PREPARATORY COMMITTEE FOR THE
INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON
THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN
DISARMAMENT AND DEVELOPMENT
New York, 1-11 April 1986
Agenda item 8

REVIEW OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DISARMAMENT AND DEVELOPMENT
IN ALL ITS ASPECTS AND DIMENSIONS WITH A VIEW TO REACHING
APPROPRIATE CONCLUSIONS
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, inter alia, of "a short succinct document" covering each of the three substantive agenda items. The present paper on agenda item 8 has been prepared in conformity with that request, although it should be borne in mind that in such a paper it is not possible to give full and comprehensive treatment to all the complex aspects of the issues involved.

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I. INTRODUCTION

1. Disarmament and development have each been central concerns of the United Nations since its establishment in 1945. The existence of a "complex and multidimensional" relationship between the two has also been recognized. 1/ As the 1962 report of the Secretary-General on the economic and social consequences of disarmament stated:

"The present level of military expenditure not only represents a grave political danger but also imposes a heavy economic and social burden on most countries. It absorbs a large volume of human and material resources of all kinds, which could be used to increase economic and social welfare throughout the world - both in the highly industrialized countries, which at the present time incur the bulk of the world's military expenditures, and in the less developed areas". 2/

2. Similar assessments have been made in subsequent United Nations studies, among which the 1981 report of the Secretary-General on the relationship between disarmament and development provides the most comprehensive survey of the issues to date. Such assessments have had little impact, however, on the way in which political priorities and the allocation of economic resources are determined in an uncertain international environment.

3. It has been estimated that throughout the past four decades the world has consistently devoted between 4.5 to 7 per cent of its gross national product (GNP) to military expenditure. Furthermore, in the past few years world military spending has been rising - in real terms - at about 5 per cent per year, well above the immediate post-war trend. Although the bulk of this spending and the greater part of the recent increases have been concentrated in the developed countries, the arms race affects all regions of the world. Today, the present level of global military spending is estimated to be in excess of $800 billion per year.

4. The nuclear-weapon States and the two major military alliances account for the largest proportion of armed forces and weapons in the world and most of the world's sophisticated armaments and combat equipment are produced in a small number of countries. These countries also carry out most of the world's military research and development, although the two major Powers are far ahead of the others in this respect. Nearly all technological innovation in weaponry takes place in very few countries. The pace of the arms race and the rate of the obsolescence of weapons throughout the world are heavily influenced by these countries.

5. Elsewhere, military expenditures are unevenly spread. Until the latter part of the 1970s the rate of increase of aggregate military spending of developing countries was comparatively higher than that of developed countries, although the total expenditures were considerably lower. Their military spending more than doubled in real terms in the 1960s when the process of decolonization and the emergence of new States was at its peak. It almost doubled again in the 1970s. In recent years, however, the rise in the military spending of those countries has
been levelling off (table 1). The imports of weapons, which constitute a
significant share of their military spending, actually declined in the first part
of the 1980s, after very rapid increases for much of the previous two decades
(figure 1). A relatively small number of countries, the majority of them oil
exporters, and many of them in one region, the Middle East, have continued to
dominate the arms import market.

6. In its most recent phase, the continuing arms race has coincided with one of
the most serious global economic recessions since the Second World War. The
consequent "socio-economic imbalances and dislocations", have been "unprecedented
in the post-war period, and quite different in nature and extent from earlier
disturbances". 3/ Unlike earlier cyclical downturns which could be accommodated
through flexibilities built into the international trade and financial framework,
"the dislocations of the 1980s have not only been worldwide but also, because of
the sharp curtailment of the resources for accommodation, much more severe and
pervasive." 4/

7. Generally, the effect of these dislocations has been felt most deeply in the
poorest countries. Per capita real income of developing countries as a whole is
presently below the level reached in the late 1970s. "Dozens of countries have
lost a decade or more of development". 5/ Thus, some of the economic and social
achievements of developing countries over the previous 20 years - when gross
domestic product (GDP) growth averaged (between 1960 and 1980) 6 per cent, infant
mortality was halved and life expectancy and school enrolments were substantially
increased - are in real danger of being lost. The countries most severely affected
are no longer able to adequately provide the basic needs for their population such
as food, safe water, health care or education, let alone find additional resources
for development.

