



CONTENTS

	Page
Address by Mr. Edward Gierek, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party (Poland) . .	625
Agenda item 9: General debate (<i>continued</i>)	
Speech by Mr. Khalatbari (Iran)	628

**President: Mr. Abdelaziz BOUTEFLIKA
(Algeria).**

**Address by Mr. Edward Gierek, First Secretary of the
Central Committee of the Polish United Workers'
Party (Poland)**

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome Mr. Edward Gierek, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, to the United Nations, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

2. Mr. GIEREK (*interpretation from French*): It is with profound satisfaction that I address you from the rostrum of the United Nations on behalf of Poland, one of the founding Members of the Organization and an ever active participant in its activities, which are so vitally important to the world.

3. I am happy, Mr. President, that this session is taking place under the guidance of an outstanding representative of Algeria, a country to which Poland is linked by bonds of mutual solidarity, sympathy and friendship. I wish to extend to you my congratulations on your election to a post of such eminence, and to all participants in this session my best wishes for all success in dealing jointly with the important problems on the Assembly's extensive agenda.

(*Continued in Polish*)*

4. I am addressing you in the year when the Polish People's Republic is celebrating its thirtieth anniversary. Its emergence marked a major turning point in the more than one-thousand-year-long history of the Polish nation, and its present development and policies stem from our nation's most significant experiences. It is from the standpoint of those experiences that I wish to address myself to certain problems which are the subject of the constant attention of the United Nations.

5. The pre-eminent objective of the United Nations, an organization which came into being during the most

devastating of all wars, is to ensure world peace, for that is the greatest treasure of all nations.

6. The Polish nation has had to pay an exceptionally high and tragic price for peace. And it has learned to appreciate the inestimable value of peace over the past 30 years of construction, thanks to which the country has risen from ruins and its economic potential has been multiplied; education, science and culture developed; and favourable living conditions created.

7. Our deep conviction of the indivisibility of peace and of the overriding importance of preventing a new world war is based on our experiences as well as on an appraisal of the state of affairs in the world of today. Ensuring lasting peace in our socio-economically and ideologically divided world depends above all on full implementation of the principles of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems, principles which the socialist countries have espoused and consistently put into practice.

8. We believe that the most appropriate approach to that objective lies in the continuation, further development and consolidation of the process of international *détente* in an effort to make it irreversible, in contrast to the aims of the forces of aggression and cold war. This process of *détente* is essential in order to overcome the political and military confrontation imposed by the imperialist forces, which constitutes the main cause of the arms race, tensions and threats to world peace.

9. The improvement of Soviet-American relations in recent years is of exceptional importance in easing and overcoming this global confrontation. We attach great importance to the agreements concluded between these two great Powers, which serve to further the overriding cause of all mankind: the prevention of nuclear war and the consolidation of the process of *détente*. The Soviet-American dialogue exercises a positive influence on the entire world situation and is conducive to a general improvement in international relations. Hence, we are gratified at the prospect of further progress in that direction. That dialogue in no sense limits but on the contrary creates more propitious conditions for a constructive contribution by all States, including medium-sized and small countries, irrespective of their social system and level of economic development, to the solution of the important problems facing various regions and the entire world.

10. My present official visit to the United States is one of the manifestations of the positive results of *détente*. I believe that the further development of Polish-American relations, for which we are jointly opening up new opportunities, and the exchange of views we have had will serve to shape international relations successfully on the basis of peaceful coexistence and mutually advantageous co-operation.

* The English version of Mr. Gierek's statement was supplied by the Polish delegation.

11. We favour *détente* throughout the world. The growing role of the non-aligned countries in the struggle for peace and international relations based on equal rights is an important factor in the consolidation of the positive processes in international life.

12. The great significance of the process of *détente* also lies in the fact that it is helpful in containing and extinguishing local conflicts and in the effort to settle many critical problems in accordance with the principles of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and security of nations. Poland favours precisely such a permanent settlement of the Middle East conflict, which above all calls for completely eliminating the consequences of aggression and ensuring the Arab people of Palestine its legitimate rights. We are also in favour of a peaceful settlement of the Cyprus conflict, which will restore that country's sovereignty, neutrality and territorial integrity. We are convinced that this objective would be attained by convening a representative international conference within the framework of the United Nations.

