PREPARATORY COMMITTEE FOR THE
INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON
THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN
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RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DISARMAMENT AND DEVELOPMENT:
AN OVERVIEW OF UNITED NATIONS INVOLVEMENT

INTRODUCTION

Paragraph 20 of the report of the Preparatory Committee for the International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development, which was approved by the General Assembly in resolution 40/155 of 16 December 1985, requested the preparation of a number of background papers for the International Conference which will be held in Paris from 15 July to 2 August 1986. In response to that request, and in accordance with paragraph 6 of the report of the Secretary-General on the Preparations for the International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development as contained in document A/40/913, this paper provides an "overview of United Nations involvement" with the subject of the relationship between disarmament and development. It has been prepared on the basis of United Nations sources.
1. To provide a general overview of the subject on the relationship between disarmament and development, this paper attempts to briefly describe the extent and nature of United Nations involvement, conceptual and empirical issues raised and various approaches adopted.

2. The Preamble to the Charter of the United Nations expresses the determination "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war" and "to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom". Further, the preamble declares the intention "to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples". Article 26 of the Charter refers to the "establishment and maintenance of international peace and security with the least diversion for armaments of the world's human and economic resources". In Article 55 reference is made, inter alia, to promoting "higher standards of living, full employment, and conditions of economic and social progress and development" with a view to "the creation of conditions of stability and well-being".

3. Thus, from the inception of the United Nations, there has been a recognition of the existence of disarmament and development as two vital issues before the international community. In its efforts to achieve its separate goals in the fields of disarmament and development, the United Nations has also progressively become involved with the relationship between these issues. This involvement has grown along with an increasing recognition that a curtailment of the military consumption of resources could be a factor in the resolution of pressing international problems, whether these pertain to matters of peace and security, to international economic co-operation or to a wide range of other social and economic issues.

4. In the earlier stage of United Nations involvement, the contrast between continuing military expenditures and the unmet socio-economic needs of large sections of humanity also provided a moral dimension to the issue. In the very first decade of the existence of the United Nations, this concern found expression in a number of resolutions. In 1950, the General Assembly adopted resolution 380 (V) determining, inter alia, to "reduce to a minimum the diversion for armaments of its human and economic resources and to strive towards the development of such resources for the general welfare, with due regard to the needs of the underdeveloped areas of the world". Since then, the General Assembly has returned to the subject year after year in one form or another. Expressions of concern over the continuing military expenditures, calls for diverting resources released through disarmament for socio-economic development, and interest in examining the various issues raised by the relationship between disarmament and development have all contributed towards a growing United Nations involvement.

5. The subject has received mounting international attention in the past 15 years. In part, this may be attributed to increased knowledge about the nature and volume of human and economic resources devoted to military purposes and their immediate and long-term consequences. A part of the explanation may also be that in the 1970s the world economy moved towards a more cautious assessment of its limits and possibilities. Increasingly questions were raised as to whether the patterns of production and consumption of resources established during the 1950s and the 1960s could be easily sustained for an indefinite period in the future. There were recurrent inquiries into the use of global resources, including those
consumed for military purposes. The subject received more frequent attention after the economic case for disarmament was increasingly argued through a growing realization that resources, however they are defined, are far from infinite and their global military consumption is a factor in national and international economic prospects. Resource-related concerns, for example, were among those considered by the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment held in 1972. The same decade of the 1970s which saw major advances in communications, space exploration, computers and other fields, in a dramatic display of the power of technology, also witnessed the helplessness of humanity to overcome poverty, disease, malnutrition and the effects of natural calamities in many parts of the world.

6. As a consequence, within and outside the United Nations, suggestions were made for possible alternative uses of the financial, human and technological resources devoted to military purposes. Also, interest was expressed in an examination of the possible effects of military expenditures on national and international economies. In a number of resolutions, adopted without a vote, the United Nations General Assembly expressed its concern for reducing and restraining military expenditures and for creating increased possibilities for reallocating released resources towards those of socio-economic development, particularly for the benefit of developing countries. Through a number of studies carried out with the assistance of governmental and non-governmental experts, the Secretary-General of the United Nations in response to decisions taken by the General Assembly, submitted a series of reports analysing the national and international consequences of the arms race and military expenditures. The conclusions and findings of these expert studies provide information and analyses both about the possible positive effects of disarmament on national and global economic prospects and about the negative impact of arms race and military expenditures on national and international economies. United Nations involvement with the subject of a relationship between disarmament and development has, thus, been a process of identifying issues covered by such a relationship, providing information and analyses required for understanding its various aspects and dimensions, and considering ways and means of releasing additional resources through disarmament measures for purposes of socio-economic development.