8. These and other related events in the international arena have brought about a
new awareness of an interaction between the issues of disarmament and development
and of the need for renewed efforts towards achieving these two goals. The
possibilities for a reallocation of resources through disarmament for purposes of
economic and social development have always existed. The full realization of these
possibilities requires however a significant change in attitudes and a revision of
political priorities.
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Figure 1. Trends in export of major weapons to developing countries, 1965-1984

(Millions of US dollars)*

* At constant (1975) prices.

II. DISARMAMENT, DEVELOPMENT AND SECURITY

9. One of the most basic problems underlying the arms race has been the ineffective implementation and use of the system of collective security envisaged in the Charter of the United Nations. In the absence of an effective guarantee of their security, nations continue to seek security through exercising their inherent right of individual or collective self-defence.

10. Yet security remains an elusive goal. It is evident that efforts of the major powers to seek security by adding to their stocks of weapons have not achieved that objective. For many smaller States the question has acquired an added dimension. Besides being concerned with strictly military aspects of security, which in many instances are affected by global issues of the arms race, the developing countries also perceive issues of national and international security as related to such immediate concerns as food security or energy security. The existence of non-military threats to national and international security is widely recognized. In addressing the issues of security in the context of disarmament, appropriate consideration should thus also be given to non-military threats to security.

11. The reasons for seeking disarmament have become even more compelling as the continuing arms race endangers international security in a number of ways. For example: in heightening military confrontation and increasing political tensions, it can enhance the possibility of major armed conflicts that could also lead to the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons; it threatens to increase the incidence and severity of armed conflicts in different regions of the world; it increases global and regional political tensions in the world as a whole and thereby impedes progress towards a more stable world order; it leads to the diversion, in increasing amounts, of scarce resources, both human and material, that are urgently needed to improve the material well-being and the general welfare of mankind.

12. Disarmament is broadly understood as the process of reduction in the size of and expenditures on armed forces, the destruction and dismantling of weapons, whether deployed or stockpiled, the progressive elimination of the capacity to produce new weapons and the release and integration into civilian life of military personnel. This process must be implemented through balanced and equitable reductions and provide for mutually acceptable modes of verification and compliance to ensure undiminished security for all States. There is also an important place in this process for arms limitation agreements that genuinely restrain the quantitative growth and qualitative refinement of arsenals. Such agreements would be significant both as confidence-building measures and as stepping stones to actual reductions of armaments and armed forces.

13. The ongoing accumulation of weaponry has also called into play a broad range of social, political and economic support structures at the national as well as the international levels. Disarmament, therefore, also requires a reversal of cumulative and deeply rooted social processes at present reflected in contemporary society. The difficulties of achieving such a reversal should be borne in mind in efforts to agree on measures of arms limitation and disarmament.
14. To seek security through disarmament involves a series of political decisions pertaining, inter alia, to the limitation of armaments and armed forces, verification, the uses of resources, and the direction of technological progress. It also involves global consideration of issues affecting the international situation including those of development.

15. Development, in a broad sense, refers to social and economic changes in society leading to improvement in the quality of life for all. At the most basic level, it means providing for every person the essential material requirements for a dignified and productive existence. Economic growth essentially means an expansion of output. Development includes but is not coterminous with economic growth. It also implies the opportunity to participate fully in the economic and social process and to share in its benefits. More specifically, if the global development effort is to be sustainable in the long-term, it should endeavour to provide for a pattern of economic growth that would significantly reduce within a reasonable time-frame the prevailing disparities between nations in the quality of life. Furthermore, global development effort depends also on resource availabilities.

