Since its inception, the pursuit of the non-aligned countries has been for the elimination of nuclear weapons in particular, and other weapons in general, for the sake of peace and survival of man and civilization. As far back as April, 1954, barely a month after the ill-fated Bikini test, the late Prime Minister of India and one of the architects of the movement of non-alignment initiated a move in the United Nations to ban the testing of such dangerous weapons, even if the discontinuance of nuclear-weapons', production was not immediately possible. Despite global changes, the NAM concern with nuclear disarmament remains valid. The nuclear weapon powers insist on retaining their weapons while they are making efforts to deny these to non-nuclear powers.

As is known, the situation in world today remains very tense and complex and the world is full of conflicting tendencies. Man in the pride of his intellect and knowledge, has forced his way to space and has pierced the very existence of human race. No country, no people, however, powerful they might be, are safe from destruction if the competition in weapons of mass destruction continues. The mass accumulation of destructive radioactive power is
more than enough to eliminate all forms of life several times. This madness in production and accumulation of nuclear weapons entails the destruction not only of warring countries but also of the nonaligned and neutral countries. Man with his intelligence has unleashed the awesome power of the atom and has thereby become the instrument of its own potential destruction.

To the non-aligned world, inter-related to the problem of disarmament is the question of building a better, more peaceful and more stable world. Development, disarmament and world peace have been at the very centre of the concerns of the non-aligned movement.

The elements which were to characterise the position of the non-aligned movement were stated in Bandung. Of course the highest priority was accorded to nuclear disarmament in order to safeguard human species, illegitimacy of using or threatening to use nuclear weapons, the responsibility of the world community for disarmament through the United Nations and the organic link between peace, disarmament and development. A close look at successive Non-Aligned

* It is now estimated that there are about 50,000 nuclear weapons with destructive power equivalent to a million Hiroshima bombs. The reduction of arms was as a result of the treaties between the super powers.

Declarations will help vindicate the tremendous importance of the objectives of non-alignment to eliminate nuclear weapons and make road for a peaceful world and development.

The first Non-Aligned Summit which was held in Belgrade in 1961 was attended by 25 countries. The Summit Declaration observed that, "War has never threatened mankind with graver consequences than today" and that "war between peoples constitutes not only an anachronism but also a crime against humanity". The Declaration asserted that any attempt at imposing upon peoples one social or political system or another by force from outside is a direct threat to world peace". The Declaration in essence articulated the goal of general and complete Disarmament which would include the total prohibition of the production, possession and utilisation of nuclear and thermonuclear arms, bacteriological and chemical weapons.  

The second Summit Conference of the non-aligned in Cairo in 1964 emphasised "the paramount importance of disarmament as one of the basic problems of the contemporary world and stressed the necessity of reaching immediate and practical solutions which would free mankind from the danger of war and a sense of insecurity".

The Conference urged the nuclear powers to renew their efforts for the rapid conclusion of an agreement on general

\[2\] Ibid.
and complete disarmament. It also urged the conclusion of a comprehensive Test Ban Treaty prohibiting underground weapon tests. As an interim measure it suggested the discontinuance of all nuclear tests pending the conclusion of such a treaty. The conference also underlined the necessity of concluding an international treaty prohibiting the utilisation of outer space for military purposes.

The Declaration in Cairo reiterated the conviction of the non-aligned countries that the existence of military blocs and pacts was heightening global tension and spoke out against the maintenance of foreign military bases and the stationing of foreign troops on the territories of other countries because such bases were a means of pressurising nations and retarding their development.  

The Conference held in Lusaka in 1970 mapped out specific steps for nuclear disarmament. These included a cut-off in the production of fissionable materials for the purpose of making weapons and its transfer to peaceful uses, a stoppage of the production of nuclear weapons, a comprehensive Test Ban and reduction and destruction of existing stockpiles of nuclear weapons.

3. Ibid., p. 68.
In 1976, the fifth Summit was held in Colombo. The Summit set out tasks for the holding of a special session of the General Assembly devoted to Disarmament. The First Special session of the General Assembly on Disarmament which was convened in 1978 was primarily the result of the efforts of the non-aligned countries to impart a thrust and momentum to disarmament negotiations.

In the Havana Summit in 1979, the non-aligned countries called for the urgent implementation, within a specified time frame, of the Programmed of Action, particularly of the nuclear disarmament measures, contained in the Final Document of the First Special Session on Disarmament. It prepared the ground for the convening of the Second Special Session of the General Assembly devoted to Disarmament in 1982 and called upon the non-aligned countries to take an active part in the preparations for that session.