13. We are hopeful that through the full implementation of the Paris Agreements, the heroic, war-weary Vietnamese nation will be able to live in peace and that peace will be restored throughout Indo-China. Poland, which has been involved in peaceful missions in those regions, will do its best to continue to work in that direction.

14. The cause of peace is inseparable from the cause of freedom. The Polish nation is well aware of that fact. In its striving for independence it has made the greatest of sacrifices. We have always linked our struggle for independence with that of other nations under the banner "For your freedom and ours". A deep conviction of the indivisibility of the freedom of all nations and of its links with the revolutionary forces of progress stems from our experiences; hence our solidarity with those nations. The issue which today arouses the strongest protest by world public opinion is the brutal suppression of democratic freedom in Chile.

15. Decolonization, which is nearing completion, and the struggle to put an end to all forms of neo-colonial domination, are of great, historic significance, as is the right of all nations to be represented in the United Nations. Accordingly, I wish to express our satisfaction that new Members, the People's Republic of Bangladesh, Guinea-Bissau and Grenada, have taken their rightful place in the United Nations.

16. International *détente* also promotes the joint consideration and solution of major world problems. We are in favour of that process becoming universal, encompassing all regions and ensuring continued progress in all key questions relating to the consolidation of peaceful international relations.

17. By virtue of its geographical location, true to its interests and convictions, and in concert with its socialist allies, Poland is making its contribution to the consolidation of *détente*, particularly in Europe. We are working towards that end through our participation in the overall improvement of the situation on our continent, through the all-round development of friendly relations with France, the Scandinavian countries and other States, and through our involvement in the process of normalizing relations in Central

Europe, which was initiated by the treaties concluded between the socialist countries and the Federal Republic of Germany, as well as by the Quadripartite Agreement on West Berlin.

18. Europe, which in the past has been both the source and the major theatre of both world wars, has enjoyed peace for nearly 30 years, thanks to the victory of the great anti-fascist coalition, the emergence of the socialist community and the appearance of a new relationship of forces. The necessary conditions exist today for maintaining in the future the present state of affairs in Europe, which is so vital to world peace. It is here that the shift from "cold war" and "power politics" to normalization and *détente* has been most pronounced. Universal recognition of the territorial and political realities which came into being as a consequence of the Second World War and of the post-war development has been achieved. On this basis, mutual trust has grown and peaceful co-operation has developed more extensively. An awareness that there is no alternative to peaceful coexistence is taking ever stronger hold.

19. Under those circumstances, the convening of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, advocated by the socialist countries, became possible. As will be recalled, Poland first advanced the idea of such a conference in this Assembly a decade ago.¹ The great achievement of the Conference, which may well be able to terminate its deliberations within the next few months, will have been the adoption of the principles governing mutual relations among European States—a *sui generis* charter of their rights and duties.

20. At a time when the Conference's activities are drawing to a close and talks on troop and arms reductions in Europe are under way at Vienna—talks which will, we hope, also produce positive results—a pertinent question arises. What should be done next in order that the process of consolidating European peace and security may continue and become irreversible?

21. It is our conviction that the peaceful future of Europe is linked to the construction of a system of collective security. At stake is a system in which prohibition of the use of force would become the supreme law, a system which would provide for durable security guarantees to each country. An essential precondition for a joint programme for the future of Europe must always remain an awareness of the importance of the inviolability of frontiers and the territorial integrity of all States as well as respect for the principle of non-intervention in their internal affairs. Only in this way can the division into opposing political-military blocs be overcome. We also attach great importance to the creation of machinery for further consultation and common efforts aimed at consolidating security and developing mutually beneficial co-operation in all fields. The all-European body which we hope will be established by the Conference could become a forum for seeking common solutions to common problems. To this end, Europe's existing regional organizations, including those of the United Nations system, could and should also be properly utilized.

22. Bilateral, regional and subregional co-operation also promotes favourable developments on the Euro-

pean scene. We believe, for example, that the state of relations thus far achieved by the Baltic States has created conditions conducive to the transformation of that region into a zone of peace and friendly co-operation. Owing to the process of *détente*, all the traditions of positive, peaceful relationships have come alive and efforts are now being made for the joint solution of problems relating to navigation, fishing, utilization of maritime resources and protection of the natural environment. On the basis of the progress already achieved and in order to consolidate it, Poland plans to submit further proposals for governmental and public endeavours aimed at developing mutually advantageous, peaceful co-operation among the Baltic countries.

