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SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 40th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. ALFONSO (Cuba)

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AGENDA ITEM 79: NATIONAL EXPERIENCE IN ACHIEVING FAR-REACHING SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CHANGES FOR THE PURPOSE OF SOCIAL PROGRESS: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

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The meeting was called to order at 11.05 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 70: ADVERSE CONSEQUENCES FOR THE ENJOYMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS OF POLITICAL, MILITARY, ECONOMIC AND OTHER FORMS OF ASSISTANCE GIVEN TO COLONIAL AND RACIST REGIMES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA (A/31/221; A/C.3/31/L.16/Rev.1) (continued)

1. The CHAIRMAN invited those delegations which had not yet done so to explain their votes on draft resolution A/C.3/31/L.16/Rev.1.
2. Mr. QUADRI (Argentina) said that his delegation had voted for the draft resolution because it agreed with it in substance. It had reservations, however, with respect to the eighth preambular paragraph and operative paragraphs 3 and 4, and would have abstained on those paragraphs had they been put to the vote separately.
3. Mr. MOSQUERA (Colombia) said that his delegation had voted for the draft resolution because it was in agreement with its spirit. It objected, however, to those paragraphs which singled out certain countries for criticism. It was concerned that delegations would abstain because of the language used on resolutions which deserved to be adopted by consensus. The eighth preambular paragraph and operative paragraphs 3, 4 and 8 reflected pretexts for levelling attacks against certain countries and dealt with questions outside of the Committee's competence under the Charter. The fact that many delegations which agreed with the substance of the draft resolution had expressed reservations showed that it was counter-productive to use exaggerated language and to cast aspersions on specific countries.
4. Mr. HEINEMANN (Netherlands) said that his delegation would have voted for paragraphs 1, 2 and 5 had they been put to the vote separately. It had not changed its position with respect to General Assembly resolution 3171 (XXVIII), on which it had abstained when it had been put to the vote. His country had voluntarily placed an embargo on military supplies to South Africa and would favour the imposition of a mandatory one by the Security Council. It endorsed paragraph 9 and hoped that the final report of the Special Rapporteur would be ready in time for submission to the General Assembly at its thirty-second session.
5. Mrs. CARRASCO (Bolivia) said that her delegation had supported the draft resolution because of its solidarity with the victims of colonialism and racism and because it shared the international community's concern over the continuation of assistance to the racist régimes in southern Africa. It was reluctant, however, to cast aspersions on other States, especially on the basis of what was still only partial information. It therefore had reservations with respect to paragraphs 3 and 4.
6. Mr. DOBROSIELSKI (Poland) said that it was with deep regret that his delegation had had to abstain in the vote on the draft resolution. Poland's strong and unequivocal support for the struggle of colonial peoples for self-determination, independence and the full enjoyment of human rights and against all forms of racism was well known.

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(Mr. Dobrosielski, Poland)

7. His delegation fully supported the spirit of the draft resolution and had had to abstain for formal and legal reasons, specifically with respect to paragraph 8. That paragraph contradicted the third preambular paragraph both in form and in substance. Even more important, it introduced a problem, namely, the examination of the consequences of the use of the veto in the Security Council, which in the view of his delegation was not within the competence of the Committee, the Economic and Social Council or the Commission on Human Rights. He wished to draw attention in that respect, inter alia, to Article 62 of the Charter, which dealt with the functions and powers of the Economic and Social Council. The attitude of the Polish Government concerning the letter and spirit of the United Nations Charter was also well known.

8. His delegation considered it unfortunate that the introduction in a draft resolution of extraneous matters, especially when their introduction was not fully compatible with the Charter, complicated the Committee's and distracted attention from a just and righteous cause which Poland fully supported.

9. Miss HENNESSY (Ireland) said that Ireland fully supported the colonial peoples in their struggle against apartheid and had consistently opposed all assistance to the southern African régimes. It shared the international community's impatience at the lack of progress in the achievement of full human rights in that region and agreed with the substance of the resolution. However, it had voted against it because it objected to the wording of operative paragraph 3 and its vague reference to "collaboration": that reference could be interpreted to include trade, restraints on which, in the view of her delegation, could be imposed effectively only by decision of the Security Council. It also seemed invidious to single out certain specifically identified countries for censure. With respect to the eighth preambular paragraph and operative paragraph 8, her delegation considered that it was procedurally quite inappropriate to refer the question of the use of the veto to the Economic and Social Council or to the Commission on Human Rights.

10. Ireland scrupulously observed the sanctions imposed on the minority régime of Southern Rhodesia, as States were called upon to do in paragraph 6. With respect to paragraph 5, it stood by its already stated position to the effect that unless the South African Government changed its policies, the case for concerted and binding action by the international community in relation to the supply of arms of any kind might well come to seem a compelling one.

