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CONTENTS

	Page
<i>Agenda items 33 and 94:</i>	
<i>Economic and social consequences of disarmament: report of the Secretary-General transmitting the study of the group of expert consultants appointed under General Assembly resolution 1516 (XV) (continued)</i>	415
<i>Economic programme for disarmament (continued)</i>	
<i>Agenda item 35:</i>	
<i>Economic development of under-developed countries (continued):</i>	
<i>(e) Land reform: report of the Secretary-General</i>	
<i>Consideration of the draft resolution of Bolivia.</i>	418
<i>Organization of the Committee's work.</i>	419

Chairman: Mr. Bohdan LEWANDOWSKI
(Poland).

AGENDA ITEMS 33 AND 94

Economic and social consequences of disarmament: report of the Secretary-General transmitting the study of the group of expert consultants appointed under General Assembly resolution 1516 (XV) (A/5199; A/5203, chap. II; A/C.2/L.702/Rev.1; E/3593/Rev.1, E/3593/Add.1-5) (continued)*

Economic programme for disarmament (A/C.2/L.702/Rev.1) (continued)*

1. Mr. CHOCRON (Venezuela) announced that the sponsors of the joint draft resolution (A/C.2/L.647 and Add.1) had withdrawn their text. It was their view that the new joint text (A/C.2/L.702/Rev.1), which they supported, should be sponsored only by the two Powers most concerned in the problem of disarmament. It was to be hoped that the new text would be supported unanimously; if the sum mentioned in the fourth preambular paragraph was spent for peaceful purposes, many of the items on the Committee's agenda would cease to be problems for the developing countries.

2. Mr. ALLOTT (United States of America) said that, in compliance with the suggestion that the sponsors of draft resolutions A/C.2/L.646 and A/C.2/L.647 and Add.1 should combine the two proposals, the United States and the Soviet Union had engaged in detailed negotiations with the participation, in the final stages, of the delegations of the Central African Republic, Colombia, the Federation of Malaya, Mauritania,

Turkey and Venezuela. All those delegations had come to complete agreement on the text of draft resolution A/C.2/L.702/Rev.1 and therefore withdrew their previous proposals.

3. The preamble of the new draft merely reiterated sentiments that had been expressed in many previous resolutions of the General Assembly and in the study of the Consultative Group of experts on the economic and social consequences of disarmament (E/3593/Rev.1). The seventh preambular paragraph had been initially submitted by Nigeria and Pakistan as an amendment (A/C.2/L.680) to the joint draft resolution and accepted by the sponsors. Eight of the nine paragraphs of the operative part had appeared in one or the other of the two previous texts. The original text of paragraph 6 had been slightly amended to take account of suggestions made by Pakistan and Tunisia. The first practical step that must be taken was obviously to endorse the request made by the Economic and Social Council in its resolution 891 (XXXIV). His delegation had previously reported on the measures which his Government had already taken in that respect (840th meeting). Lofty sentiments were inspiring but meant little unless practical action was taken to plan for the economic and social adjustments that would have to be made in the event of disarmament.

4. With regard to the only new paragraph of the text, operative paragraph 8, the sponsors assumed that the highest priority would be given to the action called for therein at such time as an agreement on disarmament was reached. In that connexion, he emphasized that the action requested in that paragraph would not require any country to make a series of development plans based on guesses about future resources, as it was clearly illogical to attempt such planning without more precise information. What the paragraph did request was that Governments, assisted at their request by the Secretary-General, should establish and implement soundly conceived projects and well-integrated national and regional development plans, as General Assembly resolution 1708 (XVI) had requested. If the plans were sound and if an order of priority was assigned to them, it would not be difficult to assign a higher priority to certain projects at such time as additional resources may be released as a result of an agreement on general and complete disarmament under effective international control. Such plans would be needed with or without disarmament.

5. With regard to the title of the new text, his delegation would have preferred to call the document a draft resolution, but it had deferred to the wishes of one of the other parties, which had expressed a preference for the term "declaration" on the ground that it was more appealing, more hortatory and less binding.

6. His delegation believed that the adoption of the new text, although an action in which the General Assembly

*Resumed from the 853rd meeting.

could take pride, would have little or no importance unless real progress was made in the negotiations for an agreement on disarmament under effective international control. It had long before been generally acknowledged that there were no economic reasons for large defence expenditures, that disarmament would be of great benefit to peoples everywhere, and that no economy, whether based on free enterprise or centrally planned, had anything to fear from effectively controlled disarmament. What was now needed was action to make disarmament possible, for no country spent more on defence than was required for its security and independence. To translate the new text into reality, therefore, an agreement would have to be reached which would assure all parties that they could live in peace, without fear and with full guarantees that the agreement would not be violated.