16. Development takes place under different economic systems. In some cases the role of the State in managing the process of development has been emphasized. In others, it has been asserted that economic efficiency can best be assured through the operation of the market. Generally, there is an interaction (in different forms and degrees) between the allocation of economic resources through the State and through markets. This interaction is of relevance in projecting development as a global requirement at a time when the international economy comprises States with different economic systems and at different levels of development.

17. Disarmament and development remain parallel and distinct processes, although there are many ways in which they can reinforce each other. Both in turn are widely held to be interlinked with security. In this connection, a triangular interaction has also been recognized between disarmament, development and security. As stated in the Final Document of the 1978 special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament: "peace, security and economic and social development are indivisible".

18. The continuing arms buildup is pertinent not only in the context of disarmament but also of development. Since the processes of arms accumulation and of development both require large-scale human and material resources and since resources are limited, pursuit of either process tends to be at the cost of the other. Beyond the simple opportunity-cost effect, the arms accumulation process could hinder development in other respects. Indeed, it is widely felt that in the longrun either the world proceeds more resolutely towards the ultimate aim of disarmament or it will not be able to fully sustain or achieve development.

19. The magnitude of resources required to sustain, expand and innovate upon the existing nuclear and conventional arsenals represents an obvious aspect of their impact on global economic prospects. Furthermore, the existence of pressing economic needs and physical scarcities of resources in a world already beset by conflicts might contribute to tensions and confrontations. This in turn could lead to further pressures for incurring new forms of military expenditures or additional allocation of resources for military activities.
III. WORLD-WIDE USES OF RESOURCES

20. The human, natural and material resources devoted to military purposes include labour, raw materials and minerals, capital and technology. Military consumption of resources is generally recognized to be a factor in national economic performance. Several United Nations studies examining this issue have indicated, inter alia, that military expenditures fall into the category of consumption and not investment and that generally any short-term economic benefits from military expenditures, through a multiplier effect, are offset in the long-term by depressing capital formation, productivity and competitiveness in the civilian sector. 6/ More recent empirical analysis tends to confirm these findings. 7/ Such analysis also stresses that a coincidence of high rates of military expenditures and high rates of economic growth may represent a phenomenon of parallelism rather than one of cause and effect. However, in an economy with unutilized or underutilized resources, any kind of spending, including military spending, could have a stimulating effect. The impact of the levels and magnitude of military expenditures, in particular those of the nuclear-weapon States and other militarily important States, on their economic performance and on the world economy is discussed in a separate paper. 8/

21. In the overall global context and in a world of finite resources, military consumption competes with claims upon such resources, not least with those of socio-economic development. It also affects priorities in the allocation of resources not directly claimed for military purposes and may also aggravate tensions related to resource constraints. Such tensions in turn could become an additional factor in the arms race, which may bring about further claims on resources. On the other hand, disarmament could be made the catalyst for more sustainable, less conflict-prone approaches to the use of global resources. In its prevailing approach towards global resources, the international community seems to be caught between the national interests and those of global interdependence. Many countries take the view that some of those resources should be considered a part of the common heritage of mankind.

22. The world-wide military sector is a significant consumer, for example, of energy and minerals, which also play a crucial role in the process of industrialization in general. Assessing global consumption of energy and minerals for military purposes is fraught with difficulty, not least because it can only be done by extrapolating data from a limited group of countries. Nevertheless, it has been estimated, inter alia, that countries with a strong military industrial sector may be devoting up to 7 per cent of their total consumption of petroleum for military use. If military-related consumption (i.e. the energy consumed by industries supplying the military sector with goods and services) is added, the figure rises to some 7 to 8 per cent of total energy use. 9/

23. The military sector is also a major consumer of minerals. However, due to advances in military technology, the composition of military demand has shifted. For instance, the relative importance of materials such as iron and steel has declined, whilst that of aluminium, titanium and other metals has increased. Military consumption of major minerals varied (in the 1970s) between 2.1 per cent (for manganese) and 11.1 per cent (for copper) of total consumption. 10/
24. Further acceleration in the accumulation of weapons would significantly increase consumption of specific resources for military purposes. That might not have precisely the same effect on global consumption of resources, however, due to the various other consequences of military spending on the general levels of economic activity. Increased military consumption of resources might even reduce demand for some raw materials for civilian purposes, as a result of a reduction in the overall rate of economic growth.