11. Mr. GRAEFRATH (German Democratic Republic) said that his delegation would have liked to be able to vote for the draft resolution because it agreed that assistance to the racist régimes implied complicity with them and violated the United Nations Charter. It was also useful to reveal the consequences of assistance to the racist régimes. However, it objected to the imprecise wording of paragraph 8, which made it subject to misinterpretation. The Economic and Social Council and the Commission on Human Rights were not competent to deal with the functions and procedures of the Security Council. It had therefore felt obliged to abstain in the vote, in spite of its whole-hearted commitment to the national liberation struggle in southern Africa.

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12. Mrs. KALLIGA (Greece) said that her country had consistently supported the right of colonial peoples to self-determination and United Nations resolutions aimed at the elimination of racial discrimination, as well as the struggle of colonial peoples against apartheid. It therefore regretted that it had been obliged to abstain in the vote on the draft resolution because of the wording of some of its provisions, especially the eighth preambular paragraph and operative paragraphs 3 and 8.

13. The question of the veto was extremely important and should be examined in a comprehensive manner by an appropriate body and not by the Economic and Social Council.

14. Mr. AZIZ (Afghanistan) said that his country had always supported the struggle of the peoples of southern Africa and elsewhere for self-determination and all United Nations resolutions aimed at the elimination of apartheid and racial discrimination. It had therefore voted for the resolution but would have preferred a different wording in operative paragraph 3.

15. Mr. BAHNEV (Bulgaria) said that his delegation supported all the fundamental provisions of the draft resolution and agreed that the General Assembly must condemn all assistance by the major Western Powers to the southern African régimes. It had condemned the abuse of the veto by the three Powers referred to in paragraph 3 on the grounds that such abuse would block effective action to combat the racist régimes.

16. The wording of paragraph 8, however, was not satisfactory. The concept of unanimity was a fundamental organizational principle which distinguished the United Nations from the League of Nations and other bodies. Paragraph 8 reflected a disregard for that principle and an attempt to attribute to certain bodies functions which were not properly theirs under the Charter. His delegation therefore regretted that it had had to abstain in the vote.

17. His delegation also wished to congratulate the Soviet Union and its delegation on the forthcoming anniversary of the great October Revolution and wished it further success in building a communist society and in consolidating peace and security.

18. Mr. POEDJIOETOMO (Indonesia) said that his delegation had voted for the draft resolution because it agreed with the spirit of the text. It felt, however, that paragraph 3 should either have listed all countries which collaborated with the racist régimes of southern Africa or none of them. To single out three of them was a sign of partisanship.

19. Mr. VARGA (Hungary) said that his country supported efforts to eliminate racism and colonialism and to assist colonial countries to achieve national self-determination. It had no relations at all with the racist régimes and agreed that the United Nations must take concrete steps to stop all assistance to them. Accordingly, it agreed with the substance of the draft but regretted that it had

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(Mr. Varga, Hungary)

had to abstain in the vote because of its reservations with respect to paragraph 8. The power of the veto was vested in the Security Council under the United Nations Charter and was not subject to examination by the Economic and Social Council or the Commission on Human Rights.

20. Ms. IDER (Mongolia) said that her country's position with respect to apartheid and colonialism was well known and had not changed. It had consistently supported efforts to combat the racist régimes and all United Nations resolutions which condemned them. It regretted that it had had to abstain in the vote on the draft resolution because of its objections to paragraph 8. The principle of unanimity was a fundamental one and could not be delegated to the Economic and Social Council or the Commission on Human Rights.

21. Miss MELCICKA (Czechoslovakia) said that her country's position with respect to the racist régimes was well known. Her delegation regretted that it had had to abstain in the vote on the draft resolution because of the unsatisfactory wording of paragraph 8, which referred to a matter outside the competence of the Committee. Its approval of the substance of the draft, however, remained unchanged.

22. Mrs. MHLABATSI (Swaziland) said that her delegation had voted for the draft resolution but reserved its position on paragraphs 3 and 5.

AGENDA ITEM 79: NATIONAL EXPERIENCE IN ACHIEVING FAR-REACHING SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CHANGES FOR THE PURPOSE OF SOCIAL PROGRESS: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/10166; A/31/199; A/C.3/31/L.17) (continued)

23. Mr. DOBROSIELSKI (Poland) said that Poland considered agenda item 79 to be of the utmost importance. While every State had the sovereign right to determine its own social system in accordance with the will of its people and without interference, an exchange of experience could be extremely useful and valuable.

24. Poland's experience in the field to which the item related was noteworthy. Pre-war Poland had been a backward and poor country characterized by a low level of industrial and agricultural development, sharp social contrasts, unemployment, illiteracy and rural over-population. Those factors had subsequently been further aggravated by the devastation wrought by the Nazis during the Second World War, in the course of which 40 per cent of the country's national assets were destroyed. That situation had confronted the country with a tremendous challenge after the war.

25. Construction had had to begin in what was practically a wasteland. Poland had instituted profound structural changes in the political, economic and social fields. The population had increased by 10 million. Young people were healthier and better-educated than in the past and unemployment and illiteracy had been eliminated. Half of the population was economically active. All children received elementary education and 95 per cent of them received secondary education. Five million adults were continuing their education. Class contradictions had been overcome and social disproportions reduced. There was no more hunger or exploitation.

