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*President* : Mr. A. MATSUI (Japan).

*Present* :

Representatives of the following States, members of the Council: Algeria, Argentina, Austria, Canada, Chile, Czechoslovakia, Ecuador, France, Gabon, Iraq, Japan, Luxembourg, Pakistan, Peru, Romania, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Representative of the following States, additional members of the sessional committees: Denmark, Ghana, India, Iran, Mexico, United Arab Republic.

Observers for the following Member States: Australia, Bulgaria, Central African Republic, China, Israel, Italy, Poland, Venezuela, Yugoslavia.

Observers for the following non-member States: Federal Republic of Germany, Holy See, Switzerland.

Representatives of the following specialized agencies: International Labour Organisation, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, World Health Organization, World Meteorological Organization.

The representative of the International Atomic Energy Agency.

**Report of the Council Committee on Non-Governmental Organizations on applications for hearings (E/4084)**

1. The PRESIDENT drew the Council's attention to the report of the Council Committee on Non-Governmental Organizations (E/4084) containing recommendations concerning hearings to be granted to non-governmental organizations in Category A.

*The report was adopted.*

**AGENDA ITEM 6**

**Economic and social consequences of disarmament (E/4029, E/4042)**

2. Mr. OSMAN (United Arab Republic) said there was no need to stress the vital importance attached to the

question of the economic and social consequences of disarmament by the non-aligned countries, i.e. the countries of Africa and Asia and the developing countries in general. Attention was focussed today on two fundamental aspects of that question: the universal need for peace and disarmament and the legitimate aspirations of the developing countries to a better life in an equitable world.

3. His delegation therefore welcomed the role that had been entrusted to the United Nations and the efforts made so far through the Organization to study the economic and social consequences of disarmament more thoroughly, at the same time as efforts were being made both inside and outside the Organization to deal with the political and military aspects of the problem.

4. There had been limits to what the Organization had done in that connexion, but satisfaction could nevertheless be felt that countries were becoming increasingly aware of the favourable repercussions that disarmament might have in the economic and social fields. That growing awareness was the result of the considerable work done by the Organization, of the eagerness of the specialized agencies to co-operate in the spheres of their particular competence and of the prompt reaction to the problem displayed by all governments, especially the great military Powers. The process of disarmament could therefore no longer be delayed on economic and social grounds. The great Powers should take the necessary political decisions forthwith.

5. After the many years of work devoted to the question, it might be useful to have a general idea of the results obtained so far and to underline certain essential and pertinent points which had been clarified and dealt with in the earlier debates on the subject. The necessity and desirability of the conversion to peaceful needs of the resources now devoted to armaments had been amply proven; facts and figures revealed the enormous possibilities that the conversion of those resources might open up for the developing countries and for all mankind, and the feasibility of such conversion had been demonstrated. Certain problems would have to be solved, but that could be done either through measures taken by the governments concerned on the basis of studies carried out by the United Nations and the specialized agencies, or through international measures which were within the Council's purview.

6. There would be no difficulty in using the resources released by disarmament. The general objective to be attained had been clearly stated on several occasions; it was the amelioration of economic and social conditions throughout the world, and especially in the developing countries. His delegation wished to reaffirm that principle.

Some suggestions concerning the total and percentage of resources which should be used for that purpose were already to be found in United Nations documents. The fundamental principle should be implemented without delay.

7. As to the precise and detailed use of those resources and the priorities to be established to secure optimum conversion involving the minimum of expense and delay, that was an important problem but it was not essential that it should be solved immediately.

8. So far as concerned the machinery hitherto used for studying the problem or for recommending the necessary measures, his delegation considered that the United Nations organs as well as the specialized agencies had displayed willingness to offer all the necessary assistance in securing the application to peaceful needs of the resources released, and in drawing up a programme for their effective utilization.

