DISARMAMENT COMMISSION

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DISARMAMENT AND DEVELOPMENT

Addendum

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

In international relations nothing is more important today than efforts to save mankind from a nuclear inferno. The only way out of the aggravated international situation is the implementation of urgent measures to prevent a nuclear war and to limit and halt the nuclear-arms race.

The ambitious targets set for the construction of socialist society can only be met in peace and through a policy of peace. As in the other socialist countries, there is no social group or stratum in the GDR which would draw profit from armament.

However, the policy of confrontation and superarmament which is being forced by imperialist States and their strive for military superiority over the community of socialist States is compelling reason for the GDR to keep its military potential at appropriate levels. This potential is designed exclusively for defence. For military purposes only the absolute minimum is allocated which is required to ensure the security of the country and its population.

The German Democratic Republic and other socialist States attach due attention to questions concerning the relationship between disarmament and development which is the subject, inter alia, of General Assembly resolution 38/71 B.

The communiqué of the thirty-seventh CMEA session of 20 October 1983, which was signed also by the GDR, says:

"The CMEA countries underlined the great importance of the interrelationship between disarmament and development and noted with satisfaction that their position on this issue is in agreement with that adopted by the non-aligned movement. They expressed their resolve to work in concert with them for an end to the arms race and the transition to disarmament so that the resources thus released can be used for the solution of many economic problems facing the countries of the world, including the developing countries."

This endeavour meets with the resistance of the most aggressive imperialist quarters. The military-industrial complex of the United States and of NATO aims at world-wide military superiority which is to be achieved through the development and employment of huge economic, technico-scientific and military potentials under a policy of confrontation and strength. These circles are dictated in their activities to a great extent by their greed for safe superprofits.

As a result, immense intellectual and material resources are being diverted from a peaceful economic and social development of States and, particularly, of the developing countries. The present tremendous dimensions of imperialist superarmament are deforming and destabilizing international economic relations. This produces, among others, extremely negative consequences affecting the establishment of a new international economic order.

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As a result of substantial agreements to halt and reverse the arms race, notably in the nuclear field, urgently needed means could be released for social and economic development. The GDR favours that the increasingly heavy burden affecting all countries irrespective of their economic development, is removed as soon as possible. Without halting and reversing the arms race, it will be impossible to solve tasks of primary importance such as the promotion of the economic development of less developed countries, the elimination of shortages in energy and raw material supplies, the eradication of poverty and malnutrition, the implementation of WHO programmes, and measures to combat unemployment and inflation which afflict a part of the world.

One measure which could be agreed upon relatively swiftly and easily to release means for economic and social development would be a freeze on, and the reduction of, the military budgets of States, particularly of nuclear-weapon States and other militarily important States. Negotiations to this end will produce success provided there is political will for agreement.

A new concrete initiative to clear the way for negotiations has been launched by the Warsaw Treaty States in their proposal of early March 1984 to the States parties of NATO, declaring their preparedness to start pertinent negotiations at the earliest possible date. Carrying forward their policy and complementing earlier proposals as contained, for instance, in the Prague Declaration of January 1983 and the Moscow Statement of June 1983, they have proposed a number of practical steps concerning the non-increase and the reduction of military spending. This is in correspondence with demands raised in United Nations resolutions to release through concrete disarmament measures means for economic and social development, also in the developing countries. The GDR is convinced that these proposals are a new important impetus to promote arms limitation and disarmament. They are conducive to clear away difficulties and obstacles which are blocking pertinent agreements.

Efforts to freeze and reduce arms expenditures have been brought to an impasse above all by demands for prior agreement on the notification, comparability and verification of armament related data. Discussions on a system to achieve comparability of armament expenditures and their notification are used to hide lacking preparedness for substantial agreements. Resolution 38/71 B should not become a vehicle to back up such efforts.

Within the framework of an agreement on the non-increase in and the reduction of armament expenditures the GDR, no less than any other State, will be interested in assurances for all parties concerning compliance. This and all other relevant problems must find realistic solutions by way of negotiation.