23. The consolidation of security in Europe renders an important service to world security, for the creation of regional systems points the way to the construction of universal security. Hence, we fully support Soviet proposals calling for the creation of such a system in Asia and we shall support other endeavours with similar aims in view.

24. The halting of the arms race, full implementation of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*], and the elaboration of agreements which would ban the use and production of such weapons and open the way to general and complete disarmament are measures inextricably linked to the consolidation of international security. The steps that have been taken in these vital areas in recent years have laid the groundwork for the early convening of a World Disarmament Conference and for progress in the implementation of other important proposals, such as the reduction of military budgets, a ban on chemical weapons, and the elaboration of a convention on the prohibition of action to influence the environment and climate for military purposes, as proposed by the Soviet Union at the current session [2240th meeting]. Poland will continue to make a constructive contribution to the realization of all those initiatives.

25. The experience of our nation has shown that the natural rights of each country, in conditions of peace and security, is the creation of favourable opportunities for its development. Not so long ago, Poland was a country marked by socio-economic backwardness, and the consequences of that fact adversely affected the nation's standard of living and its international standing as well. In a relatively short span of time, our nation has tackled the unfinished work of many centuries and carried out a basic reconstruction of the country, which now ranks as the world's tenth largest industrial producer. At present, we are dynamically expanding the country's potential.

26. The sources of this progress have been many. They include the transformations carried out by the socialist policy, fraternal co-operation with other socialist countries, particularly the Soviet Union, and the planned concentration of the nation's resources. The most important factor is the nation's toil: the liberation of its creative resources and the involvement of minds, hands and hearts in a common cause. Also of great importance are human qualifications—the intensive training of personnel capable of facing the challenge of rapid, all-round development. We are willing to share with the developing countries our

achievements and experience in this field. We favour broad co-operation among all countries in the training of qualified personnel.

27. At its recent sixth special session the General Assembly drew attention to a series of urgent problems of international economic co-operation which call for joint solutions. Such co-operation is of crucial importance in eliminating the gaps between levels of development and in consolidating peaceful world relations, since it creates the material basis for those relations.

28. The growing utilization of the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution, combined with *détente* and the steady consolidation of the forces of progress in the world, offer an opportunity to create a just international division of labour and to develop the mechanisms needed to regulate international economic relations. Our Governments and, to a large extent, the United Nations must assume the historic responsibility for making proper use of that opportunity. Are special regional interests, the interests of more or less closed groups and inequality of access to the world market to continue to dominate the world? Or should we not rather set out to build a new open world system which would ensure each participant identical benefits? Poland, like the other socialist countries, has supported and will continue to work in the latter direction.

29. The sovereign right of each nation to the resources it possesses and the equality of all countries are our fundamental assumptions. On the strength of these elementary principles we favour a scheme of world economic relations which will ensure the equitable, non-discriminatory flow of the raw materials and technology indispensable to development.

30. The formulation of suitable principles in that regard is, in my opinion, one of the major tasks facing the United Nations. It is of great importance to base international economic relations on long-range ties and the co-ordination of development plans. Such a step would provide more advantageous conditions for world trade and economic co-operation for the benefit of all countries, especially the developing ones. Poland will continue to contribute to the achievement of such solutions.

31. I have presented our views on certain issues connected with the development of peaceful relations among States. Let us continue to promote those relations in a spirit of *détente*, co-operation and peace. I should like to emphasize, however, that it is of equal importance to mould among nations and societies a consciousness that reflects these lofty aims. That is the special duty of our generation, which has known the tragedy of war, hatred and destruction. It is our obligation to overcome prejudice, distrust, intolerance, chauvinism and racialism, to inculcate in the younger generation a respect for other nations and a conviction of the right of all people to live in freedom, equality and peace. These ideals, deeply ingrained in the traditions of freedom and progress of the Polish nation, have in my country been transformed into the essential element in the system of education and upbringing in a socialist society. Let us make the cause of raising the younger generation to live in international peace and friendship one of our principal aims. Let us give practical expression to the deeply humanistic ideals

contained in the United Nations Charter. Let us introduce them into the educational and training programmes of all countries. Let us do everything possible to make the remaining quarter of this century, a century which has seen untold suffering brought upon mankind, an era of peaceful construction and of peace-oriented education.