9. The measures so far taken by the Council had greatly helped to put the problems in proper perspective, but there were still some questions regarding the conversion process and its repercussions which had to be clarified. Moreover, further study should be given to the measures to be taken internationally to ensure that the developing countries did not suffer as a result of certain disarmament measures. His delegation therefore considered that the Council and the specialized agencies should pursue their activities along the lines indicated in the Secretary-General's constructive report (E/4042). His delegation had no firm views on the possible establishment of a new *ad hoc* group, as envisaged in General Assembly resolution 1931 (XVIII).

10. The general conclusion which emerged from the aggregate results of the work done by the United Nations and the specialized agencies in the field under consideration was that, by actively studying the problem, arranging for the relevant studies to be undertaken by the military Powers concerned, making information available and facilitating exchanges of experience, and also by invoking the assistance of the specialized agencies and co-ordinating their efforts, the Organization had faithfully discharged its task. The international community was ready to benefit immediately from the resources released by disarmament. It was a question of obtaining those resources; and in that connexion a special duty lay upon the military Powers concerned, which were at present responsible for most of the world's military expenditure. In its resolution 1026 (XXXVII), the Council had declared, *inter alia*, that it shared the hope that the Governments of all States would intensify efforts to achieve an agreement on general and complete disarmament under effective international control. The United Arab Republic for its part had spared no effort in 1964 either to facilitate an agreement among all States on general and complete disarmament or to promote an agreement on certain collateral measures which might help to secure the release of resources. His country's efforts were directed to studying every possibility and taking action at every level in order to find a way which offered some glimmer of hope. Moreover, it was not acting alone. At the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on

Disarmament, the United Arab Republic and the delegations of the other non-aligned countries had done their utmost to obtain an agreement on one or several of the numerous collateral measures suggested by the United States of America and the Soviet Union at the beginning of the year. Mention should also be made of the sincere efforts made by the Heads of State of the African countries at their Cairo meeting, and by the Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries at their second meeting to draw up a number of wise and practical measures to accelerate disarmament process. Some of those measures had been referred back to the General Assembly, which, unfortunately, had not been in a position to consider them at its nineteenth session. Nevertheless, the link had been recognized between that important question and the Council's efforts to encourage the economic and social development of the developing countries and to obtain the resources needed for carrying out the economic and technical assistance programmes.

11. Mr. BILLINGHURST (Argentina) said that even if countries had different views concerning the economic and social consequences of disarmament, all recognized the need to find a satisfactory solution. Argentina would have nothing to lose if general and complete disarmament were achieved. Nevertheless, the problem, raised a long time ago, seemed likely to reappear on the Council's agenda every year, and his delegation would wish to see some more tangible results than those referred to in the Secretary-General's report, although that was not to be interpreted as a general criticism. The United Nations and the specialized agencies had endeavoured to do useful work, but they had only established hypotheses which had led to hardly any convincing results. The most important conclusion was that there were no insurmountable difficulties and that the most suitable strategy should be clearly defined. The studies and activities that had been undertaken should, therefore, be followed very carefully, but they should be unified; above all, it was necessary to be realistic and to avoid undue optimism. While the negotiations on disarmament were certainly not yet within reach of the goal, the day would come when the great Powers agreed to general and complete disarmament. Pending that happy event, the Argentine delegation wished to reaffirm that economic assistance should not be linked to the freeing of resources by disarmament. His delegation was also convinced that there should be no overlapping of studies and work on disarmament by United Nations bodies or *ad hoc* groups.

12. Mr. BERTRAND (United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization) wished to give the Council some information on the work done by UNESCO concerning the economic and social consequences of disarmament, at the initial invitation of the Secretary-General of the United Nations and in close co-operation with the United Nations Secretariat, in conformity with Council resolution 1206 (XXXVII), and with resolution 3.256 adopted by the UNESCO General Conference at its thirteenth session in November 1964.

13. The activities in question could be divided into two principal groups: those relating directly to certain consequences of disarmament in fields within the inter-

national competence of UNESCO, and those relating to the same consequences, considered as subjects of objective research and study to which the social and human sciences could usefully contribute.

