

**ECONOMICS
OF
PEACE**

**A Summary of the
North South Roundtable**
Session in San Jose, Costa Rica
January 4-5, 1990

NORTH SOUTH ROUNDTABLE
Society for International Development
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PREFACE

The North South Roundtable held a special session on the Economics of Peace in San Jose, Costa Rica on January 4-5, 1990. The session was convened by President Oscar Arias of Costa Rica in order to discuss the new opportunities for peace in the 1990s and the prospects for diverting resources from armaments to social development.

The framework for the deliberations of the Roundtable was eloquently stated in the invitation letter of President Oscar Arias:

"The human costs of military expenditures are beyond any economic calculus. Globally, we are now spending over \$900 billion a year on armaments. Even the poor nations of the Third World are caught up in this tragic race... There is a chance that (in the 1990s) humanity may be persuaded to divert its energies from the accumulation of weapons to investment in development and peace... This meeting represents a most valuable opportunity to work together in the pursuit of peace"

As the meeting clearly recognized, the dramatic developments of the last year or so in reducing East-West tensions provide an unprecedented opportunity for actions towards peace and disarmament. But the challenge is broader. One needs fundamental rethinking, to move to a newer and broader concepts of security.

The meeting called for:

- the redefinition of the concept of security and the development of a vision of a post-cold war world;
- big reductions in military spending, conventional armed forces and arms transfers, the elimination of chemical weapons, and rapid progress towards the elimination of nuclear weapons;
- using the "peace dividend" from reduced military expenditure to ensure greater human development in both developing and developed countries;
- easing the economic and environmental imbalances underlying many existing international and national tensions;
- strengthening the UN and other international and regional machineries for conflict resolution; and
- reaffirming and extending the code of conduct contained in the UN Charter covering the renunciation of the use of military force, unilateral intervention in the affairs of other nations and the shipment of armaments.

The roundtable was attended by 25 high-level scholars and policy makers. Against the background of a stimulating opening address by President Arias, and a number of specially prepared papers, the sessions, engendered a lively discussion and reached a number of conclusions for action, including the above, for consideration by the policy makers at the national and international levels.

Lists of participants and the papers prepared for the session are appended. The papers are being edited by North South Roundtable and will be published in a forthcoming volume.

Rapporteurs for the meeting were Mary Kaldor and Hubert Wulf with assistance from Abul Maal Muhith. Their initial report was substantially revised by Mahbub ul and Khadija Haq in the light of comments received. I am grateful to all of them for having done such an excellent job. As Chairman of the North South Roundtable, I now issue this report taking full responsibility for its contents. The report attempts to reflect the major concerns and recommendations expressed by the participants without presuming to present a consensus on

each and every point, let alone to imply that each participant necessarily agrees with any points made.

We offer our grateful thanks to Costa Rica, especially President Oscar Arias and First Lady Margarita, for providing us this opportunity not only to discuss these vital issues but also to learn from Costa Rica's experience that a country can live, in fact can do well, without military. Costa Rica, which abolished its army in 1948, has achieved levels of economic and social welfare among the highest in the Third Nbrld. It has also been in a position to play an active role in the Central American peace process. In 1987, President Oscar Arias won the Nobel Peace Prize for his initiative in bringing about a ceasefire in Nicaragua. He stopped the contras from operating from Costa Rican territory and initiated a regional peace process in Central America. During the North-South Roundtable Arias proposed that the Panamanian people should take advantage of the current situation to follow Costa Rica's example and abolish the army.

The North South Roundtable is thankful to all the participants for making the session such a rich and stimulating experience. We particularly thank the World Federation of D.N. Associations, especially its President Maurice Strong, for providing intellectual and financial support for the meeting.

Since the North South Roundtable was held, the issues of disarmament and the possibilities of a peace dividend have become matters of front page news and debate in a number of countries, especially industrial countries. But the emphasis is still on incremental reductions in levels of armaments - not on defining a broader and more relevant approach to global collective security and exploring how to move towards it; the debate, notwithstanding some NATO discussion, has tended to be a series of individual national debates, rather than a collective exploration of the national moves to achieve a more peaceful world, based on purposeful action to diminish economic and social imbalances between countries and thus the causes of tension. It is this broader approach which this report explores and to which hopefully the world may be turning.

Richard Jolly
New York
may 16, 1990

ECONOMICS OF PEACE

Introduction

The North South Roundtable meeting in Costa Rica took place at an extraordinary moment in world history. The dramatic reduction of East-West tensions and the surge of democracy in Eastern Europe, as well as in many parts of the Third world, provide a unique opportunity for a new, way of ordering world relationships. It is now quite possible that human beings in the 21st century can settle conflicts through negotiation and the rule of law, without resort to the use of military force and violence.

While it is an extraordinary moment in history, it is also a fragile one. The very speed of the changes makes it difficult to comprehend the scope of the new opportunity. Established assumptions, institutions and confrontations need to be rapidly rethought. A new, vision of the world after the cold war needs to be developed. It needs to be a vision in which territorial security is achieved through negotiations not through military conflicts; in which persistence of global poverty, economic inequities and social injustices are regarded as major threats to a peaceful world order; in which protection of the global commons is viewed as protection of our common future; in which collective security lies in adherence to the rule of law and in policy actions to remove injustices. Today, perhaps the most urgent security need is a re-definition of *the* concept of security itself.