32. The thirtieth anniversary of the United Nations will be universally celebrated next year. This Organization was brought into being by nations which sought peace, freedom and equality and by a desire for friendly coexistence and collaboration. Let us honour this anniversary with the greatest possible contribution by our Organization to the construction of a world in which the attainment of these goals will be ensured.

33. Poland will continue to give its full support to the United Nations in the implementation of these lofty ideals.

34. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank His Excellency the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party for the important statement he has just made.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

35. Mr. KHALATBARI (Iran) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, I wish at the outset to congratulate you most sincerely on your unanimous election to the presidency of the present session of the General Assembly. We recognize your numerous qualities, both as a diplomat and as a statesman, and we are certain that you will conduct our work here with distinction and success. Your election is not only a recognition of your personal qualities but also a homage to your country, to the Arab nations and to the great continent of Africa where a great step towards decolonization has been made, which we hope will be a decisive one.

36. Another reason to rejoice is the admission of three new Member States, to the representatives of which I should like to extend a welcome in the name of my country and of my delegation. We are convinced that the contribution of Bangladesh, Guinea-Bissau, and Grenada will be most fruitful for the Organization in its strides towards achieving universality.

37. I should also like to express our thanks to His Excellency Mr. Leopoldo Benites for the admirable way in which he presided over the twenty-eighth session and the sixth special session of the General Assembly.

38. Finally, to our Secretary-General I wish to renew our support and the expression of our confidence.

39. Significant events have happened in the period since the preceding session of the General Assembly, some of which have changed the world scene beyond recognition. At this late stage of the general debate, however, I do not wish to comment upon all, or even most, of these developments. I shall dwell only upon the global economic situation and the question of the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East. But, before reviewing these two ques-

tions I wish to say a few words on the situation in the Middle East, in the Indian sub-continent and in Cyprus.

40. The October war last year changed the whole picture of the Middle East. The establishment of the United Nations Emergency Force last October at the height of the crisis, followed by agreements on disengagement of forces, marked the beginning of a new era in the tragic history of the Middle East problem. Thus, a glimmer of hope emerged on the horizon of a political landscape which had remained sombre for such a long period of time. However, there is not much reason to be over-optimistic, and there can hardly be any doubt that unless the root causes of tension are removed, military conflicts may recur.

41. As I said in this Assembly last year, negotiations among parties can only be undertaken if there is a reasonable guarantee of withdrawal by Israel from occupied Arab territories and of implementation of all the other provisions of Security Council resolution 242 (1967), including recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.² I do not intend to stress the serious potential consequences of the intransigent policies pursued by Israel, nor do I need to emphasize the adverse effects of such policies on the sorely needed trust which must be painstakingly built between the parties involved in the Middle East tragedy.

42. As was demonstrated by the war last October, the physical security of Israel can by no means be guaranteed by the occupation of Arab lands, and the only viable alternative continues to be the implementation of Security Council resolution 242 (1967), which provides the best practical framework for the realization of a just and lasting peace.

43. Peace and security in the Indian sub-continent is one of the essential elements of my country's foreign policy, and in order to preserve it we shall continue to seek the friendship and co-operation of all parties concerned. In this connexion I should like to express the satisfaction of my Government over the developments in the sub-continent, culminating in the recent agreement which will open the channels of communication among the countries concerned and pave the way for the resumption of full diplomatic relations between Pakistan and India. It is hoped that further efforts will be made to settle outstanding problems between the parties concerned through peaceful means.

44. Regarding the implementation of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace, which is item 31 on the agenda, I should like to make a brief reference to a statement made by His Imperial Majesty to the countries of the Indian Ocean for the purpose of studying and establishing extensive ties of economic co-operation between the countries bordering on that ocean. Such co-operation is bound to assist the efforts that have been undertaken here in the United Nations for that same purpose. I would also add that we are maintaining friendly relations that are constantly growing with all the other nations of the subcontinent as well as with adjacent countries. In this connexion I wish to emphasize the excellent state of our brotherly relations with Afghanistan.

45. In Cyprus, we were most concerned when the military coup took place, and we immediately said that the status of Cyprus as an independent and sovereign State, based upon international agreements,

should be safeguarded as should the rights of the Turkish community on the island. While the reasons which prompted the Turkish military action in Cyprus are understandable, we are convinced that in the long run the problem can only be solved through negotiations among the countries and communities concerned on the basis of the independence of Cyprus and the observance of the legitimate rights of both the Turkish and Greek communities. The Government of Iran hopes that the problem will be solved as soon as possible because, apart from the political problem, the fate of more than 200,000 refugees is at stake.