14. The first group comprised five series of activities. The first of those series related to disarmament and education: three comparative studies were at present being carried out by qualified specialists of the Federal Republic of Germany, the United States of America and the USSR; they covered the utilization of resources which might be freed by disarmament in the developed countries for the benefit of educational systems in developing countries. A critical analysis would be made of those studies in 1966. The second series of activities concerned the long-term effects of disarmament on the development of scientific and technical research: in particular, a study had been undertaken on problems connected with the transfer of scientific and technical research staff at present participating in nuclear research who, in the event of disarmament, could be used in civilian scientific research; in that connexion, the UNESCO secretariat was maintaining close contact with the Standing Committee of the Pugwash Conference. The third series of activities covered disarmament and culture: UNESCO would be participating in a seminar, organized in 1966 by the Romanian National Committee for UNESCO, to study such questions as the effects of disarmament on literary and artistic creative work and the prospects of a modern humanism in a disarmed world. The fourth series dealt with disarmament and youth activities: under UNESCO's youth programme, the UNESCO secretariat supplied documentary material to national youth organizations for the purpose of improving their members' knowledge of the work of the United Nations and its specialized agencies in the field of disarmament, and of suggesting appropriate themes for the study of the economic and social consequences of disarmament. The fifth series related to disarmament and information, and in that connexion the UNESCO information services would not fail to make known by every appropriate means the results of the studies undertaken by the secretariat on the above-mentioned themes. The November 1964 number of the *UNESCO Courier* had been devoted entirely to that subject.

15. The second main group of activities concerned specialized scientific information and documentation as well as studies and research from the point of view of the social and human sciences. As to documentation, the Department of Social Sciences was preparing a directory of national institutes engaged in research on disarmament and peace, to be published in 1966. UNESCO also contributed financially to the publication of the *International Peace Research Newsletter*, produced by the International Peace Research Association, which had its headquarters at Gröningen, in the Netherlands, and to the publication of the *Peace Research Abstracts* produced by the Canadian Peace Research Institute of Toronto. As to scientific information, the next issue of the *International Social Science Journal*, to appear in 1965, would be entirely devoted to peace research. So far as concerned studies and research, he recalled that the European Centre for the Co-ordination of Research and Documentation in the Social Sciences, in Vienna, was at

present co-ordinating a survey of public opinion on the subject "Picture of a disarmed world". UNESCO would be providing financial aid for the survey, which had been undertaken in accordance with a joint plan by three qualified scientific institutes of France, Norway and Poland; the results should be known by the beginning of 1966 at the latest. In addition, the International Peace Research Association was receiving financial assistance from UNESCO for the preparation of a study on the subject of "Theories of Peace and Disarmament and their Typology", to be published in 1966. Finally, the Vienna Centre was now co-ordinating another study, also undertaken by national institutes in several European countries, on the possible effects of general disarmament and the external aid which might be given to developing countries.

16. The UNESCO programme, of course, contained many other elements — relating, for example, to the planning of education and the organization of scientific policy at the national level — which would indirectly assist States Members in measuring more accurately the effects which disarmament might have on development.

17. Mr. BARTON (World Federation of Trade Unions), speaking at the invitation of the President, recalled that the problem of disarmament had been one of the main concerns of the Federation since its establishment, in 1945, at the London and Paris Conferences, while the war was still raging. The WFTU was concerned not only with bringing about a world in which the peoples of all countries could live and work in peace, free from the threat of war, colonialist pressure or armed intervention by others, but also with putting an end to the enormous waste of resources on armaments while the urgent needs of the great majority of the world's inhabitants remained unsatisfied. The Federation therefore welcomed the Council's efforts in that sphere and hoped that the Inter-Agency Committee on the Conversion to Peaceful Needs of the Resources released by Disarmament would continue and intensify its efforts. The Federation had urged a number of international organizations to devote greater attention to the problem of disarmament and, more particularly, it had proposed to the ILO that that Organization should undertake a study on the improvement in working and living conditions which might result from disarmament. In the Federation's view, one of the aspects to which the Council should devote particular attention was the question of the economic and social advantages which countries might derive from the elimination of all foreign military bases. The existence of those bases often involved the countries which maintained troops abroad in balance of payments difficulties which tended to reduce the volume of international trade and jeopardize the world's economic stability. A study of that question by the Council would make it possible to bring more pressure to bear for the withdrawal of all troops stationed abroad, and to put an end to armed intervention by showing world public opinion that such intervention not only was to be condemned from the political point of view but also had adverse effects on world economic relations and economic development. The programme of studies of the Inter-Agency Committee would naturally include the problems

