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President: Mr. Ismat T. KITTANI (Iraq).

AGENDA ITEM 35

Question of Cyprus: report of the Secretary-General (*concluded*)*

1. The PRESIDENT: Members will recall that, on the basis of its decision 35/428 of 10 December 1980, the General Assembly decided, on 18 September 1981, to include the item entitled "Question of Cyprus" in the agenda of the present session.

2. It is my understanding, on the basis of consultations with all concerned that it would be desirable to defer consideration of this item to the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly.

3. May I take it, then, that it is the wish of the Assembly to defer consideration of the item and to include it in the draft agenda of the thirty-seventh session?

It was so decided (decision 36/463).

AGENDA ITEM 37

Launching of global negotiations on international economic co-operation for development (*concluded*)

4. The PRESIDENT: As members will recall, in my statement to the General Assembly [105th meeting] when this session was suspended, I expressed the hope that agreement on the launching of global negotiations, which had eluded us for so long, would be reached in the near future. A number of developments have taken place since then.

5. At my request, Mr. Naik of Pakistan undertook extensive informal consultations with all parties to clarify further some of the pending issues. Subsequently Mr. Bedjaoui of Algeria, on behalf of the Group of 77, came forward with a draft resolution at the 104th meeting, which was submitted as a deliberate attempt on the part of the Group to facilitate an agreement on the major issues, taking into account the views expressed by all parties concerned, including such issues as the competence, functions and powers of specialized forums in the process of global negotiations.

6. Subsequently, the summit conference of seven industrialized countries, which was held at Versailles in June, agreed that the text of the Group of 77 was helpful, and concluded that there was then a good prospect for the early launching and success of the global negotiations, provided that the independence of the specialized agencies was guaranteed. The industrialized countries proposed four amendments to the text. On that basis informal consultations were held in June 1982 under the leadership of Mr. Muñoz Ledo of Mexico, whom I had requested to take over the task upon the departure of Mr. Naik. The Group of 77 accepted two of the Versailles amendments and put forward new formulations on the other two points.

7. Mr. Muñoz Ledo reports to me now that official reaction to those formulations is still awaited, and that therefore in spite of the considerable conceptual progress, final agreement has not been possible so far. This is a matter of great concern, especially in the light of the current economic crisis, which is severely hurting developing countries in particular. The need for these negotiations has never been greater. Through these contacts real progress can be said to have been made; each side has shown the willingness to take account of the views of the other, and the gap is now extremely limited on the short text of an enabling resolution.

8. I am also happy to note that all parties have expressed the hope that, with the help of the forthcoming meetings of the Group of 77 and the countries of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, an agreement will be reached. I am encouraged by the repeated affirmation by all parties of their political commitment to work towards a positive solution. I should like to take this opportunity once more to appeal to all Member States to show the political will and the determination to come to an agreement so that these long-awaited negotiations can get off to a successful start.

9. Finally, I should be failing in my duty if I did not, on behalf of all members, sincerely thank Mr. Naik and Mr. Muñoz Ledo for their able and dedicated efforts in this regard.

10. I call now on the representative of Algeria, who wishes to speak on behalf of the Group of 77.

* Resumed from the 105th meeting.

11. Mr. SAHNOUN (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*): It is my honour to make the following statement on behalf of the Group of 77 and at this solemn closing meeting of the thirty-sixth session to voice its regret that the General Assembly is once again unable to decide on the launching of global negotiations. This thirty-sixth session is ending without the last mortgages being lifted; they are still hanging over a process that has suffered so much from delays.

12. The initiating proposal for global negotiations stated that the global economic crisis required a reaction and, *a fortiori*, a global solution. Given the fact that the crisis is becoming generalized, we cannot now retrench; this is no time for the policy of everyone for himself, because, in view of the global crisis, which more than any other present-day phenomenon has proven the interdependence of our fates, there is no guarantee of salvation save through a collective endeavour to establish a new international economic order which could transcend this crisis and vindicate the aspirations of all peoples to live in prosperity and security. It is in this, basically, that the political message contained in the proposal for global negotiations resides.