7. In sum, the international context in which the United Nations became involved in the relationship between disarmament and development has been, and continues to be, one of complex interaction between various global issues which have been added to the international agenda, due also to economic and social concerns other than those directly related to military consumption of resources. While there have been differences of view on the nature and extent of such a relationship, and on the courses of action which might be adopted, there has been no disagreement that the two goals - general and complete disarmament under effective international control and the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples - continue to be two major objectives of the United Nations. As pointed out in the first report of the Secretary-General on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development in 1972:

"Disarmament and development are of the greatest importance to the world community. But fundamentally they stand separately from one another. The United Nations has agreed to seek each one vigorously in its own right,
regardless of the pace of progress in approaching the other. Specifically, nations have agreed that national and international efforts to promote development should be neither postponed nor allowed to lag merely because progress in disarmament is slow." 2/

8. The members of the United Nations have also jointly recognized a relationship between expenditure on armaments on the one hand and the pursuit of economic and social development on the other. Paragraph 16 of the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly, held in 1978, the first special session devoted to disarmament stated:

"In a world of finite resources there is a close relationship between expenditure on armaments and economic and social development. Military expenditures are reaching ever higher levels, the highest percentage of which can be attributed to the nuclear-weapon States and most of their allies, with prospects of further expansion and the danger of further increases in the expenditures of other countries. The hundreds of billions of dollars spent annually on the manufacture or improvement of weapons are in sombre and dramatic contrast to the want and poverty in which two-thirds of the world's population live. This colossal waste of resources is even more serious in that it diverts to military purposes not only material but also technical and human resources which are urgently needed for development in all countries, particularly in the developing countries ..." 3/

In the Secretary-General's report on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development, a study carried out by a group of governmental experts between 1978 and 1981, the experts stated:

"This investigation suggests very strongly that the world can either continue to pursue the arms race with characteristic vigour or move consciously and with deliberate speed toward a more stable and balanced social and economic development within a more sustainable international economic and political order. It cannot do both. It must be acknowledged that the arms race and development are in a competitive relationship, particularly in terms of resources but also in the vital dimension of attitudes and perceptions. The main conclusion of this report is that an effective relationship between disarmament and development can and must be established." 4/

9. Subsequently, there have been two further reports of the Secretary-General, to the 38th and 40th sessions of the General Assembly, which, in following up on the report cited above, indicate that within the United Nations there is a continuing system-wide interest in the subject of a relationship between disarmament and development. 5/ These reports were prepared in pursuance of resolution 37/84 which requested, inter alia, that the Secretary-General should take appropriate action to promote an inter-related perspective on the issues of disarmament and development within the United Nations as a follow-up to the 1981 Report of the Secretary-General on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development.

10. A widely shared recognition of a relationship between disarmament and development, repeated calls for diverting a part of resources released through disarmament for socio-economic development, and a system-wide interest in the
subject within the United Nations indicate the extent of its involvement. However, to understand the evolving nature of the subject, it needs to be pointed out that neither disarmament nor development are static concepts. As the international situation has changed, so too has the United Nations involvement with the relationship between the two issues. The nature of this involvement has also become tied to considerations which affect the problems and prospects of disarmament and development as separate items on the United Nations agenda. Viewed as independent issues, United Nations debates on disarmament are largely influenced by political and military considerations whereas those on development concentrate on socio-economic arguments. Viewed together, both these issues have been considered in the same global context of growing international interdependence. Two aspects of this consideration are equally relevant in affecting the outcome of United Nations deliberations in both the areas of disarmament, and development: one pertains to differing perceptions about threats to national and international security; the other to growing concern about the current uses and future availability of resources on the planet.

11. In United Nations efforts to achieve measures of disarmament, the pursuit of security is a primary goal. Stemming from the importance accorded in the Charter of the United Nations to the establishment and maintenance of international peace and security, and acknowledging the right of each State to security, the General Assembly has repeatedly recognized that measures of disarmament must lead to undiminished, or improved security if they are to be accepted. In emphasizing that security should be sought through disarmament, in the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session, the General Assembly states:

"The attainment of the objective of security, which is an inseparable element of peace, has always been one of the most profound aspirations of humanity. States have for a long time sought to maintain their security through the possession of arms. Admittedly, their survival has, in certain cases, effectively depended on whether they could count on appropriate means of defence. Yet the accumulation of weapons, particularly nuclear weapons, today constitutes much more a threat than a protection for the future of mankind. The time has therefore come to put an end to this situation, to abandon the use of force in international relations and to seek security in disarmament, that is to say, through a gradual but effective process beginning with a reduction in the present level of armaments ..." 6/

The Final Document also drew attention to the existence of a link between disarmament, security and development in stating:

"The Members of the United Nations are fully aware of the conviction of their peoples that the question of general and complete disarmament is of utmost importance and that peace, security and economic and social development are indivisible, and they have therefore recognized that the corresponding obligations and responsibilities are universal." 7/

Such a triangular interaction was subsequently underlined in the Secretary-General's report on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development.
12. Notwithstanding the obligations undertaken by the Member States of the United Nations, in Article 2, paragraph 4 of the Charter to refrain in the international relations from the threat or use of force, the past 40 years have witnessed numerous conflicts involving the use of force to the detriment of international peace and security. At the same time, the United Nations has increasingly dealt with an array of problems arising from non-military factors like those pertaining to underdevelopment, maldevelopment or absence of development which either create or aggravate tensions of social upheaval and political instability.

