

WORLD PEACE COUNCIL

Basic Issues of Disarmament

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INTRODUCTION

This brochure contains a collection of timely documents which set out in detail the position of the World Peace Council on "disarmament and the arms race" – a problem of major concern not only to the World Peace Council but to all humanity.

The launching of an increasingly strong world-wide campaign to end the arms race and for disarmament was the aim of the Special Session of the World Peace Council which met in Berlin, capital of the GDR, on February 2–5, 1979, where the basic issues of disarmament and detente were thoroughly discussed.

Two major documents adopted by the Special Session consequently form the backbone of this brochure: they are the Appeal, "STOP THE ARMS RACE" and the "CALL TO THE FIVE NUCLEAR POWERS". Together they define simply and succinctly the WPC's concept of the most important prerequisites for the consolidation of detente and the preservation of peace. They form the basis of the WPC's new campaign.

The "Document on Disarmament", which was prepared by the WPC Disarmament Commission and later approved by the WPC Bureau, was brought before the WPC Special Session. It outlines the WPC position on disarmament as a whole and concentrates on demands and plans for concrete action in specific areas of disarmament.

The last part of the brochure contains reports reflecting the main trends of the detailed discussion in six commissions on disarmament issues at the Special Session.

It is hoped that the material in this brochure will help organisations in their campaigns for ending the arms race and for disarmament.

STOP THE ARMS RACE!

Appeal of the World Peace Council

Nations of the world! Peoples of the entire planet!

Human reason, concern for the destiny of civilisation and of the future of humanity imperatively demand that we all together solve the most urgent task:

TO STOP THE ARMS RACE!

The production of the means of mass destruction has assumed such a monstrous scope and such a dangerous escalation that it rises to get out of any possible control and bring humanity to the brink of a nuclear calamity.

TO STOP THE ARMS RACE! – It means to take a real and decisive step towards general and complete disarmament, this guarantee of lasting peace.

TO STOP THE ARMS RACE! – It means to carry on, to strengthen and to open up new vistas before the policy of détente.

TO STOP THE ARMS RACE! – This is the chief demand of the present stage of the struggle for peace.

Ever greater popular masses and peace forces have been rallying together under this demand. Their will has been embodied in the convocation for the first time in UN history of the Special Session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. In accordance with this demand many constructive proposals and ideas have been advanced by a number of governments of socialist, non-aligned and other peace-loving countries, political parties and

non-governmental organizations as well as by different personalities.

A real possibility exists to start immediately practical limitation and termination of the arms race. To make this possibility feasible peoples should act ever more vigorously, ever more resolutely and ever more purposefully, in order to overcome the resistance of those who benefit from the arms race and sabotage measures to stop it.

Never before have peace forces been so numerous and powerful. They are in a position to thwart the conspiracy of the imperialist circles, aided by a large part of the press who try to curb détente under the pretext of "Soviet military threat", which they often used in the past. They should demand from NATO countries to renounce their decision to further increase their military potential and budgets, which provokes new acceleration of the arms race. They should prevent the production of neutron weapons and their introduction in NATO arsenals.

The peace loving forces share a great anxiety over the refusal by the leaders of the People's Republic of China to participate in the working out and in the adoption of concrete measures to halt the arms race as well as by the support extended by them to the most reactionary forces in particular in Chile, Iran and South Africa. This attitude which is also linked with the proclamations on the inevitability of war harms gravely the interests of détente and of peace.

The World Peace Council calls upon all those who strive for peace and are ready to make their practical contribution to secure it to launch a powerful and vigorous movement to end the arms race.

Through holding mass rallies, manifestations and marches, by sending petitions, protests and demands to parliaments and governments, organizing national and international meetings of peace forces, and using all available forms and methods of expressing the peaceful aspirations and will of nations, we shall concentrate our

efforts to achieve the following major and urgent aims:

NO TO NUCLEAR WEAPONS!

Let us demand the earliest signing and enforcement of the USSR—USA agreement on strategic arms limitation. Let us demand from all five nuclear powers – the USSR, the USA, Great Britain, France and China – to start immediately negotiations with the aim to exclude nuclear weapons in all their varieties from their arsenal.

NO TO NEUTRON BOMB!

Let us expose militarists' manoeuvres aimed at deceiving public opinion and introducing neutron weapons in NATO arsenals. Let us demand the prohibition of the manufacture of all new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction.

WAR BUDGETS – NO! PEACE BUDGETS – YES!

Let us demand an end to the constant growth of expenditures for the aim of war, the reduction of the military budgets of the biggest states as to their military and economic potential, and above all of the permanent members of the UN Security Council. The resources thus released should be used to raise the living standards of peoples, to render assistance to developing countries, and to abolish hunger, poverty, disease and illiteracy.

To stop the arms race, to achieve disarmament and to secure peace is our common concern.

Let us act resolutely under the slogan:

For the sake of life – Away with the weapons of mass destruction!

STOP THE ARMS RACE!

CALL TO THE FIVE NUCLEAR POWERS!

It is high time to put an end to the production and stockpiling of nuclear weapons which are today fraught with a deadly threat to peace and to the destinies of world civilization. Being aware as we are of the tragedy of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, we deem it imperative that mankind should be rid of this menace once and for all.

This is demanded by the peoples. Embodied therein should be the supreme statesmanly wisdom of the leaders of all nations and their concern for the weal of the peoples.

We call on all the five nuclear powers: the USA, USSR, Great Britain, France, People's Republic of China which bear special responsibility for the safeguarding of peace to start without further delay negotiations to ban all nuclear weapons from the military arsenals!