arising in connexion with the conversion of factories producing armaments and the measures to be adopted for the solution of those problems. The Federation believed that the study should not only show that the existing obstacles could be overcome but also stress the advantages which disarmament would bring to all the peoples of the world.

18. Mr. TRIVEDI (India) recalled the four main objectives of the study of the economic and social consequences of disarmament. The first objective, which had virtually been attained, was to show that disarmament would not have adverse economic effects on any country. The second objective was to carry out, at the national and international levels, various studies on the consequences of disarmament. The representative of the United Arab Republic had just made an excellent analysis of the studies carried out so far and had given an excellent description of those which were still needed. All that might be added was that unnecessary duplication of effort in that field should be avoided. It was necessary and useful for continuing studies to be made by militarily significant Powers. As far as the developing countries were concerned the experts recognized that no serious problem of re-adjustment was likely to arise as a result of disarmament. In that connexion the replies given by the USSR and the United States of America were particularly interesting. The third objective, which, together with the fourth, was the one which his delegation regarded as the most important, was to stimulate efforts to bring about disarmament. There would appear to be a movement in the opposite direction, since the armaments race was continuing and, so far as nuclear weapons were concerned, it was even being intensified. A fifth country was in fact trying to embark on a nuclear weapons production programme. That was reprehensible and the Council should take a strong position against such proliferation of nuclear armaments. The fourth objective, which should be particularly stressed, was to convince countries with the greatest military resources to use for assistance to the developing countries part of the savings effected by reducing military outlay.

19. Mr. AKWEI (Ghana) said the North Atlantic Treaty Organization had just voted a credit of \$280,000,000 for a huge electronic equipment project intended to improve the air defence of Western Europe. Such news only aggravated the difficult position in which the world community found itself at a time when everyone was aware of the need to reduce armaments, but when the largest countries were actually devoting a great part of their resources to increasing their armaments. The problem of disarmament was particularly urgent now that half of the United Nations Development Decade had passed, since, in its efforts to solve the problems of development, the General Assembly had allowed for the resources that disarmament would release. At the beginning of the Development Decade, the outlay on armaments had been estimated as roughly equal to the total national incomes of all the developing countries and about ten times their net capital formation; ten per cent of the savings which would result from a 50 per cent reduction in expenditure on armaments would therefore be enough

to provide a five per cent increase in the total national revenue of those countries. Since 1953, in its resolution 724 A (VIII), the General Assembly had linked the problem of disarmament with objectives which were now those of the Development Decade. Up to the present, however, not only had no amount been deducted from expenditure on armaments and set aside for assistance to developing countries, but expenditure on armaments had been steadily increasing. It was in that context that the problem now before the Council should be approached.