25. The dislocations in international energy markets during the 1970s provoked as much concern about access to energy and raw material supplies as about their scarcity. Under worst case assumptions, major interruptions in the supply of energy or industrial materials could produce significant reductions in the industrial output and GDP of developed countries. However, it is doubtful whether short-run sensitivity to supply interruptions could translate into long-term vulnerability that could not be redressed by changes in policy.

26. In looking for alternative sources of energy and minerals, sea-bed resources have attracted considerable attention. Oceans and seas could provide many renewable energy sources such as tidal energy, wave energy and sea thermal power. The sea, moreover, serves as a significant source of food, particularly proteins.

27. There has been an increasing interest in the economic potentials of the oceans. Much of the impetus has come from coastal States, many of them developing countries, who often find themselves unable to take full advantage of the seas for their own economic benefit. In addition, many States attach great importance to access to sea-bed reserves of minerals, which are known to contain large deposits of polymetallic nodules, including manganese, nickel, cobalt, copper and molybdenum.

28. Historically, the use of oceans has been associated with the maintenance of the freedom of the high seas to ensure unhindered international trade and shipping, and the exploitation of marine resources. The sea is an important medium for the international movement of goods and sea-based trade accounts for more than 80 per cent of international trade by volume. In this context, disarmament could reduce anxieties concerning interruptions in the sea-borne trade, supply of energy and raw materials, and encourage reductions in world-wide naval deployments. Along with diminished naval deployments, this could also alleviate the insecurity of coastal States, allowing them to reallocate scarce resources from military to civilian purposes.

29. In addition to other uses, waterways provide a means of transport for industrialization, irrigation for agriculture, and also a source of hydroelectric power. On a global basis there are 214 waterway basins shared by two or more countries, some two thirds of them developing countries. Under pressures of population growth, and for both agricultural and industrial progress, there is an increased demand for water, not least among the developing countries. Disagreements between States sharing the same waterway have continued to be a source of conflict. Disarmament linked to more effective settlement of regional disputes would make it easier to reach agreements over the use of scarce water resources.
30. Outer space is another area of great interest. Space can be used both for military and civilian purposes. Remote sensing by satellites, for example, has civilian uses for meteorology, mineral and petroleum prospection. It can also be used to monitor many aspects of economic activity, including threats to the environment such as deforestation and desertification; and has potential applications in the broad area of disaster management. 12/

31. Military and civilian space technologies have always been closely interlinked. However, in recent years the balance seems to have shifted toward military applications. Some 75 per cent of the satellites in orbit are estimated to be designated for military uses. 13/ Some, such as the use of satellites for verification purposes, are essential in the context of arms limitations and disarmament while other uses may be seen as potentially increasing the momentum of the arms race. The existing uses of space for civilian purposes seem to lag well behind the potential offered by technological developments.

32. Regarding the natural environment, it is widely believed that the potential effects of a nuclear war, including its climatic effects, would not be confined to the direct combatants, although the bulk of the damage would fall upon them. Conflicts and military preparations in general disturb fragile balances in the natural and man-made environments. 14/ Some military conflicts, in particular, are known to have caused great environmental damage.

33. Although the damage potential of the use of various types of weaponry is enormous, it is not possible to arrive at precise estimates of the environmental harm. A careful analysis of the environmental impact of different categories of weapons prepared on behalf of the United Nations Environment Programme distinguishes three composite stress factors, namely soil damage, destruction of plant cover and biocide. 15/ Various categories of weapons would place stress on ecosystems in one or more of these three ways. The environmental effects of some weapons would be significant in tropical forest regions and in arid areas which lack species diversity and where soils are thin and deficient in nutrient- and water-holding capacity - that is, in a majority of the developing areas. In such regions, nutrient-dumping, erosion and decline in moisture-levels are especially likely to occur, and could spread secondary effects well beyond the original areas of devastation.

