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# UNIT 10 DISARMAMENT AND PEACE MOVEMENT

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## 10.0 OBJECTIVES

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Disarmament and peace are the desired goal of humanity. After going through this unit you would be in position to :

- define the concepts of disarmament and peace;
- trace the history of the movements for disarmament and peace in the world; and
- discuss India's role and views on disarmament treaties so far signed.

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## 10.1 INTRODUCTION

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The word disarmament means the reduction or disbandment by a state of its military forces and weapons. The disarmament may be self imposed, externally imposed or due to international or regional treaties. Disarmament may again be partial or general. Partial disarmament stands for the reduction of special types of weapons which are generally considered to be more dangerous. General and complete disarmament stands for abolition of all kinds of weapons. Though the general disarmament is the ideal position, the partial disarmament is the pragmatic approach. The present advocates of disarmament generally talk in terms of partial disarmament. Reductions deadly weapons is the immediate goal while the general disarmament is the ultimate goal.

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## 10.2 THE RATIONALE OF DISARMAMENT

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The concept of disarmament has originated from an understanding that weapons are the source of tension which at times create wars. The stock piling of arms instills mutual fear and hostility into interstate relations. It is being argued that in order to stop wars or hostilities and to develop trust between the states, the weapons, which are considered to be the root of all these evils, are required to be eliminated.

Disarmament is necessary for maintaining peace and progress of the human civilization. The increasing stockpiles of armaments, continuing enlargement of the armed forces and the growing investment for research and development of the weapon technology of the world pose fresh threats to peace and development of the human race. The invention and development of nuclear weapons have posed the threat of total annihilation of the human race in the event of another world war. All these have made the people more conscious about disarmament because only the elimination of these weapons can ease the tension in the world and remove the fear of any world wide holocaust. The

invention and development of sophisticated military technology has made all countries vulnerable. None can be self-sufficient in defense. It is impossible for any single country to defend itself from the attack of any other country. So disarmament is the only way to make the world safe. The increasing investment in the military industry is also consuming money and useful resources which otherwise could be diverted to the development sectors. In the context of the growing poverty in large parts of the world, the increasing investment in military industry can further increase the poverty and accentuate the social tension in every society of the world. The huge expenditure in the defence sector can only be stopped or decreased if the disarmament at least of partial type is achieved.

### Check Your Progress 1

Note : i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answer with the model answer given at the end of the unit.

1). Discuss in details the rationale for disarmament.

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## 10.3 BRIEF HISTORY OF DISARMAMENT

The concept of disarmament is an old one. It has been in use as an instrument to achieve international security for a long time. Its dated history can be traced back to 546 B.C. when warring Chinese principalities met in a conference and signed a disarmament agreement to end protracted wars between them.

With the beginning of the modern period the urge for disarmament increased among the big powers. Several attempts were made by the Western powers and Russia. But none of these attempts could become successful because of deep rooted suspicions against the big powers. So the moves for disarmament were so designed that interests of the proposers could be protected. Not all disarmaments efforts ended in failure. Probably the first disarmament agreement in the modern age which still continuing was the one signed in 1817 by the Great Britain and the USA known as the Rush-Bagot Agreement it sought to demilitarize the Canadian American Frontier.

In 1899 first international disarmament conference was held in Hague. All European major powers attended the conference which ended without much success. However, it passed resolutions proscribing certain type of deadly weapons, and asking the states to limit the military expenses so that more funds could be diverted for developmental purpose. The second international disarmament conference was held again in Hague in 1907. The conference failed to stop the contemporary growing arms race.

When First World War broke out in 1914, all warring countries broke their commitments, and undertakings which had been given by them in different conferences and meetings. After the war, the first international organisation, named the League of Nations was established in 1920. It served as a forum for holding discussions on the issues connected with the disarmament. Disarmament had been one of the cherished goals of League of Nations, under the auspices of the League conferences were held, studies on disarmament were sponsored. The League of Nations convened the first World Disarmament Conference in 1932. The Conference however contributed to augment the process of disarmament.

