibilities over-emphasized certain logic that others cannot understand and insisted strongly on its position. That is one of the important reasons why we did not achieve consensus.

79. As some representatives have pointed out, our session has not been in vain. The achievement of our goal has only been postponed. The work of disarmament is too important for international peace and

security and for the welfare of all peoples and countries for us to have any alternative to continuing our efforts to achieve success.

80. In recent years there has been some progress in disarmament work and some détente in international situations. The peoples have welcomed this development. However, the arms race, in particular the qualitative arms race, has continued and posed a challenge to mankind. The disarmament task is still very arduous and difficult. Needless to say, all countries still need to make efforts to achieve international peace and security. This session has to a certain degree demonstrated the arduous nature of our work.

81. Finally, I express our sincere gratitude to you, Mr. President, to Mr. Ahmed, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole, and to the Chairmen of the various Working Groups for their great efforts. I also express our thanks and appreciation to the Under-Secretary-General of the Department for Disarmament Affairs and to that Department for its efficient service and to all the Secretariat staff.

82. Mr. GHAVEHCHI-MASHHADI (Islamic Republic of Iran): A former United Nations Under-Secretary-General once said that only a complete change of heart or a devastating crisis can bring the big Powers to shoulder their responsibilities. This session, with all the efforts for its preparation and the favourable international atmosphere, as well as the relentless attempts by the majority of the delegations present, was blighted some minutes ago. It is regrettable to see that the session did not live up to international expectations.

83. Disarmament constitutes an important and pressing need of our time which can contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security. Unfortunately, during the past decade we have witnessed the great resort by nations to armaments, and the arms race has gained momentum on an unprecedented scale. This was due in large measure to a lack of justice in international relations and to the pursuit of the policy of might makes right. In the past decade the territorial integrity of nations was trampled, sovereign States became victims of aggression, and many international laws and regulations, as well as customary laws, recognized norms of conduct, conventions and international protocols, were violated.

84. We had hoped at this session to work out arrangements to restore the faith of peoples in international instruments, to give them confidence that their rights are safeguarded by the international community, and in that way to contribute to international peace and security at lower levels of armaments. Unfortunately, our hopes were dashed. We have gone a long way, and now all of us are exhausted and unsatisfied with the results of the session.

85. Now that the first rays of the morning sun are putting an end to our dark night here, let us commit ourselves to making joint and common efforts for the good of all mankind. We cannot do that unilaterally. Let us draw lessons from this session before a devastating crisis occurs, since it would then be too

late. Nothing must countervail our march to victory, which is the achievement of lofty human values.

86. Finally, I express my delegation's sincere thanks to you, Mr. President, to Mr. Mansur Ahmed, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole, to the Chairmen of the Working Groups and to all those who so generously rendered their services to this session.

87. Mr. FRIEDERSDORF (United States of America): The United States delegation regrets very much that it was not possible to reach consensus on a substantive concluding document that would have embodied the very widely shared view that real progress in disarmament has been achieved and that prospects for further progress are good. The draft document that was being developed under the patient and skilful guidance of Mr. Ahmed of Pakistan was acceptable in large measure to most delegations. It is unfortunate that the remaining differences of view could not be bridged.

88. I want to highlight the recognition that has been accorded to the importance of the INF Treaty between the United States and the Soviet Union, to the ongoing bilateral negotiations to achieve a 50 per cent reduction in strategic arms, to a global ban on chemical weapons, to strengthening the non-proliferation régime and to the importance of addressing the problem of conventional weapons. The importance of verification of and compliance with arms limitation and disarmament agreements has also been widely acknowledged.

89. In spite of the absence of a concluding document for our approval now, the United States delegation considers the third special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament to have been a very useful session. We have listened to the important views of heads of State or Government and other high-level representatives on crucial issues of our time relating to international security. We have a new understanding. This new understanding is one that I believe is very widely shared; it is an understanding of how to build upon the successes achieved in the past several years and how to maintain and strengthen existing agreements. Most importantly, it is an understanding of how to take significant steps in nuclear and conventional disarmament over the next several years—steps that should take us towards a world of increased stability and security, towards a more peaceful world which we all most earnestly seek.