13. The Group of 77 welcomes the fact that, after the Ottawa and Cancún meetings, the summit conference of the seven industrial Powers at Versailles in June last, solemnly recognized the major political nature of the initiative for global negotiations.

14. The unanimity regarding the major political importance of the global negotiations initiative should logically have given birth to the substantive negotiating process.

15. In the attitude of the industrialized countries, a gap still exists between the declaration of principle and real commitment. There is still a gap between their stated political intent and their real willingness to join in the immediate launching of the negotiating process. It is regrettable that that has caused further postponement of the opening of the negotiations. We do not fully understand this delay, and we regret it.

16. The initiative of 31 March last, which emanated from the Group of 77 represented an undoubtedly qualitatively new phase in the negotiating process that was started in 1979 in the United Nations.

17. That initiative did not represent the basic political position of the Group of 77 with regard to global negotiations. First and foremost, it was to be a last compromise proposal to take fully into account the recent concerns of our partners. The broad support originally given to it within the community of industrialized countries is ample proof of that. In fact that proposal codified the consensus rule. It organized the preliminary phase for negotiations. It confirmed the central role of the General Assembly, and at the same time it consecrated the principle of respect for the jurisdiction, functions, competence and powers of the specialized agencies.

18. More than an additional proof of flexibility on our part, this initiative was concerned to see an immediate start of the global negotiations.

19. As it welcomed with satisfaction the recognition by the Versailles summit of the major, political importance of the proposal for global negotiations, the Group of 77 also noted with frustration the amendments that that meeting decided to make to its proposal of 31 March 1982. For

the Group of 77 this was tantamount to underestimating the nature of its proposal and its scope. Furthermore, as they were presented, and bearing in mind the procedural framework into which they were inserted, these amendments could not but cause fresh delay in the final decision to launch global negotiations.

20. Once more demonstrating its willingness for constructive dialogue and showing flexibility, the Group of 77 studied the four counter-proposals, which subsequently rallied the support of the whole of the group of Western and other States, with the attention that their standing, nature and scope required.

21. Of the four Western counter-proposals, two were accepted by the Group of 77 and two were amended. More than the expression of a flexible attitude on the part of the Group of 77, which had been abundantly demonstrated, this acceptance pointed to our impatient determination and our resolve finally to see the global negotiating process start.

22. Allow me briefly to recall the nature of our recent counter-amendments to the response of the Western countries participating in the Versailles conference. In the first counter-amendment the Group of 77 commits the international community to be "guided" by General Assembly resolution 34/138 in the conduct of the global-negotiation process. This wording should be accepted immediately since it merely recalls the juridical and moral value of a resolution which rallied a genuine consensus when it was adopted at the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly.

23. What new difficulties, what obstacles unknown thus far, would the Assembly encounter in being guided—and merely guided—by a resolution which but three years ago was an instrument which did not brook recourse or appeal?

24. In the second counter-amendment the Group of 77 submits the establishment of special negotiating groups to the authority of the consensus. At this level likewise, everything contained in the counter-proposal of the Group of 77 guarantees the future negotiating position of our partners and assures them that their interests will be absolutely guaranteed in the substantive stages of the global negotiating process.

25. Since consensus is the law, the indispensable meeting of minds will furnish our partners with the instruments necessary to preserve and defend their positions.

26. This is the situation, and two months have thus passed since the Group of 77 formally submitted its counter-proposals to its partners among the industrialized countries. We ventured to believe that their clarity and the pledges contained in them for the future would meet with a positive response that would make it possible to launch global negotiations during the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly.

27. Therefore we are the first to deplore this situation of waiting. Hence, with the utmost sincerity, we express the hope that members will understand that during the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly, which is to open tomorrow, we should be given a positive reply which will make specific the will of our partners to join with us, in the interests of all, in this immense process of global negotiations.