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(Mr. Dobrosielski, Poland)

26. Those transformations had been made possible by the implementation of socialist principles, by planning and by national ownership of the means of production. Servitude, poverty and national and class oppression had given way to a high level of social, economic and cultural development.

27. Now Poland had reached a new qualitative stage in its development in which emphasis was placed on man's spiritual needs, the development of his personality and the promotion of cultural activity. Socialism made possible the spiritual and material development of the individual and society while guaranteeing full human rights and freedoms and the elimination of exploitation.

28. In the years 1971 to 1975 social progress had led to the development of creative forces and improved productivity. The period had been characterized by substantial increases in real income, greater availability of consumer goods, greatly improved health services, stable food prices and an annual inflation rate of no more than 2 to 3 per cent. There had been problems in respect of the meat supply and some prices would have to increase. Labour productivity, however, had increased by 8 to 10 per cent. Investments, foreign trade and economic and technical co-operation with other countries, especially the socialist ones, had increased and a new plan had been prepared calling for regional modernization and restructuring and for local administrative reforms.

29. That programme had not been achieved easily, many subjective and objective difficulties had been encountered and many mistakes had been made. The basic assumptions of socialist planning, however, had proved to be correct. Polish experience also proved that, as stated in the fourth preambular paragraph of General Assembly resolution 3409 (XXX), unified planning at the national level was one of the most effective tools to promote development and a better life for all people. His delegation felt that an exchange of experience regarding methods of planning of social development used by different States and the effectiveness of that planning might make a contribution to international co-operation within the United Nations system and the achievement of social progress and development.

30. Mrs. TOLEQUET (Central African Republic) said that her country accorded high priority to the development of human resources under its current five-year plan and therefore attached the greatest importance to the adaptation of education and technical and scientific training to the country's needs. Education, vocational training, mobilization of the population through functional literacy programmes, the development of social and health services and the promotion of agricultural credit were all means of promoting human development. Socio-economic restructuring would make it possible to transform village communities into true agents for development.

31. Her country regretted the lack of interest shown by the various specialized agencies in social projects on the sole ground that such projects did not show an immediate and tangible return. She wished to emphasize that point, since her country felt that development was conditioned by the interdependence of social, economic, cultural and health factors and required concerted action by the

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(Mrs. Tolequet, Central African Republic)

Government together with external assistance to ensure implementation of the five-year plan without delay or dissipation of effort.

32. In the social sphere, man as a producer must be made aware at an early age of all factors whereby his environment could be improved. Within the framework of rural health development, emphasis was placed on census-taking, ethnological studies and the use of traditional medicine in order to promote increased collaboration between doctors and traditional healers with a view to combating infant mortality and adult morbidity. The functional literacy campaign had been under way for a number of years, and the following year it would be carried out in the national language.

33. She welcomed the decision to establish an International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women and to set up special funds under the World Plan of Action adopted at the Conference of the International Women's Year, which would enable timely action to be taken in her country for the education, mobilization and training of women with a view to integrating them in the development process. To that end, her country hoped that facilities would be made available to the developing countries, especially the least developed, to enable them to take advantage of those special funds.

34. A community development programme had been undertaken in her country in order to speed up economic and social development. The programme envisaged the training of social workers and the establishment of specific structures to implement the programme. Since the inception of that programme in 1972, activities based on village committees and financed largely by the United Nations Office of Technical Co-operation with material assistance from UNICEF had been conducted with a view to improving housing, the environment and the water supply, establishing first-aid clinics, training mothers in nutrition and establishing youth clubs. That system promoted greater popular participation in community activities. Agricultural extension, rural workers' training centres and similar facilities were also being provided.

35. Her delegation appealed to the specialized agencies, such as UNESCO and UNICEF, and to UNDP to concern themselves with such activities and to intensify their assistance with a view to attaining the objectives of the new world economic order. Her country based its hopes on the success of regional programmes, which constituted the touchstone for progressive economic, social and cultural development.

36. Miss TABATABAI (Iran) observed that the Secretary-General's report (A/10166) and the 1974 Report on the World Social Situation together gave a fairly clear if incomplete picture of the situation prevailing in many countries. Her delegation, which attached great importance to the item under discussion, agreed that each country should seek its own path to economic development in conformity with its

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(Miss Tabatabai, Iran)

national priorities and its own traditions and cultural values. In addition, however, much could be learned from the experience of other countries in the field of social progress. The developing countries viewed industrial and economic progress as a means of promoting social and cultural advancement for the masses, and a discussion of different models and methods for attaining development goals could be of great value.

37. Iran had always regarded social development as an integral part of economic development, and had taken steps to bring about major social transformations. The land reform bill, rural co-operatives, the struggle against illiteracy and profit-sharing for workers had all been touched upon previously by her delegation.

