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President: Mr. Abdelaziz BOUTEFLIKA
(Algeria).

In the absence of the President, Mr. Dăcu (Romania), Vice-President, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 102

**Status of the European Economic Community
in the General Assembly**

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We shall now begin consideration of item 102. I call on the representative of France to introduce draft resolution A/L.734.

2. Mr. DE GUIRINGAUD (France) (*interpretation from French*): Speaking as the representative of a country which is the current President of the European Economic Community [EEC], I have the honour to propose to the General Assembly the adoption of a draft resolution which reads as follows:

"The General Assembly,

"Wishing to promote co-operation between the United Nations and the European Economic Community,

"Requests the Secretary-General to invite the European Economic Community to participate in the sessions and work of the General Assembly in the capacity of observer."

3. The request that EEC is thus submitting through me is, I should like to explain, made on behalf of the Community itself and of its member States: Belgium, Denmark, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

4. Now that I have explained the position, I should like to say how pleased the Community would be if the Assembly were to act favourably on its request. There is no need for me to recall here the slow but determined progress towards unity in Europe which

has marked the history of our peoples since the end of the Second World War. Out of a Europe that lay in ruins, whose lifeblood had been drained and whose peoples seemed to be locked in an everlasting conflict of hatred there arose a determination to overcome the mistakes and sufferings of the past and to join forces in a task of reconstruction which would, at the same time, result in the building of an era of progress.

5. We do not claim that these efforts have all succeeded, nor that the road that still lies ahead is not strewn with obstacles. Nor do we conceal from ourselves the fact that many efforts will still have to be made in order to attain all the objectives laid down in the preamble to the Treaty of Rome. Those objectives concern first of all the achievement of a very high degree of economic co-operation and with this in view the signatory States have delegated to the Community bodies a substantial share of their jurisdiction and competence in economic and social matters.

6. Among the goals of the Treaty of Rome, the Assembly will find also one which prescribes that we should lay the foundations for an ever-closer union between the peoples of Europe.

7. What we have already achieved in respect of trade, common policies and, in particular, a common policy for agriculture and for aid to development, is considerable. And that is why the establishment of consistent co-operation between the Assembly and our Community seems to us likely to produce a good many advantages for each party.

8. European economic unity, which was established in order to put a final end to the war in Europe, cannot but serve to maintain peace and international equilibrium. That is the second point that I should like to discuss briefly with the Assembly today. The Assembly is well enough aware of the situation to know that the countries of the EEC share the same interests, I would even say destiny, and that none of them can or wishes henceforth to dominate the others. The institutions and machinery which have been set up within EEC reflect a desire for a deep-rooted equilibrium which in itself is an assurance of peace and security. I should like to add that the constructive attitude of EEC is clearly expressed in the preamble to the Treaty of Rome, the signatories to which have proclaimed that they will abide by the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

9. I spoke of the wish for progress and then the wish for peace entertained by EEC. Lastly, and in particular, I should like to emphasize its desire for co-operation. Our Community is necessarily open to the outside world. Far from confining itself to organizing freedom of trade within its own frontiers, it has contributed in a liberal spirit to a whole series of international tariff negotiations. It is continuing and will continue in the same desire for openness and mutual

concessions to promote the expansion of international trade which it intends in particular to support by means of the form of general preferences that it grants to developing countries, whether or not they are associated with the Community.

10. Once again I shall mention and emphasize particularly the especially close relations which the Community maintains with many developing countries, Members of this Organization.

11. The Community long ago undertook to provide them with aid, whether the aid is granted under the Yaoundé Conventions, the principle of which has just been restated at the Kingston Conference last July, or whether we are talking as well of food aid, the volume of which has grown considerably in the course of the past few years, or, lastly, of emergency assistance to the countries most severely affected by crises, which EEC has just voted on.

12. To speak, finally, of the procedural aspects of the co-operation we propose to set up between the General Assembly and EEC, I should like to say the following. The type of co-operation that we envisage is not unprecedented, EEC already having observer status in the Economic and Social Council and in UNCTAD. The rules and customs of the United Nations for that matter have clearly determined what observer status is: observers do not speak in the Assembly itself, but can ask to speak in its committees, conferences or working groups. EEC will abide in every respect with the rules and regulations thus laid down. It would hope to participate actively in meetings and work of the General Assembly, that is to say, in the working bodies of the Assembly.

13. In view of the scope and range of the questions covered by the Treaty of Rome, the participation of EEC may not be limited only to the activities of the Second Committee. It will participate in a spirit of constructive collaboration, believing that the organs of the Assembly will be pleased to hear such a body as EEC, whose existence is now firmly established, expressing its own views.

