



Seventeenth session  
Agenda items 33 and 94

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF DISARMAMENT

ECONOMIC PROGRAMME FOR DISARMAMENT

Report of the Second Committee

Rapporteur: Miss Gay SELLERS (Canada)

1. The General Assembly, at its 1129th plenary meeting on 24 September 1962, allocated to the Second Committee agenda item 33 entitled "Economic and social consequences of disarmament"; and, at its 1135th plenary meeting on 27 September 1962, agenda item 94 entitled "Economic programme for disarmament".
2. At its 797th meeting, the Committee decided to take up these two items jointly, beginning their consideration on 15 November 1962. The Committee had before it under these items the following documents: a note by the Secretary-General on the economic and social consequences of disarmament (A/5199); a report submitted by the Secretary-General transmitting the study of the consultative group (E/3593/Rev.1); information furnished by Governments and communications from international organizations (E/3593/Add.1-5); and chapter II of the report of the Economic and Social Council.<sup>1/</sup>
3. The Committee received the following proposals under this item:
  - (I) a draft declaration submitted by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (A/C.2/L.646) entitled "Declaration concerning the conversion to peaceful needs of the resources released by disarmament";

<sup>1/</sup> Official Records of the General Assembly, Seventeenth Session, Supplement No. 3 (A/5203).

- (II) a draft resolution submitted by the Central African Republic, Colombia, the Federation of Malaya, Madagascar, Mauritania, Turkey, the United States of America and Venezuela entitled "Economic and social consequences of disarmament" (A/C.2/L.647 and Add.1);
- (III) a draft text submitted by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America (A/C.2/L.702 and Rev.1) entitled "Declaration on the conversion to peaceful needs of the resources released by disarmament".

4. The draft declaration by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (A/C.2/L.646), which was introduced by its sponsor at the 840th meeting, read as follows:

Declaration concerning the conversion to peaceful needs of the resources released by disarmament

"Three years ago the United Nations General Assembly, on the initiative of the Soviet Union, adopted a resolution on general and complete disarmament. The Eighteen-Nation Committee established by the United Nations, meeting at Geneva, discussed a draft treaty on general and complete disarmament. Although the majority of States represented on the Committee were in favour of concluding the treaty, no positive results were obtained.

"Meanwhile, the arms race continues. The military budgets of States are increasing. Nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction are being stockpiled and perfected. The peoples are confronted with a choice: either general and complete disarmament and inviolable peace, or the intensification of the arms race and the drift of the world towards a disastrous thermo-nuclear war.

"There is still time to avert the danger overhanging the world. The world's peoples can and must counter the plans for intensifying the arms race, and for waging aggressive war, with their own plan for general and complete disarmament, their own programme for friendship and peaceful economic co-operation.

"The General Assembly, guided by its earlier resolution in favour of general and complete disarmament, deems it essential to make the present Declaration in order, at this time, to draw the attention of the States and peoples of the entire world to the economic aspects of disarmament.

"General and complete disarmament would free States and peoples from the heavy burden of military expenditure, and would make available an additional sum of about \$120,000 million a year wherewith to meet mankind's urgent needs - a sum which is now spent for military purposes. Within twenty-five years, States would have realized from disarmament a total saving of \$3,000 million. That sum is approximately equal to the total value of the wealth created up to the present time by human labour throughout the world.

"It would be possible not only to divert the enormous sums now being absorbed by all kinds of weapons, ammunition and strategic stockpiles to the requirements of a peace economy and the improvement of the peoples' living conditions, but also to release from service in armies and employment in war industries tens of millions of people whose knowledge and labour could be used for peace.

"The General Assembly, in accordance with the conclusions of the United Nations group of experts which studied the economic aspects of disarmament, recognizes that the diversion to peaceful purposes of the resources now used by States for military ends could be accomplished to the benefit of all countries without any adverse effect upon their national economies, and that all problems of transition connected with the realization of general and complete disarmament could be solved by appropriate national and international measures.