We are fully resolved to achieve this objective.

DOCUMENT ON DISARMAMENT

Position Paper*

The activities of public opinion in favour of disarmament constitute the cornerstone of the peoples' struggle for stable international security and lasting peace. The will of the peoples is clear. The deadly arms race must be stopped. This is the unanimous opinion of participants in the World Peace Council's session held in Berlin, from 2nd to 5th February, 1979.

During the seven months which passed since the last session of the WPC Presidential Committee (Moscow, July 1978) a number of important events took place, which greatly stimulated the struggle for disarmament.

The Final Document of the UN Special Session of the General Assembly, devoted to disarmament (SSD) received a wide echo all around the world; implementation of some of its provisions has begun.

It is still early for a full evaluation of the results and implications of the tenth Special Session of the UN General Assembly, particularly with regard to its impact on the efforts to halt the arms race and promote genuine disarmament. Public opinion can draw inspiration from the fact that the Final Document of the SSD includes a whole series of normative conclusions and principles adopted by consensus, reflecting a comprehensive approach of virtually the entire international community.

The Special Session defined basic principles and priorities of disarmament negotiations, at the same time,

* Drafted by the WPC Disarmament Commission approved by the WPC Bureau and presented to the WPC Special Session which met in Berlin, 2-5 February 1979.

the SSD helped to identify the most difficult problems which should be the subject of further discussions and negotiations. It proved that given the necessary political will, in spite of differences in approach to the solution of many international questions, there is a possibility of broad international cooperation in the field of disarmament on terms acceptable to all countries.

The SSD demonstrated that all the peoples and all the governments are concerned to ensure that the bilateral and multilateral measures agreed by states and aiming at limiting, reducing or banning the production, use, deployment of different weapons or systems of weapons, are effectively carried out.

The SSD has demonstrated once more that thanks to efforts of all peace-loving states and peoples, international detente is not simply a pious wish. The outcome of the SSD has also confirmed that the problems of disarmament, can and must be solved by the efforts of all states. The implementation of the disarmament programme should be based on strict respect of the security interests of any single participants in the talks on disarmament and should not create any one sided advantages.

The Final Document of the SSD underlines the incompatibility of further continuation of the arms race with the implementation of the New International Economic Order based on justice, equity and cooperation.

The World Peace Council has described its attitude towards the SSD as one of realistic optimism. Together with all those who aspire to disarmament not only in words but also in deeds, the World Peace Council wishes to see that the conclusions and recommendations adopted at the Special Session be translated into practical action on the part of all states.

In the debates of the 33rd regular session of the UN General Assembly a great deal of attention was devoted to analysis of conclusions and recommendations of the SSD as well as to working out of measures aiming at their practical implementation. Altogether 41 disarmament

resolutions were adopted.

Several new disarmament initiatives were tabled, among which: "Conclusion of an international convention on the strengthening of guarantees of security of non-nuclear states" and "Non-stationing of nuclear weapons on the territories of states where there are no such weapons at present" received the widest recognition.

In the UN debates on the Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security various measures were also discussed aiming at strengthening of the climate of international détente and cooperation, safeguarding peace and security. One of the most important amongst them was the initiative to adopt "a Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace".

Of great significance are the initiatives of the socialist countries presented by the last meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the States members of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation, in Moscow in November 1978. These countries called upon all European governments, all states and all peoples of the world to magnify their efforts in the field of military détente, especially: to press for early negotiations among the five nuclear powers for the purpose of removing nuclear weapons of all types from the arsenals of states and using nuclear energy to exclusively peaceful purposes; to demand reductions in military budgets of the countries possessing significant military and economic potential; to speed up finalisation of negotiations under way on limiting and curbing the arms race in its principal dimensions; and to adopt effective measures aiming at reduction of the level of military confrontation in Europe.

The measure and recommendations on disarmament worked out by the United Nations as well as relevant initiatives of the socialist countries and of a number of non-aligned and other peace-loving countries, political parties, religious and church movements, non governmental organizations, constitute a broad, political basis for unification of efforts of all peace forces in their struggle

for ending the arms race and for disarmament. Now, as never before, grows the importance of practical steps in putting barriers to the arms race which seriously threatens the gains of détente.

There exist necessary conditions for the further deepening of détente, for consistent steps in the field of disarmament. At the same time, the adversaries of peace and disarmament are increasing manifold their resistance to the positive changes in the world, to all concrete efforts aimed at curbing the arms race.

The decisions adopted, at the Washington session of NATO, held in May 1978, about increase in the production of armaments not only in the near future but for the period of the next 15 years, constitute a serious threat of undermining world stability. They risk to put the world on the brink of war as a result of steady modernization and increase in armaments. This threat stems also from: beginning of production in the United States of the neutron bomb, development and production of ever modern systems of strategic weapons, and continued increase of military budgets of NATO countries. For example the projected military budget of the United States for 1980 reached a terrifying figure of 138.2 billion dollars, a major part of which is earmarked for development and manufacturing of new types of weapons of mass destruction. New dangerous military concepts, such as a limited strategic war are being formulated to make nuclear war thinkable and even winable. The very consideration and promotion of this and similar doctrines destabilize world security and increase the danger of world conflagration. This is the real threat to peace, rather than the so-called soviet military threat which is fomented by NATO propaganda.

These and other measures taken to increase the already immense military potentials point to the fact that notwithstanding détente the forces of imperialism have not abandoned their policy of confrontation, relying on solving of differences by force rather than by peaceful means.