14. Mr. OGBU (Nigeria): Let me allay the fears of the sponsors of this item and inform them that I do not intend to oppose it. It is often said that the United Nations is long on words and short on action. If I may say so, the missing link seems to be good faith and sincerity of purpose. As Chairman of the Special Committee on *Apartheid*, I have been impressed by the unanimous condemnation of the policy of *apartheid* of the régime in Pretoria. Vigilance by all Member States in upholding the resolutions of this body is necessary to ensure that we match our resolve with action. In this connexion, I should like to recall General Assembly resolution 2923 E (XXVII), adopted on 15 November 1972. In paragraph 13 of that resolution, the Assembly requested:

"States . . . members of the European Economic Community . . . to take the necessary steps to deny all assistance and commercial or other facilities to the Government of South Africa so long as it pursues its policies of *apartheid* and racial discrimination and continues to defy the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council."

15. I know that the EEC countries account for about half the international trade of South Africa. Seventy-

five per cent of the foreign investment in South Africa comes from the EEC countries. I also understand that the South African mission in Brussels is entering into negotiations—or contemplating doing so—with the Community in order to obtain trade concessions. If this fact is true, it is a violation of the obligation of the member States of EEC under the Charter. We cannot, as loyal Members of the United Nations, condone a situation which is likely to neutralize the strong position of the principle which the Organization has consistently taken on the inhuman policy of *apartheid*. It is therefore pertinent in considering the request for observer status by EEC to express the hope that the Community will ensure strict compliance with all—and I repeat, all—United Nations resolutions.

16. In the spirit of the desirability of evolving a new economic order which has pervaded the United Nations since the sixth special session of the General Assembly in April and May this year, my delegation wishes to express the hope also that the EEC will facilitate the early conclusion of the agreements resulting from the negotiations with the African, Caribbean and Pacific countries.

Mr. Bouteflika (Algeria) took the Chair.

17. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The representative of France has asked to speak to answer certain questions raised by the representative of Nigeria, and I now call on him.

18. Mr. DE GUIRINGAUD (France) (*interpretation from French*): I understand full well and I respect the motives that led the representative of Nigeria to speak a few moments ago as Chairman of the Special Committee on *Apartheid*. We all know the remarkable work that the representative of Nigeria has done here in that capacity. But I should like to reassure our friend and colleague, the representative of Nigeria, that, contrary to his fears, no negotiations are under way between EEC and South Africa. There is no intention on the part of the authorities of EEC to enter into any such negotiations with South Africa and, at the present time, there is no treaty or agreement of any kind between EEC and South Africa. On the contrary, as the representative of Nigeria certainly knows, 18 African countries have already been associated with EEC and 40 countries of Africa, the Caribbean and Pacific areas engaged, in the month of July 1974 at Kingston, in lengthy negotiations with EEC to renew or to obtain association with the Brussels organization.

19. I do not think there is any need for me to remind members that all member countries of EEC have on many occasions vigorously expressed their opposition to the policy of *apartheid*. I should add that they have all signed and ratified the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, which goes far beyond the maximum demands of those who criticize *apartheid*.

20. This being so, I am very happy to be able to reassure the representative of Nigeria that EEC and its nine member States always keep clearly in mind the importance of doing nothing that could in any way whatsoever advance the policy of *apartheid*.

21. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): If I hear no further comments or objections, I shall

take it that the General Assembly wishes to adopt draft resolution A/L.734.

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 3208 (XXIX)).

AGENDA ITEM 111

Status of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance in the General Assembly

22. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We shall now proceed to the consideration of agenda item 111. I call on the representative of Bulgaria to introduce draft resolution A/L.735.

23. Mr. GROZEV (Bulgaria) (*interpretation from Russian*): On instructions from their Governments, the delegations of the Byelorussian SSR, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, the Ukrainian SSR, the USSR and Bulgaria requested the inclusion in the agenda of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly of an additional item entitled "Status of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance in the General Assembly" [A/9744].

24. At its 2261st plenary meeting, the General Assembly approved the recommendation of the General Committee to include this item in the agenda of the twenty-ninth session and transmit it for consideration directly in plenary meetings.

25. Today the General Assembly has before it draft resolution A/L.735.

26. In the explanatory memorandum in document A/9744 there is an exhaustive account of the reasons why our countries consider it necessary for the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance [CMEA] to be granted observer status in the General Assembly, thus enabling it to take part in the work of the Assembly and its Committees and in conferences and other organs during the consideration of relevant matters.