Disarmament conferences were also held outside the League of Nations. The United States organised a Naval Conference in Washington in 1922. The Washington Naval Conference ended with a treaty which limited the size of warships, imposed restrictions on the building of warships and aircrafts for ten years. The treaty also banned the indiscriminate raising of naval bases in the Pacific.

The large scale destruction in Second World War and the devastating impact of the explosion of atom bombs on Japan again made the people anxious for the world peace and disarmament. The war ended with formation of the new world body, known as the United Nations, (UN). The UN General Assembly in its very first session in 1946 founded the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission (UNAEC), which was asked to make specific recommendations for the elimination of weapons. The UN General Assembly also called the UNAEC to prepare plan for the peaceful use of the atomic energy for the developmental purpose.

### Check Your Progress 2

**Note :** i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answer with the model answers given at the end of the unit.

1) Who signed the first disarmament agreement and when?

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2) Write short notes on:

a) Rush-Bagot Agreement

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b) Hague Disarmament Conference

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c) First World Disarmament Conference

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d) U.N.A.E.C.

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## 10.4 DISARMAMENT AGREEMENTS AND TREATIES

In the wake of the Second World war efforts for disarmament increased. Immediately after the war, the USA put forward a proposal, named as the Baruch Plan. In response

to the US plan, the USSR came out with the Gromyko Plan which was diametrically opposed to the Baruch Plan. After the failure of these plans, more plans were proposed by both the sides. In 1955 the USA proposed the Open Skies Plan. It was also rejected. The plans and proposals so far advocated by the different powers were so designed that the proposer's monopoly over its weapons remained frozen indefinitely.

However the disarmament movement started registering progress from the early 1960's. In 1950's both the USA and the USSR were placed under new administration. In USA General Eisenhower came in power following presidential election in 1952 and in the USSR due to Stalin's death a new leadership emerged. Besides, the USSR acquired the capability of making of nuclear weapons. It brought the USSR near to the nuclear capability of the USA. These developments created the way to achieve some success in disarmament.

In 1963 an agreement was signed. It has banned the nuclear tests in the atmosphere (in outer space and under water). In 1967 another agreement was signed to stop the deployment of the nuclear weapon in outer space. Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty was signed in 1968. The treaty has banned the acquisition of nuclear power capability by non-nuclear nations. The treaty was not signed by a few countries including India. India has termed the treaty as discriminatory. In 1971 another treaty was brought into the world book of statute, which has banned the deployment of nuclear arms in sea bed and ocean floor. In 1972 the convention on banning the biological weapons was held. SALT-I and SALT-II were signed in 1972 and 1979 respectively. Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) began in early 1970's between the USA and the USSR. The first SALT agreement was signed in 1972. It is a treaty limiting the stockpiling of the Antiballistic Missile systems (ABM). The negotiations for SALT-II had started in 1974 and ended in 1979 with the signing of the agreement by the USA and the USSR. As per the terms, the high contracting states agreed to destroy a portion of the arms in their arsenals. However, the treaty has remained non-ratified. The American senate did not ratify the treaty. But it was implemented without official sanctions. Another non-ratified treaty is the threshold Test Ban Treaty which was signed in 1974 by the USA and the USSR. It prohibited all tests with a yield of 150 kilotons. In 1987 the Intermediate Range Nuclear forces (INF) was signed between the USA and the USSR. The Treaty sanctioned for the destruction of intermediate range land-based nuclear weapons, stocked by both countries. All these agreements though have not made the world free from deadly weapons, have registered some progress towards the desired goal of disarmament.

### Check Your Progress 3

Note : i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answer with the model answer given at the end of the unit.