90. Mr. RODRIGO (Sri Lanka): Allow me at the outset to express our appreciation to you, Mr. President, for all your endeavours during this session which is now ending.

91. Assessments are not very easy; they had at any rate best be brief. To have laboured so long and not to have succeeded in reaching a consensus is a great pity. The promise and expectations of the time were great. The result has, unfortunately, not matched them. All of us are losers in a sense. Nevertheless, the effort has not been entirely wasted: we are all better informed about each other's positions and the firmness, obduracy and even intractability with which some of them are held, and to that extent even

more conscious of the complexities of the issues involved. More importantly, the long hours of debate and controversy have indicated the deep concern of the entire membership of the Organization about the state of disarmament negotiations.

92. We have all welcomed the improved relations between the United States and the Soviet Union, the INF agreement and the potential and promise all that affords for the future.

93. As a non-aligned State, we are glad that our long-held view has been vindicated—that peace and security cannot be guaranteed by armaments and the accumulation of armaments. As the leader of Sri Lanka's delegation, Foreign Minister Hameed, indicated in the general debate [*18th meeting*], security is best promoted by shedding rather than adding arms.

94. This is certainly no time to detail Sri Lanka's position on the various issues that were before this special session on disarmament. We see this session, despite the lack of agreement, as an affirmation of the international community's deep concern about disarmament. This is not the first special session on disarmament, nor do we believe it will be the last; this is a continuous process, each session building upon the past sessions and making its influence felt on future sessions. It is an occasion for the international community, through the United Nations, regularly to review progress in disarmament negotiations, to assess the present and to plan and project for the future.

95. We have no consensus document, but the extent and the level of the participation leave no doubt that, as an exercise in participation in disarmament issues, it has indeed succeeded. The United Nations remains the parliament for disarmament. All of us must make use of it with responsibility. That is the least we owe to the peoples we represent here.

96. Finally, my delegation's thanks are due to you, Mr. President, and to the three Chairmen of the Working Groups. I should like to address a very special word of thanks and deep appreciation to Mr. Mansur Ahmed of Pakistan for his wise, dedicated and patient efforts.

97. Mrs. THEORIN (Sweden): Let me first express my delegation's appreciation of the efforts of all the elected officers, not least the Chairman of the Committee of the Whole, Mr. Ahmed.

98. The United Nations is no stronger than its Members allow it to be, nor is the special session. We came here to form a consensus document on disarmament for the years to come. We came from East, West, North and South. We represent rich and poor countries with different cultures, backgrounds and political systems. We have one thing in common—a longing for peace, security and a better life for our peoples. We also have a common responsibility to make every effort to fulfil those aspirations.

99. It is without doubt the joint responsibility of the major nuclear Powers to eliminate the nuclear threat and create the foundation for peace. But peace and security can be built only by the common efforts of the whole international society. All nations have a

stake in and responsibility for our common future, and all should have an opportunity to participate. It cannot be in any country's interest to have the international community set aside in the field of disarmament. This applies especially to the present, because for the first time in history we have seen a nuclear disarmament treaty signed and we are clearly in a positive climate for future disarmament.

100. Therefore, my delegation strongly deplores that in the end it has not proved possible to bring this special session to a successful conclusion, mainly owing to the fact that we did not allow ourselves enough time. It would have been easier to accept failure owing to a real impossibility of solving the outstanding issues. But, not least, this past evening and night convinced me of the real willingness to reach a consensus agreement among us.

101. As other delegations have already mentioned, we reached agreements on issues of great importance, not least among them several important nuclear issues. My delegation has made great efforts during the past few weeks to find language acceptable to each and every one, and in the spirit of compromise we were willing to give up positions to which we attached great importance. Our own demands have been very sensible; nevertheless, in the end we were not successful.