As to the way of using and distributing converted funds to assist, among other things, the developing countries, the GDR would like to recall earlier proposals of socialist countries in the United Nations and further suggestions as set out, for instance, in previous comments of the GDR to the United Nations. In the view of the GDR efforts such as the introduction of a so-called armament tax and the establishment of funds therefrom do not serve progress towards concrete disarmament measures. Rather it is necessary to release through concrete steps in the field of

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disarmament additional resources to be used for the economic and social development of peoples, among them the developing nations, and thus to respond to the ever-stronger demands for a cessation of the policy of superarmament and for the reduction of armament expenditures. This position will also determine the GDR’s approach to questions with regard to a conference as mentioned in resolution 38/71 B.

GHANA

[Original: English]

[3 May 1984]

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(a) The evaluation of the burden of armaments in the world

It is indisputable that armaments development and production in all forms place enormous burden on the human and economic resources of the world. All those who are concerned with improving the standard of living of the millions of the world's poor would be disturbed to know for instance that it has recently been estimated that between them, six of the world's most industrialized countries, the United States, the Soviet Union, Japan, the Federal Republic of Germany, France and the United Kingdom employ 70 per cent of the world's scientific manpower for military purposes. It has also been established that of all the money devoted to scientific research and development, 40 per cent is appropriated for purposes directly or indirectly related to the military. By contrast developing countries, with 70 per cent of the world's population, command less than 3 per cent of all the money appropriated for research and development. The present global military expenditure of some $800 billion a year shows a vastly disproportionate allocation of world resources to military activities to the gross disadvantage of social and economic needs of mankind, particularly in the developing countries. It is imperative therefore that States should co-operate in reducing and finally eliminating the armaments burden in order to make development a reality.

(b) The impact of military expenditure on the world economic situation and development

Several authoritative studies including various United Nations studies on the relationship between disarmament and development have come to the following conclusions, among others, on the subject:

(i) that vast military expenditures far from acting as the engine for social and economic development fuel inflation and undermine economic growth world wide;

(ii) that military expenditures as an insurance for national security is an illusion and therefore represent a wanton waste of resources;

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(iii) that higher military expenditures not only divert scarce resources particularly in the developing countries from the critical areas of their developmental needs, but also generates political tension and mistrust among nations;

(iv) that as developing countries, in particular, feel obliged for a variety of reasons, to devote larger expenditures to the acquisition of arms and weapons, it becomes increasingly difficult for them to satisfy at the same time their basic requirements for food, housing, health care and other social needs;

(v) that it should be possible to convert a large portion of existing military industrial complex to civilian purposes and to reallocate them to peaceful, economic and social developments.

The Ghana Government is therefore convinced that the arms race is inimical to the world economy and must be halted. It is recommended that all States join in the effort to halt the arms race in order to be able to inject further resources into the restructuring of the international economy.

(c) The contribution that a reduction in arms and military expenditures, in particular by nuclear-weapon States and other militarily important States or a contribution by those States, as appropriate, would make to development tasks

There is no doubt that resources released as a result of a reduction in military expenditures if applied, even partially, to development would make enormous difference in that field, particularly with respect to the needs of the developing countries. It has been estimated for instance, that the value of third world arms trade has grown five-fold from 1960 to 1980 and now stands at $100 billion a year, more than ten times their foreign aid receipts. If this level of arms expenditure alone was allocated to agricultural development it should be possible to see an end to poverty and hunger in these countries in a few years time.

(d) The ways and means that would enable this contribution to be made, in particular in the interests of the economic and social progress of the developing countries

Ghana in general endorses the idea of establishing an International Disarmament Fund for development but feels that the modalities of such a fund and other possible alternatives such as suggested in the United Nations Study of the Relationship between Disarmament and Development (A/36/356) require further closer examination, perhaps at an international conference.

(e) The consideration of proposals relating to the convening of a conference

Particularly for the reason stated in (d) above it is the view of Ghana that a conference to consider the proposed International Disarmament Fund and other related issues is most welcome at this time. The Conference would enjoy the participation of the Ghana Government.

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The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic believes that, particularly in view of the efforts by certain imperialist circles to obtain military superiority and to step up the arms race, the idea of examining the relationship between disarmament and development is a topical one of great importance.