At the same time, the leadership of the Chinese

People's Republic never loses an opportunity to support cold-war and militaristic pronouncements of all opponents of peace and détente, to foment the psychosis of war and threat, proclaiming the inevitability of war, to oppose any genuine disarmament steps. The open support of the People's Republic of China to the most aggressive and reactionary circles of the world, be it in Chile, South Africa, or other parts of the world, its attacks and slanders against the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, also greatly disturb world public opinion.

We underline the grave responsibility of the political and military circles of the West which increase their supply of sophisticated military equipment to China. The efforts to establish a military cooperation between the Atlantic Alliance and China create a situation fraught with great dangers for world peace. Therefore this policy is facing growing opposition amongst diverse circles of public opinion in the West itself.

We see the causes of the arms race in the aggressive policy pursued by the influential circles of imperialism, in the pursuance of the selfish interests of the military-industrial complexes, in the very nature of imperialism.

This situation is fraught with unpredictable consequences. The peace forces must be alerted to these dangers. The World Peace Council is greatly concerned about the destiny of détente being threatened by actions and resistance of the forces of cold war, imperialism and militarism.

That is why the World Peace Council has been devoting its particular attention to disarmament issues, first of all, to translation of the United Nations recommendations into a mighty programme of action of the peoples in support of disarmament initiatives, so that a real breakthrough in working towards halting the arms race could be achieved.

It is in this spirit that the WPC particularly appreciates the increasing protest against and rejection by ever-broader

strata of public opinion and in the Atlantic Alliance and other Western countries of the policy of the arms race and of cold war propagated by the most aggressive and bellicose NATO circles.

The World Peace Council's Programme of Action for 1979 emphasizes that the struggle for disarmament, for the defence of the gains of détente and for the consolidation of détente is the principal task which faces mankind. The World Peace Council as the largest and strongest movement of world public opinion for peace that has ever existed reiterates its fervent support of the United Nations efforts.

Disarmament not only remains at the top of the agenda for all national movements of the World Peace Council, but it calls for new arguments and new methods of action on the widest possible scale, using the great experiences of the recent years and the vast successes and victories scored.

We particularly wish to emphasize the following elements of the WPC mass campaigns for disarmament:

1. **Nuclear disarmament and prevention of nuclear war**
These issues occupy a central place in all our campaigns. To this end, we call for:
 - a) Campaign to stop manufacture of all types of nuclear weapons and bring about the gradual reduction of stockpiles of nuclear weapons and their means of delivery until they are totally eliminated.
 - b) to broaden and strengthen the campaign to ban the neutron bomb,
 - c) to halt the qualitative improvement and development of nuclear weapons,
 - d) the soonest possible conclusion and entry into force of the SALT II Treaty as a result of USSR-USA talks on strategic arms limitation. It will have a paramount importance for the general political climate of the world and for the creation of more favourable conditions for disarmament negotiations in other forms,
 - e) the earliest beginning of negotiations between the

- nuclear powers – USSR, USA, UK, France, the People's Republic of China – to reach effective agreements on limitation, reduction and final elimination of nuclear weapons and on the use of nuclear energy for exclusively peaceful purposes,
- f) an urgent conclusion of negotiations on a treaty prohibiting all nuclear-weapon tests,
 - g) strengthening the regime of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and work towards the universality of the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). In this context, it is most important to draw international attention to alarming reports in particular on the possible manufacture of nuclear weapons by South Africa and Israel,
 - h) establishment of zones of peace and nuclear weapon-free zones in different parts of the world, enhanced as it was by the SSD,
 - i) conclusion of an international accord on the non-placement of nuclear weapons in the territories of states where such weapons do not exist at present,
 - j) conclusion of an international convention on the strengthening of security guarantees for non-nuclear states,
 - k) dismantling of military bases on foreign territories,
 - l) an early conclusion of a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations,
 - m) withdrawal of all naval vessels and submarines carrying nuclear weapons from the Mediterranean.

2. Prohibition of other weapons of mass destruction:

We demand the permeance of the following objectives:

- a) to conclude an appropriate comprehensive agreement as well as specific agreements on particular types of weapons, prohibiting the development and manufacture of all new types and new systems of weapons of mass destruction,
- b) to finalize the talks and conclude an agreement prohibiting chemical weapons,
- c) to finalize the negotiations on conclusion of an international convention banning radiological weapons.

3. Conventional Weapons

- a) The WPC welcomes the idea of opening discussions on cessation of development and manufacture of conventional weapons having enhanced destructive power,
- b) The SSD pointed to the need for limiting the sale of conventional weapons and the supply of them to other countries. Preliminary international talks have started on this issue. The WPC wishes these negotiations every success.

We consider that for a solution of this to be just and lasting, it should be based upon a clear-cut political approach which would make it possible to produce such political and legal criteria, based upon the United Nations Charter, the definition of aggression and other universally accepted international political and legal documents, as would be in keeping with the purposes of strengthening international peace and security and the strengthening and deepening of international détente. At the same time, we must in this regard take into account both the task of limiting the sale of weapons and the inadmissibility of placing upon the same footing the aggressor and the victim of aggression or doing prejudice to rights of countries and peoples waging a struggle for freedom and independence.

4. Reduction of military budgets

Reduction of military budgets is one of the effective measures of curbing the arms race. This needs adoption of appropriate political decisions without directing the whole issue along the road of endless technical studies.