46. The plight of refugees is not unfamiliar to us. Indeed, we are at present confronted with such a problem ourselves. About 100,000 Iraqi-Kurdish refugees—all of them women, the elderly and children—have flooded into Iran as a result of calamitous and heart-rending bombings. The Government of Iran has already allocated more than \$100 million for the care of these refugees. But it is evident that money, food and housing alone cannot alleviate all their sufferings.

47. It was not my intention to speak here today of the relations between my country and Iraq. Indeed, following upon the talks between the delegations of the two countries at Istanbul last August, it was agreed that I should meet my Iraqi opposite number here in October so as to enter into discussions with him, and I felt that, in accordance with the very spirit of a bilateral agreement reflected in Security Council resolution 348 (1974) for the "creation of a favourable atmosphere" that would encourage these talks, we should abstain from repeating what all Members of our Organization are already familiar with, particularly through the letters addressed by our permanent representative to the President of the Security Council.

48. I note once again that, to my great surprise, at the very time when the talks are to be resumed, the representative of Iraq [2262nd meeting] has once again launched groundless accusations in the United Nations. This strange conduct has been repeated over the years, and is all too familiar. Our wish, nevertheless, as we have indicated on a number of occasions, is to settle our differences peacefully and on the basis of the United Nations Charter and the recognized principles of international law and international practice. Of course, I could take up, point by point here, all the allegations of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Iraq and reply to them, but since no new point has been raised, the refutation of those groundless accusations can be found in the many letters addressed to the Secretary-General and to the Security Council, distributed as official Council documents. Moreover, our position in this respect has been stated on numerous occasions from this rostrum, and I shall therefore not dwell on these matters. Nevertheless, I am prepared, if necessary, to provide all the necessary clarifications that may be called for, should it be the intention of the head of the Iraqi delegation to enter into further controversy.

49. Before dealing with the world economic situation, I should like to clarify one point. Voices have been heard in recent weeks trying to relate the present economic disorder to the increase in the price of oil. There has been talk about artificially rigged, distorted, exorbitant and outrageous prices. According to their ominous prophecies, unless these prices are lowered

immediately, the world could be heading towards disaster. There have even been implied threats that the flow of foodstuffs to the oil-producing nations might be cut off.

50. Such assertions might impress the uninitiated layman, but they fail to convince the sober, worldly-wise observer. Indeed, in the course of the present debate, two heads of State and many foreign ministers, including representatives of some non-oil-producing nations, have already rebutted those assertions and have dealt with the subject in a most convincing fashion. Nevertheless, considering the fact that Iran is a major oil-producing country, I consider it my duty to set the record straight.

51. It is often said that the plight of the world economy and inflation were by-products of the rise in the price of oil. The fact is, however, that the rate of inflation began to escalate and to assume astronomical proportions some few years ago, thereby eroding the purchasing power of the oil-producing countries. Each year the producers of raw materials have had to give more of their products to import the same, if not a lesser, amount of machinery and manufactured goods from the industrialized countries—a process that, as we have stated time and again in the past, has led to a systematic impoverishment of the developing nations, while at the same time the industrially developed nations have proceeded to enrich themselves further.

52. At the same time, despite assertions to the contrary, the higher oil prices have had little inflationary impact; for according to the statistics—and I am not referring to our own statistics, but rather to those made available by experts of the industrialized countries themselves—imported oil accounts for as little as 0.45 per cent of the rate of inflation in the United States, and only about 1.5 per cent of the current inflationary trend in the Western European countries, while in all those countries the general price rise approximates an average of 12 per cent. In other words, the disorder in the world economy and in monetary markets preceded the oil price rise and was due mainly to mismanagement of the economy in the European States and in America, as well as to excessive consumption in the more advanced countries.

53. The reasons that prompted the oil-producing countries to raise the price of their product were, however, manifold.

54. First of all, in a competitive market the price of any commodity should be comparable to the price of its closest substitute, which in the case of oil must take into account the cost of obtaining energy from other sources, such as coal, shale oil and atomic energy. Similarly, the price should reflect what is termed the "opportunity cost" of the commodity. Thus the price of crude oil used as a source of fuel should correspond to its alternative value when used as a base for petrochemicals.