7. Mr. ARKADYEV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that the discussion in the Committee had shown the importance of the item under consideration. Scientific and other progress had recently been considerably accelerated; unfortunately, the fruits of that progress had been transformed into means for the destruction of mankind. The task of freeing mankind from the threat of destruction and raising standards of living in the world was a noble one in which all States were interdependent and should pool their efforts. The existence of the United Nations would be justified if it could become a powerful and collective instrument for solving the fundamental problems facing mankind, which included the achievement of peace and disarmament. All peoples should oppose the designs of those who derived profits from armaments and should strive to ensure that the resources expended on armaments were converted to promote the well-being of mankind.

8. The importance of the economic aspect of disarmament was illustrated in the study by the Consultative Group of experts. The study was a good beginning and a more thorough analysis should be made of the subject. The specific aspects of disarmament should be considered and the United Nations and the less developed countries should prepare for the economic consequences of disarmament. It would be useful for the Secretariat to discuss with the Governments of the less developed countries what use could be made of the resources released. In that connexion, national, regional and continental projections could help in planning the future use of resources. All Governments should devote attention to that matter, in which the regional economic commissions and the specialized agencies could provide information in their respective fields.

9. He appealed to all members of the Committee to support the text proposed by the Soviet Union and the United States, which served the interests of all mankind. The unanimous adoption of the text would underline the Organization's noble aim of mobilizing world public opinion and efforts to achieve disarmament.

10. Mr. NAMSRAI (Mongolia) said that the items under consideration were of vital interest to all peoples and involved important aspects of international relations. All peoples wanted freedom from the burden of military expenditure and better social and economic conditions. The original Soviet Union proposal (A/C.2/L.646) was scientific and realistic and its aim was the speediest provision of the most generous possible aid to the economically under-developed countries. The proposals in document A/C.2/L.647 and Add.1 also contained points worthy of attention. His delegation wel-

comed the joint text in document A/C.2/L.702/Rev.1, the adoption of which would be of great significance for the developing countries.

11. Political independence was not an end in itself but a means of overcoming the disastrous economic and social consequences of the colonial régime. In the formulation of economic and social policies, it was important to consider the alternative uses to which the resources spent on arms could be put. Much would depend on the scope of development programmes and the type of aid offered to the under-developed countries. The gap in per caput income between the developed and under-developed countries was widening. The arms race was impeding economic development and even the economically under-developed countries were forced to devote considerable sums to military purposes. Additional investments roughly equal to those countries' total military expenditure would make it possible to raise their national per caput incomes by 2 per cent per annum. If military expenditure continued to grow at the present rate, it would soon amount to more than the total cost of the two world wars. Consequently, the continuation of the arms race would be a tragedy for mankind and disarmament would be an unqualified blessing which would result in increasing confidence in international relations, an expansion of international trade, a more rational international division of labour and more efficient use of resources for the economic development of all countries.

12. Mr. M'BAYE (Guinea) said that general and complete disarmament would solve almost all the problems facing mankind. It could be achieved only by dispelling the suspicion and mistrust prevailing in international relations and by eschewing cold war tactics, resort to war to settle disputes and intervention in the affairs of other States. The question inevitably had political aspects which had been touched upon in the study by the Consultative Group of experts, an extremely useful study and one which should be widely distributed. Disarmament would mean the end of colonialism and would herald a new era of prosperity. It was an oversimplification of the problem to state that disarmament depended solely upon the will of men. Weapons of mass destruction were being produced and perfected and vast resources were being wasted on the arms race. Part of the resources released by disarmament could be used to promote economic growth and thus improve the situation of three quarters of the world's population. Disarmament would also benefit the major Powers since, after the transition period, they would be better able to meet the increasing needs of their populations. His delegation strongly supported the joint Soviet Union and United States text, which represented a real contribution towards safeguarding world peace.