38. Among important recent developments, three royal decrees had been issued since 1975 with a view to accelerating social and economic progress. The first stated that primary education would be free to all children, and that secondary and university education would also be free to students willing to work for either the public or private sector for a period of two years for each year of study. The guiding principle was that education was the right of every individual and must be made available to all children of school age. Since 50 per cent of Iran's population was under the age of 18, education was already the country's largest area of activity and would continue to be so in the coming years. The task was incredibly difficult: 10 years earlier, over 70 per cent of the population had been illiterate; that percentage had, however, been considerably reduced in recent years. A vast campaign was taking place to cope with the difficulties facing children not currently attending school and to provide facilities for the expected higher enrolment. In view of the great manpower shortage, the Government had introduced innovative techniques such as the literacy corps and the use of mass media through educational programmes transmitted via satellite. More teachers' training colleges were being built and more students were being sent abroad to study in order to help Iranian society on their return.

39. The second and third decrees provided for State assistance, including free nutrition, to pregnant women and young children and for universal insurance and old-age pensions for all citizens. Both those measures were being implemented with high priority.

40. Changes were also being made in the provision of health services in both rural and urban areas. In view of the lack of doctors, especially in rural areas, more doctors and nurses were being trained than ever before. Among the short-term measures taken, new techniques were being tried out. The health corps provided an option to military service for medical graduates. Another system was the training of "front-line" health workers in simple medical skills, with only serious illnesses being treated by the health centre or doctor; each village had one or two such workers, who were later taught more complicated skills.

41. She felt that such measures might be of use to other developing countries in their attempts to improve living standards. The most serious problem was the shortage of specialists and trained manpower, and Iran was trying to meet that

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(Miss Tabatabai, Iran)

problem. In the rush to industrialize, however, the developing countries must at all times try to safeguard cultural values and ensure that development benefited all citizens.

42. Mr. NYIMI-NYIMI (Zaire) said that although his country had been unable to reply to the Secretary-General's questionnaire, sent to States Members of the United Nations pursuant to Economic and Social Council resolution 1581 A (L), it was deeply interested in his report (A/10166), which showed how 50 or so countries had achieved social and economic changes over the period from 1950 to 1970. Many African countries had not yet attained independence by 1970, and those that had achieved their sovereignty had still been seeking the way to their national development. That had been so for the Republic of Zaire, which had achieved independence in 1960 but had had nothing to report in the way of social progress until 1965. During the first five years, his country had had to devote all its efforts to ensuring its territorial integrity and maintaining peace at home and on its frontiers. A new régime under Mobutu Sese Selo had then taken over power.

43. The first task facing the new régime had been to revolutionize the old political and administrative system by grouping all the people of Zaire round a single party called the Mouvement Populaire de la Révolution (MPR). The MPR had set about improving the situation not only by putting down all disturbances of public order but by making a frontal attack on the cause of those disturbances, namely, the total absence of a national consciousness. The instrument chosen had been a return to authenticity. The resulting situation had often been called an upheaval, because it comprised radical changes, but in actual fact the upheaval had occurred when the country had been colonized. The people of Zaire had made a revolution to efface the traces of colonialism and restore Zaire's own system of values. The aim had been to return not to pre-colonial times but to the values which had been obscured by colonialism. The return to authenticity had therefore been a matter of choice and not a backward step. The people of Zaire was seeking its individuality in all fields, and the results had been spectacular.

44. In the economic field, powerful financial groups, anxious to serve their own interests, had opposed Zaire's economic independence and sought to maintain the structures of a colonial economy. That had been one of the main causes of the disturbances which had broken out in the country during the period 1960-1965. The first great battle which the new régime had had to fight, therefore, had been against the foreign companies. The "Salongo" policy - namely, the "policy of work" - had then been born. Under that policy, the Zairians had been sure that the product of their labour would no longer go to foreign interests but would contribute to their own well-being. In those circumstances, it had been possible to require exceptional efforts from all Zairians, and priority had been given to economic measures. Those efforts had soon borne fruit. The most obvious result was that Zaire was now able to carry out programmes of expansion and industrialization. The first dam had been built, which was only the first step in the construction of a vast 30,000-megawatt hydroelectric complex. Zaire had decided to become independent with regard to oil. It was making progress towards that goal with the co-operation of specialized companies from the United States, Japan and Belgium. On 24 November 1975, the tenth anniversary of the Revolution,

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(Mr. Nyimi Nyimi, Zaire)

the first barrel of oil had been drawn from the soil of Zaire, which was therefore now on the way to becoming self sufficient in oil and would eventually become an exporter.

45. Zaire had decided to control all its exports. The Société Zairoise de Commercialisation de Minerais (SOZACOM) and a similar body for the marketing of agricultural products had been set up. Both were intended to sell products directly to Zaire's customers without going through an intermediary. Before very long a big international trade centre would be inaugurated in Zaire, where Zaire's commodities would be quoted on the spot.

46. Zaire's economic and social action was taking several different paths. The detailed study of the north-east area of the country, which had been given priority because it had suffered most from the 1960-1965 disturbances, had led to the establishment of an international company for the industrialization of the north-east, the Association Internationale pour l'Industrialisation du Nord-Est du Zaire (ASSINEZ). Investment projects for ASSINEZ, such as the construction of a large hydroelectric power plant, the exploitation of bituminous schist, cassiterite and the methane gas of Lake Kivu, and the building of a tin foundry, cement works and canneries, were under study.