102. In these circumstances, I am impelled to express my Government's disappointment that it has not proved possible to reach consensus. As though by design and not by accident, we hear the thunder and notice the heavy clouds darkening the skies outside. Let it not be a sign for the future work. As old wisdom has it: "Better to light one candle than to curse the darkness." I fully agree with that. But to be very honest, even though I am by nature optimistic, I really do not see that "candle" for the international community just now.

103. Miss SOLESBY (United Kingdom): Our session has not ended in the way we would all have hoped; it is a moment of great disappointment to my delegation, as to all of us.

104. My Government has been committed to work wholeheartedly for a successful outcome to our special session. We saw it as an opportunity to consolidate the positive achievements in arms control over recent years and to point the way forward. In some important respects we have fulfilled that aim, in particular through the debate in the plenary meetings of the Assembly where my own Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, was among those who made statements [10th meeting].

105. My delegation has played its full part in the efforts for a concluding document. Like other delegations, we have put forward a number of specific proposals for action as well as drafting suggestions. It is sad that our joint efforts did not result in a consensus on a concluding document. I believe all representatives were working in a constructive and positive spirit, but it just did not prove possible to resolve all the differences between us.

106. We must now do our best to build on the positive side of our session. My own delegation will

be particularly concerned to pursue the proposals put forward by my Foreign Secretary for improving the effectiveness of the ban on the use of chemical weapons under the 1925 Geneva Protocol. We have a full practical agenda, not only in nuclear-arms-control measures, but also steps to reduce the worrying levels of conventional arms and forces in many areas of the world, as well as the negotiations in the Conference on Disarmament for a comprehensive, global and effectively verifiable convention on chemical weapons. This agenda calls for complementary measures on a bilateral, regional and global basis. For our part, we intend to press ahead with the work before us.

107. I should like to join others in paying warm tribute to Mr. Ahmed for his dedicated and wise leadership, as well as to the Chairmen of the three Working Groups, and to the Under-Secretary-General and the staff of the Department for Disarmament Affairs. And my thanks to you, Mr. President, for the able way you have presided over our session.

108. Mr. ENGO (Cameroon): I have been looking for quotations. I think our emotions are touched; the moment seems sad; sometimes when a single unhappy event occurs a man seems to forget about the happier things. I believe it was Shakespeare who wrote

"When beggars die, there are no comets seen;

The heavens themselves blaze forth the death of princes."

Reference has been made to the sound of thunder we hear from outside. If it demonstrates sadness in any way, I think it is sadness that all our labours, all the tremendous advances we have made in different directions are not in fact reflected for the international community to see.

109. I asked to speak in order to express deep regret that a document that formed the basis for our negotiations is no longer with us. If only that document had been published and given its rightful place, with sufficient explanation about areas in which we could not find agreement, and if only it had been shown that we were able to formulate 62 paragraphs, meeting with difficulty in only five or six. As the representative of Sweden would put it, if we had had a little more time we might have reduced that number.

Mr. van Schaik (Netherlands), Vice-President, took the Chair.

110. We must not end on a note of despair and remorse. If we turn back the clock to our preparatory work, we will recall that at that time our labours were plagued by renditions of various traditional national positions, most of which were variations on old themes of confrontation, most of them taking their cue from conditions of conflict that seem to plague our generation at this time. If we turned the record over and replayed what has happened during these past four weeks, we would find a definite decision on the part of most if not all delegations to attempt to seek solutions to the problems.

111. It must be understood that sometimes we are working under very difficult circumstances, because those who give us instructions about what we should do, what positions we should take and what form the negotiations must take are not always present at the scene of negotiations to understand the climate in which we representatives must try to negotiate very important issues. That is part of the difficulty we face. In some instances one has considerable negotiating to do even within one's own nation, and the bigger it is, the more complex the situation.

112. I do not want to provide reasons for those who were unable to make the type of contribution they would have liked to make to our work, but one thing that runs through our minds, no matter how remorseful we feel, is that the important role of the United Nations has once again been demonstrated to its highest degree. We have here ambassadors and specialists and representatives from around the globe. Outside a regular session of the General Assembly, we have had a full Hall here; at every forum in which we negotiated the rooms were full. That demonstrates at least that the United Nations is still considered a very important place where nations must try to negotiate the future of mankind. I think that is a happy thing, especially at a time when we are all praying and working hard to ensure that the multilateral process succeeds.