The Hungarian Government shares the view, held by the overwhelming majority of countries, that the arms race now absorbs immense resources surpassing the $700 billion mark and increasingly prevents the solution of global problems facing mankind. It notes with concern that arms expenditures continue to increase rapidly, though, obviously enough, the arms build-up diverts financial, material and intellectual resources from other areas, commits productive capacities for senseless purposes, and thereby makes economic growth difficult and sometimes even impossible.

The gravity of the situation is illustrated by the fact that the arms build-up and the existing armed conflicts claim some 10 per cent of the world's total production and services, which is equal to the volume of gross products manufactured by half of the globe's population.

In the face of the arms build-up undertaken by some aggressive, expansionist and racist régimes and supported by the imperialist countries, the nations of the developing world often react, rightfully and naturally, by adopting defence measures at the expense of their social welfare and development programmes. Aside from everything else, the burdens of the arms race weigh more heavily on the developing countries, whose involvement in the arms drive is therefore inconsistent with their efforts to implement economic and development programmes urgently needed for their progress and to do away with the hardships they suffer.

Defense measures naturally impose a burden on the economies of socialist countries as well. For this reason we deem it important that the arms race be halted and international conditions be created that will permit us to guarantee our national security at a lower level of armaments.

The arms race has a clearly negative effect also on the peoples of the advanced capitalist countries. As against the arguments often voiced by the circles interested in the arms build-up there is the evidence of facts that the military industry diverts resources from peaceful programmes in those countries too. Moreover, it is one of the basic causes of the high rates of unemployment as it creates less job opportunities than would result from civil production generated by similar volumes of investment.

The arms race and the rising military expenditures aggravate the world economic crisis and waste human, material, scientific-technical and financial resources. In this context, too, the Hungarian Government wishes to emphasize that
allocation of more material and intellectual resources for development is inseparable from the consolidation of international peace and security. Certain capitalist countries even make use of the tension created by themselves to subordinate their external economic policies and international economic relations to their military and political goals, thereby attempting to create additional difficulties for the socialist and other progressive countries in the implementation of their economic development plans. Another characteristic feature of their efforts lies in their increasingly protectionist economic policies seeking to pass the burdens of the arms build-up and the economic crisis on to the weaker countries, particularly the developing ones faced with numerous problems.

The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic is convinced that the most effective step towards creating the necessary material resources and intellectual capacities for the solution of mankind's global problems - food, energy, environmental protection, etc. - could be made through negotiated agreements on the reduction of nuclear and other weapons.

Reductions in military budgets would allow the development of new and more successful forms of East-West economic and technical co-operation. This would be of advantage to the peoples of capitalist, socialist and developing countries alike, would open up favourable possibilities for the provision of more economic and technical assistance to developing countries, would promote economic co-operation among the developing countries themselves, and would by all means create more propitious conditions for the establishment of a new, just and democratic economic order.

The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic is not opposed to the search for, and the study of, organizational forms likely to be instrumental in allocating the resources released by disarmament measures for the acceleration of economic and social progress in the developing countries. It declares its continuing readiness to provide economic assistance to developing countries, thereby making a contribution, commensurate with its means, to the consolidation of their economic independence, the elimination of the vestiges of the colonial system, and the reduction of differences in their levels of economic development.

It is a task for mankind as a whole to make rational use of the enormous resources that are wasted today on the arms build-up. Therefore the Hungarian Government lends support, even by its foreign policy actions, to the just aspirations of the peoples of the world to the curbing of the arms race.

ICELAND

[Original: English]

[2 May 1984]

The naval arms race has not been subject to any significant disarmament negotiation. The conclusion of negotiations on the Convention on the Law of the Sea in December 1982 has however made it possible to deal with the question involved with due regard to a legal régime for the ocean space.