The Seventh Summit of the non-aligned nations held in New Delhi in 1983, continued discussions on issues relating to disarmament, especially, nuclear disarmament. The New Delhi message identified "peaceful co-existence,


independence, disarmament and development" as "the central issues of our time". The message called for "an immediate halt to the drift towards nuclear conflict and urged the nuclear weapon powers to adopt urgent and practical measures for the prevention of nuclear war and to conclude an international convention to prohibit the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons in any circumstances". It called for a freeze on the production, stockpiling and development of nuclear weapons and the speedy finalisation of a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty banning the testing of nuclear weapons in all environments.


In the political declaration in Harare 1986, the countries of the non-aligned clearly stated that, historically, states considered that they could achieve security through the possession of arms. The advent of nuclear weapons has, however, radically changed this situation. The non-aligned therefore, contend that it has become imperative that states abandon the dangerous goal of unilateral security through armament and embrace the objective of common security through disarmament.

They noted with grave concern the continuing escalation in the arms race, especially in nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction, despite the fact that this
increases the risk of nuclear war and endangers the survival of humanity. They reiterated their view that the greatest peril facing the world is the threat to the survival of humanity posed by the existence of nuclear weapons. The annihilation of man, they assert, need happen only once. Hence, removing the threat of nuclear catastrophe is not one issue among many, but the most acute and urgent task of the present day. They emphasised the extreme urgency of adopting immediate measures for the prevention of nuclear war and for nuclear disarmament.

Harare declaration voiced that for approximately 40 years, the survival of mankind has been held hostage to the perceived security interests of a few nuclear-weapon states, in particular the super powers and their allies. According to the declaration, "To rely on nuclear leverage is to accept a perpetual community of fear that contradicts the Charter of the United Nations, and the approach and principles of the Final Document of the First Special Session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament (SSOD-1) and those contained in the declarations of the Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries".

It was also opined that the "alternative today is not between war and peace but between life and death". It was further asserted that "this makes the struggle for peace and for the prevention of nuclear war the main task of our times."

The ninth non-aligned summit held in Belgrade again stressed the importance of disarmament. The Heads of States of non-aligned countries declared that "the pursuit of complete disarmament especially in weapons of mass destruction is imperative since it is necessary for securing the very existence of the human race on our planet". The somber contrast between enormous military expenditure and dire poverty underline the importance of giving concrete shape to the concept of the link between disarmament and development. The declaration underlined, that "given enhanced disarmament prospect new opportunities are opening for all countries, especially those possessing the largest nuclear and conventional arsenals for rechannelling additional financial resources, human energy and creativity into development. The close relationship between disarmament and development must be seen as a contribution to the wider efforts to give precedence to economic development over the priorities imposed by the dangerous

and irrational race for military might".

The non-aligned countries do not pretend, nor are they in a position, to change the world by themselves, but neither can the world be reshaped without them. The non-aligned favour concordance rather than confrontation, regardless of whether common problems of mankind or issues or regional interest are involved.

The non-aligned countries have unequivocally raised their voice against the nuclear arms race and still continue to raise their voice against the present nuclear arms race that has engulfed the planet and against forces which try to elevate the arms race to a still higher level so as to bring the world nearer nuclear catastrophe.

THE REASONS FOR THE CENTRALITY OF NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT IN NON-ALIGNMENT

There are many reasons for the centrality of nuclear disarmament in non-alignment. What Doctor John Pastore, an American Cardiologist, Assistant Professor at the Tuft University, Boston, who worked with the Atomic Bomb Casualty Commission in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, said over Soviet television is worth noting. According to his address, "the

explosion over Hiroshima was only a 12.5 kiloton weapon and
the one over Nagasaki was a 22.5 kiloton weapon. They were
both air bursts and the relevance of that is that there was
little in the way of fallout: a ground burst involves more
fall out". He showed a picture which was taken only a
few days after the bombing of Hiroshima. The picture, he
explained, showed tremendous devastation of the entire city
achieved only by a single bomb. All the devastated areas,
his said were housing buildings and departmental stores
earlier, and the medical capability was almost entirely
destroyed in both the cities. About eighty per cent of the
doctors and nurses were killed immediately and the hospitals
that were left were very primitive and the doctors
themselves were sick as patients. Many children, according
to Doctor Pastore's report, received serious burn injuries
as immediate effects. The fatalities in the two cities were
approximately 100,000 immediately and another 100,000 within
months of delayed effects. Burns and infection were the
main problems of those who survived the blast itself. In
his account of Nagasaki, he said that there were 1,100
doctors and nurses in the hospital before the explosion, but
892 were killed by the bombs. In his conclusion he sounded
a sorrowful note as he said, "I think there can be no
reasonable medical response to nuclear war, because the

11. N. Ranganathan, Nuclear Holocaust or World Peace, (New
doctors and the hospitals will be destroyed..."

The fear of the non-aligned countries is that the nuclear weapons of today will make man extinct and destroy the whole of civilization. The Hiroshima bomb nick-named "little baby" is only a foetus compared to the new generations of weapons that has come into existence today.