"Disarmament alone would not, of course, solve all the problems confronting States and peoples. It would, however, unquestionably have a beneficial effect on the economy in all countries and help to increase the well-being of all peoples. Not a single country would lack opportunities for the peaceful use of the resources which would be made available as a result of general and complete disarmament.

"In the industrially developed countries of the West - the United States of America, the United Kingdom, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy etc. - the peoples everywhere have pressing needs which the arms race is largely preventing them from satisfying.

"Considerable resources would be required in these countries - and general and complete disarmament would make them available - for the construction of housing and communal facilities, the reduction of taxes levied on the population, the introduction of free education, medical care, care of the aged, maternal and child welfare and the satisfaction of the people's other economic and social needs. The conversion of resources to peaceful purposes, and the growth of production in civilian branches of the economy, would increase the demand for manpower, and this would fully compensate for the decline in employment resulting from discontinuance of the production of armaments.

"The Socialist countries, in their plans for stimulating economic and cultural development and for improving the well-being of the people, are providing for economic and cultural construction at a rapid pace. If general and complete disarmament were realized they could devote additional resources, which they are now obliged to spend on defence, to peaceful creative purposes - to the establishment of new industrial zones, the further improvement of agriculture and the development of science and technology. Disarmament would enable the socialist countries to increase the output of products of mass consumption and to supply the public more rapidly with an abundance of foodstuffs, clothing and other material goods.

"Disarmament would be of enormous benefit to the economically under-developed countries in their efforts to accomplish the formidable tasks associated with their national rebirth.

"The help now being extended to the under-developed countries is not commensurate with their existing needs. If they are to throw off the shackles of backwardness, hunger and want, enormous resources are required. These resources can be secured through general and complete disarmament.

"If, for example, one fifth of the resources spent for military purposes by States belonging to military-political groups was used to promote the economic development of the under-developed countries, it would make available \$20,000 million a year for that purpose, or \$500,000 million in twenty-five years. According to existing estimates, the use of that sum, in conjunction with their domestic efforts and resources, would suffice to enable all the economically under-developed countries of the world to overcome their economic backwardness and closely to approach the current level of industrial output in such developed countries as the United Kingdom and France within the lifetime of the present generation - that is, within the next twenty to twenty-five years.

"With these resources it would be possible to set up from thirty to forty new power-based industrial centres, of world significance, in the under-developed countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. To do so it would be necessary to harness and make extensive use of the rich resources of those countries in water power, petroleum, gas, ferrous and non-ferrous metal ores and other natural wealth. Industrial development would make it possible to exploit the surrounding agricultural areas on a modern technical basis. Many such projects exist. It is for the States concerned to decide which of them are essential, and in what order of priority. It is possible forthwith, however, to envisage the general outline of a programme of measures aimed at transforming the aspect of entire continents.

"In South-East Asia, where nearly a fourth of the world's population lives, projects exist for the comprehensive exploitation of the great rivers of that region - the Ganges, the Brahmaputra, the Indus, the Irrawaddy and the Mekong - and for the utilization of its varied natural resources. These projects will make possible, in the most fertile and densely populated areas of India, Pakistan, Burma, Thailand, Laos, Cambodia and Viet-Nam, the erection of hydroelectric power stations with a total capacity of several tens of millions of kilowatts, the establishment of large industrial complexes serving various purposes, and the construction of great irrigation systems to water many millions of hectares. Similarly, the realization of the economic development projects of Indonesia, Malaya, Ceylon and the Philippines would result in a fundamental improvement in the economy of these countries.

"In the region of the Near and Middle East the exploitation, on behalf of the inhabitants of Iran, Iraq, Turkey, Syria, Afghanistan and the Arabian peninsula, of the petroleum, gas and other natural resources of this area would make it possible to establish gigantic chemical combines for the production of many valuable items such as fertilizers, synthetic fibres, construction materials, medicaments, and raw materials which are useful for technical purposes, as well as other industrial undertakings.