113. My delegation, as the delegation of an African nation, is particularly pleased that, consistent with the wish we expressed in our opening statement, it has been possible at this session for all sectors of humanity to understand that Africans, who are sometimes considered not developed enough to embark on sophisticated negotiations in various forums, demonstrated, we hope to everyone, that our concern for the peace of the world and for security is no less than that of any other country or any other part of the world. In recent years, at the level of heads of State or Government and at the level of foreign ministers, the African scene has seen much discussion about security, about confidence-building, about verification and so forth. We are there, and that is the message we have brought to this forum.

114. Looking to the future, we must understand that the United Nations is not an institution that was set up to register only successes in terms of attending conventions. The United Nations begins to register its success with the mere fact of its being able to organize meetings, with the fact that it is able to organize mankind in such a way that we can address problems of common and mutual interest. That is the foundation. The Vice-President now in the Chair comes from a country that participated in the European Cup Final yesterday; it had the great joy and privilege of winning the Cup, beating a country considered a super-Power of this age. Yet, watching that match one recognizes that in terms of sport there were two victors yesterday: both the Soviet Union and the Netherlands won because they maintained the great traditions of sport. They both played well, and they both promoted international understanding by the high standard they maintained.

115. I think we here can take a lesson from that: we met here, we recognized one another's right to speak, to propose and also to disagree. Consequently, I

think we should depart feeling satisfied that we have in fact reached a certain stage. We might not have attained a document called a final document as a result of our efforts, yet we have brought home to the cynics the conviction and the truth that this is a viable institution and that the United Nations must continue increasingly to play a vital, in fact a central, role in the process of seeking peace and security for mankind. I think one of the greatest of our attainments was to recognize some of those elements. We also had a large degree of consensus on the machinery for realizing those truths. Even if we did not adopt a document by consensus we have all come to a meeting of the minds as to how we should strengthen the machinery by which we are trying to address the disarmament question.

Mr. Florin (German Democratic Republic) resumed the Chair.

116. Those few thoughts should give us courage; they should inspire us to greater effort in the future. That is the message we should carry to our respective Governments to reassure them that here there is a forum in which we can solve problems, that the meeting between the Soviet Union and the United States can be viable and long-lasting if it is part of this system.

117. I wish to end by thanking the Chairman of the Committee of the Whole, Mr. Mansur Ahmed, and the Rapporteur, Mr. Pedro Núñez Mosquera of Cuba, who gave us such an adequate report. We also thank you, Mr. President, for your patience in staying up until this hour. We want to thank all delegations here for making this effort so worthwhile.

118. Mr. PETROVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): Today we are witnessing the closing of the third special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament; tomorrow the session will belong to history. I think I am fully justified in saying that this session will occupy a very prominent place in the annals of the United Nations. It was convened at a very important time, when a period of true nuclear disarmament was beginning. It was precisely at this time that our session, accompanied by a genuinely popular assembly of representatives of various social and non-governmental organizations, initiated fresh ideas and proposals, the implementation of which will make it possible to put into motion the entire disarmament machinery and lend real content and meaning to it.

119. The session showed that the new political thinking presupposing the rejection of confrontation and power struggles, and the parallel constructivism of multilateral and bilateral efforts by States have begun to take root widely in world politics. In fact, the dialogue on security in the military field during the session has been given new meaning. The culture of dialogue has become different as well. It has ceased to be verbal fencing in a quest for victory over an adversary and is becoming a source of truth in the search for ideas. Of course, the resumption of United Nations activities has, as for anything new, been restrained by conservative reactionary forces; this was reflected in the work of the session. We share the regret expressed by other delegations that because of those forces it was impossible to reach agreement on

a document, especially since consensus was nearly within our grasp. The Soviet delegation was prepared to do what it could to reach consensus on all points of the document.