1) Write short notes on :

a) NPT

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a) SALT

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## 10.5 CONCEPT OF PEACE

Peace is an eternal desire of a human being. It is considered to be one of the highest values of life. The quotations like "Peace at any price", "The most disadvantageous peace is better than the most just war." "Peace is more important than all justice." "I prefer the most unjust peace to the justest war that was ever waged." "There never was a good war or bad peace." Show-how precious peace has been. The New Testament defines peace as absence of dissension, violence of war. Peace is also considered as concord, harmony, agreement between the two or more, tranquillity, quiet, etc. Peace is contrary to antagonistic hostilities, violence or war. Peace is freedom from or the cessation of war. It is a state of freedom from war.

A large number of peace concepts, proposals and plans have been put forward so far for the realisation of the everlasting peace—an eternal dream of the human being. In order to achieve peace many plans have been contemplated. Proposals for establishing federations of states, signing of treaties between and over nations and people, setting up of courts of arbitration, reforming the legal system and many other proposals have so far been advocated.

The concept of peace changes in response to the change in the context and characters of the ages. In medieval Europe the concept of peace was identified with the slogan of the unification of the Christian world against the invasions of the 'infidels'. The concept of peace was given communal orientations. During the same period a few scholars of course talked about secular peace. In the subsequent ages the peace concept became more secular and acquired universal contents. In the wake of the industrial revolution in England peace was demanded because it was found to be helpful for the development of capitalist society. In the years of Revolution the French people gave different orientation to the concept of peace. Reason and basic human rights became the contents of the concept of peace. With the emergence of national states the idea of federation of states or nations and the system of arbitration in international relations started coming to the fore.

When the wars began to be considered as patriotic acts and accordingly people were being mobilized to fight in the wars, people started becoming aware of the necessity for peace. Peace now became the people's concern.

In 19th century peace societies and movements began to come up and international peace conferences and organisations were founded for the first time. With the birth of Marxism and Marxist movements in mid 19th century a new approach took birth in the peace movement. It is being propagated that peace can be achieved only through the basic social transformation of the society. A classless society is only capable to establish peace.

Today we have two concepts of peace, which are offered to each other—Bourgeois concept and Marxist concept.

### Check Your Progress 4

**Note :** i) Use the space below for your answer.

ii) Check your answer with the model answer given at the end of the unit.

1) Why the people desire for peace?

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## 10.6 PEACE MOVEMENTS

The publication of Saint-Simon's "The Reorganization of European Society" coincided with the foundation of the peace societies. The first peace society was founded in the United States. Europe followed the suit. Early peace societies were engaged in the debates over the issues like just and unjust wars, need of violence, colonialism, etc. Debates gradually arose over the subjects such as linking peace with social issues, like the slavery, the emancipation of women, universal education and other human rights.

The national peace societies gradually felt the need of international movement. From mid 19th century international peace conferences began to be held. These international congresses debated over the issues of establishing world organisation of nations and of setting up of the international court of arbitration to solve the conflict. These peace congresses also discussed the questions of freedom of the colonial peoples. The individualists, came out with the concept that peace would be achieved by implementing the principle of free trade among the states. However, all these organisations and the peace movements were dominated by liberal democrats who passed many radical decisions but failed to implement any of the decisions.

In 1870, the followers of Marxism established the first International (The International Working Men's association). The Marxists consider that the transformation of society is the principal object of the working class movement and the transformed society can only guarantee the world peace. The state International passed a historic resolution which states that :

"The burden of war is borne mainly by the working class, in as much as war does not only deprive the workers of the means of subsistence but compels them to shed one another's blood. Armed peace paralyses the forces of production, asks the workers nothing but useless labour peace, which it is the first requisite of general well-being, must be consolidated by a new order of things which shall no longer recognise in society and existence of two classes, one of which is exploited by another."

The inception of the Marxist peace movement added a new dimension in the ongoing peace movement and rested the leadership of the movement from the idealist leaders of the movement.