"In Africa, existing plans and projects open up the possibility of establishing a number of great power-based industrial complexes of world significance.

"In the great Nile basin, a number of large-scale power stations could be built in the Sudan, Ethiopia, Uganda and Kenya, in addition to the Aswan power station now under construction in the UAR. This would make it possible to irrigate more land so that it could be used for the cultivation of cotton, rice and other valuable crops, and to construct a number of oil refineries and chemical, mechanical engineering, textile and food factories and workshops.

"Another large power and industrial complex of world significance could be built in North Africa on the basis of the petroleum and gas of the Sahara.

"A third important centre would be the area of the Volta, Niger and Konkoure rivers in West Africa. Their great water-power resources could be used to accelerate the development of industry and agriculture, and to expand the communications network - at present very limited - which will be required for the economic development of Ghana, Guinea, Togo, Nigeria, Cameroon, Mali and other countries.

"A fourth powerful industrial complex could be established on the basis of the immense power potential of that great African river, the Congo, and of the richest geological treasure-house on earth - the area covered by Katanga and Northern Rhodesia.

"General and complete disarmament would make it possible for the countries of Latin America to put an end to the restrictive single-crop system and to diversify their economies.

"According to existing estimates and plans, it would be possible to build great hydrotechnical complexes with a total hydroelectric capacity of several million kilowatts on the rivers of Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, Venezuela and Colombia. On the basis of the water power and other natural resources of the countries of that continent, a number of oil refineries and metallurgical, mechanical engineering and other undertakings could be established.

"These projects are not idle fancies, but realistic estimates. They have been worked out by eminent scientists on the basis of the most recent achievements of science and technology. Their realization would radically change the economic and cultural situation of the still under-developed areas of the world in a very short time. In those areas new centres of culture would be formed, educational establishments and scientific and research institutes would be built, and each country would have its own national cadres of engineers, technicians, skilled workers, economists, agronomists, land-reclamation specialists, physicians and teachers.

"Disarmament and the conversion of immense resources to peaceful needs would give ample scope for the development of peaceful co-operation between States, on a basis of equality and in the interests of all concerned. The expansion of international trade and mutual assistance would redound to the benefit of all countries, great and small, economically developed and under-developed; would ensure the growth of production; and would provide employment for additional millions of people.

"The General Assembly,

"Taking into account the foregoing declaration concerning the conversion to peaceful needs of the resources released by disarmament and guided by the lofty ideals of peace and peaceful coexistence,

"1. Solemnly addressed to the Governments of all States the present appeal that they redouble their efforts to achieve general and complete disarmament as speedily as possible;

"2. Calls upon all States to work for the accomplishment of the purposes set forth in this Declaration;

"3. Requests the Acting Secretary-General, without waiting for the conclusion of a treaty on general and complete disarmament, to hold with the Governments of the economically under-developed countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America consultations, which are even now imperative, concerning the formulation of an international programme of assistance to those countries in overcoming their economic backwardness with the aid of a part of the resources released by general and complete disarmament, and to submit that programme for consideration by the General Assembly of the United Nations at its eighteenth regular session;

"4. Expresses firm confidence in the triumph of the principles of reason and justice and in the final establishment, throughout the world, of conditions in which wars shall be for ever excluded from the life of human society and in which the arms race, now consuming enormous resources created by many generations of human beings, will be replaced by broad and fruitful co-operation between the peoples for a better life on earth."