120. Yet we should not be totally discouraged. As a unique laboratory of new ideas, the session has created a considerable possibility for its rich potential to be utilized in practical action, albeit in other forums, thus serving to further movement in all areas of disarmament.

121. The Soviet Union has been given powerful impetus for action in all areas of the quest for disarmament. We note with satisfaction that our priorities are shared by the international community. Those priorities include: the conclusion of a treaty between the Soviet Union and the United States on a 50 per cent reduction of strategic offensive arms and compliance with the Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems, signed in 1972; the prohibition of testing nuclear weapons; the prevention of an arms race in outer space; the prompt conclusion of a convention prohibiting chemical weapons and the elimination of industrial facilities for their production; the reduction of conventional weapons and armed forces and the beginning of negotiations on that subject with respect to Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals; and, finally, the introduction into the disarmament process of machinery for verification, openness and trust.

122. Our road to disarmament has many lanes, where there is room for bilateral as well as multilateral efforts. We think it extremely important, in present conditions, that the bilateral processes be supplemented by multilateral processes and that they enrich each other in all these areas. And, certainly, we shall continue to rely on the wisdom and experience of the international community and the knowledge we have acquired during this special session.

123. In conclusion, we convey our sincere thanks to you, Sir, to Mr. Ahmed, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole, to the Chairmen of the Working Groups, to the Under-Secretary-General for Disarmament Affairs and to all the Secretariat staff who assisted us in the work of our session.

124. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): We have thus concluded our consideration of agenda items 10 to 16 and of all the other items on our agenda.

Statement by the President

125. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): The fifteenth special session of the General Assembly has been the third such session devoted exclusively to questions of disarmament. It has been an important highlight in the eventful history of our world Organization's dealing with this question so vital for mankind.

126. At this special session there has been a productive and very important general debate, held at the highest level ever in the history of special sessions devoted to disarmament. Our thanks go to the many heads of State or Government, foreign ministers and heads of delegation who with great commitment

participated in that debate, which in my view was characterized by a qualitatively new level of multilateral discussion of problems of arms limitation and disarmament.

127. It has become clear from the substantive and generally business-like deliberations how the positions of States and groups of States on the main issues of disarmament and international security are moving closer to each other. What has proved useful has been the open and substantive dialogue about those items where different positions continue to persist.

128. As has been underlined many times, the coincidence in timing between the beginning of the special session and the Moscow summit meeting between the Soviet Union and the United States was of particular significance. The ratification of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles by both States has been welcomed.

129. The special session reflects the realities of the present international situation. Along with the efforts to find a new approach and a new language in dealing with the complicated problems of arms limitation and disarmament, the old problems and attitudes persist. I share the view, which has often been expressed here, that regards the special sessions of the General Assembly as part of the overall disarmament process, as part of the efforts to find solutions to this question vital to mankind. At the same time, as has been stated here on several occasions, the special sessions serve to reaffirm the interrelationship between bilateral and multilateral negotiations in that field.

130. Thus, during the past weeks, as in the extended process of preparing for this session, we have witnessed not only a discussion of new ideas and proposals but also intense negotiations on all aspects of our agenda.

131. The question has been asked: What is new about this special session? In this respect, a number of replies have been expressed, several of which I want to mention. An improved international atmosphere opens up new possibilities for the disarmament process. The momentum of that development should be put to use, and for that, bilateral, regional and global efforts should go hand in hand. What is remarkable is how broad-ranged and concrete the proposals submitted by States of all groups are. The range of areas of consensus has been widened. Points of disagreement have been reduced and have assumed sharper, narrower contours. There has been a growing awareness of the relationship between such factors as disarmament, security, development and the environment. The role and dangers of the military use of new technologies have been studied in greater depth. Aspects of the importance of multilateral verification efforts and the role of the Organization in that context have been raised explicitly. Thus, the value of a special session focused exclusively on questions of disarmament lies also in the fact that it concentrates the intellectual potential of the international community on that question vital to mankind.