We support the proposals that states with a large economic and military potential, including all the permanent members of the Security Council, agree on specific reductions in their military budgets by determined figures, with a substantial part of the funds thus released to be devoted to increased aid to developing countries.

5. The Vienna Negotiations and Military Détente in Europe

- a) The successful and quickest possible conclusion of the Vienna talks on mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe remains in the centre of interest of peace forces. In view of distinct attempts by the Western participants to block these negotiations under a pretext of data deliberation, we strongly feel that the political will and wisdom should prevail.

Therefore, we call for the most energetic continuation of these talks with the aim to reduce the present level of military potentials in Central Europe without diminishing the security of any state.

- b) We support the integral implementation of all provisions of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference, including certain measures having a bearing on military détente in the European continent. We call for a sustained campaign to ensure that the Madrid Conference of 1980 takes genuine steps to implemenent the decisions of the Final Act.

6. World Disarmament Conference

The UN General Assembly stated in the Final Document of the SSD that: "At the earliest appropriate time, a world disarmament conference should be convened with universal participation and with adequate preparation." The WPC calls for the intensification of the international campaign for the early convening of a World Disarmament Conference to take binding decisions that would set up universally applicable, legal and compulsory provisions leading to general and complete disarmament.

7. Information and Education

- a) The Final Document of the SSD contains a number of provisions designed to increase the dissemination of information about the arms race and about the efforts to halt and reverse it, in

order to mobilize world public opinion on behalf of disarmament. In this respect the Document underlines in particular the role of non-governmental organisations. **The World Peace Council** intends to extend its contacts and cooperation with the UN Disarmament Centre; it will continue its publication programme on disarmament, denouncing the dissemination of false and tendentious information by large portions of the mass media.

- b) **The World Peace Council** welcomes the initiative of UNESCO to hold in 1980 a World Congress on Disarmament Education and it plans to step up its own programme of educational activities for disarmament.
- c) **The WPC** hails the initiative of the UN to hold annually an International Week devoted to foster the objectives of Disarmament, starting October 24, the day of the foundation of the United Nations and it pledges to observe it annually on a mass scale, all around the world.
- d) **The WPC** plans to hold a number of regional and national events, with international participation, on various aspects of disarmament and security. In particular, events devoted to the 30th Anniversary of the World Peace Movement will be linked with mass actions for the total banning of all nuclear weapon tests and production of nuclear weapons, of all horrible weapons of mass destruction.
- e) **The WPC** shall continue to observe August 6, the anniversary of the A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, as the International Day of Action for the Banning of Nuclear Weapons. The World Peace Day (September 1), the day World War II was unleashed, shall be devoted to mass actions of peoples for international security and against the arms race.
- f) **The WPC** shall organise a number of international events to study the interrelationship of the problems of protection of the environment and disarmament; the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes; the responsibility of transnational corporations in fomenting the arms race; the

link between the advancement of disarmament, détente and international security with the struggle of peoples for social progress and national liberation.

8. Disarmament and Development

The WPC welcomes the recommendations of the SSD to initiate an experts study on the relationship between disarmament and development. It would be particularly fitting if the results of this study could be available before the adoption by the UN of the New International Economic Strategy for the Decade of the Eighties. The WPC will contribute through its own seminars to emphasize the link between objectives of disarmament and the establishment of the New International Economic Order.

9. UN and other International Disarmament Conferences

a) The World Peace Council welcomes the revitalization of disarmament organs - the United Nations Disarmament Commission and the Committee on Disarmament. We are, however, of the opinion that no institutional arrangements will be a substitute for the political goodwill of states. In this regard we note with satisfaction that one more permanent member of the Security Council, France, will be occupying its place at the conference table in the Committee on Disarmament. It is to be regretted that the People's Republic of China continues to refuse to occupy its place in the disarmament negotiations. The WPC will do its utmost to establish the closest cooperation with all the disarmament bodies - both deliberating and negotiating ones:

b) The WPC intends to participate actively both in the preparations and the holding of a number of important international disarmament conferences to be held in the coming period and in particular in:

- the United Nations Conference on Prohibition or Restriction of Use of Certain Conventional Weapons which may be deemed to be Excessively

Injurious or to have indiscriminate effect, to be held in 1979,

- the 2nd Review Conference of States, parties to the Non-Proliferation Treaty,
- the Review Conference of States, parties to the Convention banning Bacteriological/Biological/Weapons.

The World Peace Council has always underlined that one of the most important conditions for improving the international climate and for strengthening international security is the adoption by all states of steps aimed at developing and strengthening mutual trust and achieving better understanding amongst people.

These aims are served by the Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace adopted on the initiative of Poland by the 33rd session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. The Declaration makes it clear that the arms race with all its negative consequences greatly hampers economic social and cultural progress.

The Declaration is aimed at promoting a radical change in the attitudes and conceptions of people about war as being something that is inevitable and inherent in human society.

The World Peace Council heeds the appeal contained in this Declaration to the non-governmental organisations. It pledges to give it the widest dissemination in its publications and to promote its ideas at various meetings and conferences and through other activities of peace movements.

In 1979 – proclaimed by the United Nations as the International Year of the Child – we shall particularly insist on the urgency of disarmament to ensure that the future generations live in safety and peace.