47. The quest for authenticity had led Zaire to give critical consideration to the great evils consuming its society. That had been done in the field of agricultural production and also in those of employment and inflation.

48. Zaire had been obliged to import food stuffs because farming had been considered a menial occupation. However, it could not afford to spend on food foreign currency that was needed for the purchase of equipment. A new agricultural policy had therefore been decided upon. Special agricultural production units had been established in a new type of co-operative. Those units had been made responsible for producing the food required to provide all Zairians with enough good quality food at low prices. Teams of agricultural supervisors had been established to operate throughout the country. To encourage the peasants to produce more, all the agricultural production was purchased by the State and marketed under its control. A huge road-building programme had been started to solve the problem of getting agricultural products to market.

49. As to employment, it was a paradox that there should be any unemployment in a country which had enormous natural and human resources and needed every worker for its development. Zaire had therefore decided not to wait for foreign investment to solve its employment problem. The people had been mobilized and given useful and productive work. The employment market had been planned, a census of the unemployed had been taken and suitable training provided for workers who did not possess the necessary skills. The new law on the national development effort required all unemployed persons living in towns to move to rural areas and cultivate the land so as to increase the country's agricultural production.

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(Mr. Nyimi-Nyimi, Zaire)

50. Inflation was inherent in the free-trade system based on free enterprise, which allowed the rich and powerful to crush the poor and weak. The powerful enterprises were always raising the prices of their goods, which resulted in a deterioration of the market and a spiral increase in salaries and prices. Zaire had chosen to attack the problem of prices so as to keep the cost of living at a reasonable level, which had been possible only by throttling speculation on the cost of goods. That was why it had been decided to nationalize the basic means of production and distribution. Production and consumption had been organized to meet the common interest and heavy industry was being promoted in order to stop inflation at its source.

51. In seeking to ensure the well-being of its people, the State of Zaire had had to face many social problems in such fields as housing, medical care and education, to mention only a few. The struggle had been long and hard but, thanks to its return to authenticity, Zaire was achieving striking successes. The Zairians all had their eyes on one goal: sharing the fruit of their labour and ruling out egotism and individualism. As Mobutu Sese Seko had said in the national legislature on 4 January 1975, figures were no indication of Zaire's happiness, which could better be read on the faces of its children: the real indicators were love of work, bodily health, easy smiles and solidarity between all Zairians.

52. Mrs. ALVA (India) welcomed the priority that had been given to the present item, which was of considerable importance to developing countries that had achieved political independence after long years of colonial rule and had set themselves the task of consolidating their freedom by accelerated social progress and economic transformation. It was unfortunate that the subject could not have been considered at the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly, for the material before the Committee was basically that which had been prepared in 1975. It was clearly inadequate and did not provide a full perspective. Her delegation hoped that the current discussion would stimulate the exchange of ideas.

53. In the view of her delegation, development should receive the first priority if the lives of the vast majority of the world's people were to be improved. That was a global task for which the right direction had been given by the General Assembly when it had adopted resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI) on the establishment of a new international economic order. The developed countries must fulfil their obligation to facilitate the economic and social development of the developing countries while leaving them the primary responsibility for planning development, allocating priorities and determining programmes. The task of the developing countries was challenging, for they had to build in one generation what it had taken the advanced countries centuries to evolve. However, with the help of science and technology and by exchanging experience in an atmosphere of peace, the developing countries could do a great deal to catch up.

54. When struggling for its political independence, India had understood that its ultimate goal must be economic independence. Freedom had real significance only if it meant the end of exploitation, the eradication of poverty and the

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(Mrs. Alva, India)

establishment of a free egalitarian society. Mahatma Gandhi had warned as early as 1931 that if the masses were to be lifted from the mire, the Government of India would have to give them preference and free them from the burdens under which they were being crushed. Similarly, Jawaharlal Nehru had repeatedly pointed out that basic changes had to be made in the political and social structure of the country in order to establish a just social order. He had been convinced that the only solution to India's problems lay in a socialist transformation of Indian society. It had been he who, as the first Prime Minister of independent India, had launched the war against poverty, unemployment and inequality by setting out to remove every obstacle to the establishment of a free, democratic and socialistic society. Important measures such as the establishment of the Planning Commission the nationalization of the banks, the abolition of the privileges of the Maharajas, the establishment of basic industries and the protection and promotion of domestic industries had been taken over the years, but if the pledges made to the people were to be redeemed, there had to be an unremitting fight against the supporters of the vested interests and of the status quo, on the one hand, and the advocates of extremism, adventurism and violence, on the other. That battle had been carried forward in India under the leadership of the third Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, who had told the nation that the only magic which could remove poverty was hard work.