13. The United Nations consideration of problems arising from military and non-military factors has been carried out in a multilateral framework with the result that the interaction between them has been increasingly recognized. United Nations forums dealing with issues of development, for example, have been hearing strategic arguments for considering the issues of resource transfers and economic growth. Similarly, in United Nations debates on disarmament, recurring emphasis has been placed on the economic case for halting and reversing the arms race and on the social and economic benefits that could be gained from better use of the resources thereby released.

14. With regard to the use of the world's resources, the interaction between politico-military and socio-economic considerations has been even more evident. When the General Assembly, in resolution 1378 (XIV), called the question of disarmament "the most important one facing the international world today", the sense of urgency reflected not only a recognition of a threat to humanity but also, in part, a "consciousness that the resources that make this threat possible, and many more resources devoted to less spectacularly destructive military uses, are being diverted from the task of lightening the burdens and enriching the lives of individuals and of society".

15. In discussing the general consequences of continuing military consumption of resources, the 1982 Report of the Secretary-General on the Economic and Social Consequences of the Arms Race and of Military Expenditures pointed out:

"Resources used for military purposes compete for resources which could have been otherwise available for socio-economic development. They also affect priorities in the allocation of resources not claimed directly. They aggravate the conflict situations related to resource constraints. And they carry the non-negligible risk of creating conflict situations which by themselves may become a factor in further escalations of the arms race, making additional claims on resources. In all these respects, purely financial outlays do not provide an adequate picture of the magnitude of the human and material resources consumed by the arms race. Nor do they sufficiently indicate the range of options which would be available if only a part of the resources claimed by the arms race were diverted to non-military purposes."

16. Resource-related issues have generally been a significant factor in determining the pace of socio-economic development, the nature of tensions among nations and the forms of response to conflict situations. But as pointed out in the above-mentioned Report, "Never before has humanity confronted so many resource-related tensions, manifesting themselves in such varied forms, in so many places, at the same time". In the 40 years since the Second World War, historically unprecedented changes have occurred in the nature and volumes of
resources consumed for military purposes and in the costs of their utilization. There are those who see no immediate physical constraints on global resources and those who argue that the world is eroding its resource base. But in both cases there is the recognition that human and natural resources are unevenly distributed among States and that States vary widely in their technological capabilities to overcome physical constraints on resources. It is also admitted that an absence of physical limits on global reserves does not preclude conditions of economic scarcity and steeply rising costs for some parts of the world due to geographical circumstance and to the fact that patterns of consumption do not correspond to the geographic location of reserves. Whether considered in the context of disarmament or development, resource-related concerns have been expressed at the possibility of a severe economic dislocation which might occur in the event of a major military conflict, serious political rifts between the centres of consumption and geographic reserves and social upheavals and civil unrest in societies engaged in the task of nation-building amid conditions of resource-scarcity.

17. In drawing attention to non-military threats to national and international security and in placing development as an issue on the international agenda, developing countries have taken major initiatives at the United Nations. However, the nature and extent of United Nations involvement with the subject of the relationship between disarmament and development arise not only from the initiatives by the developing countries. Industrialized countries, too, have either taken initiatives or associated themselves with the attempts to promote an interrelated perspective on the separate issues of disarmament and development and to find an institutional and operational framework for doing so. Over the years many Member States belonging to East, West, North or South have served on various expert groups appointed by the Secretary-General and contributed through their knowledge, expertise and experience towards evolving a comprehensive approach to the complex interaction between two of the most pressing issues on the United Nations agenda. Among the subjects that have been addressed are the concepts and theories relevant to the relationship between disarmament and development, national and international opportunity costs of the continuing arms race, technological and economic feasibility of converting resources from military to civilian use and consequences of the military use of technology on the process of arms limitation and disarmament.

18. In providing information and analyses required for understanding the subject in its various aspects and dimensions, the United Nations has carried out several studies with the assistance of qualified governmental and/or consultant experts to examine such issues as the impact of military spending on national economies and of the arms race on international economic relations. Particularly relevant, for example, are a series of studies on the economic and social consequences of the arms race and of military expenditures and the two studies on disarmament and development. The empirical and historical evidence collected in several of these expert studies, as well as the information and analyses available in the periodic reports in the United Nations forums dealing with economic and social issues, were examined in the 1981 Report of the Secretary-General on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development in which extensive use was also made of open literature and specific research papers commissioned worldwide by acknowledged scholars and experts. The unanimous conclusions of the governmental experts from 27 countries who assisted the Secretary-General in the preparation of this Report provide a conceptual framework for understanding the
complex relationship between disarmament and development which involves more than a mathematical transfer of a part of disarmament-released resources into channels for socio-economic development in developing countries. 19/