The WPC fully agrees with the last paragraph of the Final Document of the SSD which reads: "The General Assembly is convinced that the discussions of the disarmament problems at the Special Session and its Final

Document will attract the attention of all peoples, will further mobilize world public opinion and provide a powerful impetus for the cause of disarmament." The World Peace Council has been always emphasizing that only the united action of the governments and the people which have dedicated themselves to the cause of peace can ensure the carrying out of concrete measures for the ending of the arms race and for disarmament. In this respect, the World Peace Council pledges itself to do everything possible to make known the results of the SSD and the numerous other disarmament proposals and to bring the forces of public opinion to bear for the implementation of all the positive measures for disarmament.

The World Peace Council calls on all its national movements to redouble their actions for disarmament between now and the 2nd Special Session on Disarmament convened for 1982 so that a radical turn takes place from the generalized appeals for disarmament to specific deeds, to find a practical solution to the problems of bringing an end to the arms race.

Together, the governments and the peoples of the world pledged to peace and disarmament, can surely succeed.

Commission Reports

The Special Session of the World Peace Council which met in Berlin, GDR, on February 2–5, dealt in detail with the basic issues of detente and disarmament, the struggle against weapons of mass destruction and the world-wide campaign against the neutron bomb. Six commissions, each discussed a specific topic on the basis of working papers, prepared by the WPC for the Special Session. The Disarmament Commission at its meeting in Warsaw prior to the Berlin Session, concentrated on the following subjects:

1. – Proposals for practical measures to intensify mass popular actions against the arms race;
2. – Who profits from the arms race? Arms production and arms profit. Principal instigators and profiteers of the arms race;
3. – Economic and social consequences of the arms race and disarmament;
4. – Disarmament and Development;
5. – Strengthening of peace propaganda and combatting all manifestations of national hatred and war propaganda; and
6. – Disarmament and protection of the environment and the solution of other general problems of mankind. The use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes.

The following reports, which were presented to the plenary of the Berlin WPC Session, sum up the main trends of the discussion in each of the six commissions.

COMMISSION I

The working paper dealing with basic issues, prepared for the discussion by the Commission on Disarmament, and the World Peace Council's Programme of Action were welcomed as helpful and useful documents for peace organisations and movements.

Many speakers emphasised the need for giving broader publicity to the constructive proposals put forward by the socialist, non-aligned and other states and mass organizations interested in peace, as well as to the decisions, based on such proposals, adopted by the UN Special Session on Disarmament; and for urging their implementation by all governments.

The cooperation between the World Peace Council and the UN agencies especially in preparing for the UNESCO 1980 world conference on "Education for Disarmament" was welcomed.

A few only of the numerous concepts and suggestions on the subject dealt with by the commission can be mentioned here.

In the discussion it was proved that there is growing concern among broad sections of the public at the escalating arms race in line with NATO's long-term programme and the attacks being stepped up against detente, while at the same time new sections of the population are being prepared to take part more readily in the world-wide campaign against the arms race.

To stop the arms race and above all ban the neutron bomb and all nuclear weapons is now the task of paramount urgency for the safeguarding of peace, detente and social progress. Coordinated cooperation, mutual trust and common action of all forces interested in peace – political parties and trade unions, religious, youth and women's organizations and other movements – must be continually built up.

The principle of non-interference in the internal affairs

of other states and the settling of conflicts by peaceful negotiations must find full recognition as the norm in international relations.

Whipping up national hatred and inciting to war, misleading the people by spreading lies such as that of an alleged threat from the East must be countered ever more determinedly by publication of the truth. Mention was also made of the danger to peace arising from the Chinese leaders' growing cooperation with the most reactionary circles of imperialism.

Experience shows that coordinating national activities with the international movement and the mutual participation of the representatives from other countries in large-scale actions contribute to raising efficiency.

It was stated that peace organizations must, in their demands and in their different types of activities, take into account their governments' stand and position on questions of disarmament and give consideration to possible positive or negative changes.

The facts make it clear that the public can be best mobilized when the question of disarmament is linked as concretely as possible with national conditions, specific situations and the interests of diverse sections of the population.

For example, when one discusses with workers in the armament industry particular stress should be laid on the profit-seeking of the monopolists. Here the determination not to design or produce weapons that are a threat to the life of mankind and a danger to the peace of the world must be strengthened. It must be shown that forms of production for constructive social purposes exist as an alternative to arms production to assure workers that the changed conditions do not jeopardize their employment.

The most effective actions, it was stressed, are achieved when forms and methods best suited to the respective conditions and traditions are employed, and are drawn to the attention of the public. In this connection

activities such as demonstrations, rallies, vigils and protests, token strikes, peace marches, questions to parliament, statements in the mass media, use of the media of arts and culture, information stalls, and posters, were mentioned.

Emphasis was placed on the importance of mutual exchanges of information and experience. Effective actions and the various methods in the struggle against the arms race should be better popularized.

Representatives from some countries told of the good results obtained from the setting up of local and national committees for disarmament as public coordination, information, consultation and action centres which are open to all interested forces and organizations, and are useful and appropriate autonomous centres.

Discussion in the commission was objective and optimistic. From the reports it was learned that as early as May all types of mass actions against the arms race will take place. Major functions are also planned on the anniversary of the dropping of the atom bomb by the US on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, on August 6 and 9, on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the outbreak of the Second World War in September, and in connection with the anniversary of the founding of the United Nations Organization in October.

COMMISSION II

World military expenditures, which show a constant tendency to grow, have attained the staggering sum of 400 billion dollars a year – more than one billion dollars a day – of which almost half falls to the NATO states, and the other half to the rest of the world.

On the pretext of alleged aggressive intentions, attributed to certain socialist countries, armaments consortiums having their base in the most important capitalist countries are devoting themselves to searching out and perfecting ever more destructive weapons;

meanwhile military strategists devise ever newer systems of military activity.