5. The draft resolution submitted by the Central African Republic, Colombia, the Federation of Malaya, Madagascar, Mauritania, Turkey, the United States of America and Venezuela (A/C.2/L.647 and Add.1), which was also introduced at the 840th meeting, read as follows:

Economic and social consequences of disarmament

"The General Assembly,

"Recalling its resolutions 1378 (XIV) and 1516 (XV),

"Conscious of the enormous importance of an agreement on disarmament for the attainment of accelerated economic and social progress, in particular in the developing countries,

"Recognizing that all problems of transition connected with disarmament can be met by appropriate national and international measures, that diversion to peaceful purposes of the resources now in military use can be accomplished to the benefit of all countries and lead to the improvement of world economic and social conditions, and that disarmament can be accomplished in all countries, not only without impairing their economies but with great advantage to the real welfare of their people,

"1. Expresses its appreciation for the report of the Secretary-General, transmitting the study on the economic and social consequences of disarmament presented by a group of expert consultants, pursuant to General Assembly resolution 1516 (XV);

"2. Endorses the unanimous conclusion of the consultative group that the achievement of complete and general disarmament under international control would be an unqualified blessing for all mankind;

"3. Concurs in the request of the Economic and Social Council (resolution 891 (XXXIV), paragraph 6) that Member States - particularly those which are significantly involved in, or affected by, current military programmes - should devote further attention to, and conduct any necessary studies of, the detailed aspects of the economic and social consequences of disarmament with a view to developing needed information, plans and policies for making necessary economic and social adjustments in the event of disarmament and in the successive stages towards achievement of complete disarmament;

"4. Requests the Secretary-General to make available to the General Assembly at its eighteenth session the report prepared for the Council pursuant to its resolution 891 (XXXIV);

"5. Affirms that, pending an agreement on complete and general disarmament under effective international control, Member States should not relax their efforts to assist the developing countries but should rather accelerate such efforts."

6. The Committee considered items 33 and 94 at its 840th, 841st, 843rd-845th, 847th-853rd, 862nd and 863rd meetings.

7. At the 843rd meeting, the Committee received an amendment by Nigeria and Pakistan (A/C.2/L.680) to the eight-Power draft resolution (A/C.2/L.647 and Add.1), proposing the insertion of the following new paragraph between the first and second preambular paragraphs:

"Recalling further its resolution 1710 (XVI) on the United Nations Development Decade, which calls for proposals relating, inter alia, to the utilization of resources released by disarmament for the purpose of economic and social development, in particular of the under-developed countries,".

8. At the 847th meeting, this amendment was accepted by the sponsors of the eight-Power draft resolution.

9. At the 862nd meeting, the Committee received a revised draft text proposed by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America (A/C.2/L.702/Rev.1) entitled "Declaration on the conversion to peaceful needs of resources released by disarmament" which reads as follows:

Declaration on the conversion to peaceful needs of  
the resources released by disarmament

"The General Assembly,

"Inspired by the ardent desire for peace and by the lofty aims of the United Nations Charter and recalling its resolutions 1378 (XIV) and 1516 (XV),

"Noting that the arms race is continuing all over the world; that military expenditures of States are enormous; that conventional, nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction are accumulating and being developed; and that as a result an agreement on general and complete disarmament under effective international control is urgent,

"Convinced that there is still time to stave off the deadly danger looming over the world and to achieve the implementation of general and complete disarmament under effective international control,

"Recalling that the report by the group of experts on the economic and social consequences of disarmament (E/3593/Rev.1) estimates that the world is spending roughly \$120 billion on military account at the present time, a sum at least two-thirds of - and according to some estimates, of the same order of magnitude as - the entire national income of all the under-developed countries,



"Realizing the enormous importance which an agreement on disarmament would bear for the attainment of accelerated economic and social progress for the benefit of mankind,

"Recognizing that all problems of transition connected with disarmament can be met by appropriate national and international measures, that diversion to peaceful uses of the resources now in military use can be accomplished in a manner which will benefit all countries and will lead to the improvement of economic and social conditions throughout the world, and that disarmament can be accomplished in all countries not only without impairing their economies but with great advantages to the real welfare of their people,

"Recalling its resolution 1710 (XVI) on the United Nations Development Decade, which calls for proposals relating, inter alia, to the utilization of resources released by disarmament for the purpose of economic and social development, in particular of the under-developed countries,