28. The cause of development, development for everyone, as also the well-being to which our peoples aspire, will gain from this, and the ideal of a common effort for prosperity in solidarity will thus be strengthened.

29. You personally, Mr. President, as well as Mr. Muñoz Ledo of Mexico and before him Mr. Naik of Pakistan, will be rewarded for this unparalleled expenditure of imaginative effort and patient initiatives, which you have made with faith and perseverance. For all that, the Group of 77 pays a due tribute to you and offers you its sincere gratitude.

30. Mr. SORZANO (United States of America): I would first, Mr. President, extend to you the profound thanks of my delegation and my Government for your tireless efforts, for your realism and for the spirit of co-operation which you have fostered during the past year in our attempts to reach agreement on the launching of global negotiations. The progress we have made to date is certainly in no small way attributable to the imaginative manner in which you have carried out your duties.

31. I should also like to express our appreciation to Mr. Naik of Pakistan and Mr. Muñoz Ledo of Mexico for their respective roles in trying to bring about a meeting of minds on the differences still outstanding on the item of global negotiations. That we have not yet been able to reach agreement is surely in spite of their constructive efforts to resolve the problem.

32. Although we have failed to reach agreement during the period of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly, it would be far from the truth to say that we have not moved forward. During the past year at least two highly significant meetings have taken place, which have resulted in considerable progress. At Cancún last October, President Reagan put forward four essential understandings necessary to create circumstances offering the prospect of meaningful progress. At Versailles, a specific text for launching global negotiations was, after extensive preliminary negotiations, agreed upon by the seven industrialized nations present. The Versailles text demonstrates a willingness and a flexibility on the part of the developed countries to bring about the launching of global negotiations, and we strongly believe that this text continues to offer a fair and realistic basis on which to proceed.

33. We would support a decision to continue with further negotiations during the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly. We look forward to the early resolution of those few issues that are still outstanding.

34. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Denmark, who will make a statement on behalf of the European Community.

35. Mr. ULRICHSEN (Denmark): Mr. President, on behalf of the 10 States members of the European Community I would like to thank you very much for the report you have just made on the recent developments concerning the launching of the global negotiations. In this context, I would also like to thank, through you, Mr. Naik of Pakistan and Mr. Muñoz Ledo of Mexico for the great efforts both of them have made in order to assure progress on this important question.

36. I share your view, Mr. President, that considerable progress has been achieved during recent months. I want especially to underline the significance of the presentation last spring of a proposed resolution by the Group of 77.

We in the European Community saw that text as an important development, and we were therefore very happy that during the Versailles summit it became possible to accept that text as a basis for further negotiations. As you know, the Community has endorsed the Versailles position and thereby also the proposal for four minor amendments to clarify the text proposed by the Group of 77. The main purpose of those amendments, it will be recalled, is to avoid any duplication between the global negotiations and the ongoing activities in existing United Nations forums.

37. We also regard it as a sign of progress that during the consultations under the chairmanship of Mr. Muñoz Ledo it was understood that a final agreement would be possible with our friends in the Group of 77 on two of the four amendments proposed at Versailles.

38. In view of the significant and constructive developments I have just outlined which have, in our view, created a new and extremely important political momentum, we hope it will be possible to overcome the few remaining problems to secure the launching of global negotiations, negotiations to which the Community and its member States remain firmly committed. We must however, not underestimate the difficulties. All Members of the United Nations must do their utmost to ensure that we are not missing a golden opportunity to make progress in this area of the North-South dialogue.

39. In this context, we are confident that during the forthcoming meeting of Foreign Ministers our friends in the Group of 77 will carefully assess the whole situation in order further to contribute to the final launching of the global negotiations, which I hope will be achieved during the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly.

40. Mr. TANIGUCHI (Japan): Mr. President, I should first of all like to express our deep appreciation to you for your tireless and invaluable efforts to promote the launching of global negotiations in the year that has passed since you assumed the presidency of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly. Our appreciation also goes to the chairmen of the contact group, Mr. Naik of Pakistan and Mr. Muñoz Ledo of Mexico, who have worked very hard to bridge the gap among the different groups participating in the negotiations.