Now, when the profits of the armaments producers and merchants in the capitalist countries are reaching unprecedented heights, more than one billion human beings are suffering from starvation, and are surviving in physical and social conditions that constitute a challenge and a disgrace to our civilization.

A confrontation between the immensity of the vital needs of humanity at their most elementary level and the cost of the arms race proves the absurd, disastrous and criminal character of the latter.

In our modern world one must look for the motive forces which drive forward the armaments race in the contradictory social relations within which the arms race is rooted. The arms race is essentially the result of the persistent tendency inherent in capitalism to seek new conditions of exploitation for the generation of maximum profits, and a policy corresponding to its craving for ever-expanding growth and hence for huge investments conformable to its anticipated profit-making.

Such forces – military, economic and financial – are made up of complexes which in their endeavour to impose themselves upon States and governments, corner the vast majority of government armaments orders in their own countries; they intrigue – when occasion offers, by corruption – to obtain ever more significant orders for arms destined to be exported, particularly those for reactionary, racist and fascist-oriented regimes.

These military-industrial complexes thus gather in huge profits, since they benefit from particular advantages once the deal is concluded:

- a guaranteed outlet for their products
- compensation or circulating investment funds for the expenses of research and development
- access to the technologies of the highest level attained in the military programmes of research and development.

They pursue their expansionist programmes beyond the frontiers of their home countries, weaving ties with the governments, the military and financial circles, and certain political groupings in other countries.

These military-industrial complexes, particularly at the international level seek at all costs to hamper detente and consequently to prevent reduction of armaments, which threatens in the first place to reduce, and in the long term to dry up the source of their profits.

Resorting to slogans of the "cold war" current in a number of capitalist countries, they busy themselves with arousing feelings of fear and distrust in their attempt to keep the extremely profitable arms race going.

Taking advantage of the steady stream of technical innovations flowing from the industrial revolution and put into practice in the field of arms production, they put on the pressure for speedier renewal of arms – having already cost billions of dollars – which have become within a short lapse of time outdated and useless. Their replacement by more modern weapons brings with it opportunity for new riches.

The victims of all this – without exception – are all the peoples of the world no matter what their economic or social regimes may be.

The arms race is a barrier to progress in economic development nationally and internationally and it jeopardizes the setting up of a new economic and social order.

The arms race kills, daily – even without war; for, every day, people die because the natural wealth and the financial means which would have enabled them to cope with their most pressing problems have been diverted to and wasted upon armaments, and for all practical purposes, have been wiped out.

The upholders of the arms race strive to put across the idea that the working class is the main beneficiary of the arms race, through the jobs that are created.

The facts show, on the contrary, that the working class is the primary victim; for the capitalist countries where arms production is at the highest peak exhibit high rates of inflation which have a direct bearing prejudicial to the workers through the tendency to reduce their real purchasing power.

The arms race weighs equally heavily against social development in the industrialised countries, above all in such areas as health protection, extension of education, liquidation of unemployment, improvement of working conditions and dwellings, urban renewal, improvement of the means of communication.

Consequently, armaments are no answer to the problems of capitalism; on the contrary they tend to make them only worse.

As for the developing countries, they suffer from a triple disadvantage:

- because the arms race leads them into investing a significant slice of their meagre resources for the attainment of a minimal security;
- because the arms race annually sucks away hundreds of millions of dollars which otherwise could be used for the international financing of aid to the underdeveloped;
- because the inflation resulting from the unproductive investment in armaments winds up, for the producers of raw materials in particular, in their receiving in exchange for the identical quantity of their product, a smaller quantity of finished goods than they did ten years ago.

Finally, insofar as the socialist countries are concerned, the effects of the arms race which is kept alive by the military-industrial complexes in capitalist countries, compel them, in the interest of their own security, to dissipate material and human resources which could have been devoted to their own development.

But there is a fundamental difference between arming in self-defence and arming in order to dominate.

It is no less true that armaments and war are in contradiction with the essence of socialism, the object of which is the satisfaction of the material and spiritual needs of society, and peace.

Under socialism, the enrichment of social groups or individuals by means of the arms race is unthinkable. And no economic motivation lies at the base of the efforts of socialist states to maintain their defensive capacity. They undertake to their own development.

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For, just as in the United States the levying for arms of each dollar, or in France, of each franc, does injury to the vital interests of the population, so every rouble, every mark, every crown that the socialist State finds itself obliged to earmark for defence ultimately acts as a shackle preventing the immediate raising of the material and spiritual standards of the peoples.

There is good reason therefore in the socialist community's insistence upon complete disarmament.

At the conclusion of the discussion, the commission was of the opinion that the arms race brings profits and advantages only to military-industrial complexes and such enterprises as are devoted to production for war, and that, to the extent only that a state of tension continues without breaking into a major conflict of planetary dimensions.

And still, nothing can set aside such a possibility arising, either through the thirst for domination, or from irresponsibility, or even by mistake.

The largest possible proportion of public opinion must be made aware of these dangers, aware of the appalling disasters held threateningly over the heads of the whole of humanity, aware of the sinister character of those who feed and perpetuate international tensions from which they draw their monstrous profit; so that people' may gather their forces, if only in a spirit of self-preservation.

That is why the Commission is of the opinion that it is the duty of the WPC and of all who lend it their support, to make known to the world public the real costs – economic and social – of the arms race; and to do so in such a way that the real relationship between the intensification of the arms race and the self-interest of the military-industrial complexes come under close scrutiny and are exposed in all their aspects, along with the devices used for their effective operation and expansion.