"Believing that the release of a portion of the savings following an agreement on disarmament for aid to the economic growth of the less developed countries, together with their own intensified internal efforts and domestic savings, would enable countless millions of people in the less developed countries to improve substantially within a generation their present level of living standards through, inter alia, the development of new centres of energy and industrial activity,

"Convinced that disarmament and the conversion of huge resources to peaceful uses would open up vast opportunities for the development of peaceful co-operation and trade among States on the basis of equality and mutual benefit, that the expansion of international economic exchange and mutual assistance would be beneficial to all countries, big and small, economically less developed and highly-developed, would ensure the growth of production and provide new jobs for millions of people,

"1. Solemnly urges the Governments of all States to multiply their efforts for a prompt achievement of general and complete disarmament under effective international control;

"2. Declares that it firmly believes in the triumph of the principles of reason and justice, in the establishment of such conditions in the world that would for ever banish wars from the life of human society, and replace the arms race which consumes enormous resources of funds, by broad and fruitful co-operation among nations in bettering life on earth;

"3. Takes into account the important role of the United Nations in organizing international aid to the less developed countries and the studies of economic and social consequences of disarmament;

"4. Expresses its appreciation of the report of the Secretary-General transmitting the study on economic and social consequences of disarmament presented by a group of expert consultants, pursuant to General Assembly resolution 1516 (XV);

"5. Endorses the unanimous conclusion of the consultative group that the implementation of general and complete disarmament under international control will be an unqualified blessing for all mankind;

"6. Concurs in resolution 891 (XXXIV) of the Economic and Social Council and endorses the request in paragraph 6 thereof that Member States - particularly those which are significantly involved in, or affected by, current military programmes - should devote further attention to, and conduct any necessary studies of, the detailed aspects of the economic and social consequences of disarmament, with a view to developing needed information, plans and policies for making necessary economic and social adjustments in the event of disarmament and in the successive stages towards achievement of complete disarmament, bearing in mind the imperative needs of the developing countries;

"7. Requests the Secretary-General to make available to the General Assembly at its eighteenth session the report prepared for the session of the Economic and Social Council pursuant to its resolution 891 (XXXIV);

"8. Invites the Secretary-General and the Governments of developing countries to intensify their efforts to establish and implement soundly conceived projects and well-integrated development plans of national and regional character, as indicated in General Assembly resolution 1708 (XVI), the implementation of which may be accelerated as part of an economic programme for disarmament at such time as additional resources are released following an agreement on complete and general disarmament under effective international control, and requests the Secretary-General to present his preliminary report on this matter to the General Assembly at a forthcoming session, if possible at the eighteenth session;

"9. Affirms that, pending an agreement on general and complete disarmament under effective international control, Member States should not relax their efforts to assist the developing countries but should rather accelerate such efforts.

10. The draft text was introduced by its sponsors. The representative of Venezuela withdrew the eight-Power draft resolution on behalf of the sponsors (A/C.2/L.647 and Add.1) and the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics withdrew the draft declaration submitted by his delegation (A/C.2/L.646).

11. The sponsors of the revised draft text (A/C.2/L.702/Rev.1) further revised their text as follows:

(a) In the fourth preambular paragraph, the word "annually" was inserted after the words "is spending roughly \$120 billion" and the words "the entire national income" were replaced by the words "The entire annual national income";

(b) In operative paragraph 5, the words "consultative group" were replaced by the words "group of expert consultants" and the words "under international control" were deleted.

12. The Committee then approved unanimously the revised draft text (A/C.2/L.702/Rev.1) as further revised by its sponsors.