132. Our work has been concentrated on concrete tasks in the field of disarmament. I should like to underline the intensive discussion on problems of nuclear disarmament, on the cessation of all nuclear-weapons tests and on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. Great importance was attached to the speedy elaboration of a convention on the prohibition of chemical weapons. In that respect the Conference on Disarmament has a great deal of work to do.

133. Of no less significance was the exchange of views on the urgent tasks of conventional disarmament and the prevention of an arms race in outer space. It is encouraging to see how the growing understanding in the field of verification and confidence-building can advance the process of arms limitation and disarmament. Existing nuclear-weapon-free zones were supported and the possibility of the creation of new zones was discussed.

134. Last, but not least, I attach great importance to the profound discussion on the strengthening of international security in a world with ever fewer weapons. The time has come to break the cycle of mistrust, accumulation of arms, military rivalry and mutual fear and to proceed to the search for security for all. Our words must be followed by deeds. In view of the realities of our world, a few critical remarks appear appropriate. The international community is aware of the problems that exist. The nuclear and conventional arms race has not been halted. Nuclear-weapon tests continue. The struggle to settle regional armed conflicts is no easy task. The gap between developed and developing countries, which poses a very serious problem, has not been narrowed. In short, military and non-military global challenges await their solution.

135. It is to be regretted that delegations could not reach agreement on a joint concluding document. Divergent positions made consensus impossible. What now matters is to intensify the dialogue in order to reach convergent positions. Greater readiness for compromise appears to be advisable. What is decisive is the common interest of all nations in safeguarding international peace and security, the universal commitment to a shared human destiny.

136. History has shown that the United Nations has a central role and primary responsibility in the field of disarmament. Recognition of that fact was the basis for the historic Final Document of the first special session devoted to disarmament which, *inter alia*, spelt out methods of work for and directions to be taken by the disarmament machinery of the United Nations. The valuable discussions at this special session are a substantive contribution to using this now-proven machinery and enhancing its effectiveness. I believe that with the proposals made, the role of the United Nations and its organs in dealing with disarmament problems will grow.

137. It gives me particular pleasure to point to the activities of non-governmental organizations, both

before and during the special session. They have followed our work and our discussions with great attention all over the world, and they have contributed to mobilizing world public opinion for the cause of peace and disarmament. Millions of signatures were collected and handed over to the special session. They symbolize the people's confidence in and expectations of the United Nations. Those expectations must not be disappointed. The World Disarmament Campaign will be continued.

138. In conclusion, I have the pleasant task of saying thank you. The positive aspects of our session are due to the merits of all delegations, which have worked with endurance and initiative during this eventful session. We are particularly grateful to the experienced and skilled diplomat who presided over the Committee of the Whole, Mr. Ahmed of Pakistan, as well as to all the officers of the Committee of the Whole, the Chairmen of the Working Groups, Mr. Hepburn of the Bahamas, Mr. von Stuelpnagel of the Federal Republic of Germany and Mr. Engo of Cameroon. They have made invaluable contributions.

139. I should like to extend my thanks to all the Vice-Presidents of the General Assembly who shared with me the responsibilities involved in piloting this eventful session. We all appreciate the intensive activity of the Secretary-General during this session, at a time so difficult for the Organization. My thanks also go to the Under-Secretary-General for Political and General Assembly Affairs and the Under-Secretary-General for Disarmament Affairs and their staff, as well as to all other members of the Secretariat who with their dedicated work have also facilitated the smooth running of the session. At this time of leave-taking, I should like, finally, to underline that it was an honour for me to work together with you at this special session devoted to disarmament. I thank you for your attention and wish you the very best.

AGENDA ITEM 2

Minute of silent prayer or meditation

140. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): We have now come to the end of the fifteenth special session of the General Assembly, the third special session devoted to disarmament. I invite representatives to stand and observe a minute of silent prayer or meditation.

The representatives observed a minute of silence.

Closure of the fifteenth special session

141. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): I declare closed the fifteenth special session of the General Assembly.

The meeting rose on Sunday, 26 June, at 7.25 a.m.