

keeping. The promotion of economic and social development, with special reference to the needs of the people of the Third World, the achievement of progress towards a new international order, have to do with providing a stable base for a just international society on which peace and friendly relations among nations will rest. This is a recurrent theme in the Declaration and Program of Action. It is often stated in direct relation to the waste of human and material resources in the spiralling arms race. As we have already noted, provision is made to use resources saved through arms reduction to benefit Third World development.

But the imperative for co-operative action to promote a new international economic order can stand by itself. It may be assisted by savings on arms expenditures, just as it may be inhibited through the extravagant wastage of the arms race. The promotion of a juster order is itself a contribution to international security, just as the failure to promote such an order leads to tension and strain and conflict. The very contrast between those states, particularly the developed states, that are contributing to arms and those that are contributing to development is indicative of the serious distortion of values that renders our international society dangerously unstable.

On the other hand, the more insistent demand for a more equitable international order put forward by the developing nations introduces a strong element of hope. Barbara Ward, Lady Jackson, has reminded us that it resembles the popular pressure for social justice in nineteenth-century England, which resulted in the transformation of the new industrial society and the emergence of new laws and institutions to ensure a measure of equity and the guarantee of human rights. The force of law was placed behind social as well as political security.

Students of international relations are apt to draw a sharp distinction between national societies and what is sometimes called the international society. In a national society, the right of private violence has been eliminated under law, and it is the existence of the rule of law, expressed in multiple institutions, ordinances and regulations, which guarantees the citizen security and the right of self-fulfilment. In international society the right of violence on the part of the state (though recently called into question) is considered necessary to protect the security of the state and its citizens.

We have noticed that, in the very opening paragraph of the preamble to the United Nations declaration on disarmament,

the opinion was advanced that, in a nuclear age, the accumulation of weapons constituted "much more of a threat than a protection for the future of mankind". But throughout the text of the Declaration and Program of Action we have also noticed the persistence of the traditional belief in the connection between arms and security. The prevalent policy of the super-powers is founded on this belief, even if there is now some evidence that they are prepared to carry out what they conceive to be their responsibilities at a lower level of armament.

Concerned about this situation as raising obstacles to the carrying-out of the Program of Action aimed at the eventual elimination of nuclear and conventional arms, the special session in its final document called for actions complementary to measures for arms reductions that would assist in the process. These included: a new affirmation of the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations repudiating the use of force; measures to ease international tension; strengthened institutions and procedures for the peaceful settlement of disputes and the placing of peacekeeping on a permanent basis; and the promotion of a more stable world order by assisting in the economic and social development of Third World peoples.

What was lacking, however, was the identification of these and similar measures as the process of building international practice and international law, which — as in national societies — must provide the ultimate guarantee of security. In his book *The Growth of World Law*, Dr Percy E. Corbett, a distinguished authority on international law, traces the process of "law in the making" in contemporary world society as mankind grapples with the problems of an emergent international community, including the problems of security in a nuclear age. This is more than wishful thinking. Through the ages, men and nations have been architects of new societies that would meet their needs and guarantee their survival under drastically altered and threatening conditions.

It is a pity that the special session, in its final document, spent so much time on the techniques and mechanisms of disarmament and not more time on the political, economic and law-making decisions that could progressively bring into being an alternative system of security under law. However, as the final document states, the special session "marks not the end but rather the beginning of a new phase of the efforts of the United Nations in the field of disarmament". We have some guidance in the Declaration and the Program of Action,

*Distortion  
of values  
renders society  
dangerously  
unstable*