The havoc that atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki caused was terrific. It unnerved the pilots who masterminded the dropping of the bomb. They witnessed the explosion from their bombers and immediately commented "Oh God! What have we done!" Cheyshire, one of the pilots, after the incident resigned his job and turned an ascetic. To show clear repentance for the crime he committed against humanity, he devoted the rest of his life in starting orphanages for suffering children in many countries of the world, known as "Cheyshire Home". Another one by the name of Robert Lewis, after having witnessed the holocaust, turned an ardent advocate of freeze all nuclear weapons. Robert Lewis died in June 1983, as a retired Major General at the age of 65 in United States of America, and Lord Cheysire in August 1992.

When the atomic bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the new claimants to world domination realised

12. Ibid., p. 7.
13. Ibid., p. 8.
14. Ibid.
that these weapons destroyed not only people, but also material values. They equally realised that the bombs contaminated the soil, water sources and everything else situated in and near the explosion zone with radioactive fall-out. The victor of a nuclear war, they realised, would not be able to set foot on the conquered land for a long time.

It is in view of this fact that the non-aligned countries keep stressing the need for general and complete disarmament, especially, nuclear disarmament. In their assessment, the competition between the USA and the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics for political and economic influence in developing world has had a symbiotic relationship with the arms race. Underlying the quest for military superiority among the super powers, is the belief that such superiority will translate into effective political influence in diverse situations around the world. The non-aligned nations understand that the quest for military superiority stoked the fires of political confrontation. Hence they emphasised that any realistic programme for disarmament would have to be pursued on two planes the reduction of nuclear weapons and weapons of mass destruction, and the evolution of a cooperative rather than conflictual international system.

15. N. 1. p. 69.
It is against this background of the frustration of disarmament efforts and at the same time the growing public concern about nuclear weapons that India, a leading member of non-alignment, held a Disarmament Summit on January 28, 1985 in which leaders of six countries representing people from all regions of the world participated. These countries are Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Sweden and Tanzania.

The declaration of the Delhi Six adopted on January 28, 1985, called for an immediate halt to the testing, production and development of nuclear weapons, and their delivery systems to be followed by reductions leading to the eventual elimination of nuclear weapons. Delhi Six highlighted two steps as being particularly urgent—the prevention of an arms race in outer space by prohibiting the development, production and testing of space weapons and, the conclusion of a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty banning underground nuclear weapons tests.

This effort by the non-aligned countries to bring to an end the production of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction stems from their love for humanity and civilization which is at present hanging in a balance. In the nuclear space age today, arms do not provide security any longer as they did earlier. Theory of deterrence no longer deters nor does mutually assured destruction (MAD)

16. Ibid., pp. 72-73.
relate only to the combatant sides. The world as a whole is affected as today's weapons are not limited by geographical or political boundaries.

The moral force of the non-aligned nations has caught the fancy of the leaders of the world. The President of the former Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev, in his book Perestroika very well subscribed to the fears of the non-aligned countries, that, the world is living in an atmosphere not only of nuclear threats, but also of unresolved major social problems, of new stresses created by scientific and technological advancement and by exacerbation of global problems. Mankind he emphasised, today faces unprecedented problems and the future will hang in the balance, if joint solutions are not found. All countries are now more interdependent than ever before, and the stockpiling of weapons, especially nuclear missiles, makes the out break of a world war, even if unsanctioned or accidental, increasingly more probable, due simply to a technical failure of human fallibility.


In line with the non-aligned view he stressed that there would be neither winners nor losers in a nuclear war. There would be no survivors, hence it becomes a mortal threat for all humanity. In a more heartening way he goes further to add that, although the prospect of death in a nuclear war is undoubtedly the most appalling scenario possible, the issue is broader than that. The spiralling arms race, coupled with the military and political realities of the world and the persistent traditions of pre-nuclear political thinking impedes cooperation between countries and peoples, which - East and West agree -- is indispensable if the world's nations want to preserve nature intact, to ensure the rational use and reproduction of her resources and consequently, to survive as befits human beings. In his ending note he said:

For all the contradictions of the present day world, for all the diversity of social and political systems in it, and for all the different choices made by the nations in different times, this world is nevertheless one whole. We are all passengers aboard one ship, the Earth, and we must not allow it to be wrecked.