20. From the Secretary-General's report it would be noted that the consequences of disarmament were of two kinds: the advantages which would be derived from disarmament and the problems which it would create. As for the possible advantages, a reduction of between 10 and 15 per cent in the world's military outlay would, according to the estimates by the Soviet Union, permit a saving of between 13,000 and 20,000 million dollars yearly; if 20 per cent of that amount was made available to the developing countries, the assistance thus rendered would amount to at least 2,000 to 3,000 million dollars yearly, which could be used for the development of their industry, their agriculture, and their educational systems. As for the problems created by disarmament, no distinction had been made between the problems which would be created by complete and general disarmament and those which would result from a limited reduction of military outlay. Inasmuch as the Council's main concern was to promote the objectives of the Development Decade, it should recommend that military outlay should be reduced by a given percentage and then consider whether such a reduction would give rise to problems. The Council might recommend a reduction of between 10 and 15 per cent, as suggested by the USSR, or any other reduction that it deemed more appropriate; but the Council should in any case define more precisely, in the light of the requirements of the Development Decade, the measures to be adopted in the disarmament field. In that connexion, his delegation considered that the Eighteen-Power Committee on Disarmament should resume its work. It welcomed the steps taken by the Inter-Agency Committee on the Conversion to Peaceful Needs of the Resources released by Disarmament, and it endorsed the Secretary-General's suggestion that the Council should draw the attention of governments to the questionnaire contained in annex II to his report. At the same time, it hoped that in that questionnaire countries would be asked to recommend a specific percentage by which military expenditure should be reduced.

21. Turning to the question of studies on the problems of conversion, he gave warning of the danger that governments might use those studies as a pretext for delaying the effective implementation of disarmament programmes. Studies of that kind made by private undertakings in the various countries should be viewed with caution. The available data on the developing countries' shortage of resources suggested, *a priori*, that a reduction of 10 to 15 per cent in world military outlay would be very easily absorbed by measures of assistance to those countries.

22. A large part of the material and equipment (the equipment of engineer corps, transmission equipment,



etc.), as well as technical staff, released by disarmament could certainly be used to good advantage by the developing countries. Indeed, the personnel made available by such a reduction would probably not suffice to meet the developing countries' requirements.

23. Lastly, the Council should be realistic and recognize that, to be effective, any measure that was adopted should be as broadly based as possible; continental China should therefore be invited to take part in the disarmament discussions.

24. Mr. RAE (Canada) said he was pleased that all the governments represented on the Council were interested in the progress of all aspects of disarmament. Canada had a special interest, since it had long been associated with the efforts to secure the adoption of measures which would permit a reduction of international tension and a lessening of the risk of war and make for general and complete disarmament. Canada had been represented on all the inter-governmental negotiating bodies set up over the last twenty years. Besides being interested in disarmament as such, Canada had been constantly concerned with the economic and social consequences of disarmament. Among other things, it had given a detailed reply to the Secretary-General's requests concerning the measures taken or envisaged for converting the resources released in the event of agreement on disarmament, as well as for the utilization of those resources. Its replies were contained in previous reports by the Secretary-General.<sup>1</sup>

25. Consideration of the consequences of disarmament was acknowledged to be a formidable task demanding the participation of all the agencies of the United Nations family. The statements of the UNESCO representative gave proof of that. The Canadian delegation was, therefore, glad of the measures recently taken to ensure consultation and co-ordination with a view to avoiding duplication and overlapping, and it especially welcomed the efforts of the Administrative Committee on Co-ordination, as outlined in the preface to the Secretary-General's report. It particularly supported the setting-up of the Inter-Agency Committee which was to ensure efficient co-ordination at the actual executive stage. It was Canada's intention to co-operate fully in ensuring the best possible use of the resources and in avoiding duplication.

26. Progress so far as the consequences of disarmament were concerned necessarily depended on the progress of disarmament itself. Negotiations on the subject were necessarily slow and it had not yet been possible to expedite them. The various United Nations agencies should, however, continue to study the economic and social aspects of disarmament.

27. Certain basic information was essential if the economic and social consequences of disarmament were to be analysed. The Canadian delegation, therefore, noted with interest the Inter-Agency Committee's proposal concerning a further questionnaire (E/4042, annex II), but

realized that it would be sometime before any considerable number of replies was received. Section A of the questionnaire concerned disarmament measures already taken, while section B dealt with the measures announced. The list of the former was certainly short, but it was necessary to persevere. The possibility of replying to section C, on future programmes, would necessarily vary from country to country.