19. Acknowledging that the arms race and development are in competitive relationship, not only in terms of resources, but also in the vital dimension of attitudes and perceptions, the experts placed the disarmament-development relationship in the context of a triangular interaction between disarmament, development and security. To demonstrate that threats to security may arise both from military and non-military challenges, they argued on the one hand that the arms race itself has grown into a threat to the security of nations and that general and complete disarmament under effective international control, particularly nuclear disarmament, would directly enhance security. On the other hand, it was also argued that there is an array of intensifying non-military factors aggravating the security problems of States in the form of (a) a widespread reduction in prospects for economic growth, (b) impending physical constraints - notably in the field of energy and selected non-renewable raw materials, but also severe stress on the environment and a growing world population - and (c) the morally unacceptable and politically hazardous polarization of wealth and poverty and insufficient development in the developing countries. 20/

20. As with the concept of security, the experts assisting in the preparation of the Secretary-General's report on Disarmament and Development also unanimously adopted a broad definition of development which was projected as a global requirement in the context of economic interdependence. Relying upon recent experiences to demonstrate that the economic fortunes - and thus the security - of all nations are interdependent and destined to become more so, it was argued that failure to bring the arms race under control is likely to be associated with a vicious circle of confrontation and mutual denial, with declining prospects for mutually advantageous economic co-operation and shrinking options for all nations. 21/

21. Along with taking a broader view of the concept of disarmament and development, the Secretary-General's 1981 report on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development, prepared by a Group of Governmental Experts, made another point of departure. It noted the fact that some earlier studies on the interaction between issues of disarmament and development reflected a note of caution in projecting too close an association between them, mostly on the grounds that making two intensely desirable but, as yet, unattained goals contingent upon each other could somehow be seen as detracting from the urgency of achieving fast progress in each separately. 22/ Consequently, there had been a tendency to remain content with projecting the enormous contrasts between the magnitude of resources claimed by the world-wide military activities and the outlays required to provide for the basic unmet needs of the poorer sections of society, particularly in the developing countries. The relationship between disarmament and development had, thus, acquired a strong normative content on the basis of its desirability. According to the unanimous conclusions of the 1981 Report on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development such an approach did not take full account of the most current economic realities: the developing countries were still in urgent need of greater allocations to meet the expanding demands of their growing populations. The Report stated that the developed world was also beginning to confront the cumulative results of its past patterns of resource-utilization and
that the market economies were facing serious socio-economic problems, such as unemployment and inflation. The Report further noted that the centrally planned economies were also under considerable strain to make faster progress in achieving better consumer satisfaction and greater modernization in view of a slow-down in growth rates. The Group took the position that for the world as a whole, the allocation of 5 to 6 per cent of global output for military purposes was becoming a questionable proposition in a climate of sluggish economic growth projections for the 1980s, as compared to the more favourable economic performance in earlier decades. The Group was of the view that the normative appeal to direct some of the armament-related resources into the developmental field acquired an element of self-interest if it could be established that the need for such a reallocation was shared by all social systems irrespective of their current levels of development. 22/

22. The empirical and historical evidence accumulated in the United Nations studies dealing with the subject point to the post-World War II armament phenomenon as a factor in national and international economic prospects. As stated in the Secretary-General's 1982 report on the Economic and Social Consequences of the Arms Race and of Military Expenditures:

"The dynamics of the arms race involve more than a sum total of military expenditures and an updated list of its major and minor participants. The forces driving it, the purposes it serves and its various forms of manifestation have transformed the arms race into a political phenomenon adversely affecting global socio-economic options. By rendering the international politico-economic environment more rigid and more resistant to change, the arms race is fostering concerns for the political and social options chosen by other countries, in particular by those that are deemed to have strategic importance, and it is promoting a pattern of alliances and alignments which reinforce attitudes of confrontation in a situation demanding co-operation, both in international political and economic relations. During the period under review, a prominent feature of contemporary international relations was growing interdependence which has manifested itself in several areas. The world has become increasingly interdependent as it is confronted with problems which either cannot be resolved in any other way than by joint efforts (for example, radioactive pollution by atomic tests, sharing of meteorological information) or because these problems can be resolved on national or regional levels only at higher costs, for example, the development of new sources of energy. The global nature of many problems arising out of physical and economic constraints on human and material resources, makes their solution within regional and political boundaries increasingly difficult. The arms race, therefore, amounts to a counterproductive choice since it presupposes the existence of conflict in a situation demanding co-operation ..." 24/

23. An earlier United Nations report on the same subject, in 1978, stated that the arms race had complicated the process of stabilizing the international monetary system, aggravated the balance-of-payment problems and distorted the desired evolution of international exchange in a period of growing economic interdependence. With regard to the impact of military spending on national economies, the Group of Experts carrying out the 1981 Study on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development, having considered national case studies, took
the position that military outlays, by definition, fell into the category of consumption and not investment. Consequently, the Group concluded that steadily high or increasing military outlays were likely to have a depressing effect on economic growth, directly through displacement of investment and indirectly through constraints on productivity which itself depends to a considerable degree on the research and development effort currently biased in favour of military technology. 25/