Recommendation of the Second Committee

13. The Committee, therefore, recommends to the General Assembly the adoption of the following draft text:

Declaration on the conversion to peaceful needs of  
the resources released by disarmament

The General Assembly,

Inspired by the ardent desire for peace and by the lofty aims of the United Nations Charter and recalling its resolutions 1378 (XIV) and 1516 (XV),

Noting that the arms race is continuing all over the world; that military expenditures of States are enormous; that conventional, nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction are accumulating and being developed; and that as a result an agreement on general and complete disarmament under effective international control is urgent,

Convinced that there is still time to stave off the deadly danger looming over the world and to achieve the implementation of general and complete disarmament under effective international control,

Recalling that the report by the group of experts on the economic and social consequences of disarmament (E/3593/Rev.1) estimates that the world is spending roughly \$120 billion annually on military account at the present time, a sum at least two-thirds of - and according to some estimates, of the same order of magnitude as - the entire annual national income of all the under-developed countries,

Realizing the enormous importance which an agreement on disarmament would bear for the attainment of accelerated economic and social progress for the benefit of mankind,

Recognizing that all problems of transition connected with disarmament can be met by appropriate national and international measures, that diversion to peaceful uses of the resources now in military use can be accomplished in a manner which will benefit all countries and will lead to the improvement of economic and social conditions throughout the world, and that disarmament can be accomplished in all countries not only without impairing their economies but with great advantages to the real welfare of their people,

Recalling its resolution 1710 (XVI) on the United Nations Development Decade, which calls for proposals relating, inter alia, to the utilization of resources released by disarmament for the purpose of economic and social development, in particular of the under-developed countries,

Believing that the release of a portion of the savings following an agreement on disarmament for aid to the economic growth of the less developed countries, together with their own intensified internal efforts and domestic savings, would enable countless millions of people in the less developed countries to improve substantially within a generation their present level of living standards through, inter alia, the development of new centres of energy and industrial activity,

Convinced that disarmament and the conversion of huge resources to peaceful uses would open up vast opportunities for the development of peaceful co-operation and trade among States on the basis of equality and mutual benefit, that the expansion of international economic exchange and mutual assistance would be beneficial to all countries, big and small, economically less-developed and highly-developed, would ensure the growth of production and provide new jobs for millions of people,

1. Solemnly urges the Governments of all States to multiply their efforts for a prompt achievement of general and complete disarmament under effective international control;

2. Declares that it firmly believes in the triumph of the principles of reason and justice, in the establishment of such conditions in the world that would for ever banish wars from the life of human society, and replace the arms race which consumes enormous resources of funds, by broad and fruitful co-operation among nations in bettering life on earth;

3. Takes into account the important role of the United Nations in organizing international aid to the less developed countries and the studies of economic and social consequences of disarmament;

4. Expresses its appreciation for the report of the Secretary-General transmitting the study on economic and social consequences of disarmament presented by a group of expert consultants, pursuant to General Assembly resolution 1516 (XV);

5. Endorses the unanimous conclusion of the group of expert consultants that the implementation of general and complete disarmament will be an unqualified blessing for all mankind;

6. Concurs in resolution 891 (XXXIV) of the Economic and Social Council and endorses the request in paragraph 6 thereof that Member States - particularly those which are significantly involved in, or affected by, current military programmes - should devote further attention to, and conduct any necessary studies of, the detailed aspects of the economic and social consequences of disarmament, with a view to developing needed information, plans and policies for making necessary economic and social adjustments in the event of disarmament and in the successive stages towards achievement of complete disarmament, bearing in mind the imperative needs of the developing countries;

7. Requests the Secretary-General to make available to the General Assembly at its eighteenth session the report prepared for the session of the Economic and Social Council pursuant to its resolution 891 (XXXIV);

8. Invites the Secretary-General and the Governments of developing countries to intensify their efforts to establish and implement soundly conceived projects and well-integrated development plans of national and regional character, as indicated in General Assembly resolution 1708 (XVI), the implementation of which may be accelerated as part of an economic programme for disarmament at such time as additional resources are released following an agreement on complete and general disarmament under effective international control, and requests the Secretary-General to present his preliminary report on this matter to the General Assembly at a forthcoming session, if possible at the eighteenth session;

9. Affirms that, pending an agreement on general and complete disarmament under effective international control, Member States should not relax their efforts to assist the developing countries but should rather accelerate such efforts.