28. Mr. ARKADYEV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) felt it was not unreasonable to hope that the Secretary-General and the responsible agencies would submit to countries and to world opinion far-reaching results concerning the economic and social consequences of disarmament; the agencies of the United Nations family were clearly aware of the importance of that problem and of the need to intensify their work on it. The UNESCO inquiry and the efforts of the ILO were indeed particularly noteworthy. However, he was sorry to note that only limited progress had been made. It would be wrong, therefore, to exaggerate the importance of what was being done in that connexion under United Nations auspices. Efforts to deal with the various aspects of the problem were also too little co-ordinated.

29. Obstacles were even being raised, particularly in some countries which were increasing their military budgets. Such measures could only have a negative influence. Although it had, on several occasions, supported the adoption of resolutions by the General Assembly and the Council, the United States of America had recently committed acts of military aggression that were likely to lead not to disarmament but rather to rearmament. Walter Lippmann had spoken of "the icy solitude" in which the United States now found itself after its acts of aggression in Africa, Asia and Latin America. The United States of America would have to put an end to such actions if the desire for international co-operation expressed by the American Government was to be taken seriously. In the United States of America, however, there were people who were delighted with the present situation, which enabled some to acquire military honours and others to make money. The influence of the arms manufacturers was undeniable; a representative of the United States Defense Department had recently stated that the defence budget should be increased by 50,000 million dollars a year, and Congress had just voted a special appropriation of 700,000 million dollars for the war in Viet-Nam. Fresh classes of conscripts were constantly being called up.

30. The USSR had always striven to serve the cause of peace by the conclusion of international agreements, by its declarations on general and complete disarmament and by its frequently expressed desire to halt the proliferation of nuclear weapons. Unfortunately, the progress of rearmament throughout the world was widening the gulf between peoples. The organs of the United Nations could not ignore the question, and the Council was bound to help strengthen co-operation in the economic and social fields. As the Secretary-General's report and documents issued by United Nations bodies showed, some countries were giving real thought to the economic and social problems of disarmament, while in others efforts to

<sup>1</sup> See E/3593/Rev.1/Add.1-5, (United Nations publication, Sales No. 62. IX.2, pp. 26-53), and E/3898/Add. 3.

deal with those problems existed solely on paper. Such an attitude was bound to affect the work of the United Nations organs and to foster an attitude of indifference and apathy towards the most important problems. The efforts made by the Secretariat, the regional economic commissions and the specialized agencies were inadequate. Such efforts should be aimed, on the one hand, at bringing about an agreement on general and complete disarmament and, on the other, at making a more thorough survey of the economic and social aspects of disarmament. As indicated in the USSR's reply dated 19 April 1965 (E/4042), the USSR's military expenditure had been considerably reduced and the demobilized men had been given productive employment, thus helping to raise output. Research on disarmament had been considerably expanded in the Soviet Union at the instance of the Presidium of the Academy of Sciences. The USSR was ready to co-operate in that field at the international level. Soviet scientists had already answered a UNESCO appeal on the subject.

31. The international agencies were well enough equipped to undertake a considerable expansion of their work on the consequences of disarmament. The ILO, for example, could study much wider problems, such as aspects of

disarmament and prospects of social progress in the developing countries, the training of national cadres and extension of employment, the reduction of military expenditure and development of social welfare, and the effects of disarmament on labour conditions. Similarly, UNESCO might consider holding an international conference on the effects of disarmament on education, science and culture. Lastly, FAO could study disarmament and the problems of food and food supplies throughout the world and the effects of disarmament on agriculture in the developing countries. Such a study would be extremely useful in planning development. The regional economic commissions would have a great part to play in studying all those problems and many others besides. The Secretary-General's report therefore took into account only a small part of what a general programme could be. Better co-ordination was also needed. In general, co-operation should be intensified at both the national and the international levels. Only then could it be claimed that Council resolution 1026 (XXXVII) had been duly implemented.

The meeting rose at 12.30 p.m.