By the beginning of the 20th century, a large number of peace societies had emerged on the international arena. But these societies failed to stop the breaking out of the First World War in 1914. During the war, most of the peace societies gave up their idealistic universal stand and responded to the nationalist call. After the War, new proposals and plans like Lenin's Decrees on peace, President Wilson's Fourteen Points, etc., were placed before the world. But the Second World War could not be stopped. The Second World war was most horrifying and most murderous weapon, the atom bomb was used in the war for the first time. The war has left a horrifying impact on the people of the world. The war ended with the beginning of a new age named as Nuclear Age. The new age gave birth to new fears and also dangers of total destruction of the civilisation if the nuclear war ever broke out. Thus the fears of nuclear war give birth to new peace concepts, new debates and new movements.

After the Second World War peace movement turned into a mass movement under the auspices of the World Peace Council. In different countries of the world the Council developed the organisational network. These organisations propagated the ideals of world peace. The writers, philosophers, artists of world fame joined this movement. Even Burtrand Russel the famous novelist cum philosopher also joined this movement. But the United States went on condemning the emerging peace movement in the post world war period as the ploy of the USSR and the communists. Despite the condemnation, the movement spread far and wide in the world. Now there are several peace organisations, which are not only propagating the ideals of peace, they have also added an academic dimension to the movement by encouraging research and identifying the problems and other connected issues. Many organizations are working as the think tank for the peace movement.

**Check Your Progress 5**

**Note :** i) Use the space below for your answer.

ii) Check your answer with the model answer given at the end of the unit.

1) What is the Marxist concept of peace?

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## **10.7 INDIA, AND PEACE MOVEMENTS AND DISARMAMENT**

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India is a peace loving nation. It achieved independence from centuries old British colonial rule through peaceful non-violent movements. India has a long tradition of peace and apathy towards war of any kind. Ashoka the Great renounced the use of weapon and abandoned the principles of war. This is one of the earliest examples of disarmament. Till the arrival of the Europeans in India, the Kings had fought wars and battles. But these battles did not affect the lives and properties of the common citizens. Pursuing the tradition of peace, India at the very dawn of its independence declared peace as the cornerstone of its policies. In 1954 India took the initiative to ban the nuclear tests. India's first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru proposed at the U.N. a standstill agreement in respect of the atomic tests. He knew that the total destruction of the existing weapons was not possible, so he wanted to stop the tests so that there might not be further escalation of nuclear weapons. Many countries of the world supported the view, but the big powers hardly paid any heed to the proposal. However, the proposal set the ball of disarmament in motion and countries in the UN became vocal in support of peace and disarmament. Consequently from early 1960s new initiatives towards the direction of disarmament started.

### **10.7.1 India and NPT**

The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) was concluded in 1967, kept open for signature in 1968 and was promulgated in 1970 for a period of 25 years. The NPT has been extended unconditionally and indefinitely by its Review and Extension Conference held in New York from 17th April to 12th May, 1995. The 1995 Conference has not suggested any change, alteration or modification of its provisions. The Conference even has not produced any review document. 178 states signed the treaty and 13 countries including India did not sign the NPT.

The NPT appears to be a pious attempt to stop the proliferation of nuclear weapon technology. Its contents, however, bear ample evidences to establish the fact that the five nuclear states who are also the veto-wielding permanent members of the Security Council, intend to monopolise the nuclear technology and to establish their hegemony over the world. The NPT demands that the present non nuclear states, and the states which are on the threshold of acquiring the nuclear capability must stop the research and making of nuclear weapons. India objected to such a treaty calling it discriminatory. India has categorically declared that it will not sign the Treaty in its present form because its indefinite extension only serves to perpetuate its discriminatory aspects which have created a division between the nuclear "haves" and "have nots".

### **10.7.2 India and CTBT**

The concept of Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty was mentioned in the NPT. The CTBT has been planned to realise the objective of general and complete nuclear disarmament. The CTBT in present form, however, is not intended to make the weapon free world

free from nuclear weapons. It would neither actually reduce the number of nuclear weapons, nor decrease the present offensive capabilities of the nuclear weapon states. The treaty asks the non-nuclear states not to go for testing of nuclear devices thus preventing them from emerging as nuclear capable states. It has no provision for reducing the nuclear capabilities of the weapon states. Like the NPT, the CTBT too wants to divide the world into nuclear haves and have-nots. India has, therefore, not signed the CTBT.

