INTRODUCTION

1. Mankind is at present facing the greatest challenge of this century. On the one hand, the resources of the earth and scientific and technical progress offer all prerequisites for the comprehensive development of human civilization, while, on the other hand, the level and speed of the arms race are bound to increase the danger of war. The outbreak of a nuclear war would jeopardize the very existence of all mankind. During the remaining years of this century peoples will be confronted with the task of solving the present and future technological, economic and social problems that will become far more complex if the arms race continues unabated.

2. Under these circumstances it is urgently needed that all States Members of the United Nations live up to the commitment undertaken in the Final Document of the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament that:

"enduring international peace and security cannot be built on the accumulation of weaponry by military alliances nor be sustained by a precarious balance of deterrence or doctrines of strategic superiority. Genuine and lasting peace
can only be created through the effective implementation of the security system provided for in the Charter of the United Nations and the speedy and substantial reduction of arms and armed forces, by international agreement and mutual example, leading ultimately to general and complete disarmament under effective international control." (para. 13)

3. The prevention of nuclear war and concrete measures to stop the arms race on earth and prevent its extension to outer space would promote a return to détente, the establishment of a comprehensive system of international security and co-operation and implementation of the economic development tasks of all nations.

CONSIDERATION OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DISARMAMENT AND DEVELOPMENT IN ALL ITS ASPECTS AND DIMENSIONS WITH A VIEW TO REACHING APPROPRIATE CONCLUSIONS

(agenda item 8)

4. Disarmament and development are priority concerns of the international community in the resolution of which all nations have an equal stake. Disarmament and economic security are the two pillars on which enduring peace can be built.

5. In a world of finite resources there is a close relationship between disarmament and development. Considering the present resource constraints of both developed and developing countries, world military spending is the only area that can afford resources in a range and volume sufficient to meet the developmental challenges of the modern world. Disarmament can assist the process of development not only by making additional resources available, but also by its positive impact on the global economy and the international economic system, particularly by facilitating the changes and adjustments needed to put the global economy on a path of sustained growth and development. It could create the conditions conducive to promoting economic and technological co-operation and pursuing the objective of establishing a new international economic order.

6. In the long run, it will not be possible to achieve and sustain development without proceeding more resolutely along the path of disarmament, for arms race and development are in a competitive relationship, particularly in terms of resources, but also in the vital dimensions of attitudes and perceptions. The world cannot have both: an arms race and comprehensive economic and social development. Therefore, an effective relationship between disarmament and development can and must be established.

7. The existence and perpetuation of underdevelopment and of inequalities and injustices in international economic relations represent a threat to international peace and security. The arms race exacerbates these problems and constitutes a major obstacle to their solution. It places a heavy economic burden on all peoples which, even if less in absolute terms, is particularly damaging to developing countries and hampers efforts to close the gap between developed and developing countries. The continuation of the arms race is evidently inconsistent with the establishment of a new international economic order. In this context, the security problems of States are aggravated, inter alia, by: a widespread reduction in prospects for economic growth and increasing international debts; and impending

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physical constraints in the field of energy, raw materials, environment, growing world population, etc.

8. To ensure international security in the present interdependent world presupposes that the foundations of security in all its aspects - military, political, economic and humanitarian - are strengthened. The establishment of a comprehensive system of international security would provide reliable guarantees for a peaceful and independent development of all States and would make peaceful coexistence the supreme principle in international relations.

9. Achieving a state of reliable and lasting peace and security in the world is the basic aim of the United Nations. The main road to this final goal is disarmament accompanied by other measures conducive to the strengthening of international security. In our century, genuine and equal security can be guaranteed not at an extremely high but rather at an extremely low level of armaments, with nuclear and other types of weapons of mass destruction being completely eliminated. To preserve peace and prevent war, progress in the area of disarmament is the corner-stone of international security.