24. In calculating the opportunity costs of current military outlays, the Group of Experts, preparing the 1981 Report on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development, found it relatively simpler to assess the sacrifices entailed by national military expenditures than to project the direct and catalytic effects of reversing the global arms race. Recognizing (a) that all military expenditures are essentially government expenditures and, hence, a part of the budget or planning mechanism of Governments; and (b) that socio-economic functions basically reflect a welfare commitment on behalf of the States, it was argued in the same report that any additional resources released through military spending reductions could enable the State to expand its social welfare commitment both directly and indirectly. Direct reallocations could contribute towards improvement in social goals such as education, nutrition, medical care, housing and transport and policies of tax reduction could contribute indirectly to civilian consumption and investment. 26/

25. Not all the findings and conclusions of United Nations reports and studies relevant to the relationship between disarmament and development have been equally acceptable to all Member States. In some cases, reservations were expressed on the grounds of the methodology used and inadequate analysis: some held the view that absence of reliable, accurate and adequate information from all parts of the world affected the soundness of the findings and conclusions; others took the position that such information should be made available only in the context of specific negotiations dealing with measures of arms limitation and disarmament. There have also been instances when the findings and conclusions themselves have been questioned; either because the underlying political assumptions were not equally shared by all or due to a lack of agreement over the policy recommendations related to the analytical contents. The need to inform, educate and promote further understanding of this subject, however, has been widely recognized. Relevant also in this context is the launching of the World Disarmament Campaign in 1982 by the General Assembly at its Twelfth Special Session, the second special session devoted to disarmament. Aimed at informing, educating, and generating public understanding and support for the United Nations objectives in the field of arms limitation and disarmament, the mandate of the campaign makes specific mention of the relationship between disarmament and international security and disarmament and development recognizing the benefits that could be derived from the reduction of military outlays and the reallocation of released resources for socio-economic development. 27/

26. As an issue for political decision-making, United Nations involvement with the relationship between disarmament and development has resulted in various recommendations by the General Assembly which broadly fall into three categories: those defining ultimate goals and objectives; those addressed to intermediate measures and those articulating immediate concerns. United Nations resolutions pertinent to the issue are listed in annex I.
27. Statements of ultimate goals and objectives are found, for example, in proposals such as those for: release of resources for purposes of socio-economic development through general and complete disarmament under effective international supervision and control; resolution of security-related conflicts and conflict situations with a view to removing the underlying causes for the escalating arms race and military expenditures; and conclusion of specific measures of arms limitation and disarmament in accordance with well-defined priorities contained in a comprehensive disarmament strategy. Such proposals may give the impression that of the two issues involved in it, development is at the receiving end of the relationship between disarmament and development.

28. Recommendations for intermediate measures include proposals such as those aimed at reducing military budgets; making requisite preparations to facilitate the conversion of resources freed by disarmament measures to civilian purposes, especially to meet urgent and social economic needs, in particular in developing countries; and seeking greater understanding and awareness of the complex issues covered by the subject of the relationship between disarmament and development through more accurate and reliable information and analyses. Such proposals tend to view the processes of disarmament and of development as running parallel to, rather than being contingent upon, each other and suggest that an interrelated perspective will contribute towards a faster pace of progress in both areas.

29. Recommendations articulating immediate concerns focus on measures seeking ways and means to address the urgency of developmental issues and include proposals such as those for the establishment of a disarmament fund for development financed from budgetary savings related to the implementation of disarmament measures as well as from a levy on armaments or voluntary contributions. Such proposals argue that the challenge of developmental issues is of such global nature that it can be satisfactorily met only by exploring all available avenues including the possibility of rechanneling even a fraction of the resources devoted to military purposes to the tasks of socio-economic development.

30. In this last mentioned respect, United Nations debates over the last three decades have reflected some familiar arguments. The positions taken by Member States on this issue in 1984, when the Disarmament Commission considered the subject in response to General Assembly resolution 38/71 B, were rather similar to those stated during the debates in the Economic and Social Council in 1953 before the establishment of a Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development through resolution 482 A (VIII). The Disarmament Commission agreed that world-wide military spending had acquired a staggering magnitude and that the global trend continued to be towards a faster rate of annual increase in those expenditures. That stood in dramatic contrast to the sombre state of the global economy and had serious implications for the economic prospects of the world, in particular those of the developing countries. 28/ Throughout the history of United Nations involvement, there has been a wide readiness to consider devoting a part of disarmament-released resources for purposes of socio-economic development, particularly to the benefit of developing countries. However, there have been reservations both with regard to the timing and the method. Some Member States have declared that they are not in a position to make additional contributions to another development fund; others believe that raising the levels of official developmental assistance is not an accurate indicator of additional resources available for developmental aid; and still others have pointed out that it would be
unwise to create a new funding activity without sufficient funds for its effective operation. There are also those who have insisted that any decisions to reallocate a part of military spending for non-military purposes must be preceded by a reliable and accurate picture of the levels and magnitude of military expenditures, particularly on the part of major military spenders, and those who believe that the creation of such a fund should only be viewed as symbolic of an international willingness to promote military restraint.