55. On 1 July 1975 a new economic programme called the "Twenty-Point Programme" had been launched by the Prime Minister. The Programme laid stress on the core points of national development and contained concrete measures for the development of the economy and for improving the lot of the weaker sectors of the population. Economic measures to increase industrial and agricultural production, control credit and prices, remedy the ills of the textile industry, produce cheap cloth for the masses and enforce land reform, together with many others to deal with rural indebtedness, provide land for the poor and ensure fair wages, had brought growth, change and hope to India.

56. The majority of the Indian population lived in rural areas. Even in 25 years' time, 50 per cent would still be living in village communities. Therefore, India's main thrust in the context of development was naturally on the rural front. In the 1950s, an attempt had been made to involve the rural population in development through community development programmes but those had had only a limited impact. However, by the late 1960s, there had been a breakthrough in agricultural techniques and practices, and since then, India had acquired a rich experience. The new strategy for India's over-all national development was based on a combination of programmes aimed at improving rural productivity. Some of the fundamental features of the strategy were the following: maximization of agricultural yields by improved land use and soil conservation; involvement of about 75 million rural workers in agro-industrial complexes in works to improve land and water resources, in animal-based industry and in the processing of agricultural raw materials, by-products and wastes; strengthening the co-operative movement and adapting it to the needs of the rural people; setting minimum standards of performance for public agencies in providing services and facilities to the rural people; attempting a transformation of the rural population's attitude to science and technology through programmes of mass education.

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(Mrs. Alva, India)

57. Costly urban-oriented technology and materials were not always appropriate in rural development and must be replaced by their village-level equivalents. For example, instead of the big power stations normally used for rural electrification, India had sought to popularize biogas plants, which were simple in design and easy to establish; they used human and animal wastes for the production of gas, and also of fertilizers for agricultural use. Similarly, local designs for housing using indigenous materials were preferred to those using cement and concrete.

58. Sixteen months of the new economic programme had produced results. Production had increased, exports had grown, inflation had been arrested and the wholesale price index in April 1976 had been 8.5 per cent lower than in April 1975. Industrial production had grown by 4.5 per cent and real national income by 5.5 per cent over one year. Food grain production had reached an all-time record of 116 million tons, and exports of food grains had risen by 16 per cent.

59. Unless India's traditional feudal structures were recast, the gains of economic progress could not go to those they were meant to benefit. Therefore, India's legal system and several of its bureaucratic structures had been streamlined and reoriented. As a nation, India was committed to a purpose, the modernization of its society without loss of the Indian personality, thanks to the development and integration of industry and agriculture with modern science and technology, the improvement of the socio-economic life of the common people by abolishing archaic hierarchical systems in which discrimination and exploitation had become entrenched, the establishment of social control over the key sectors of the economy and the adoption of measures for economic planning.

60. India's socialism was not a ready-made ideology but a flexible concept. Political independence had become inseparable from economic freedom, which in turn was meaningful only to the extent that it served the interests not of the few but of the nation as a whole. Every interest or group which stood in the way of the eradication of poverty and inequality had therefore to be effectively combated. In that process, several factors came into play, the most important of which was population growth. India had recently adopted a national population policy which provided incentives and disincentives to government employees and other persons in the sphere of family planning. It was hoped that as a result of that policy the annual population growth rate would be reduced to 1.4 per cent by 1984.

61. The concept of collective self reliance had found vivid expression in the remarkable growth of the co-operative movement in India. What had begun 75 years before as a movement to provide rural credit and combat rural indebtedness had blossomed into a growing multipurpose movement covering other fields besides agricultural production and had facilitated progress towards integrated rural development. It was not surprising, therefore, that 66 per cent of the co-operative institutions in India were meant to service agriculture and that nearly 330 million

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(Mrs. Alva, India)

people were covered by the co-operative movement, which had spread to urban areas and the industrial sector also. That movement had made similar progress in other countries, both developing and developed, which had thus gained very positive experience of the benefits of the co-operative movement and of its contribution towards realizing the objectives of the Second United Nations Development Decade and the establishment of the new international economic order.

62. In that context, therefore, it would only be appropriate to exchange national experience with respect to the co-operative movement. It had been with that purpose in mind that India, with the German Democratic Republic, Bulgaria and Ecuador, had sponsored the draft resolution in document A/C.3/31/L.17. The subject was of common concern to all Member States; she therefore trusted that the draft resolution would find wide and ready acceptance.

63. In conclusion, she emphasized the need for scientists, technologists and policy-makers to direct their energy towards improving the quality of the lives of the common people. However, in considering international co-operation to promote accelerated economic growth in developing countries, it was important to realize that nations could not and should not be uprooted from their special heritage. The time had now come to pause and reflect on the achievements and failures and to translate the aspirations of developing nations into reality. That could be achieved only by a common effort to remove poverty and by removing the barriers to the establishment of a just and equitable world order.