10. It is necessary to make a start in the process of essential reductions in armaments and armed forces, thus advancing towards comprehensive disarmament. This would strengthen international security by creating conditions that would enable States to take variable steps towards lessening tensions as well as promoting the peaceful settlement of disputes and collective action to prevent war. Disarmament would reduce, and eventually eliminate, the material bases for waging war. It will contribute to an increasingly viable and comprehensive process of détente and improve mutual confidence among parties to relevant agreements. This, in turn, can help to generate collaborative efforts on behalf of the strengthening of international security in other areas.

11. Pursuit of national security, regardless of its impact on global issues, can create general insecurity, thereby endangering the very security it aims to promote. This is particularly the case in the nuclear and space age, even more so in the context of apprehensions expressed over the likely climatic consequences of a military confrontation in the nuclear field. Given the growing interdependence of nations, it is imperative to guarantee their common security on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence and to recognize that security for one State cannot be achieved at the expense of the security of all other States. National, regional and global security as well as economic and social development are endangered, inter alia, by: policies based on the use or threat of use of force in international relations; policies towards achieving military superiority; policies of confrontation and superarmament; claims on "spheres of vital interest" far from a country's national borders; policies leading to the emergence of conflicts between States and to lack of progress in the settlement of conflicts; denial of the inalienable right to self-determination and independence of peoples; policies of apartheid and other forms of racial and ethnic discrimination or domination; policies of pressure against or interference in the internal affairs of other States to prevent or reverse progressive political, economic and social changes; and policies of embargo and boycott.

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12. It is necessary to put into action the potential for strengthening international security inherent in the relationship between disarmament and development. Disarmament should operate as a powerful stimulant for development, providing for it both the necessary political climate and the financial and economic prerequisites. On the other hand, economic and social progress and the safeguarding of economic security of States are an important factor for the improvement of international relations and the strengthening of confidence, which would facilitate the transition to disarmament. Economic co-operation among States must be protected against the adverse impact of international political tensions. The reinforcement of confidence among all States in their economic relations would introduce in those relations desirable elements of stability and reliability. Improvement of international co-operation between all members of the international community would be greatly enhanced by elaboration and adoption of confidence-building measures in international economic relations. Consideration should be given to the elaboration of the founding provisions of an international economic security system, for example, in the form of a code of conduct.

CONSIDERATION OF THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE LEVEL AND MAGNITUDE OF MILITARY EXPENDITURES, IN PARTICULAR THOSE OF 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

(agenda item 9)

13. Global military expenditures are estimated to have reached the staggering figure of $1,000 billion annually. There is likely to be a sharp increase if the new weapons systems, which at present are running through the research and development phase, are actually produced and deployed. The extension of the arms race to outer space would entail a tremendous squandering of resources. As to the trends in global military expenditures, relative shares in global military expenditures and other indicators of the level and magnitude of military spending, attention is drawn to United Nations studies on the relationship between disarmament and development as well as on the economic and social consequences of the arms race and of military expenditures.

14. Military expenditures entail a wasting of resources and have negative consequences for the national economies of all States. They hinder economic growth and delay social and economic development. In many countries they increase inflation and unemployment and exacerbate their critical financial situation.

15. Increased arms spending has adverse consequences for the international economic situation and is tantamount to deteriorating its already somber state:

(a) The arms race and its politico-military implications constitute a severe hindrance to the exchange of commodities, services, capital goods and technology; and it entails a substantial imbalance in international economic, scientific and technological exchanges. This especially concerns military-related embargoes on the exchange of advanced technology;
(b) To the extent that military expenditure is financed by internal and external borrowing, it leads to inflated rates of interest, adds to the debt burdens of developing countries and causes capital outflows from those and developed countries, thus impeding their economic growth and recovery.

(c) Military expenditures are diverting resources which otherwise could be used for increasing aid to developing countries; they consume non-renewable raw materials which mankind needs for peaceful purposes.

In sum, the arms race means a squandering of resources which are urgently needed to address global problems of mankind, e.g., overcoming economic underdevelopment; abolishing famine, poverty, epidemics and illiteracy; meeting mankind's growing needs for energy, raw materials and food resources; protecting the environment; and using the world oceans and outer space for peaceful purposes.