55. Secondly, the components of the selling prices in the major importing nations were in no way equitable to the oil-exporting countries: for every dollar paid by the consumer for oil, only nine cents reached the producer, and the rest went mainly to the oil companies in the form of profits, and to the Governments of oil-importing countries in the form of taxation.

56. Thirdly, it must be recognized that oil is a non-renewable commodity, and therefore the Governments of oil-producing nations have a duty to their peoples and to future generations not only to take measures to conserve this highly valuable asset, but also to trade it on optimum terms.

57. Fourthly, for nearly a quarter of a century, the uninterrupted supply of cheap oil from the developing countries served as the main factor enabling the industrialized countries to raise their production levels, expand their exports, improve their balance of payments and accumulate excessively large foreign exchange reserves, as well as save their own solid fuel resources. It therefore follows that in the period in question there was a net transfer of resources from the developing countries to the developed countries.

58. Throughout that period, the multinational oil companies controlled the flow of supply—and therefore the demand—and fixed the price of oil at their own discretion, unilaterally. Their price policy bore no relation to the true value of petroleum: it was a deliberate policy of the rich countries of the world, designed to keep energy prices below their true value. Thus, for example, the posted price of Iranian crude oil was fixed by the oil companies at \$US 2.17 in 1947. Thirteen years later, the posted price had dropped to \$US 1.79, and remained the same throughout the 1960s. At the same time, the developing countries had to import their requirements from industrial countries at ever-rising prices. Between 1947 and 1973 the price of 28 commodities, excluding crude oil, increased by an average of more than 350 per cent. The increasing consumption of low-cost petroleum combined with its declining price in industrialized nations contributed greatly to the widening of the gap between the rich and the poor countries—that is, the developed countries advanced at a rapid rate at the expense of the oil-producing countries. However, those countries that had become rich at our expense never paid any attention to the tragic problems of the developing countries and did not even consent to allocate 1 per cent of their gross national product to the development of the under-developed countries.

59. As regards Iran, we have constantly taken into account the problems facing the developing countries, and as soon as readjustment of the price of oil became a reality we started giving bilateral as well as multi-lateral aid to developing and developed countries alike—a matter to which I shall refer later. We are also aware that recycling is necessary and have therefore begun negotiations to that effect. But that can be done only through reasoned deliberation and mutual discussion. Accusations or threats against the oil producers do not solve anything. The sixth special session of the General Assembly had the merit of seeing the problem from the right angle and devoting itself to examining and recommending practical solutions to the problem of raw materials and development.

60. In the main, what emerged from the sixth special session of the General Assembly was a Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order and a Programme of Action [resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)]. Those decisions constitute historic landmarks in the evolutionary process of the international economic system. Whatever shortcomings might be evident in the two documents

adopted by the special session, we cannot deny that that session was a turning-point in the economic environment of our world, and, more particularly, in relations between the industrialized and the developing countries. More vividly than ever, they have brought out in bold relief the new reality of the condition of interdependence prevailing among nations regardless of whether they belong to the developed or developing regions of the world.

61. It has also been conclusively demonstrated that the time when certain industrialized countries ruled and were able to take decisions that committed the whole world belongs to the past. Instead, a new era has dawned in which it is clear that the seemingly overwhelming problems of the world can be tackled adequately only within the framework of relations based on co-operation and equality among sovereign States.

62. That is the kind of potential transformation in the international economic situation to which my august Sovereign was referring in his message of 5 April 1974 to the General Assembly on the opening of the sixth special session when he said:

“... Nothing better reflects the spirit of our time than the fact that this special session, unlike previous ones, emanates not from war and conflict among nations but comes out of a growing recognition of interdependence among them. . . .

“The time has now come to make a beginning towards a more rationalized world economy. This means, among other things, that the raw materials in the hands of the developing nations should maintain constant and real value in relation to the prices of goods imported from the industrialized market. Trade must be made an instrument of progress for all while recognizing that the prosperity of the poor need not diminish the affluence of the rich.”³

63. However, the economic imbalance persisting in relations between developing and developed countries is so serious and the process that continues to widen the gap between them seemingly so inexorable that action can no longer be confined, as in the past, to corrective or *ad hoc* measures. If we are to succeed, we shall have to make a concerted effort to carry out a major review of the concepts and practices underlying the international economic system. Real structural changes will have to be instituted if we are to evolve a new economic order based on equity, sovereign equality, interdependence, common interest and co-operation among all States. And in this context it is to be hoped that the industrialized countries of the world will not fail to take advantage of the opportunities which now exist for co-operating with others in finding suitable solutions.