64. Ms. IDER (Mongolia) said that her delegation had studied with interest the report of the Secretary-General (A/10166) on the present item, particularly section IV, on the developing economies. Many points in the report were worth further study with a view to making generalizations and assessments. Her delegation had noted with interest that, according to the report, there was a trend towards an increase in public ownership of some industries, utilities and financial institutions and an expansion and diversification of public investment. Several developing countries had mentioned nationalization as part of their strategy for achieving economic growth or freeing their economies from the influence of foreign capital. In the view of her delegation, that and other experiences of developing countries, including changes in land ownership and the introduction of land reform and planning, should be further studied, bearing in mind the social aspects of those measures and their impact on the developing countries and on the improvement of living standards of working people.

65. The reason her delegation had been particularly interested in the section of the report on developing economies was that conditions in Mongolia were very similar to those of developing countries. The socialist transformation of agriculture under the specific conditions of a nomadic livestock husbandry had been one of the remarkable achievements of her people, equal in importance to the Revolution of 1921. The transformation had been a complex and lengthy process, continuing for some 30 years. Prior to the Revolution of 1921, Mongolia had had

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(Ms. Ider, Mongolia)

only a small, extensive and backward livestock husbandry as the basic branch of the country's economy. Half of the country's livestock had been owned by feudal lords and high-ranking lamas, who made up only 7.8 per cent of the population. In the first years after the Revolution, steps had been taken to eliminate political, and particularly economic, feudalism; those included the nationalization of land, the abolition of tax privileges for feudal lords and the abolition of feudal serfdom. The livestock belonging to feudal lords and monasteries had later been expropriated and redistributed among poor herdsmen. From the end of the 1930s up to the end of the 1950s, small individual herdsman households had been the main producers in agriculture. The Government had assisted them through credits and favourable taxation, had encouraged the introduction of technology and had developed veterinary services and irrigated pastures. However, small-scale livestock husbandry had not been efficient and had slowed down the further development of the country's economy. By the 1950s, Mongolia had developed socialist industry, transport, commerce and financial institutions. Both of Karl Marx's preconditions for the replacement of individual by collective labour - economic need and the material conditions for its introduction - had existed in Mongolia at that time. Thus by the end of the 1950s, the great majority of Mongolian herdsmen had voluntarily joined agricultural co-operatives. Where there had formerly been more than 200,000 small individual herdsman households, there were now 259 large agricultural co-operatives, 45 State farms and a number of stock-farms and State veterinary stations.

66. The co-operation of herdsmen was essential for raising the productivity of labour, for transforming livestock husbandry into an advanced intensive industry based on science and technology, and for planning and improving the living conditions of the rural population. The Mongolian Government was now implementing a comprehensive programme of livestock husbandry development. Much had been done to strengthen its material basis: in particular, buildings for livestock had been constructed, stable fodder resources had been created, the water supply had been improved, irrigation works had been built and the veterinary service had been extended.

67. The State had considerably increased the cash income of members of agricultural co-operatives by fixing higher prices for the purchase of animal products. Besides sharing the income from the sale of co-operative produce, co-operative members were entitled to pursue private livestock husbandry. Privately owned herds were exempt from the agricultural tax and their owners from the obligation to deliver meat and milk to the State.

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(Ms. Ider, Mongolia)

68. During the Five-Year Plan from 1971-1975, the average income of co-operative members had increased by 25 per cent and minimum pensions by 33 per cent. Under the next Five-Year Plan, from 1976-1980, the income of co-operative members would be increased still further, the State pension system would be extended to co-operative members and pensions would be increased by 50 per cent. It was planned to provide 60 per cent of children attending rural schools with boarding facilities.

69. In conclusion, in view of its interest in sharing national experience on the item under consideration, her delegation wished to co-sponsor the draft resolution in document A/C.3/31/L.17.

70. Mrs. KHOTYLEVA (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) said that the item before the Committee offered a concrete example of the efforts of Member States to use international co-operation in the interests of their own development. General Assembly resolution 3273 (XXIX) stated in the second preambular paragraph that the strengthening of national independence and the achievement of social progress depended fundamentally on internal basic social changes, for purposes of strengthening national independence, achieving the democratization of society and improving social and economic structures, and on the principle of the inadmissibility of external interference, including interference by transnational corporations.

71. Many United Nations decisions and studies recognized that a wealth of experience of social and economic changes had been acquired by a significant number of States, as seen from the 1974 Report on the World Social Situation, the Secretary-General's report in document A/10166 and other documents. The comprehensive information contained in them confirmed the principle expressed in the Declaration on Social Progress and Development, embodied in General Assembly resolution 2542 (XXIV), whereby speedy social progress depended on a combination of economic growth and changes in the social structure and in the standard of living.

72. Her country fully supported United Nations activities in the study of the experience of far-reaching social and economic changes. In its reply to the Secretary-General's questionnaire, reflected in document A/10166, her country had set forth in detail its experience in constructing a developed socialist society. The documents of the Twenty-fifth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the five-year plan of the USSR for 1976-1980 provided a basis for further progress to that end.