There will be no second Noah's Ark.

The nuclear war doctrine is in essence "a terroristic doctrine". It has all the characteristics of terrorism. It is violence threatened to be used indiscriminately against innocent population in order to induce extreme fear.

19. Ibid., p. 12.
both in the victim and other target group - the world at large. It involves holding cities, populations and whole countries as hostages. The nuclear war strategy is projected to the world at large to intimidate nations and population. It is a matter for further enquiry how far the legitimisation of nuclear war strategy and nuclear weapons as international currency of power have led to increased legitimisation of terrorism among various groups of the world.

In view of the enormous disproportionality in the power to intervene in and inflict punishment on the industrial nations there has been an increase in terroristic violence. Besides these factors, the populations in industrialised world are subject to great stresses and strains because of the deployment of nuclear weapons in their midst and the ever present possibility of a nuclear holocaust putting an end to human civilization...

The consequence of the use of nuclear weapons would be really disastrous both from the point of view of their direct effect on every living thing on the planet and as a result of the lethal effect of "nuclear winter". Suffice it to say that in case of a massive use of nuclear weapons some

40 million tons of radioactive soot would be released into the atmosphere. The sun rays would be unable to reach the surface of the planet, as a result of which the temperature would sharply drop by 20 to 30 degrees centigrade and daylight would constitute only one per cent of its normal level. Hundreds of millions of people would die not from the direct radiation effects but from the scarcity of food.

Late Prime Minister of India Rajiv Gandhi, in a press conference in Angola once said that nuclear war, if it is unleashed may obliterate all mankind and world's civilization. The arms race, especially the nuclear arms race, pose an exceptional threat. That is why member countries of NAM exert maximum efforts at the world arena with a view to preserving and strengthening peace on earth and preventing a thermonuclear disaster. In New Delhi Summit, the participants in the conference, in addition to the regular political and economic delcarations adopted a special New Delhi appeal, calling for an immediate halt to the drifting towards nuclear conflict which poses a threat not only to the well-being of mankind in our time but also to the life of the future generations.

21. This conclusion was made by the authors of the report "Nuclear Winter and the Third World". For details see: G.N. Srivastava, "The Historic Role Played by Non-Aligned Movement in Favour of Peace, Nuclear Disarmament And Prevention of Outer Space Militarisation." Ibid. p. 126.
Therefore, the struggle for peace, against nuclear threat was coherently pursued at the fora of the Non-Aligned countries, namely, at the foreign minister's conference (Luanda, September, 1985) and at the meeting of the Coordinating Bureau (New Delhi, April, 1986). The document adopted by the conference in Luanda expressed the concern of the participants in the NAM that some Western countries are pursuing a course of intensifying the arms race, including nuclear arms race. The foreign ministers called upon all States possessing nuclear weapons to undertake and give assurance not to be the first to use nuclear weapons.

The centrality of nuclear disarmament in non-alignment emanates from the realisation that the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki was motivated by political, not military factors. The same can happen again. The haste in using the bomb, according to the diaries of the then Secretary of War, Henry L. Stimson, and the Secretary of the Navy, James Forrestal, was to end the war before the Russians entered there. It was deemed a master card of diplomacy intended to make the Russians more manageable. To substantiate this, Lown cleared his point by adding that "for those who have lingering doubts, President Truman's word in his memoirs should lay these to rest... As a reason for dropping the bomb "it was to put us in a position

22. Ibid., p. 129.
to dictate our own terms at the end of the war".

The mushroom cloud over Hiroshima fissioned the political atmosphere and split the world into warring camps for over 40 years. It squandered more than four trillion dollars, degraded the environment, disjointed the economies of the victors of the World War II and, corrupted the moral fibre of both the super powers. It furthermore fixed in the Western public mind the sick notion that the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombings were justified and that the atomic bomb, the most malignant scourge, was a peace-keeper. This sick notion cloned a pernicious deception, the so called doctrine of deterrence. It was largely as a result of this doctrine that the public accepted the immoral ideology of nuclearism. This ideology purports the "final solution" of nuclear annihilation to be the sole guarantor for human survival wherein security is linked to mutual threats of international suicide.

No wonder then the elimination, destruction and stoppage of production of nuclear weapons is central to the non-aligned world. The struggle against nuclear war has ceased to be the exclusive domain of political leaders, it


24. Deterrence has been the underlying justification for the stockpiling of million Hiroshima equivalents. It is the intellectual basis for the current unabating nuclear modernization programme. Ibid.
has become the concern of the entire people on this planet because their very physical existence directly depends on the trends of political development around this issue of nuclear disarmament. In this sense, more than before, the people are both the object and the subject of "politics".