34. Military conflicts, apart from other consequences, can also have long-term environmental effects through population movements and changes in patterns of human settlement. About these, however, knowledge is only fragmentary. Mass movements of refugees and displaced persons can for instance intensify demographic pressures on the land and hasten erosion and other environmental damage besides introducing new elements of tensions among the countries affected. The abandonment of irrigated land and other man-made habitats can also lead to long-term deterioration in agriculture and disturb the ecological balance.

IV. THE CHALLENGE OF DEVELOPMENT

35. The need for development has grown into a major factor in the pursuit of international security. Development is an objective of both the developed and the developing countries. The developed countries need to sustain or improve their
economic performance; the developing countries need to attain a better economic performance. The incidence of demand and supply side constraints on developed economies is unevenly spread among different groups of countries. But for the developing countries, by and large, the supply side constraints are more serious.

36. A priority concern of developing countries is to combine the various goals of economic growth into the process of development. In their attempts to attain these goals, the developing countries are facing considerable obstacles: a limited resource base of national economies; competing claims on resources also by the needs to maintain national security and promote development; and an uncertain international economic climate are among some of the issues faced by these countries. Their difficulties seem to have been made more severe by the most recent developments in the international capital and monetary markets. World Bank capital-flows have declined sharply at a time when private flows have been shrinking. International Development Association (IDA) credits have declined from their peak of $3.8 billion in 1980 to $3.0 billion in 1985 without adjustment for inflation. Drawings from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) which stood at special drawing right (SDR) 14.1 billion in 1983, fell sharply to SDR 8.1 billion in 1984, and SDR 4.2 billion in 1985. Commodity prices have fallen to their lowest level in the last 27 years. The aggregate debt of developing countries rose to some $950 billion by 1986.

37. Disarmament is of particular concern not least to the developing countries, which expect that it can improve not only their security but their developmental prospects. It can do so in several respects, amongst which are, first, to the extent that military spending in developed countries may have added to the difficulties in the global economy, measures of disarmament could improve the international economic climate. Secondly, a reallocation of some of the resources released through disarmament in the developed world could provide an additional source for promoting development. Thirdly, disarmament could facilitate development by reducing insecurity, thereby making it easier to control conflict and limit arms accumulations. Finally, reductions in the developing countries' own military spending could increase their domestic resources available for development. However, the scope for such reductions by developing countries is relatively restricted.

38. As already stated, the military burden is unevenly spread among those countries. The bulk of spending has basically been concentrated in the oil exporting and other higher income developing countries. Their relative shares of the total developing countries' military expenditures in 1984 were 44 and 38 per cent respectively, as compared with 18 per cent for all the remaining less developed countries. However, military spending of all developing countries together accounted for some 20 per cent of the world total in 1984.

39. In principle, the argument that military spending is a form of waste or unproductive expenditure may appear compelling in the case of developing countries. Funds used to pay the salaries of soldiers cannot be used for agricultural extension programmes or schools. Scarce foreign exchange diverted to purchase military equipment, cannot be used to import tractors, industrial machinery and medicine. At the same time, evidence of a trade-off between military and social expenditures is fragmentary and based mainly on the experience of one
region. A recent time-series statistical analysis of trade-offs between education and defence spending in a group of 18 developing countries, for example, found that in no less than 6 countries the military and education budgets increased and declined together; in 7 countries there was no significant relation one way or the other; and in only 1 country were military increases associated with education decreases. Clearly the allocation process varies much from country to country.