16. The arms race diverts to military purposes not only material but also scientific and human resources which are urgently needed for development in all countries, particularly in the developing countries. The military use of science and technology for the creation of new nuclear-weapons systems, space weapons and the qualitative arms race in general entail serious problems for peaceful development on earth. It absorbs a major part of the research and development potential of States.

17. Diversion of resources for military purposes represents a tremendous opportunity cost for economic activities in the civilian sector. Even with a minor share of these resources, the international community will be able to contribute effectively to social and economic development, in particular that of the developing countries.

18. The opportunity cost of the arms race is becoming increasingly higher with the recent rising trend of resources devoted to military purposes and the declining trend of resources available for development purposes. The opportunity cost is borne by both developed and developing countries, as there is a pressing need for additional resources for development in all countries. In developing countries, 500 million people are undernourished, 800 million are illiterate, 1.5 billion have no access to medical services and an equally large number are unemployed. In developed countries, there are urgent priorities for urban renewal, development of non-conventional sources of energy, protection of the environment, restoration of the transport infrastructure, the improvement of social welfare, and so on.

19. In sum, even if it cannot be conclusively established that military expenditure has played a decisive role in bringing about present conditions, the present unstable and precarious world economic situation cannot be fully explained without taking account of the current levels of global military expenditures. Moreover, the continuing military expenditure is bound to figure prominently in any scheme of reordering global priorities with a view to imparting growth and stability to the world economy.

20. Reductions in military expenditures would make it possible to reallocate the resources released to improving the living conditions of people, and would enable each country to adopt such alternative strategies for the use of these resources as would very much promote accelerated national growth. In the developed countries,
this would facilitate necessary structural changes in the economy and the provision of funds for social programmes. Considering the fact that civil production is, to a much greater extent, labour- and material-intensive than military production, conversion would increase employment rates and the demand for raw materials. Reductions in military budgets would promote the recovery of the financial situation in many countries, including the reduction of inflation. In the developing countries, it would make it possible to provide a broader range of goods and technologies required for development, to increase exports and to make essential headway in the settlement of the debt problem and solve the overriding problem: to close the gap between the developed and the developing countries. Under the condition of disarmament, present global problems would be solved successfully and human progress would receive a powerful accelerating impulse.

CONSIDERATION OF WAYS AND MEANS OF RELEASING ADDITIONAL RESOURCES, THROUGH DISARMAMENT MEASURES, FOR DEVELOPMENT PURPOSES, IN PARTICULAR FOR THE BENEFIT OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

(agenda item 10)

21. Any disarmament measure will promote security and improve the environment for pursuing development:

(a) At the national level by means of reallocating resources from the military to the civilian sector;

(b) At the international level by creating favourable conditions for restructuring international economic relations on a democratic basis, by broadening international scientific, technological and economic co-operation and by providing a part of the resources released to developing countries, both on a bilateral and multilateral basis.

22. However, any resources released through disarmament measures would not be automatically available for development purposes unless a conscious decision is taken to establish a disarmament-development link in a concrete way.

23. It will be in the interest of all States to give practical expression to the relationship between disarmament and development and to reaffirm the consensus reached at the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament that "resources released as a result of the implementation of disarmament measures should be devoted to the economic and social development of all nations and contribute to the bridging of the economic gap between developed and developing countries". (para. 35)

24. It was also agreed at the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament that the "resources released as a result of the implementation of disarmament measures should be used in a manner which will help to promote the well-being of all peoples and to improve the economic conditions of the developing countries". (para. 16) Thereby, that part of the resources released by disarmament measures which would be allocated to developing countries should be additional to the resources which would otherwise be made available for assistance to them.

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25. Resources could be released by far-reaching measures, such as the following:

(a) Implementation of a phased programme for the complete and world-wide elimination of nuclear and other types of weapons of mass destruction until the year 2000;

(b) Reduction of the armaments potentials of all States up to a reasonably sufficient level;

(c) Proportional and adequate reduction of military budgets.

Already initial steps in those directions could not only release resources but also exercise a positive influence on the international situation and promote the achievement of further disarmament measures.