COMMISSION III

The discussion in the Commission considered thoroughly the ideas contained in the working paper prepared by the WPC Commission on Disarmament. The ideas contained in the discussion can be summarized in the following manner:

1. The present stage of the arms race imposes a crushing burden on humanity which is crippling its socio-economic development without increasing real security for any country. Expenditures on armaments would suffice to swell world investment by one third; they would make it possible to double the funds set aside for education on a world-wide scale, or to triple those devoted to health. Humanity is squandering on armaments more than one billion dollars a day, an amount equalling the national revenues produced by all the developing countries of

Africa, Asia and Latin America taken together, and 20 times the official aid granted to them.

The arms race consequently, to a dramatic degree delays the solution of the problems of greatest significance for the contemporary world, while at the same time it spurs on economic polarization that favours those with the greatest wealth.

The arms race promotes the forces of aggression, militarism, fascism, colonialism and racism. We would most certainly witness a reduction in terrorism – for a good many countries one of the most serious current social problems – if something arose to effectively block the manufacture and sale of weapons. The ending of the arms race and the moving on to effective disarmament is, for the world as a whole, the preliminary condition for continuing economic and social progress. That is the decisive prerequisite for success in the battle for independence and justice, and for the establishment of different international economic and political relationships.

The excessive military spending of the principal capitalist countries leads to a low rate of economic growth that is periodically interrupted by crises and that is accompanied by unemployment and inflation.

II. Disarmament, or even a moderate reduction in military expenditures, would open the way to growth in human well-being and to an overall speeding up of development, economic as well as scientific, technical and cultural.

In socialist countries, planning makes it possible to guarantee a rapid transfer of the funds and the work force released by disarmament to socially useful services. By contrast, in capitalist countries, there is always the fear that a cutback in armaments production will aggravate unemployment and the general economic crisis. But it is precisely the countries most committed to the arms race which are experiencing the slowest economic growth, punctuated, moreover by periodic crises and ever-sharpening social conflicts. The issue is one of a profoundly unproductive process which is to the advantage of only

certain sectors and enterprises and not of development in general.

In most capitalist countries armaments expenditures absorb 2 to 6% of the social product. Disarmament, if put into effect by progressive degrees, would therefore require the reduction of economic resources of relatively slight significance, while tremendous social needs continue unresolved in the countries in question. There are therefore no grounds for fears that the means made available by disarmament will fail to be used, for peaceful purposes.

COMMISSION IV

A new world can be built. Hunger and poverty can be banished. Fascism, racism and discrimination can be ended for all times. Independence and equality for all people can be ensured. The peoples can be assured their sacred rights to live without fear. The fulfilment of the aspirations of the people of developing countries – forming two-thirds of mankind and living under the inhuman conditions of existence of under-development – can be achieved.

One billion dollars a day are spent on armaments and one billion people on our planet go hungry to bed each day. 400 million people suffer critical nutritional deficiency; 300 million women and children suffer from anaemia; 100 million children below 5 years of age are vulnerable to blindness because of vitamin deficiency and one billion people in 66 countries live in areas regularly stricken by malaria. 40% of the adult population of developing countries can neither read nor write and 30% of children are denied access to education.

What needs to be done and what can be done to change these inhuman conditions?

Military spending grows continuously. In developing countries it has been growing faster than the rate of growth of national income. Military spending has

swallowed up resources that could have been used for social and economic development, to fight misery and poverty. Even a 5% cut in global military spending fully committed to the cause of development would make it possible to feed 200 million children; build schools for 100 million pupils; teach 25 million people how to read and write; eradicate malaria – to mention just a few projects.

Of great significance and also in the vital interests of the nations of Africa, Asia and Latin America, would be the implementation of the proposal tabled by the Soviet Union in 1973. The proposal urged the permanent members of the Security Council simultaneously to reduce their military budgets by 10 percent and allocate part of the means thus released to increase the assistance to developing countries. Even a small percentage of the resources that go to armaments throughout the world could significantly boost the productive investments in developing countries and radically accelerate the pace of economic growth in the world's impoverished regions. Why are such reasonable proposals not being universally accepted? There are vested interests in the arms race – the interests of the military – industrial complexes and neo-colonial designs to control natural resources of the former colonial countries. In the present decade the USA has exported more arms to developing nations than all other countries combined.

These arms exports by imperialist countries have extended the arms race to certain sensitive regions in Africa, the Middle East, Asia and Latin America. They have fanned local conflicts, instigated and encouraged domestic strife and border conflicts aimed at destabilizing countries that refuse to submit to imperialist pressure. These tensions and conflicts compel some of the peace-loving neighbouring countries to divert a significant proportion of their resources for defending their national sovereignty and independence.

Disarmament and political detente would contribute significantly to development and to the establishment of entirely new conditions for a free development of

international cooperation and exchange, stripped of the elements of discrimination and domination, and firmly based on the principle of equal rights and mutual advantages.

Development and the establishment of a New International Economic Order require disarmament!

It is gratifying to note that the Special Session of the UN General Assembly Devoted to Disarmament has initiated in 1978 a study on Disarmament and Development to be carried out by an Inter-governmental Experts Group.

COMMISSION V

The overwhelming appeal from the Commission appeals to all delegates to realize the urgent need to combat the ceaseless anti-peace propaganda of most of the media in the capitalist countries. Whenever there are hopes of disarmament the propaganda tide of lying attacks on the socialist countries is let loose.