41. My delegation is of the view that during the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly there has been significant movement towards reaching agreement on launching global negotiations, movement which was particularly manifest at the Cancún summit in October last year and at the Versailles summit in June this year. At the Versailles summit seven countries made an important political decision, which should contribute to an early launching, by adopting the proposed revised text. As one of the seven countries, Japan believes that this is a text most acceptable to all countries. I also believe that this text will lead to a formulation of a global negotiation that will bring benefit to all countries in need. Based on our experience over the past three years I am of the view that this text represents the best chance of success in achieving an early launching of global negotiation.

42. While we have been negotiating the world economy has steadily worsened. Although seriously delayed, global negotiations, if launched, would be an important response to the grave realities of the present economic situation. Should launching not be forthcoming now, momentum for such a response may be lost forever.

43. My country would therefore like to urge strongly that we not miss this golden opportunity to achieve a breakthrough. My delegation stands ready to participate constructively in the proposed global negotiations on international economic co-operation for development and we sincerely hope that progress towards making them a reality will be achieved at the coming session of the General Assembly.

44. Mr. ASTAFIEV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community, as is known, at the very outset supported the initiative of the developing countries to hold, within the United Nations, global negotiations on international economic problems. They were prepared to discuss the proposal of the Group of 77 on the agenda and on the procedure for such negotiations. At the present time we still advocate their speedy start, on the basis of resolution 34/138, with the participation of all States and bearing in mind the legitimate interests of all States. We remain convinced that global negotiations must really promote a restructuring of international economic relations on a fair, equitable basis in a spirit of progressive principles, the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order and the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States.

45. Mr. MI Guojun (China) (*translation from Chinese*): Mr. President, I have listened carefully to your report on global negotiations as well as to your proposal to submit this question to the Assembly at the thirty-seventh session. We support your proposal. We also support the effort you have made towards launching global negotiations. We should like to take this opportunity to thank Mr. Naik of Pakistan and Mr. Muñoz Ledo of Mexico.

46. The Chinese delegation deplores the fact—also deplored in the statement of the spokesman of the Group of 77—that the thirty-sixth session failed to reach agreement on global negotiations. We have noted that in the past year all sides, particularly the Group of 77, have made many efforts in order to reach agreement. It should be pointed out in particular that on 31 March the Group of 77 submitted a compromise text. We think that that text manifests the determination of the Group of 77 and its flexibility in terms of strategy. We should support that text. It takes into account the concerns of the developed countries. The Versailles conference supported this text, agreeing that it could be used as a basis, and this should be confirmed. However, the situation still fails to improve on this basis. The major developed countries have not given any positive response to the counter-proposals submitted by the Group of 77.

47. Stark reality has shown the necessity for global negotiations. We hope that at the thirty-seventh session the Assembly can face that reality and make a positive response to the launching of global negotiations. We urge that the major developed countries change their attitudes and join the developing countries in launching a constructive dialogue so as to find a common basis for launching the negotiations at the thirty-seventh session.

48. The PRESIDENT: In the light of the statements we have heard, I propose that the General Assembly decide to include the item entitled "Launching of global negotiations on international economic co-operation for development" in the draft agenda of the thirty-seventh session. May I take it that the General Assembly agrees to that proposal?

It was so decided (decision 36/364).

AGENDA ITEM 60

United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (*concluded*)

49. The PRESIDENT: Members will recall that the General Assembly, in its decision 36/462 of 16 March 1982, decided to suspend temporarily the consideration of this item. No further action has been taken by the Assembly on the item, which is already included in the provisional agenda of the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly. We have therefore concluded our consideration of agenda item 60.

Statement by the President

50. The PRESIDENT: We are now coming to the end of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly. The ending of an Assembly session and the beginning of another is, like the coming of a new year, a time for reflection and assessment. It is difficult to look back on the last year without recalling the many frustrations we have experienced, the many tangible and sorely needed accomplishments that have eluded us.