13. Mr. PRIMELLES (Cuba) said that all agreed that disarmament would make it possible to improve the levels of living of all mankind, especially the populations of the under-developed and developing countries. It would also improve the situation in the highly industrialized countries, where some sectors of the population were still in need. Seven advanced countries accounted for 85 per cent of total world expenditure on military purposes. The remaining 15 per cent was spent by the small developing countries and represented a considerable economic and political sacrifice. In many Latin American countries, a large proportion of the national budget was devoted to military purposes. In 1959, direct military expenditure in Latin America had amounted to \$1,400 million, which was

equivalent to three quarters of the total investment per annum under the Alliance for Progress. He deplored the practice of sending military missions to countries where they served no specific purpose but merely interfered in the affairs of the countries concerned. Cuba was obliged to maintain a powerful military machine for defence purposes, because its sovereignty had been threatened on several occasions. The funds spent on military purposes could be put to better use in promoting development and raising levels of living. The adoption of the joint text would be conducive to agreement on disarmament.

14. Mr. LUQMAN (Mauritania) said that the item under consideration was of paramount importance to all peoples, since all countries would benefit from disarmament. Most of the newly independent countries were still not economically self-sufficient and depended on the developed countries for their markets and for aid. Their economies therefore depended on the continued economic prosperity of the major Powers. Those Powers, however, also depended on the under-developed countries for markets and raw materials. The existence of large armies and military machines created distrust among nations. There could be no improvement in levels of living while the world hovered on the brink of thermo-nuclear destruction. The study by the Consultative Group of experts showed that almost all the vast resources devoted to military purposes could be converted to peaceful uses. It was important to study how economies based on the need for military expenditure could be transformed, and all advance preparations for disarmament would be of value. Disarmament would create problems, but they would be easier to solve than those created by war. Peace could become a reality and its achievement, which would herald a new era, was the collective responsibility of all mankind. His delegation would vote for the joint text of the Soviet Union and the United States.

15. Mr. Mamadou TRAORE (Mali) said that the study by the Consultative Group of experts had proved that disarmament was feasible and would benefit all mankind. The arms race contained the seeds of humanity's destruction and its continuation was an intolerable anomaly in the twentieth century. The vast resources used for military purposes were jeopardizing development plans and preventing the solution of the problems of hunger, disease and poverty. When the major Powers finally reached agreement, the funds released by disarmament could be used to swell the resources of the proposed capital development fund. His delegation would vote for the joint text.

16. Mr. EASTMAN (Liberia) supported the draft declaration but recalled that the unanimous conclusion reached by the Consultative Group of experts (E/3593/Rev.1, para. 195), did not contain the phrase "under international control". He therefore suggested that in operative paragraph 5 that phrase should be omitted.

17. Mr. ARKADYEV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) and Mr. FINGER (United States of America) accepted the proposed change.

18. Mr. BRILLANTES (Philippines) expressed the hope that the adoption of the joint draft declaration would usher in an era of better understanding between its sponsors and strengthen economic co-operation among States which was so essential for peace and prosperity. It was ironic that man's eternal quest for knowledge had resulted not so much in his advancement

as in his subjection to untold anxieties. The joint declaration should do much to dispel those anxieties and encourage peaceful co-operation, particularly for the benefit of the under-developed countries. He suggested that in operative paragraph 5 the words "group of expert consultants" should be substituted for the words "consultative group".

19. Mr. ARKADYEV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) and Mr. FINGER (United States of America) accepted that suggestion.

20. Mr. ALLANA (Pakistan) welcomed the draft declaration. The joint drafting of that text showed that the small but peace-loving nations could bring moral pressure to bear on the great Powers. The arms race was the result of the jealousy and self-aggrandizement which had followed the Second World War. Man could not go on living under the threat of nuclear disaster: the old order must end and the era of mutual understanding must begin. The vast sums being spent on armaments must be used for peaceful purposes and in particular for encouraging the nation-building activities of the less-developed countries. The joint draft declaration was the first tangible sign that general and complete disarmament was not far off.

21. Mr. HAKIM (Lebanon) observed that the joint draft declaration was a fitting climax to the work of the Consultative Group of experts. The vision of a disarmed and prosperous world now appeared clearly before the Committee and would spur it to greater exertions. The nations of the world could aspire to a new era in which the resources released by disarmament could be made available for economic development and in which humanity would be free of fear.

22. Mr. TOMEH (Syria) associated himself with the remarks made by the Lebanese representative. The Committee was experiencing one of the most solemn moments in the history of the United Nations. On behalf of the delegations of Iraq, Jordan, Saudi Arabia and the Sudan, he congratulated the United States and the Soviet Union on the measure of agreement they had achieved. They whole-heartedly supported the draft declaration and, like the Lebanese representative, hoped that it would usher in a new period of international co-operation which would benefit in particular the developing countries.