The Commission came to the conclusion that one of the first tasks of all delegates to the WPC Session is to work out ways in which the peace movement can break through this barrier imposed by the mass media.

A step forward was taken when the recent conference of UNESCO on the media and information affirmed by acclamation that the mass media can make a contribution "in strengthening peace and international understanding, promoting human rights and countering racism and incitements to war".

The participants believe that we should press this appeal on governments and different organizations in the various countries, and also back the appeal of Kurt Waldheim, General Secretary of the United Nations, that "One dollar of every thousand spent on arms should be devoted to efforts for disarmament."

The background of the discussion was the paper prepared by the WPC Disarmament Commission which drew attention to the increasing monopoly control of most of the mass media by the multinational interests that benefit from the arms race. At the same time many of the speakers pointed out the importance of expanding the opportunities for getting peace material into different forms of the media.

Some of the practical means which the Commission suggests the World Council should take are:

1. Taking measures to popularise the decisions of the UNESCO conference on mass media, notably those defining the 'Code of Conduct in the Age of Disarmament' and supporting the UNESCO-planned conference for next year on education for disarmament.
2. Calling an international symposia with the participation of journalists and peace workers on the subject "Mass Media and Disarmament".
3. Starting to publish news releases replying to the anti-peace propaganda in the mass media in the capitalist countries.

The conditions vary in different countries and it is the duty of all the delegates to seek ways in which the peace message can break through the barriers imposed by the media in so many parts of the world.

COMMISSION VI

The attention and the deliberations of the Commission were concentrated on the following issues:

- (i) – global environmental problems and disarmament
- (ii) – arms race and environment
- (iii) – peaceful use of nuclear energy

The global environmental problems were defined as problems related to the overall environment of the Planet and in relation to which the impact of human activities

may transcend not only the boundaries of states but also of geographical regions, and even those of continents.

A number of these global environmental problems was pointed out in the discussion with an elaboration of some interdependencies between man's activities, qualities of the related environmental components and the feed-back related to human welfare and well-being. The following issues were given as examples:

- (i) – marine life, its protection and development
- (ii) – ozone layers, their importance and protection
- (iii) – climate – threats created by thermal pollution etc.
- (iv) – long range transfer of gaseous and other forms of pollution via atmosphere
- (v) – sea pollution, caused by oil transport.

The appropriate solution of the above-mentioned and of many other global environmental problems is a precondition for the existence of humanity (in long range terms) and the basic precondition for further growth, development and improvement of living conditions. It must be also seen as a precondition for an equalisation of development levels between the less and more developed countries. It was stressed that the solution of those problems and the introduction of the New International Economic Order are in some aspects interrelated.

The Commission strongly emphasised that:

- peaceful co-existence and cooperation between nations;
 - full disarmament as an ultimate goal and arms limitation as an intermediate goal and
 - the use of released resources to meet the challenges of global environmental problems
- are the fundamental preconditions for an effective handling of the global problems of the environment in harmony with human needs and aspirations.

Arms race even without any direct military conflict has today the heaviest destructive impact on the natural and man-made environment. It results from the production of armaments, maintenance of arms stock, maintenance of armies and equipment in combat-readiness and disposal of

outdated stock.

The discussion indicated that probably up to 40% of the negative impacts of human activities on the environment are originated by the arms race.

In addition to the direct negative impact which it has on the environment, the arms race sharply restricts the programme and the scope of human activities aimed at a development and improvement of both the natural and man-made environment.

Each of the big United Nations conferences which followed the UN Conference on Environment (Stockholm 1972) indicated that there is a lack of resources to solve the problems under discussion. Those conferences were dedicated to Food, Human Health, Water Supply, Development of Human Settlements and Housing, Arresting of the Desertification Processes, and others.

The tragedy connected with the shortage of resources for those programmes is particularly evident when compared with the world-wide yearly military expenditure which amounts to some 400 billion dollars (in 1978). Two percent of that expenditure would be sufficient to provide the whole of humanity with healthy water supply and this sum is equivalent to the cost of accomodation of 60 million people in the developing parts of the world with all the necessary amenities.

Recognising the dramatic impact of the arms race on the environment, the Commission stresses the necessity to stop it and to channel the thus released resources towards constructive programmes of environmental development.

The issue of peaceful use of nuclear energy called very high attention of the Commission. The discussion made it clear that the whole issue continues to be controversial and must be seen in relation to the global and national challenges of social and economic development.

The processes of development call for appropriate use of all available resources, both natural and human, and for

a comprehensive approach to the fundamental issues of energy demand and supply.

Many participants pointed to the numerous benefits resulting from the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, isotopic techniques and of ionising radiation in agriculture, medicine, food processing and industry. The safety factor of nuclear power stations was also discussed.

Because of the impact of nuclear energy on international security, namely – the possibility of diverting certain nuclear materials and sensitive technologies to make nuclear weapons, the participants stressed the urgent need of strengthening the regime of nonproliferation, chiefly through making universal the provisions of NPT, while at the same time ensuring access to peaceful nuclear technologies under an effective international control.

The decisions of every nation whether to develop nuclear power should be made with regard to particular social and economic needs and local conditions, under efficient popular and governmental control, and taking into account the energy requirements, social and economic development, and factual data on nuclear power safety and reliability.

Finally, the Commission would like to stress that the single major pollution of human environment is at present – poverty. Every means should be used to fight that deadly illness of human society. Peace and disarmament are the preconditions to eradicate this plague.

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