27. On 8 October 1974, the Bulgarian delegation had the opportunity to present to the General Committee of the General Assembly some additional arguments in favour of the request of the authors of document A/9744, who are also the sponsors of the draft resolution that I have just had the honour of introducing today on their behalf.

28. I should like to remind the Assembly that the socialist countries attach great significance to the role of the United Nations in the solution of international problems and in the strengthening of peace and the development of co-operation among all countries on the basis of the principles of the Charter. We note with satisfaction that the principles underlying the co-operation of the States members of CMEA—full equality, independence, voluntary participation, respect for sovereignty, mutual benefits and mutual understanding, and the great effectiveness of co-operation for all the participant countries—are totally consistent with the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

29. On the basis of the socialist system of production, and by making fuller use of the possibilities of the socialist division of labour, the States members of CMEA have achieved high and stable rates of

economic development and have become a powerful and stabilizing factor in international economic relations. At the present time the member countries of the Council, whose total territory constitutes 18.5 per cent of the territory of our planet and whose population constitutes 9.5 per cent of the world population, are responsible for more than 33 per cent of the world's industrial production, as compared with 18 per cent in 1950.

30. The strengthening of the community of States members of the CMEA will not lead to the creation of any closed economic grouping. Proof of that is the multifaceted co-operation with third countries within the framework of the Council. The socialist countries are ready to broaden co-operation with all countries regardless of their social or political systems, on the basis of equality, independence, mutual benefit and non-intervention in internal affairs.

31. CMEA keeps constantly in mind the question of economic relations with the developing countries. The States members of the Council grant those countries economic assistance and co-operate with them scientifically and technologically in the creation and the development of their national industries and other branches of their national economies. At present, the States members of the Council are granting assistance to developing countries in the establishment of some 2,900 industrial plants and other economic projects. The comprehensive co-operation of the Council with the developing countries is also being expanded. In the International Investment Bank of the members of the Council there is a special fund for providing financing and assistance to those countries. A special fund has been set up also to grant scholarships for the training of national personnel. The States members of the Council will continue to strengthen their co-operation with the developing countries and will support them in their struggle for economic independence and assist them in their efforts to liquidate the unjust relations imposed upon them by the policy of imperialism and neo-colonialism.

32. As is known, CMEA is already co-operating in various ways with more than 20 intergovernmental and non-governmental economic and scientific and technical organizations, including the Economic and Social Council, UNCTAD, UNIDO, ECE and others.

33. A particularly important role in relations among our countries is played by the comprehensive programme for socialist integration; the implementation of that programme will lead to an improvement in the international socialist division of labour and it is a powerful instrument for increasing the socialist production of each country and its possibilities of benefiting from the achievements of science and technology. This has created new possibilities for the further convergence and equalization of the economic development levels of the States members of the Council.

34. In this connexion I should like to change the subject slightly and say a few words in my capacity as representative of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

35. Thanks to Bulgaria's co-operation with other socialist countries within the framework of CMEA, our country has been able in a brief historical period to overcome its economic backwardness and achieve

outstanding success in all branches of the economy and science and culture.

36. Formerly an agricultural country, Bulgaria, which was known only for its attar of roses, is today a country with a developed industry, including a major mechanized agricultural industry. In the mere 30 years of Bulgaria's socialist construction, the correlation between industrial and agricultural production has changed from 75 to 25 in favour of agriculture to 80 to 20 in favour of industry. Substantial changes have occurred also in the structure of our industry. That has made possible the speedy development of such highly efficient branches of industry as engineering, electronics, energy, and chemicals and metallurgy.

37. The President of the Council of State of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Todor Zhivkov, stated the following at the twenty-eighth session of CMEA, which was celebrating the twenty-fifth anniversary of that body's establishment:

"We well understand that our people have made historical conquests in the fraternal family of the nations of the socialist community, in close co-operation with them and in terms of close mutual assistance. We realize quite clearly also that the new, larger and difficult tasks facing us now can be successfully accomplished only with the active and broadest possible participation of our country in the international socialist division of labour and in conditions of close co-operation and fraternal mutual assistance with regard to the other socialist countries."

38. The new political situation, the salient feature of which is the trend towards political détente, creates the objective conditions for the further development and improvement of economic, commercial, scientific and technological co-operation among all countries, regardless of their social systems or levels of development, inside and outside the framework of the United Nations.