64. For its part, Iran remains fully aware of the need to co-operate with other countries, especially the developing ones. I shall not attempt here to give a detailed picture of my Government's wide-ranging efforts in this respect, but it perhaps bears repeating that the total amount of Iran's bilateral and multi-lateral commitments to other countries has already reached \$9,000 million.

65. Measured by any yardstick—be it gross national product, *per capita* income, oil revenue, size of population or any other criterion—that amount heads all

contributions. Indeed, the total amount of our assistance relative to our gross national product exceeds the contribution of any other country in the whole history of development assistance.

66. Furthermore, negotiations have been in progress with UNDP with a view to increasing and diversifying the assistance which Iran is supplying to the developing countries through that body, to which our country has become a net contributor. Although Iran has made substantial emergency and development aid available to the developing countries during the current year, it has nevertheless decided to make a contribution of \$20 million to the United Nations emergency operations.

67. It was also with a view to alleviating the burden imposed upon developing countries because of the rising prices of foodstuffs, raw materials and industrial goods, and in order to take a major step towards bridging the gap between the rich and poor nations by effecting, for the first time, a real transfer of resources, that, on 22 February 1974, His Imperial Majesty proposed the establishment of a new special development fund which would be fully responsive to the urgent needs and requirements of the developing countries.

68. That special development fund would be set up with an initial capital of \$2,000 million to \$3,000 million to be financed jointly by the oil-exporting as well as the industrialized countries. To guarantee an objective, fair and impartial approach, the fund was to be administered by a governing body in which all the oil-exporting, industrialized and aid-receiving countries would be equally represented on a one-man, one-vote basis. The establishment of such a voting mechanism would give a new content to the concept of multilateral assistance.

69. Yet the results of our efforts towards the establishment of the fund have not been very encouraging so far. However, undeterred by the results of its international efforts, Iran has eagerly and in all good faith been following its own programme of assistance on a bilateral as well as on a multilateral basis along the lines I have already outlined above.

70. In any case, the continuation of the work so nobly conceived during the sixth special session is by now assured. The over-all review of the implementation of the Programme of Action adopted last spring has been assigned to the forthcoming special session of the General Assembly devoted to development and international economic co-operation, which is to meet next year prior to the thirtieth regular session. Perhaps by then some of the reservations which marked the adoption of the consensus regarding the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order and of the Programme of Action will be less categorical.

71. Whereas the lack of any appreciable progress in the field of disarmament has been among the more dismal aspects of recent international life, we are, nevertheless, pleased to note that the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament has recommended an expansion of its membership, and that the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the World Disarmament Conference has finally convened and has completed its work. It must, however, be recognized that in the field of disarm-

ament no significant progress has been achieved with regard to substantive matters.

72. As I pointed out in this same forum last year, it is our view that a disarmament programme should be devised which will continue to maintain a constant link between the partial measures and the ultimate goal of general and complete disarmament under effective international control.⁴ In the absence of such a programme, and until the goal of general and complete disarmament is achieved—especially when we see that the world has made no progress towards peace and stability and that the United Nations has never been weaker—countries cannot fail to look after their own defence requirements.

73. We all know that meetings take place for the sake of discussion and, once in a while, recommendations are made or decisions are taken, but we do not witness their implementation—especially when they are concerned with the maintenance of peace and security. Nevertheless, efforts aimed at the achievement of the goal of general and complete disarmament must continue to be pursued, and I can say that, as far as Iran is concerned, we have not failed to do our part in a constructive spirit. We have felt that, in this connexion, there appears to be no justifiable reason for the lack of adequate and effective negotiations, especially on the question of the cessation of all nuclear weapons tests and the prohibition of chemical weapons, which the United Nations General Assembly has repeatedly requested to be dealt with as matters of “first” or “high” priority.