40. In the developing world, military spending cannot be expected to have precisely the same effects in capital surplus countries, in newly industrializing countries (NICs) and in lower-income economies, where the burden of military spending presses hardest on scarce resources. In addition, the structural adjustment and austerity programmes required of large numbers of developing countries as the price of debt rescheduling and international credit often impose heavy burdens. Such programmes were in effect under IMF stand-by and extended agreements in close to 70 countries during the period 1980-1984. 16/

41. A recent cross-national statistical study of the period 1973-80 17/ has drawn some limited conclusions about the factors which influence the military burden of developing countries in proportion to their GDP and by the share of military budget in total government expenditure. First, the military burdens of countries involved in military conflicts were 1.5 to 2.5 per cent higher and absorbed 6.5 to 7.5 more percentage points of the budget than in other developing countries, after the effect of the other variables had been taken into account. Secondly, among Governments facing situations of internal unrest, the share of military expenditure relative to GDP was some 2 percentage points higher and the military component of the budget was 4 to 4.5 per cent higher than in other cases. Thirdly, the availability of foreign exchange earnings from the international economy was a crucial determinant. Fourthly, military spending tended to be higher in countries depending wholly or mainly on one external supplier of military equipment.

42. Significant variations from region to region are pointed out by other studies. 18/ Each of the determinants of military spending appears to be linked in a complex web of interrelationships and each directly influences the process of development. Military conflicts could sometimes be a consequence of development failures, in a wider sense, and almost always impose heavy economic and human costs on the countries involved in them. Political and strategic ties between major world Powers and developing countries influence the flow of military and non-military aid and other financial transfers, as well as shape development choices. Efforts to increase exports in order to earn the foreign exchange required for military purchases can foreclose more self-reliant development options.

43. In this context, policy options available to the Governments of developing countries appear limited. Although many Governments are aware of the opportunity costs of defence spending, their decisions to increase or reduce military expenditures remain tied to issues of international and regional security. There is indeed need for strengthening regional security and conflict-reduction mechanisms in various developing regions. However, disarmament at the global level would make construction of such regional security arrangements and the reallocation of domestic resources to development easier to bring about. In this last mentioned respect it needs to be stressed that the absence of a major war has not meant that the world, and especially the developing countries, has enjoyed peace.
44. More military conflicts have occurred since the Second World War and more people have been killed in them than in any period in recent history except the two world wars themselves. Depending upon the criteria used to describe the incidence of war, various estimates have been made about the number of people affected by it. According to one estimate, some 120 wars (involving more than 1,000 casualties) have taken place since 1945, bringing with them some 19 million or so deaths, more than 60 per cent of which were civilians. 19/ The 1984 report of the Secretary-General on conventional disarmament indicated that the number of armed conflicts since 1945 has probably risen to over 150 involving over 20 million deaths, almost all of which have occurred in the developing countries. It also suggested that current trends give no reason to believe that there will be a decrease in the incidence and severity of armed conflicts. 20/

45. As can be seen in table 2, the annual numbers of persons being killed in military conflicts in the 1960s and 1970s substantially exceeded those dying from all other major emergencies. Most major emergencies in the developing world affect many more people than those whose deaths they cause directly. So do armed conflicts which at times combine with and aggravate other emergencies. In Africa, for example, countries most seriously affected by drought and famine often overlap with those which have experienced conflict conditions, a pattern also familiar in other parts of the developing world. Although there are many other reasons why famines occur, in societies where millions live near the margin of existence conflicts have frequently provided the critical exogenous shock that dislocates the rural economy, interrupts food chains and spreads hunger in its wake.

46. Armed conflicts aggravate the problems of organizing development in many tangible ways. No adequate estimates exist of the financial costs of wars fought in the developing countries, although studies of individual wars suggest they can be substantial. Military conflicts are certainly a major stimulus to military spending and arms purchases. It appears obvious, therefore, that while development is hardly an easy task in normal circumstances, it becomes indeed impossible to implement long-term development policies in countries and regions which are constantly afflicted by conflict situations.
Table 2. Human costs of war and other emergencies

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<td></td>
<td>1960s</td>
<td>1970s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drought</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flood</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tropical cyclones</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Earthquakes</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total disasters</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deaths in wars</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civilians as percentage of war dead</td>
<td>439</td>
<td>587</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>52</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


V. SOME CONCLUDING REMARKS

47. Disarmament, development and security are interrelated issues. Progress in any of these issues would have positive effects on all of them, whereas lack of progress in any one of these areas has a negative impact on the others.