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Naval forces now operate closer to the shores of other States. The development of nuclear energy has enabled the maritime powers to deploy naval forces in all oceans and a nuclear armed submarine has penetrated the territorial waters of a neutral State. The continuing naval build-up, the greatly increased naval activities and the sophisticated development of naval nuclear arms systems together with the increase in amphibious forces has caused great concern, mainly among littoral States. The present deployment of surface units and nuclear powered submarines in the Arctic and the North Atlantic Oceans armed with nuclear weapons poses a constant threat to the economic exploitation of maritime resources in Icelandic waters. The implications of the naval arms race for international security are also obvious and because of the development of satellite surface-surveillance systems, underwater nuclear capabilities may largely in due course replace surface nuclear-capable systems.

The Icelandic people base their economy to a great extent on the living resources of the sea. Accidents at sea involving a nuclear armed or powered naval unit off Iceland may bring disaster to our means of livelihood, not to mention the irreparable damage naval confrontation would cause.

The Icelandic Government expects that the study on the naval arms race initiated by the General Assembly resolution under reference will facilitate the identification of possible areas for confidence and security building measures and disarmament in the naval field including aircraft with maritime warfare capabilities.

NETHERLANDS

[Original: English]

[3 May 1984]

1. The Netherlands has a long standing interest in the questions of disarmament and development which are both vital to the enhancement of international peace and security. The United Nations study on the relationship between disarmament and development (A/36/356) was therefore welcomed by the Netherlands as an important contribution enabling Member States to reflect on specific questions.

2. The study draws two major conclusions: first, compared to the same amount of expenditures for non-military purposes, military expenditures have, in the long run, a negative impact on economic growth and employment.

Secondly, the concept of security is widened: there are more than only military threats which could affect a State's security. One of these is the world-wide build-up of arms itself, while others can be found in the economic field, such as protectionism and the scarcity of raw materials. Social injustice and the economic gap between poor and rich countries are also important aspects of a wider notion of security.
3. In the view of the Netherlands these two conclusions have gained additional validity in the current international situation. In this respect the Netherlands would wish to point to the existence of other valuable studies on questions of disarmament and development.

4. As to the relationship between disarmament and development the Netherlands would like to express once more its view that disarmament and development are separate goals which have to be achieved on their own merits. Lack of progress in one area should not stand in the way of efforts to make progress in other areas.

5. As to the relationship between disarmament and development in particular with regard to the items laid down in operative paragraph 2 of resolution 38/71 B, the Netherlands would wish to state the following.

6. Military expenditures do have an impact on the economic situation in the world. While military expenditures have a negative impact on economic growth if compared to the same amount of expenditures for non-military purposes, military expenditures remain necessary to maintain a situation of peace and security in the different regions of the world.

7. This does not justify an arms build-up between different members of the United Nations. Therefore, in the field of arms control and disarmament a renewed effort is necessary not only for reasons of international security but also on economic grounds. The present world economic situation demands a reversal of the arms race. Furthermore a lower amount spent on weaponry could increase the possibilities of finding solutions to the world-wide social and economic problems, in particular to those facing the developing countries.

8. While acknowledging the positive effects of the reallocation of resources from military to other purposes, for example development aid, the Netherlands considers that it would be realistic to take into account possible national demand for resources thus released. Also, international development co-operation should not be viewed too narrowly, that is as only a matter of transfers of resources. In fact, any such transfers are on the whole less important to third world economic development than improvements in the areas of trade and technology and an effective and dynamic international division of labour.

9. While the Netherlands is willing to give further consideration to ideas and proposals concerning the above-mentioned questions the Netherlands considers that for the moment it would be better to concentrate on existing development-assistance targets. The Netherlands is of the opinion that it would be more realistic for the developed countries to try to achieve the internationally agreed target of 0.7 per cent of the GNP to be spent on development aid than to pursue time-consuming new approaches, which are unlikely to serve the best interests of the developing countries. The problems of these countries have assumed massive proportions because of the worsening of the international economic situation and this does not allow for a delay in a transfer of additional resources to development assistance.
10. The Netherlands is furthermore of the opinion that Unidir's study on the establishment of an international fund for disarmament and development could furnish valuable additional information pertinent to these questions. The Netherlands is looking forward to the outcome of this study.

11. The proposal to convene a United Nations conference on the relationship between disarmament and development would seem to merit further consideration as it could formulate recommendations for future action at international and national levels to promote the objectives of both disarmament and development. However, such a conference would require careful preparation.