26. The cessation of the qualitative arms race, e.g., preventing the creation of new weapons systems, would open up new possibilities for the peaceful uses of science and technology, i.e.:

(a) The prevention of an arms race in outer space would boost international co-operation in its peaceful exploration, with due regard for the needs of developing countries, e.g., in fields such as biology, medicine, materials science, weather forecasting, study of climate and the natural environment, global satellite communications systems, remote sensing of the earth, assistance in searching for and rescuing victims of sea and air disasters;

(b) Parts of the financial, material and technological resources released by the cessation of all nuclear-weapon tests and the reduction of nuclear weapons could be used to extend the application of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, inter alia, in developing countries.

27. Agreements on arms limitation and disarmament should be accompanied by reports of treaty parties on national savings and on portions therefrom which they would allocate for the support of developing countries.

28. In a disarmament situation, conversion is possible. It should be planned in advance. There could be problems in conversion in the short run, but in the long run, they can be tackled. The following steps could be taken:

(a) National conversion studies;

(b) International exchange of views and experience in the field of conversion;

(c) Organs and specialized agencies within the United Nations system should draw up studies on how they can support conversion activities in their respective fields.

29. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America should live up to their special responsibility for the maintenance of peace and achievement of disarmament by:

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(a) Redoubling their efforts to work out effective agreements aimed at preventing an arms race in space and terminating it on earth, at limiting and reducing nuclear arms and at strengthening strategic stability;

(b) Mutually renouncing the development, testing and deployment of space strike weapons;

(c) Quickly achieving a joint moratorium on all nuclear explosions;

(d) Starting the reduction of their nuclear weapons in the framework of a phased programme for the complete elimination of nuclear weapons;

(e) Facilitating the conclusion of a convention on the complete prohibition of chemical weapons;

(f) Corresponding reductions in conventional armaments and armed forces.

30. All nuclear-weapon States should:

(a) Achieve agreement on a nuclear disarmament programme;

(b) Conclude as soon as possible a treaty on the complete and general prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests;

(c) Proceed, together with their allies, to the reduction of conventional armaments, armed forces and military budgets.

31. All States should contribute to intensifying the disarmament negotiations on all levels and should refrain from actions which could have a negative impact on the negotiations or obstruct the conclusion of agreements.

32. Guidelines for the use of part of the resources released by the reduction of military budgets for the benefit of the world community, especially the developing countries, should be elaborated.

33. All States should take part in efforts:

(a) To eliminate all forms of discrimination in international relations, and, especially, to oppose policies of economic blockade and illegal sanctions which are inconsistent with the Charter of the United Nations and with recommendations of the world community;

(b) To search jointly for ways to solve the problem of foreign debts on an equitable basis, inter alia, in the context of the relationship between disarmament and development; consideration should be given to the establishment of an international debt and development research centre;

(c) To create a new world economic order ensuring equal economic security for all States;
(d) To promote the exploration and peaceful uses of outer space, as well as the resolution of global problems on which the future of civilization depends;

(e) To establish new, more effective forms of international co-operation in the field of environment and to promote the acceptance as a universal principle of the unrestricted flow of experience, licences and know-how relating to the protection of the natural environment.

34. The convening of a world congress on problems of economic security where all questions affecting world economic relations could be discussed in an integrated approach should be considered.

35. The United Nations, its organs and specialized agencies should intensify the study on the relationship between disarmament and development in order to promote disarmament negotiations and conversion efforts, as well as to mobilize world public opinion against the arms race and in favour of disarmament.

36. United Nations information activities should highlight the following:

(a) The dangers of nuclear war;

(b) The negative economic and social consequences of the arms race;

(c) The benefits of disarmament for social and economic development and for the resolution of global problems affecting mankind.

37. The organs and specialized agencies within the United Nations system should draw up studies on how they could assist in the resolution of global problems confronting mankind by employing additional resources released by disarmament.

38. The organs and specialized agencies within the United Nations system could take further concrete actions, e.g.:

(a) The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD): consideration of trade and economic aspects of disarmament by the Trade and Development Board;

(b) The United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP): further analysis of the impact of military activities on the environment, etc.

Notes