31. During its annual session in 1985, which marked the 40th anniversary of the establishment of the United Nations, the General Assembly decided to convene in 1986 an International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development, which would be the first under United Nations auspices. At the initiative of France and co-sponsored by 52 Member States from both industrialized and developing regions and belonging to different political groupings, the draft resolution was adopted without a vote by the General Assembly on 16 December 1985 as resolution 40/155. By that resolution the General Assembly endorsed, inter alia, the report of the Preparatory Committee for the International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development. 29/

32. The General Assembly's decision to convene an International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development was taken at a time of great significance in the discussion of disarmament issues. It was also a period of deep developmental crisis and sombre assessments of the world economy prepared by the various United Nations forums dealing with economic and developmental issues. 30/ Relating these concerns to the issue of global resources, the 1985 Report on the World Social Situation, inter alia, states:

"... the material foundations for achieving widely-shared social objectives exist on a global level, and that failure and pessimism derive not as much from limitations of the productive capacity of the world economy as from the misdirection of resources and efforts which lead it to perform below potential most of the time and disastrously below capacity periodically". 31/

33. The General Assembly's decision to convene an International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development, represents both a recognition of a complex interaction between two vital issues and a willingness to address it at a high political level. 32/ Briefly, the main elements covered by this decision to which different degrees of political emphasis have been attached during the various phases of United Nations involvement, are reflected in the three substantive items on the agenda of the International Conference. 33/ As stated in paragraph 2 of resolution 40/155, the International Conference to be held in Paris from 15 July to 2 August 1986, would undertake:

(a) Consideration of the relationship between disarmament and development in all its aspects and dimensions with a view to reaching appropriate conclusions;

(b) Consideration of the implications of the level and magnitude of the military expenditures, in particular those of the nuclear-weapon States and other militarily important States, for the world economy and the international economic and social situation, particularly for the developing countries, and formulation of appropriate recommendations for remedial measures;

/...
(c) Consideration of ways and means of releasing additional resources through disarmament measures, for development purposes, in particular for the benefit of developing countries.

34. In agreeing to identify these various elements for appropriate international consideration, the General Assembly has expressed a mutuality of interests in addressing issues of common concern through concerted global action in an increasingly interdependent world.

Notes

1/ See, for example, resolution 380 (V), resolution 520 A (VI), resolution 715 (VIII), resolution E/2505 (VIII), and resolution 914 (X).


3/ Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly, the first special session devoted to disarmament (SSOD I), para. 16.


7/ Ibid., para. 5.

8/ See also Ibid., para. 26.


10/ For a review of the evolution of multilateralism in international economic relations, see Economic and Social Council, Official Records, 1985, Supplement No. 9.


Notes (continued)

13/ See A/37/386, Report of the Secretary-General on the Economic and Social Consequences of the Arms Race and of Military Expenditures, para. 56.

14/ Ibid., para. 55.

15/ Ibid., para. 65.

16/ See annex II.


18/ For titles and authors of these research papers, see A/36/356, appendix I.

19/ The 27 Governmental Experts came from Brazil, Canada, Egypt, France, German Democratic Republic, Germany, Federal Republic of, Hungary, India, Jamaica, Japan, Mexico, Netherlands, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Senegal, Sri Lanka, Sweden, United Kingdom, United States of America, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Venezuela, and Yugoslavia. Their unanimous conclusions are contained in A/36/356, chapter VII.

20/ See A/36/356, para. 398.

21/ Ibid., para. 399.

22/ For the position taken by the 1972 Secretary-General's Report on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development, ST/ECA/174, see chapter V.

23/ See A/36/356, para. 395.

24/ See A/37/386, para. 137.

25/ See A/36/356, para. 411.

26/ Ibid., para. 412.

27/ For the text of the mandate of the World Disarmament Campaign, see A/S-12/32.
Notes (continued)

28/ For the debates preceding the establishment of a Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development, see General Assembly Official Records, Second Committee, A/C.2/SR.257 to 282. For the text of replies received from Member States in pursuance of resolution 38/71 B, see A/CN.10/57 and Add.1-11. See also the report of the Disarmament Commission, A/39/42, p. 27, para. 9.

29/ See A/40/51, Report of the Preparatory Committee for the International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development.


32/ See A/40/51, para. 15 (d).

33/ See General Assembly resolution 40/155.
ANNEX I

United Nations resolutions relevant to the subject of the relationship between disarmament and development

1946:
Res. 41 (I) 14 Dec. 1946 Principles governing the general reduction of armaments. (Refers to promoting the establishment of international peace and collective security with the least diversion for armaments of the world's human and economic resources.)

1950:
Res. 380 (V) 17 Nov. 1950 Peace through deeds. (Determines, inter alia, that it is indispensable to reduce to a minimum the diversion for armaments of human and economic resources and to strive towards the development of such resources.)

1952:
Res. 520 A (VI) 1 Dec. 1952 Financing of economic development of underdeveloped countries. (Requests the utilization of any savings that may accrue from any programme of disarmament for socio-economic purposes.)

1953:
Res. 715 (VIII) 28 Nov. 1953 Regulation, limitation, and balanced reduction of all armed forces and all armaments: report of the Disarmament Commission. (Calls for lightening the burden of armaments to release more of the world's human and economic resources.)