48. Any major release of resources through disarmament measures would come primarily from the major Powers and other developed countries. Militarily significant States are the major participants in the arms race although many developing countries devote significant proportions of their resources to military purposes. A reallocation of resources away from military purposes could, therefore, be in the interests of both developed and developing countries.

49. As the developed countries continue to account for a major share of global military spending, and because the problems of development are seen to be most urgent among the developing countries, development tends to be viewed as being at the receiving end of a relationship between disarmament and development. Nevertheless, development seen as merely a beneficiary of disarmament does not contribute towards reinforcing the mutual relationship between disarmament and development.
50. Underdevelopment, lack of development or slow development also constitute non-military threats to international security. Resource constraints, along with other problems of sectoral and institutional adjustments within national and international economy, have emerged as an issue of central concern for the developing countries in their efforts to attain economic growth. To the extent that a reallocation of a part of resources released through disarmament measures can provide additional means for development, disarmament could make an important contribution towards development. Conversely, in the sense that it helps to overcome non-military threats to national well-being and security, thus also favouring a more stable and sustainable international system, development may contribute towards a more secure world. The relationship between disarmament and development, therefore, may be seen as a two-way street. Thus, the framework of this relationship should be viewed in terms of global interdependence.

51. The most overriding reason for bringing about disarmament is a commonly shared concern for human survival in the nuclear age. Since security-related concerns are paramount in affecting the prospects for meaningful measures of arms limitation and disarmament, it is imperative that both the military and non-military challenges to national and international security be given appropriate consideration. Problems of meeting the challenge of development have also in this context emerged as a major issue on the international agenda. While the concern for development is worldwide, the consequences of underdevelopment are particularly acute in the developing countries, where more than two thirds of the world's population live. A combination of an economic recession and a continuing arms race narrow the global options for meeting this challenge.

52. Development should not run the risk of becoming a casualty of the arms race, although disarmament by itself cannot directly bring about development. Nor can all the problems of development be entrusted to a release of resources through disarmament measures and a reallocation of a part of such released resources in favour of the developing countries. A reallocation of resources would nevertheless be a valuable disarmament dividend for development. Notwithstanding differences of approach, it is widely felt that the world can either continue to pursue the arms race or achieve and sustain social and economic development for the benefit of all.

Notes

1/ The Relationship Between Disarmament and Development (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.82.IX.1), para. 21.

2/ Economic and Social Consequences of Disarmament (United Nations publication, Sales No. 62.IX.1), para. 166.


4/ Ibid.


/...
Notes (continued)

6/ Economic and Social Consequences of Disarmament (United Nations publication, Sales No. 62.IX.1); Economic and Social Consequences of the Arms Race and of Military Expenditures (United Nations publication Sales No. E.72.IX.16); Disarmament and Development (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.73.IX.1); Economic and Social Consequences of the Arms Race and of Military Expenditures (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.78.IX.1); The Relationship between Disarmament and Development (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.82.IX.1); Economic and Social Consequences of the Arms Race and of Military Expenditures (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.83.IX.2).

7/ The studies are too numerous to be cited in full here. Useful summaries are provided by Fontanel and Smith, "Analyses économiques des dépenses militaires", Stratégique, 3, 1985; and by Goran Lindgren, Armaments and Economic Performance in Industrialised Market Economies, report No. 25 (Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University, 1985).

8/ A/CONF.130/PC/INF/7.


10/ The Relationship between Disarmament and Development (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.82.IX.1), para. 139.


12/ UNDRO, Space Applications for the Acquisition and Dissemination of Disaster-Related Data, Expert Meeting, Geneva, 14-17 June 1983.


17/ A. Maizels and M. K. Nissank, The Determinants of Military Expenditures in Developing Countries (Department of Political Economy, University College of London, discussion paper 85-18, April 1985).
Notes (continued)


20/ Conventional Disarmament (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.85.IX.1), para. 55.