23. Mr. SMID (Czechoslovakia) pointed out that the joint draft declaration represented a further step in the inauguration of a world-wide programme of disarmament. An agreement on disarmament would lead to economic and social progress everywhere but particularly in the developing countries. His delegation fully supported the joint text and expected it to be unanimously adopted.

24. Mr. KANO (Nigeria) said that his delegation would vote in favour of the joint draft declaration, particularly because of the appeal contained in paragraph 9. He hoped that the spirit underlying the new text would be shared by the negotiators in Geneva and lead to a similar kind of agreement there. The fear of nuclear war was stronger in the advanced countries than in the less developed ones, but no country was free of anxiety and all mankind would benefit if disarmament was achieved.

25. Mr. ANJARIA (India) felt that the joint draft declaration was a splendid combination of idealism and practicality. Much more work would have to be done before the ultimate aim of disarmament was achieved.

Yet, in the end, man's ardent desire for peace seemed destined to prevail. The study of the Consultative Group of experts had described the economic and social consequences of disarmament, showing in particular that the problems of reconversion in the advanced countries were not insurmountable. It had suggested what should be done with the resources released, and it had outlined the plans that could be made in the meanwhile. The draft declaration also dealt with those problems in a practical way while at the same time advocating general and complete disarmament. His delegation hoped that the adoption of the joint text would hasten the fulfilment of that aim.

26. Mr. MALHOTRA (Nepal) said that the joint text was a great improvement on both original draft resolutions. His delegation hoped that the United States and the USSR would reveal a similar spirit of co-operation in negotiating disarmament itself. He would have preferred the text to specify that a fixed proportion of the resources released by disarmament should be set aside for the development of the less developed countries. While not pressing that point, he hoped it would be borne in mind in the implementation of paragraph 6. He hoped that the opinion of the sponsors, voiced by the United States representative, that the adoption of a declaration rather than of a resolution would make the text less binding, would not make the declaration less effective. He hoped, rather, that, just as General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) had become a charter for the emancipation of colonial peoples, the joint declaration would pave the way for a charter for the emancipation of mankind from war.

27. Mr. YAKER (Algeria) observed that the adoption of the draft declaration would represent a positive step towards disarmament and increased co-operation for the benefit of the under-developed countries. It was not so much a matter of considering the benefits that would accrue to the under-developed countries as a result of disarmament but rather of persuading the big Powers to disarm for the specific purpose of helping the under-developed countries. It was frightening to think that the scientific achievements of mankind were being used for its destruction rather than for its benefit. However, the submission of the draft declaration seemed to represent a turning point in the arms race. His delegation hoped that it would be translated into practical action which would benefit, in particular, the under-developed countries.

28. He proposed that in the fourth preambular paragraph the word "annually" should be inserted after the words "\$120 billion" and that the word "annual" should be inserted after the word "entire".

It was so agreed.

The draft declaration submitted by the USSR and the United States (A/C.2/L.702/Rev.1), as orally amended, was adopted unanimously.

29. Mr. EL BANNA (United Arab Republic) recalled that his delegation had been the first to suggest that the representatives of the Soviet Union and the United States should agree to submit one unified draft, in view of the fact that there was great similarity between their two texts and in order to bring unanimity to the discussion of that important question. He congratulated the United States and the Soviet Union on their co-operative spirit, which, he hoped, would be translated into action to bring about disarmament in the interests of world economic development and peace.

30. Mr. GOLSALA (Chad) felt that disarmament was the key to the solution of many other problems, for if the nuclear Powers agreed to disarm, enormous resources would be released for peaceful and humanitarian uses, and in particular for assistance to the developing countries. He congratulated the United States and the Soviet Union for having responded to the appeal to combine their texts and hoped that that spirit of co-operation would be reflected in other United Nations organs—especially its political committees—and at Geneva. He also hoped that that agreement indicated that the nuclear Powers were now sincerely desirous of disarming and that previous distrust would be transformed into confidence.

31. Mr. HAJOUÏ (Morocco) paid a tribute to the understanding and goodwill shown by the United States and the Soviet Union in submitting a joint text containing all the points of substance in their previous two drafts. He hoped that the example of co-operation between two great Powers would be repeated in the future in connexion with any problem on which the fate of mankind might depend. The draft declaration represented a step towards general and complete disarmament, liberation from fear and a better future for all, especially in the economic sector.