After the CTBT was ratified in 1996, negotiations on another treaty to cut off fissile material production have started in January, 1997. The proposed Fissile Material production Cut-off Treaty (FMCT) seeks to put a cut-off point in the sphere of fissile material production. India has refused to be a party in the FMCT. It has opposed the treaty on the same grounds that India put forward while opposing the NPT and the CTBT.

In fact all the three treaties have been planned in a way that the nuclear weapon states can control the nuclear technology and maintain their hegemony over the world. These treaties will not deter the weapon states to sharpen and improve their technology. Because they have reached a stage, now they can further improve their technology through computer and other indoor tests which have not been banned. They are also not willing to destroy the existing weapons within a time frame.

These treaties, therefore, are not in a position to eliminate the nuclear weapons leading to general and complete disarmament.

### Check Your Progress 6

**Note :** i) Use the space below for your answer.

ii) Check your answer with the model answer given at the end of the unit.

1) Why does India refuse to sign the NPT, CTBT and FCCT?

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## 10.8 LET US SUM UP

Though the armaments are the cause of tension and war, the nation-states are reluctant to disband the arms. Both from political and economic points of view, the states are compelled to pile up the stock of arms. Consequently, disarmament proposals are being neutralized.

The efforts for reduction of arms to ensure peace in the world during the inter war period and during the Cold War years have failed to check the stockpiling and inventions of more sophisticated and deadly weapons. India though the initiator of the disarmament movement, has refused to sign of the NPT, CTBT, etc., because of their discriminatory character.

## 10.9 KEY WORDS

**Antiballistic Missile Systems:** 'Defensive Strategy, in which missiles are deployed to counter the incoming missiles.

**Fissile:** It is capable of undergoing nuclear fission, fission means the action of dividing or splitting matter into two or more parts.

**NPT:** Treaty to check the horizontal proliferation of Nuclear weapon states.



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## 10.10 SOME USE BOOKS

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F.H. Hinsley, 1963, **Power and the Pursuit of Peace**, Cambridge.

Istvan Kende, The History of Peace : Concept and Organisations from the Late Middle Ages to the 1870s in **Journal of Peace Research**, Vol. 26, No. 3, 1989.

Ghanshyam Paradesi (ed.) : 1982, **Contemporary Peace Research**, New Delhi.

S.J.R. Bilgrami, **The Arms Race and Disarmament**, New Delhi.

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## 10.11 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

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### Check Your Progress 1

Inventions of deadly weapons, destruction in wars, devastating impact of the explosion of atom bomb on Japan during the closing days of the Second World War and the need of more resources for socio-economic development in the developing world are some of basic reasons for disarmament.

### Check Your Progress 2

- 1) Different Chinese Independent rulers in 546 B.C.
- 2)
  - a) Signed between the USA and the Great Britain in 1817 to demilitarise US-Canada border. It is still in vogue.
  - b) Hague Disarmament Conferences were held once in 1899 and again in 1909. First Conference prescribed the use of certain deadly weapons. It emphasised on reducing the military budget and increasing the developmental budget. Second Conference failed to stop the on going arms race.
  - c) First World Disarmament Conference was held in 1932 under the auspices of the League of Nations. It passed certain pious resolutions.
  - d) The UN founded the UNAEC (United Nations Atomic Energy Commission) in 1946. It was asked to prepare a plan for peaceful use of atomic power.

### Check Your Progress 3

- a) Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, first signed in 1968 for twenty five years. Again signed in 1995 for indefinite period. India has not yet signed the treaty because India considers it discriminatory.
- b) SALT I + II signed between the USA and the USSR. It is Strategic Armed Limitation Treaty.

### Check Your Progress 4

Peace is necessary for the even development of the human civilization

### Check Your Progress 5

Classless transformed society can only guarantee the world peace.

### Check Your Progress 6

Because the treaties are discriminatory, they have divided the world into nuclear haves and have-nots states.