

sive violence is a problem for us all, for all states, for all peoples. As the preamble to the Declaration states with unusual directness: "The time has therefore come to put an end to this situation".

Of course, there is some pious rhetoric in the Declaration. Deep feelings, deep convictions, are apt to be articulated in rhetorical language, as we are reminded when, after two centuries, we read the Declaration of the Rights of Man or the Declaration of Independence. Today's authors felt as deep a concern about the condition of man, even if their rhetoric did not achieve the same literary excellence as their eighteenth-century predecessors, and the historical situation out of which their Declaration arose holds more portent for the fate of mankind than the revolutionary seismic upheavals out of which two democracies were born.

When one moves from the Declaration to the Program of Action in the special session's final document, one is struck by the down-to-earth appraisal of existing military and security realities and the clearly-delineated steps for controlling the march of events. For example, Paragraph 45 reads:

Priorities in disarmament negotiations shall be: nuclear weapons; other weapons of mass destruction, including chemical weapons; conventional weapons, including any which may be deemed to be excessively injurious or have indiscriminate effects; and reduction of armed forces.

Five paragraphs later we have a description of a program of measures for nuclear disarmament as a first priority, concerning which negotiations should be initiated without delay:

The achievement of nuclear disarmament will require urgent negotiation of agreements at appropriate stages and with adequate measures of verification satisfactory to the states concerned for:

cessation of the qualitative improvement and development of nuclear-weapon systems;

cessation of the production of all types of nuclear weapons and their means of delivery, and the production of fissionable material for weapons purposes;

a comprehensive, phased program with agreed time-frames, whenever feasible, for progressive and balanced reduction of stockpiles of nuclear weapons and their means of delivery, leading to their ultimate and complete elimination at the earliest possible time.

The Program of Action lists the succession of necessary steps, to some extent in order of priority, though nothing is suggested that might block concurrent action — a comprehensive test-ban treaty, satisfactory conclusion of SALT II "followed promptly by further strategic arms negotiations", strengthened guarantees of the security of non-nuclear states, recognition and extension of nuclear-free zones, strengthened measures to ensure against nuclear proliferation, a brake on scientific research to produce new types and new systems of weapons, strengthened provisions for the disarmament of the seabed and outer space, reduction of conventional armaments, and the limitation and phased reduction of armed forces.

There are other things in the Program of Action that relate it to important happenings in the contemporary world. The Secretary-General is asked to conduct studies on the connection between the arms race — and disarmament — and the economic development of the Third World. Resources saved through cuts in armaments should be made available for Third World development. There is a continuing awareness of "the powerful current of opinion" that led to the holding of the special session and the need for the wide dissemination of information on disarmament and for public education. The United Nations and national governments, as well as international and national non-governmental organizations, are urged to do their part. We have come a long way from the bland assumption that the two great nuclear powers have the exclusive right to pursue their leisurely and balanced approach to disarmament and the limitation and eventual eradication of nuclear weapons.

This same new emphasis carries over into the changes in the machinery for deliberation and negotiation through which the Program of Action will be carried out. Though the changes seem slight, they are important.

To begin with, the United Nations, as representing all states and the interests of all states, is given the central role in the sphere of disarmament. A Disarmament Commission representative of all member states is to be the principal deliberative body, which will report on the implementation of the Program of Action to the General Assembly.

But for purposes of negotiation a smaller body is needed and the existing Committee on Disarmament is retained in slightly-enlarged form; its membership will include the nuclear powers and 32 to 35 non-nuclear states. Three changes are

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