73. Developed socialism was an important stage in the first phase of the building of communism; it was a fully consolidated socialist society whose advantages, humanism and potential for a new way of life were constantly unfolding, one in which the legitimacy and principles of socialism operated more and more fully and in which its inherent goals were attained. The economic basis of developed socialism was characterized by the creation of a powerful material and technical

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(Mrs. Khotyleva, Byelorussian SSR)

base and the existence of mature socialist industrial relations. Diversified industry and large-scale socialist agriculture, sophisticated science and trained manpower all combined in solving pressing social problems. As Mr. Brezhnev, General-Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, had indicated in his recent statement at a plenary meeting of that Committee, the course taken by the Party, as laid down at the Twenty-fifth Congress, ensured the sustained development of the country's economic potential, the improvement of socialist relations in society and further progress towards communism.

74. The results achieved and the further prospects of development of the Byelorussian SSR had been defined at the Twenty-eighth Congress of the Communist Party of the Byelorussian SSR held at Minsk in February 1976. Under the ninth five-year plan (1971-1975), industrial production had risen by 64 per cent; one month's current industrial output was equal to that of the whole of 1952. Agricultural production had risen by 22 per cent. Under the plan, social welfare had steadily improved. Over the past 10 years, real per capita income had risen by 80 per cent. An important role in raising the material well-being and cultural level of the population and in developing the socialist way of life was played by the distribution of free benefits through social consumption funds. Such benefits constituted almost a third of the volume of consumption of material goods and services, enabling the Government to ensure accessibility of education, health, housing, cultural and other benefits to the members of society, irrespective of their income from work. That system made it possible to equalize the structure of consumption of families of different sizes and income levels, thereby meeting the interests of the citizens and society as a whole. In 1975 payments and benefits from social consumption funds had amounted to 3 billion roubles, and would reach 4 billion roubles by 1980.

75. The experience of socialist construction indicated that education was a powerful factor for the development of society. A law that had entered into force in 1975 provided, inter alia, for the completion of the change-over to universal secondary education. Of the country's 9.4 million inhabitants, over 3 million were receiving education of some kind.

76. Under the previous five-year plan, a new step had been taken in the development of science, culture and health services, with a 50 per cent increase in capital investment in those sectors. The principal task of the tenth five-year plan (1976-1980) lay in steadily raising the material and cultural level of the people on the basis of the dynamic and balanced acceleration of scientific and technical progress and improved labour productivity and quality of work. Rapid growth was planned in heavy engineering, chemicals and petrochemicals, electric power and fuel production. Under the programmes for intensified agriculture, land reclamation played an important role. The total area of reclaimed land, which exceeded 2 million hectares, would be further increased.

77. Under the new five-year plan, a whole range of measures for raising the living standards of the population would be introduced, including the raising of minimum wage levels, increased rates of pay for manual and non-manual workers, further

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(Mrs. Khotyleva, Byelorussian SSR)

increases in minimum pension rates and the introduction of paid maternity leave. The plan provided for the large-scale construction of housing and communal facilities and the development of trade and public services.

78. As experience indicated, harmonious social development was a fundamental advantage of socialism, as reflected in the opportunity for backward peoples to make very rapid social progress in a short time. The scientific, technological, economic and cultural achievements benefited both society as a whole and each individual. Developed socialism created favourable conditions for the all-round development of the individual. At the same time, satisfaction of the requirements of the individual was a prerequisite for the development of society. The constant improvement in the skills and cultural level of the workers was an essential condition for combining the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution with the advantages of the socialist system of production.

79. On the basis of their own experience, the peoples of the world were convinced that the essential conditions for social progress were peace and security. The First Committee had recently adopted a resolution on the conclusion of a universal agreement on the non-use of force in international relations. The easing of tension and the strengthening of peaceful co-existence contributed to the development of equitable economic relations and to the creation of conditions for speeding up economic and social development.

80. In addition, the creation of a healthy international climate assisted the intensive study, within the United Nations, of experience of far-reaching social and economic changes for purposes of social progress. Her delegation, which was ready to co-operate in that field, felt that the General Assembly should again consider the question at an early date. The Secretary-General should prepare, on the basis of replies from Member States, a comprehensive report reflecting the wealth of experience of various countries, which would be of great interest to many Governments and would make a positive contribution to social progress.

81. Mr. ISINALIEV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), speaking also on behalf of the Byelorussian and Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republics, thanked the delegation of Bulgaria for its congratulations on the 59th anniversary of the socialist revolution. Since the first days of its establishment, the Soviet Union had been carrying out the policy of peaceful co-operation which had been laid down by Lenin as the foundation of the socialist State. It had also consistently carried out the policy established at the Twenty-fifth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and social and economic changes for social progress so that the conquests of the Revolution should be enjoyed by the working masses. The experience of the Soviet Union in transforming political, economic and social conditions and in its struggle for independence was an example for many of those who were still fighting against colonialism and foreign domination for their freedom and independence. They had always had, and would continue to have, the support of the Soviet Union in their just struggle.

82. The CHAIRMAN, speaking as the representative of Cuba, said that his delegation wished to extend its warmest greetings to the Soviet Union on the anniversary of the October Revolution.

The meeting rose at 1.05 p.m.