32. Mr. ANOMA (Ivory Coast) said that, after years of discussion and many vicissitudes, progress was being made towards the goal of a safeguarded peace. His delegation was happy to associate itself with the unanimous adoption of the draft declaration.

AGENDA ITEM 35

Economic development of under-developed countries (A/5220) (*continued*):

(e) Land reform: report of the Secretary-General (A/C.2/L.664/Rev.1, E/3603)

CONSIDERATION OF THE DRAFT RESOLUTION OF BOLIVIA (A/C.2/L.664/REV.1)

33. Mr. VELARDE DORADO (Bolivia), introducing the draft resolution (A/C.2/L.664/Rev.1), said that land reform should be undertaken in conjunction with adequate measures of community development. It held that view for theoretical and practical reasons that were fully appreciated by countries like his own which had undertaken comprehensive land reform programmes. Genuine land reform was not merely a series of measures modifying the system of land tenure, but included, in addition, the establishment and strengthening of essential agencies and services, whether public, commercial or co-operative in character, concerned with agricultural credit, supplies, marketing, publicity and research. The function of community development programmes was to organize and mobilize individual effort and to promote joint action to further the general welfare and progress and to integrate fully into a country's national life large groups of its inhabitants.

34. In countries where there was a need for land reform but where such reform was not undertaken, national plans to increase agricultural and livestock output generally produced limited results, whether or not there existed a community development programme. Land reform did not merely contribute to productivity; it was also one of the vital factors for the success of community development programmes. Educational and organizational activities under such programmes could have no effect among landless

tenants and workers living on the property of large landowners. On the other hand, community development was an instrument by which the people could be made to appreciate the advantages of land reform and, at the same time, to assume the necessary responsibility where structural changes were required, including willingness to accept total mobilization in the event of resistance to reforms.

35. Genuine land reform should therefore include those reforms achieved through the combined efforts of a people and its Government, which lead to real community development, reforms which must include educational and integrational measures enabling communities to contribute to national progress. The link between land reform and community development was clearly evident in Bolivia, which had recently drawn up, with the assistance of the United Nations and related agencies, an over-all rural development plan providing for joint action by community-development and land-reform authorities to implement a single programme.

36. The recommendation in paragraph 4 of the draft resolution was consistent with similar provisions in General Assembly resolutions 1426 (XIV) and 1526 (XV), under which the Secretary-General had been asked to submit every three years a report on the fundamental problems of land reform in the less developed countries.

37. Paragraph 5 of the draft resolution called for a study of the relationship between land reform and urbanization. Housing and living conditions were most deficient in the rural areas, a circumstance which increased the massive influx of populations into urban areas. That migration was expected to add more than 200 million inhabitants to the urban populations of Africa, Asia and Latin America during the United Nations Development Decade. His delegation considered that improvements in housing stimulated personal incentive and savings. Progress in that field was one of the objectives proclaimed in the Charter of Punta del Este. One of his Government's main concerns in carrying out its land reform programme had been to improve the standard of rural housing which, until 1952, had been deplorably inadequate. The different

categories of communities had been defined, the facilities to which the various categories were entitled had been specified and minimum areas for dwellings had been laid down. Areas had been set aside for the establishment of new urban centres near railways, highways and navigable rivers.

38. Paragraph 5 called, in addition, for a study of the relationship between land reform and industrialization, because even development could not take place unless a proper balance between industry and agriculture was ensured. Attention should also be devoted to the fiscal and financial aspects of land reform because when such reform was carried out, the new landowners required development capital if they were not to become mere consumers of their own assets, contributing nothing to national development and unable to pay taxes. A well-designed fiscal policy could provide an incentive to absentee landowners to sell part of their land and thus contribute to a change in the pattern of land ownership. Land reform offered a means of securing a higher level of tax collection in the farm sector, although complex problems had to be solved in that connexion. If taxation was to be equitable, land assessment had to be based on accurate surveying and mapping. Those were some of the problems which had had to be faced by Bolivia in the development efforts it had undertaken after freeing itself from the semi-feudal system which had hampered its progress in the past.

Organization of the Committee's work

39. The CHAIRMAN suggested that the time-limit for submission of amendments to the draft resolution on land reform (A/C.2/L.664/Rev.1) should be 12.30 p.m. on Thursday, 6 December 1962, and that the list of speakers on that draft resolution should be closed at the same time. He further suggested that the time-limit for submission of draft resolutions on the second group of questions to be discussed, namely, agenda items 40, 41 and 78, should be 6 p.m. on Tuesday, 11 December 1962.

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 6.35 p.m.