74. While I am on the subject of disarmament, I wish to express my disappointment at the lack of progress with regard to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons which has not been as thorough or wide-ranging as expected. The world of today is precariously poised on the threshold of a new age in which countries will increasingly move from the use of the more traditional sources of energy to that of nuclear energy. A host of forces—social, economic, demographic and technical—have converged and conspired to give rise to this impending revolution in the field of nuclear technology. In a world, then, where the uses of atomic energy are about to be proliferated, it becomes all the more imperative that the existing international framework for the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons should be strengthened.

75. As a result, while by no means abandoning a global approach with regard to the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, the world has become more acutely aware of the pressing need for collateral measures in dealing with the problem on a partial or regional basis. Thus, the continent of Africa was the subject of General Assembly resolution 1652 (XVI) of 24 November 1961 in which Member States were called upon to refrain from testing, storing, or transporting nuclear weapons in Africa and to consider and respect the continent as a denuclearized zone. Subsequently, by its resolution 2033 (XX) of 3 December 1965, the General Assembly endorsed the Declaration on the denuclearization of Africa issued by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity in July 1964.

76. Furthermore, the outstanding success, to date, of the Treaty of Tlatelolco,⁵ which entered into force in 1969, and which prohibits nuclear weapons in Latin

America, has blazed a trail which others might follow with equal profit.

77. It is considerations such as those I have cited above that prompted my august Sovereign to propose the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East a few years ago and to send a message to this effect to the opening of this session of the Assembly. Inspired by His Imperial Majesty's proposal, my Government has, as you know, requested the inclusion of an item entitled, "Establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the region of the Middle East", in the agenda of the current session. As we have indicated in our explanatory memorandum accompanying this request:

"While prospects for implementation of an all-encompassing denuclearization scheme in the region of the Middle East appear now to be more promising, greater access by States to nuclear technology has rendered the danger of nuclear weapon proliferation and a concomitant collapse of the non-proliferation structure, a more acute problem". [See A/19693]

78. It should be readily apparent to any thoughtful person that, given the political conditions prevailing in the region, if nuclear weapons were developed or acquired by any country, the other countries in that area would be rapidly overwhelmed by a ruinous, senseless and potentially disastrous nuclear arms race. Furthermore, the astronomical costs involved in building an inventory of such weapons of mass destruction and in elaborating a viable system for their delivery, would divert resources which are urgently needed if the socio-economic aspirations of these countries are to be adequately realized.

79. It is our intense sensitivity to the monstrous problems that would be created if nuclear arms were ever to invade the region of the Middle East and to the great challenge facing all of us to prevent such an eventuality from occurring, which makes my Government fervently hope that the General Assembly, during the current session, will commend this proposal to the attention of the States of the region and make a recommendation to those States as soon as possible to achieve this objective and report back to the General Assembly.

80. Of course, many problems and complexities need to be faced and overcome as we move from the realm of aspiration to that of implementation at the operational level. Among others, the question of defining the geographical concept of the Middle East,

the limits of the denuclearized zone and of an adequate safeguard system, will have to be settled.

81. My Government wishes to avail itself of this opportunity to express its deep appreciation to the Egyptian Government for its valuable support in co-sponsoring our proposal, and to all other countries that have expressed their support. The urgency of the situation and the complexity of the road to be travelled summon us all to engage purposefully in an early effort to foster the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the region of the Middle East in as expeditious a manner as possible.

82. By taking the necessary action, the General Assembly will clearly demonstrate its concern about this matter, which is of such vital importance to the peace and security not only of our region, but of the entire world. Indeed, it will represent the taking of a historic step towards a more secure and a happier future for us all.

83. To cope with the complex problems of today, anachronistic concepts and methods must give way to approaches based on new realities in the world, a world in which no country or group of countries can alone provide leadership or can dictate their terms. Such problems can only be dealt with through a spirit of mutual accommodation, dialogue and co-operation.

84. Peace for the world and prosperity for our peoples are goals we all seek to achieve. To this end, we who have always acted in accordance with the principles of the Charter, are prepared to engage in a dialogue to find a rational basis for the solution of the existing problems in a manner which would safeguard the interests of all concerned without prejudice to our legitimate rights under the Charter.

The meeting rose at 1.05 p.m.

NOTES

¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Nineteenth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 1301st meeting, para. 66.

² *Ibid.*, Twenty-eighth Session, Plenary Meetings, 2127th meeting, para. 179.

³ A/9545.

⁴ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-eighth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2127th meeting, para. 175.

⁵ United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 634, No. 9068, p. 326.