39. The participation of CMEA in the work of the General Assembly will, we are firmly convinced, do a great deal to promote the development of the process of the normalization of international economic relations and the implementation of the progressive decisions of the sixth special session of the General Assembly.

40. On behalf of the sponsors of draft resolution A/L.735, I should like to express my conviction that that draft resolution will meet with the unanimous support of the General Assembly.

41. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We shall now take a decision on draft resolution A/L.735. If I hear no objections, I shall take it that the General Assembly wishes to adopt the draft resolution.

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 3209 (XXIX)).

42. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I shall call now on the representative of the United States who wishes to explain his position.

43. Mr. BENNETT (United States of America): My delegation's view regarding the two resolutions adopted this afternoon is based on the belief that the developments in Europe towards greater integration, especially in the economic field, are important and

useful. In particular, we regard the request contained in document A/L.734 concerning EEC, with which the United States has close ties, as happily reflecting those developments. The special nature of the economic integration in Europe can undoubtedly be effectively promoted through co-operation with the United Nations. The clear statements that were made in the General Committee on this question and again today in connexion with these two resolutions indicate that these requests are related to the special nature of these developments, that they are tailored to specific relevant areas and that they are fully in accord with the past practice and customs of the United Nations with regard to observers. I believe that this relates equally to both the resolutions adopted. For these reasons, the United States is pleased to form a part of the consensus which has approved these two resolutions.

AGENDA ITEM 16

Election of five non-permanent members of the Security Council

44. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): Before we begin consideration of the last item on our agenda for this afternoon, I shall call on the representative of Guatemala who wishes to speak in order to help the Assembly to take a decision on this item since his group has not had an opportunity yet of circulating the relevant document.

45. Mr. VILLAGRAN KRAMER (Guatemala) (*interpretation from Spanish*): As Chairman of the Latin American group, the delegation of Guatemala has the honour to state that the candidacy of Guyana as a non-permanent member of the Security Council will be supported unanimously by our group.

46. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The last item on this afternoon's agenda is the election of five non-permanent members of the Security Council to replace the five non-permanent members whose term of office expires on 31 December 1974. The five outgoing members are: Australia, Austria, Indonesia, Kenya and Peru. Those countries cannot be re-elected and therefore their names must not appear on the ballot papers.

47. Apart from the five permanent members, the Security Council in 1975 will include the Byelorussian SSR, Costa Rica, Iraq, Mauritania and the United Republic of Cameroon. Therefore the names of these five States should not appear on the ballot papers either.

48. Of the five non-permanent members which will remain in office in 1975, three are from Africa and Asia, one from Eastern Europe and one from Latin America. Therefore, in accordance with paragraph 3 of resolution 1991 A (XVIII) of 17 December 1963, the non-permanent members to be elected should be selected as follows: two from African and Asian States, one from Latin American States and two from Western European and other States. The ballot paper takes this distribution into account.

49. In accordance with rule 92 of the rules of procedure, the election will be held by secret ballot and there will be no nominations.

50. The ballot papers are now being distributed. I request representatives to use only the ballot papers distributed and to write on them the names of the five Member States for which they wish to vote. As I have indicated, the ballot papers should not include the names of the five permanent members, the five outgoing non-permanent members or the five countries which are already non-permanent members for 1975. Any ballot paper containing more than five names will be declared invalid.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Rae (Canada) and Mr. Mauersberger (German Democratic Republic) acted as tellers.

A vote was taken by secret ballot.

51. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I propose now to suspend the meeting while the ballots are being counted.

The meeting was suspended at 4.35 p.m. and resumed at 5.05 p.m.

52. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The result of the voting for the election of five non-permanent members of the Security Council is as follows:

<i>Number of ballot papers:</i>	129
<i>Invalid ballots:</i>	0
<i>Number of valid ballots:</i>	129
<i>Abstentions:</i>	0

<i>Number of members voting:</i>	129
<i>Required majority:</i>	86

<i>Number of votes obtained:</i>	
Sweden	127
Italy	125
Guyana	123
United Republic of Tanzania	122
Japan	121
Liberia	2
Bolivia	1
Brazil	1
Congo	1
Cuba	1
Finland	1
India	1
Nigeria	1
Zambia	1

Having obtained the required two-thirds majority, Guyana, Italy, Japan, Sweden and the United Republic of Tanzania were elected non-permanent members of the Security Council for a two-year period from 1 January 1975.

53. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I congratulate the countries which have just been elected non-permanent members of the Security Council and on your behalf I should like to thank the tellers for their assistance in this election.

The meeting rose at 5.10 p.m.