The centrality of nuclear disarmament in non-alignment is further substantiated by the account given by the delegates at the conference on the Pacific environment. The observation of the delegates is that a nuclear war is raging over the dumping grounds and testing sites of the Pacific, with deaths from diseases related to nuclear waste and radioactive fallout an everyday occurrence.

The Delegates at the October, 1988 conference in London demanded immediate implementation of the nuclear-free zone that was called for in 1985 Raratonga Treaty. Unfortunately, the treaty was not ratified by many countries, including Britain. According to reports from the conference, up to 30 tests are carried out in the region by the United Kingdom, France and USA every year. They also dump nuclear waste there. As Jane Dibbin commented, "A

* One of the factors for new thinking is the need to assess realistically and without bias the situation in the world today primarily man's defencelessness in the face of the fruits of his own genius in nuclear age - weapons of mass destruction."
nuclear war is already being fought by Pacific islanders. For some the war is already over".

One delegate said western governments will continue dumping dangerous wastes in the area: "There are only 90,000 people there, so why should the west stop; no matter what treaties are signed"? "Many of the atolls and reefs have been ruined by testing and now upto 50 islands are threatened by dumping".

At the Pacific environment conference, the New Zealand Foreign Minister Russell Marshal said that testing and dumping "must stop now before it is too late". He urged full ratification of the convention for the Protection of Natural Resources and Environment of the South Pacific Region, signed in 1986, which forbids dumping at sea. The convention was adopted by all South Pacific countries and territorial powers, the UK, France and the USA. But as Dr. Kilofoti Eteuati of Western Samoa noted, "there is nothing in the treaty to prevent dumping on land". So far ratification to this treaty has been signed by the Cook Islands, the Marshall Islands and the Federated State of Micronesia. Other nations are yet to ratify the treaty. The tiny islands of Naura and Kiribati in particular suffer heavily from the dumping at sea of an estimated 20,000

26. Ibid.
barrels of nuclear waste a year by Japan and the West. A delegate from Women Working for a Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific said that the West was "guilty of atrocities against the indigenous peoples of the Pacific amounting to genocide".

Over 5,000 Marshall Islanders have been removed from their homes in recent years to allow the USA to fire ballistic missiles from California to the Marshall Island of Kwajalein. Islanders were evacuated to the tiny, waterless atoll of the Ebeye, giving it the highest population density in the world. As Mr. Dubbin said: "The United States has created a strategy of aid dependence and displacement to weaken the Marshall islanders. Each day aboriginal culture is eroded a little further and each month America tests new missiles". In the fifties the UK tested nuclear weapons on Christmas Islands and in Australia. Compensation for Leukemia and cancer victims of these test is still being negotiated.

Britain's largest company, British Petroleum, has significant interest in Uranium mining in Australia (to the detriment of the aborigines) and is destroying sacred sites of the Kokatha aborigines at Roxby Downs. The Kokatha are

27. Ibid.

* The Americans began testing in the Marshall Islands in 1948, exploding the first Hydrogen Bomb "Bravo". Now 14 of the Islands are contaminated and uninhabited.

28. Ibid.
second-generation refugees from British bomb tests at Woomera and Merilinga in the fifties.

Continual French testing at Mururu Atoll in Polynesia puts about 2,300 people at risk of radiation illness. Protests against these led to the sinking by French secret agents of the "Rainbow Warrior" the ship used by the environmental group Green Peace.

The unequivocal declarations of the non-aligned countries in various summits has increased public awareness on the dangers of proliferation of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction. As a result, the only sensible conclusion which can be drawn from a sober, realistic analysis of today's situation is that nuclear war must be ruled out in any circumstances, not only as a means of achieving political aims, but also as a category of thinking. It is a paradox of history that thinking in the nuclear age must be non-nuclear, must reject the use of nuclear weapons as a means of attaining political objectives. The dialectics of life today is such that while the aim negates the means by which it is achieved, the means on the other hand negates the aim.... In the nuclear age, means and ends overlap each other and one negates the other. There were periods in human history when illusions

29. Ibid.
and false notions led to disaster. The present world may pass through such a period, if the notion of nuclear weapon as an instrument to deter war is not wiped out from the minds of the nuclear weapon States.

The present times have added qualitatively new aspect to the interpretation of the well-known thesis that force is the "midwife of history". The "midwife", instead of making history, will unmake history in a nuclear age. It is in this context that the ideas and concepts of that great champion of non-alignment Jawaharlal Nehru have their relevance. Force in international relations has always been an ingredient of the policy of imperialism. 31

Therefore, for the sake of man's continuous existence in the world, for the sake of other living creatures, both big and small, and for the sake of civilization, the movement of non-alignment makes nuclear disarmament and the elimination of other weapons of mass destruction central to the movement.