51. It is a sad commentary on the state of international affairs that during the past year one of the few sources of satisfaction has been the fact that we have not used nuclear weapons in combat. However, nuclear weapons are about the only weapons that have not been used—on both military and civilian targets—during this unhappy period. Our inability to manage affairs among nations is self-evident; as we sit here, just one day before the first International Day of Peace designated by the General Assembly, there is armed conflict in virtually all areas of the planet.

52. Nothing was more frustrating during my tenure as President than the disappointing results of the second special session of the Assembly devoted to disarmament—all the more so because during those days in June and July the eyes of the world were upon us and the hopes and fears of millions of people were centred in this great Hall. We failed to meet the challenge, but we must not regard this failure as final. There is no area more important to the future of humanity and civilization than disarmament. In spite of the frustrations and disappointments we must not relent in our efforts to make progress towards this most essential goal.

53. At the thirty-sixth session, as well as at three resumed sessions of the seventh emergency special session, another area with which the Assembly has been extensively concerned is the Middle East and the core of the conflict there, the question of Palestine. Perhaps in no area have there been more resolutions—adopted not only by the Assembly but also by the Security Council—which have been ignored. The continuing agony in Lebanon and the most recent inhuman tragic massacres in Beirut are but the most chilling demonstration of what happens when resolutions adopted by overwhelming majorities are ignored and, instead, the tragic path of war and destruction is followed.

54. This makes all too real a point which I have made to you more than once but which I feel must be reiterated today. Our problem is not the absence of adequate resolutions as much as the need to seek new and better ways to obtain compliance with those resolutions already adopted—quite often unanimously or by consensus. Nowhere

is this chasm between word and deed deeper than in the Middle East.

55. The Secretary-General has with candour and courage spoken directly to this point in his report on the work of the Organization [A/36/1]. It is essential to the future of this institution—and to the future of humanity—that the Member States address seriously the concerns he has raised.

56. We face today a growing decline in the use and effectiveness of multilateral institutions so laboriously developed after the Second World War and a corresponding increase in reliance on bilateral and unilateral actions. The importance and authority of multilateral forums, both regional and worldwide, is too frequently ignored by Governments, bent as they are on gaining short-term, often short-sighted, advantages rather than working to build enduring peace. The willingness of Governments to endeavour within these institutions first to define and then to work towards achieving common goals and collective security is in serious decline.

57. I submit to you today, as we conclude this thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly, that to arrest and reverse this decline is the most serious task facing the United Nations and other intergovernmental organizations in the months and years ahead. If the worldwide revulsion and indignation generated by the unspeakable crimes committed in Beirut can be directed effectively towards the achievement of this task, perhaps the innocent civilian victims in west Beirut will not have died in vain.

58. In the course of the history of the planet and the evolution of civilized mankind, 36 years is only a brief moment. The United Nations has accomplished much against great odds, during these years. Our frustrations and disappointments at our shortcomings should not make

us forget our real and important achievements. The Convention on the Law of the Sea is a tribute to what can be achieved through the process of multinational diplomacy. We must never forget that the United Nations affords us the necessary means; but it remains for Member States to supply the political will and determination to utilize it effectively in the common interest. There is simply no rational alternative and no room for despondency or despair.

59. I had, to be sure, anticipated that my year as President of the General Assembly would be a most interesting and challenging experience, beginning with the rather dramatic circumstances of my election. However, despite my many years of association with the United Nations, I had not realized how enjoyable and exciting—even exhilarating—this experience would be. Throughout the year, the co-operation I have received from delegations of Member States has been exemplary, for which I am in your debt. This, more than anything, has made the past year a richly rewarding one.

AGENDA ITEM 2

Minute of silent prayer or meditation

60. The PRESIDENT: I invite representatives to stand and observe a minute of silent prayer or meditation.

The members of the Assembly observed a minute of silence.

Closure of the session

61. The PRESIDENT: I declare closed the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly.

The meeting rose at 4.20 p.m.