

Such Third World views focus not so much on the economic and resource-use questions of armament and underdevelopment, but on the issue of military spending and armament (especially military spending and armament in and by the North) as an element of a nation's power and as a way to seek security.

Drawing on the UN studies some nations advocated a relationship between armament and underdevelopment on the basis of a mutual relationship to "security." It was argued that both armament and underdevelopment have a negative impact on security. Some claimed that over-armament, especially superpower nuclear armament and high arms spending in areas of regional conflict and tension, made individual nations and the international community less secure. It was also argued that security was reduced when money, labour, scientific and research resources were consumed by armament, instead of being devoted to addressing non-military challenges to security such as poverty, social injustice and environmental decay.

However, there was sharp division among nations about the definition of security, and about the appropriateness and usefulness of linking disarmament-development to security. France claimed that security played "the key role"<sup>55</sup> in any relationship between disarmament and development. Cameroon complained that it was being "overemphasized."<sup>56</sup> Sweden praised the inclusion of a new definition of security while China warned that no country should "use security as an excuse to shirk its responsibility for disarmament."<sup>57</sup>

The Netherlands remained reluctant to the end to recognize any relationship between disarmament and development at all, with or without security as a bridge. "Disarmament and development are distinct processes which should be promoted indepen-

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<sup>55</sup> Note Verbale from the Head of the French Delegation, A/Conf. 130/24, 11 September 1987, p.2.

<sup>56</sup> Letter from the Permanent Representative of Cameroon, A/Conf. 130/37, 11 September 1987, p.3.

<sup>57</sup> Note Verbale from the Delegation of China, A/Conf. 130/134, 11 September 1987, p.2.