II. DISARMAMENT AND DEVELOPMENT

The United Nations International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development (ICRDD) was held at the UN Headquarters in New York between 24 August and 11 September 1987. The conference was a major initiative since its deliberations focused exclusively on ------------------------------- 31. Ibid.
the interrelationship between two crucial issues of the present day world-disarmament and development. The conference was attended by an overwhelmingly large number of member states (150 in total). This may be due to its being the first UN Conference to be held on the subject. The final document, adopted by consensus, is an important landmark because it establishes a firm framework within which the twin processes, pertaining to international peace and prosperity can be interlinked.

The conference took place against a rather somber background of world-wide long time politico-military and economic realities. Over the past seventeen years, the international economy has passed through a period of unprecedented turbulence. In the industrial market economies, inflation has given way to stagnation with high unemployment and underutilized capacity. Third world countries have suffered a collapse of commodity prices, an intensification of debts service burdens a recurrence of famine and an inability to meet basic needs for a large area of the population. The centrally planned economies are faced with low growth and declining productivity.

In spite of determined efforts by governments in developing countries and by international agencies, to reduce poverty and spread the effects of growth over larger sections of the community, the record of improvement remains patchy. It is believed that around one billion people in the Third World live below a modest subsistence line; half the world's population may not have access to safe drinking water; three-quarters of the population of the developing world have no adequate sanitary facilities; and about 200 million people lack basic shelter.

It has also been estimated that to meet minimum basic health needs, the Third World may need an additional 4.5 million hospital beds, half a million physicians and 3 million other health workers. The requirements are in fact daunting.

One of the few 'growth' areas of the global politico-economic system is military expenditure. Annual world-wide


34. This information has been extracted from "The Health needs of developing countries", Medicine and War, vol. 4 of 1988. pp. 49-52.
defence spending is approaching 1000 billion (one thousand billion US dollars). Though most of it is in developed economies (both East and West), developing countries have also seen an exceptional rise in defence spending. During the period 1975 to 1985, the poorest economies within the Third World experienced an increase of 71 percent in their annual real military spending.

The Third World has almost four times the population of the developed countries but its aggregate output, consumption and investment are less than one-fifth of the total. On the other hand, when it comes to military expenditure the Third World share rises to 24 per cent relatively high compared to the economic aggregates. This can be seen from Table Ia.

35. These are those Third World countries with 1985 per capita GNP of less than US $400, as reported by the World Bank. The change in defence spending was calculated from the SIPRI military expenditure data, for 1975 from SIPRI Year Book 1983. (London, Taylor and Francis, 1983), and 1985, SIPRI Year Book, World Armaments and Disarmament. (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1987).
### TABLE Ia

**COMPARATIVE ECONOMIC AND MILITARY DATA FOR INDUSTRIAL MARKET ECONOMIES AND THE THIRD WORLD, 1985.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Third World (excl. China)</th>
<th>Industrial Market Economies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Population (M)</td>
<td>2659</td>
<td>737</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage Share</td>
<td>78.3</td>
<td>21.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GDP ($b.)</td>
<td>1932</td>
<td>8569</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage Share</td>
<td>18.4</td>
<td>81.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consumption ($b.)</td>
<td>1229</td>
<td>5313</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage Share</td>
<td>18.8</td>
<td>81.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Investment ($b.)</td>
<td>422</td>
<td>1799</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage Share</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military expenditure (1980 $b.)</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage Share</td>
<td>24.1</td>
<td>75.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


### TABLE Ib

**A COMPARISON OF IMPORT SHARES FOR INDUSTRIAL ECONOMIES AND THE THIRD WORLD, 1985.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>All Imports</th>
<th>Machinery Imports</th>
<th>Arms Imports</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Third World (excl. China)</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial Market economies</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In terms of total imports, as well as of machinery alone, the Third World share is around 25 per cent. However, in the case of arms import its share rises precipitously to about 67 per cent. Relatively poor economic status and high militarization tend to compound development problems. See Table Ib.

No doubt there is an automatic link between armaments and underdevelopment or between military expenditure and the global economic crisis; that is, that disarmament must result in development for the world economy.

The question arises at this juncture; what is disarmament and what is meant by development? Disarmament means a reduction in arms. This may be achieved through a lowering of military expenditure either in terms of its absolute level or in relation to other macro-economic variables, such as the gross domestic product (GDP) or the total government budget. Military expenditure as a proportion of the national product is called the military (defence) burden and often its reduction signals at least a measure of disarmament, however, weak. Other more important allied concepts include force reduction, conversion of military industries to civilian purposes as well as the dismantling or destruction of weapon system either in use or in inventories. These measures must be

brought about under international or bilateral control, and verification is crucial for their effectiveness.