Res. 724 (VIII) 7 Dec. 1953 Economic development of underdeveloped countries. (Adoption of a declaration on the promotion of economic and social progress and development by devoting a portion of the savings achieved through disarmament measures to an international fund within the United Nations.)

1955:
Res. 923 (X) 9 Dec. 1955 Question of the establishment of a special United Nations fund for economic development. (Refers to savings from internationally

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supervised world-wide disarmament as providing additional means for financing the economic development of underdeveloped countries.)

Regulation, limitation and balanced reduction of all armed forces and all armaments; conclusion of an international convention (treaty) on the reduction of armaments and the prohibition of atomic, hydrogen and other weapons of mass destruction. (Calls upon the States concerned, especially those of the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission to study the allocation of funds resulting from disarmament or improving the standards of living ... in the less developed countries.)

1961:

Res. 1710 (XVI) 19 Dec. 1961

United Nations development decade: a programme for international economic co-operation. (Refers to intensification of action in the fields of economic and social development, with a reference to the utilization of resources released by disarmament for this purpose.)

1962:

Res. 1837 (XVII) 18 Dec. 1962

Declaration on the conversion to peaceful needs of the resources released by disarmament. (Expresses appreciation for the report of the Secretary-General on the Economic and Social Consequences and concurs with ECOSOC resolution 891 (XXXIV) in requesting Member States to devote further attention to developing needed information, plans and policies for working necessary economic and social adjustments in the event of disarmament.)

1963:

Res. 1931 (XVIII) 11 Dec. 1963

Conversion to peaceful needs of the resources released by disarmament. (Invites Member States to continue to pursue studies and activities relating to the economic and social consequences of disarmament, the problems encountered and how to deal with them.)

1968:

Res. 2387 (XXIII) 19 Nov. 1968

Conversion to peaceful needs of the resources released by disarmament.

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1969:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Res. 2525 (XXIV)</th>
<th>5 Dec. 1969</th>
<th>A day for peace. (Requests Member States to consider that effective disarmament measures do release additional resources which can be used for development.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Res. 2602 E (XXIV)</td>
<td>16 Dec. 1969</td>
<td>Question of general and complete disarmament. (Recommends to channel a substantial part of the resources freed by disarmament measures to promote the economic development of developing countries.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1970:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Res. 2626 (XXV)</th>
<th>24 Oct. 1970</th>
<th>International development strategy for the second United Nations development decade. (Refers to progress towards general and complete disarmament for a release of substantial additional resources which could be utilized for the purpose of economic and social development, in particular that of developing countries.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Res. 2667 (XXV)</td>
<td>7 Dec. 1970</td>
<td>Economic and social consequences of the armaments race and its extremely harmful effects on world peace and security. (Requests the preparation of an expert study and refers to a halt in the arms race, a reduction of military expenditures and concrete progress towards disarmament for facilitating economic and social goals.)</td>
</tr>
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</table>

1973:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Res. 3075 (XXVIII)</th>
<th>6 Dec. 1973</th>
<th>Economic and social consequences of the armaments race and its extremely harmful effects on world peace and security. (Taking note of the report entitled &quot;Disarmament and Development&quot;).</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Res. 3093 AB (XXVIII)</td>
<td>7 Dec. 1973</td>
<td>Discusses a reduction of the military budgets of States permanent members of the Security Council by 10 per cent and utilization of part of the funds thus saved to provide assistance to developing countries.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Res. 3176 (XXVIII)</td>
<td>17 Dec. 1973</td>
<td>First biennial overall review and appraisal of progress in the implementation of the international development strategy for the second United Nations development decade.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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1974:

Res. 3254 (XXIX) 9 Dec. 1974 Discusses a reduction of the military budgets of States permanent members of the Security Council by 10 per cent, and utilization of part of the funds thus saved to provide assistance to developing countries.


1975:

Res. 3462 (XXX) 11 Dec. 1975 Economic and social consequences of the armaments race and of military expenditures (Requests an up-dating of the 1972 report of the Secretary-General.)


Res. 3470 (XXX) 11 Dec. 1975 Mid-term review of the disarmament decade (Calls upon Member States and the Secretary-General to support the link between disarmament and development.)

1976:

Res. 31/68 10 Dec. 1976 Effective measures to implement the purposes and objectives of the disarmament decade. (Calls upon the Member States and the Secretary-General to intensify their efforts in support of the link between disarmament and development.)

Res. 31/87 14 Dec. 1976 Reduction of military budgets.

1977:

Res. 32/75 12 Dec. 1977 Economic and social consequences of the arms race and of military expenditures. (Welcomes with satisfaction the report of the Secretary-General on the Economic and Social Consequences of the Arms Race and of Military Expenditures.)

Res. 32/80 12 Dec. 1977 Effective measures to implement the purposes and objectives of the disarmament decade.

Res. 32/85 12 Dec. 1977 Reduction of military budgets

Res. 32/87 C 12 Dec. 1977 General and complete disarmament. (Considers the close interrelationship between disarmament and economic development.)
Special Session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. (Requests the General Assembly to initiate an in-depth study on the relationship between disarmament and development.)