Development and growth imply a process of social and economic change that increases per capita income and improves the quality of life of the maximum possible number of people in society. In addition to growth, development brings about the right to full employment, the egalitarian distribution of income, the eradication of poverty, the provision of basic needs and entitlement to a higher physical quality of life as measured by, say, literacy, infant mortality, life expectancy, health care, nutritional availability, and so forth.

This notion of development is essentially open-ended and cannot be associated only with underdevelopment, per se. The definition, clearly, is most relevant to the Third World countries. But even in rich societies, certain deprived sections of the population could enjoy a better quality of life under greater prosperity and, inter-alia, more development. The UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar, emphasized this aspect clearly in his opening address to the International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and development (ICRDD). "Problems of urban decay... industrial pollution., economic stagnation, changes in employment patterns.... need for better provisions of services in health education all these and

37. Ibid., p. 519.
other issues create demands for social and economic improvements in even the most developed societies. Thus the need for development is worldwide which governments can ignore only at the grave risk of social tensions, internal unrest and instability.

Government and nation states have generally considered (dis)armament and development-concepts as analytically separate. The primary objective of the state has been to provide national security in the traditional sense that its citizens needed to be protected from external threats while regime survival required protection from internal threats. The level of armaments (or conversely disarmament) has generally been dictated by the needs of strategic security rather than by a concern for development or growth.

The acceptance of the Keynesian paradigm, seeks to guarantee the entitlement to full employment and responsibility of the government to provide it, yet the primary function of developed nations governments is usually still the provision of adequate military security. In similar fashion, Third World governments have equally attached great importance to economic growth and development through planning and state intervention, yet, the need once

38. The quotation is taken from the UN Secretary General's address to the ICRDD, extracts of which are published in New Perspectives, Vol. 18, No. I. 1988, pp. 8-9.

again, of strategy and military security have been paramount, and the theme is one of eternal vigilance.

Industrialized countries could find defence an economic burden in spite of short-term multipliers. Among Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development countries (OECD), low levels of defence burden in relation to perceived threats and military security needs (say for Japan, Federal Republic of Germany and the Nordic countries) have generally provided high levels of growth, investment and productivity. Within this scenario, mutually variable and multilateral disarmament would reduce the economic costs, release resources domestically for more productive expenditures, increase growth rates and hence, employment and consumption opportunities, and possibly allow a greater transfer of resources from developed to developing countries as well as foster economic co-operation and interdependence.

Effective disarmament at national and global levels could lead to resources being released for growth and development. In addition, there are various beneficial trickledown effects and indirect spin-offs. Further, in the long term, disarmament can also contribute to lower threat perceptions since armaments can easily trigger off an arms race, and of course an excess of arms could lead to lower

40. N. 32, p. 520.
41. Ibid. p. 521.
strategic security. The Final Document of the UN Special Session on Disarmament in 1978 claimed that the accumulation of weapons, particularly nuclear weapons, constitutes much more a threat than a protection. The time has, therefore, come to seek security in disarmament. Thus, mutual disarmament can lead to greater military security. In the same manner, the resource transfer, and concomitant benefits, can enhance economic security. The High Commission of Nigeria, New Delhi, His Excellency Mr. Musa Bello, has this to say: "disarmament especially nuclear disarmament will lead to global security, and much needed resources released and channelled for development, alongside it enhances the quality of life to mankind, assuring peace and harmony among the peoples of the world.

Disarmament and development have great implications for the Third World. Disarmament and development, as the ICRDD acknowledges, are distinct but strongly interconnected processes. The former is a political process with implications for military security. The latter is a socio-economic process which has important effects on economic security. The interrelationship between disarmament and development can best be understood through wider notion of security, which includes the traditional military dimension but also contains a socio-economic dimension.

42. Ibid.

43. This is an extract from an interview the scholar held with the Nigeria High Commission, His Excellency, Mr. Musa Bello on the 11 December, 1989.
For the Third World there are many channels and linkages; some, such as resource transfer, others, such as co-operation among countries in both economic and military fields, are less evident. The multi-dimensional facets of relationship between disarmament and development, the three fold classification according to military - strategic, political and economic can be seen in table Ic. The interconnections also unfold over the national economy, the regional bloc and the global system.
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<th>Sphere</th>
<th>National Level</th>
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<th>Global level</th>
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The production and the testing of nuclear weapons presents a growing threat to the human environment. This madness continues even as the world desperately needs the resources which are senselessly wasted in arms race to address pressing social problems. Global military budgets amount to one million million dollars. In late 1987 there were some 50,000 nuclear war heads in the combined American and Soviet arsenals. Their total explosive power is equivalent to 15 thousand million tons of TNT, or three tons for every man, woman and child on earth. Their destructive power is equivalent to 1,250,000 Hiroshima type bomb.

The expenditure incurred in producing and storing these weapons if channelled or directed to development would go a long way to providing a lot of social basic needs. Seven months of global military spending would pay for clean water supplies and sanitation for two thousand million. The International Drinking Water Supply and Sanitation Decade, which ended in 1990, estimated that 30 to 60 thousand million dollars a year would be needed for 10 years in order to achieve the decade's objective.

This amounts to only 21 days of spending on arms. The equivalent of 12 days of developed countries defence budget

would double the development aid they currently provide. Implementation of the United Nations plan to control desertification would cost 405 thousand million dollars a year, or two days of military expenditure.

The world economy continues to be the grip of a crisis of a structural and systematic nature. Although the fear of a recession sliding into deep depression, in developed countries seems to have receded for the time being, the rate of growth of these economies can hardly provide the basis for dealing effectively with the problem of unemployment and modernization.

Disarmament and development are linked because both the arms race and development compete for scarce financial and real resources of the world. In a situation where a major proportion of these finite and scarce resources are devoted to military expenditure, it is impossible to achieve an optimum level of development without disarmament. Besides, the arms race not only pre-empts scarce resources, but also distorts economic structures, undermines economic systems, both national and international, and vitiates attitudes towards international cooperation. It creates stakes and an environment which are not compatible with the continuation of the arms race.

The unabated arms race by super powers, the escalating military spending on the production of yet deadlier weapons and their development in Western European countries have posed the gravest danger to the survival of the human race on earth. The whole world has been turned into a huge arsenal. Man live in utter fear of being annihilated anytime. The super powers are vying with each other to spread their military tentacles to new areas all over the world, trying to bring more and more territories and waters under their hegemony and spheres of influence. The worst feature of the present situation is that even some of the developing countries have joined in a sort of mini-arms race and frittering away their scarce resources in arms-build up, which they should better spend on the economic and social development of the poor people.

President Eisenhower speaking in Geneva in July, 1955 on 'Mutual Inspection for Peace', said:

"But we know that a mutually dependable system for less armament on the part of all nations would be a better way to safeguard peace and maintain security.

"It would ease the fears of war in the anxious hearts of people everywhere. It would lighten the burdens upon the backs of the people. It would make it possible for every nation, great and small, developed and less developed, to
advance the standards of living of its people to attain better food, and clothing, and shelter, more education and larger enjoyment of life".

In ending his speech he said, "The quest for peace is the statesman's most exerting duty. Security of the nation entrusted to his care is his greatest responsibility. Practical progress to lasting peace is his fondest hope. Yet, in pursuit of his hope he must not betray the trust placed in him as guardian of the people's security. A sound peace—with security, justice, well-being, and freedom for the people of the world can be achieved, but only by patiently and thoughtfully following a hard and sure and tested road".

The world has changed a little. But it has not become a utopia. Not only the Third World countries are mired in poverty, ignorance and oppression, not only do the countries of Eastern Europe have its loads of problems related to much acquisition of arms, but even the countries of the West and North America are facing domestic problems. In fact disarmament, especially nuclear disarmament, will spread justice and enlightenment, it will create a more equal world in terms of productivity and living standards, it will save

48. Ibid., p. 3.
the human race from ecological and environmental disaster, and will go a long way to satisfying the minimum needs of a vast majority of people on the earth. If disarmament especially nuclear disarmament is not pursued with vigour and sincerity, a nuclear war or a nuclear disaster might occur, and as is known, it will spell the ruin of mankind. Nobody would remain alive to celebrate the victory.

In view of these, disarmament becomes a moral issue for both nuclear and non-nuclear weapon states alike as the life and living standards of people on earth will be enhanced, and man will no-longer live in apprehensions any more and thus, we will become 'our brothers' keeper.

* Finally this appeal by Nagai Dakasi worth noting:

The bell of Nagasaki tolls.
Nations! Plan no more wars.
So long as the atomic bomb exists
Future wars are suicidal.
Listen to the wailing voices of the dead.
Fight no more. Cooperate within the boundary of love.
The dead lie prostrate before God beseeching Him
That the bomb on Nagasaki be the last in human history.

* Nagai Dakasi is the author of Bell of Nagasaki.