1978:

Res. S-10/2 30 June 1978 Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly. (Refers to relationship between disarmament and development and the decision to carry out a study on the subject.)

Res. 33/62 14 Dec. 1978 Effective measures to implement the purposes and objectives of the disarmament decade. (Stresses the need to promote the link between Disarmament and Development.)

Res. 33/71 I 14 Dec. 1978 Disarmament and development. (Transmission of IDPD proposal to expert group preparing a study.)

Res. 33/71 M 14 Dec. 1978 Study on the relationship between disarmament and development. (Governments to give information to expert group preparing the study.)

Res. 33/71 N 14 Dec. 1978 New philosophy on Disarmament. (Changing concepts of disarmament in the light of its effects on the global dimensions of development.)

Res. 33/91 I 16 Dec. 1978 General and complete disarmament: disarmament and international security. (Bears in mind the close relations between disarmament, international security and development.)

1979:

Res. 34/83 A 11 Dec. 1979 Disarmament and international security. (Refers to negative effects of the arms race and growth of military budgets on the development of less-developed countries.)

Res. 34/83 F 11 Dec. 1979 Freezing and reduction of military budgets. (Appeals to all States to restrain their military expenditures with a view to reallocating the savings to economic and social development.)

Res. 34/83 K 11 Dec. 1979 Study on the relationship between Disarmament and Development. (Takes note of the interim report of the expert group appointed by the Secretary-General for preparing the study.)
Res. 34/88  11 Dec. 1979  Declaration on international co-operation for disarmament.

Res. 34/218  19 Dec. 1979  United Nations conference on science and technology for development. (Recognizes that effective measures in the field of disarmament would increase the possibilities of reallocation of resources to economic and social development.)

1980:

Res. 35/46  3 Dec. 1980  Declaration of the 1980's as the second disarmament decade.


Res. 35/141  12 Dec. 1980  Economic and social consequences of the arms race and its harmful effects on world peace and security. (Requests an up-date of the 1977 report of the Secretary-General on the economic and social consequences of the arms race and of military expenditures.)

Res. 35/142 A-B  12 Dec. 1980  Reduction of military budgets. (Mentions the link between disarmament and development.)


1981:

Res. 36/82 A  9 Dec. 1981  Reduction of military budgets. (Preambular mention of the link between disarmament and development.)

Res. 36/92 G-L  9 Dec. 1981  Study on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development. (Study received and commended by the General Assembly.)

1982:

A/S-12/32  9 July 1982  Concluding document of the Twelfth Special Session of the General Assembly. (Reaffirms the validity of the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session.)

Res. 37/70  9 Dec. 1982  Economic and social consequences of the arms race and its extremely harmful effects on world peace and security. (Recommends the conclusions of the report of the Secretary-General.)

Res. 37/95 A 9 Dec. 1982 Reduction of military budgets. (Preamble mentions the link between disarmament and development.)

1983:

Res. 38/71 A 15 Dec. 1983 Relationship between disarmament and development. (Appreciates Secretary-General's report as contained in document No. A/38/436 and requests a further report to the fortieth session.)

Res. 38/71 B 15 Dec. 1983 Relationship between disarmament and development. (Invites Governments to communicate views and proposals concerning the relationship between disarmament and development.)

Res. 38/104 A 15 Dec. 1983 Reduction of military budgets. (Refers to reallocation of the resources released through the reduction of military expenditures to economic and social development.)

1984:

Res. 39/160 17 Dec. 1984 Relationship between disarmament and development. (General Assembly decision to convene an international conference on the relationship between disarmament and development.)

1985:

Res. 40/150 16 Dec. 1985 Economic and social consequences of the armaments race and its extremely harmful effects on world peace and security. (Requests the Secretary-General, with the assistance of an expert group and making appropriate use of the capabilities of UNIDIR in a consultant capacity, to update the 1982 report.)

Res. 40/155 16 Dec. 1985 Relationship between Disarmament and Development. (Approves the report of the Preparatory Committee and extends its mandate to make substantive preparations for the International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development.)

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ANNEX II

Some of the relevant United Nations studies were the Economic and Social Consequences of Disarmament (1962); Relationship between Disarmament and Development (1972, 1981); Economic and Social Consequences of the Arms Race and of Military Expenditures (1971, 1977 and 1982); Reduction of Military Budgets (1977, 1982, 1985); Disarmament and International Security (1981); Conventional Disarmament (1984); Concepts of Security (1985). For these studies, experts were appointed by the Secretary-General from the following countries:

Algeria
Argentina
Austria
Australia
Bangladesh
Brazil
Bulgaria
Canada
China
Colombia
Cyprus
Czechoslovakia
Denmark
Egypt
Ethiopia
Ecuador
France
German Democratic Republic
Germany, Federal Republic of
Hungary
Iceland
India
Indonesia
Italy
Jamaica
Japan
Liberia
Malaysia
Mexico
Netherlands
Nigeria
Norway
Pakistan
Peru
Philippines
Poland
Romania
Senegal
Sri Lanka
Sudan
Sweden
Tanzania
Uganda
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland
United States of America
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
Venezuela
Yugoslavia