Military spending currently amounts to some \$1,000 billion per year. Over 80 percent of the global military expenditure is incurred by *the* industrial nations. But, unfortunately, the Third World countries have also been drawn into a tragic arms race. During the last three decades, military spending in the Third world has increased about three times faster than in the industrialized countries - from \$25 billion in 1960 to about \$160 billion in 1986, rising at an annual rate of 7.5 percent between 1960-e6. Of the additions to the global military expenditure during the period, nearly one-third was contributed by the Third world, even though average per capita income in developing countries is only one-twentieth of that of the industrialized countries.

However, over half of world military spending has been focused on confrontation in Europe. The end of the cold war could free the resources necessary to meet the real and ever-growing threats to human existence. It would only cost, for example, \$2-3 billion a year - one day's military expenditure - to tackle the readily preventable causes of child mortality worldwide and thereby reduce by half the 14 million under-five children dying unnecessarily each year. To take another example, less than two days' military spending of the industrial world or one country's military spending in the Third world would each year provide sufficient resources to expand primary school education to reach all the children in the *developing* countries by the year 2000.

It is within this context that the security, underpinned by international conflict resolution machinery and peace-keeping forces. This is also the essence of the concept of Common security put forward both by the Palm Commission and by Soviet President Gorbachev in recent years. This concept of security now has to be taken beyond the ideas of the Atlantic Charter, which were based on relations between governments. If we are to tackle the roots of violent conflicts, and not just establish conflict resolution machinery, and if we are to construct lasting constraints on the use of violence, international organizations need to become more democratically accountable. Already the globalization of the media, as well as numerous voluntary organizations, has created an international public opinion. We need to construct an international framework in which public opinion can be expressed and in which social movements, groups, institutions, associations and individuals can strengthen their active participation in the international decision-making process.

The concept of collective security must also include a collective effort to eliminate global poverty. We must begin to perceive global poverty as a common threat to the stability of national and international structures and as one of the major sources of environmental degradation. In the new vision of the future world under, persistence of huge economic disparities between nations and within nations has no place.

In the past, those who argued for an international system based on the rule of law and justice, instead of on military power, were participants in the Costa Rica Roundtable addressed the issues of disarmament, development, democracy and peace. The discussion ranged from broad issues of vision and redefinition of security and peace to specific proposals for nations and regions to generate and utilize a peace dividend. The participants recognized the need to be both visionary and practical in their analyses and in their recommendations.

Post-Cold War Vision

The vision of a post-cold war world has to be one in which human beings settle their conflicts without resort to military force. Some participants emphasized that the need to eliminate war, especially the danger of nuclear war, and to lessen the political role of armed forces, ought to be the primary driving force for a post-cold war world. Even if there were no economic savings to be made, we would still want to aim for a non-violent international order. Others argued that it was important to stress the "peace dividend", the resources released by big reductions in military spending. Using these resources to solve the problems of poverty and environment would be one of the ways of mobilizing popular support for tackling the forces which contribute to violent conflicts in the world.

All the participants agreed that there was an urgent need to return to the vision of a post-war world put forward by Roosevelt and Churchill in 1941 and which inspired the establishment of the United Nations. According to Roosevelt and Churchill, national security had to *become* a component of collective dubbed "idealists"; those who argued that military power was a necessary feature of international relations were called the "realists". Today, the terms have to be reversed. The approaches of the so-called realists cannot resolve the pressing problems of today; a continued framework of military power literally endangers the planet both because of the risks of nuclear war and because of the failure to tackle human and environmental problems. Today, the idealist approach is the only practical one for addressing the problems of an increasingly interdependent world. Idealism has become the new realism.

The Peace Dividend: Opportunities and obstacles

Disarmament and development have been discussed for many years in the United Nations, but in the past the opportunities and action taken were insufficient to interrupt the vicious cycle of armaments and underdevelopment. The ending of the cold war opens new opportunities to generate and make use of the "peace dividend".

This opportunity arises from a number of factors:

The trend of growing military expenditure is changing. Global military expenditure reached same one trillion dollars in 1987, about 5 1/2 percent of world GNP. But it then virtually stopped growing in 1987, for the first time since the beginning of the 1950s.

Arms transfers have ceased to increase during the 1980s after almost doubling during the 1970s. The total value of deliveries of major weapon systems remains within the range of US\$32-35 billion per year - an amount that was first reached at the end of the 1970s.

- The number of armed conflicts which were still militarily active have dropped from 36 in 1986 to 30 in 1989, following agreements concluded between warring parties of several conflicts. Of particular importance has been the cease-fire between Iran and Iraq and the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan.

- At present, the confrontation in Europe absorbs over half of world military spending, including 60 percent of US military spending and 80 percent of Soviet military spending. Any reduction in spending for the diminishing confrontation in Europe would need to be accompanied by equivalent increases in civil spending, including economic assistance to Eastern Europe and Third World, if global recession is to be avoided.

However, there are still major obstacles to the release of resources from the military sector.

- Cease-fires or agreements in particular regions of conflict do not mean that the conflicts are over - as the of Iran-Iraq or Afghanistan show.

- As yet, arms control talks have not produced much in Europe in the way of concrete results despite all the enthusiasm about the agreement on intermediate nuclear missiles in Europe. Other negotiations like the START negotiations and agreement on the ban on chemical weapons do not yet seem to be successful. Moreover, the INF agreement covers just three percent of the total nuclear arsenal and does not include a reduction in numbers of nuclear warheads. So 96 percent of the nuclear weapon systems are still in the hands of a few countries.

- Some of the conventional weapons unilaterally withdrawn from Eastern Europe have been exported to the Third World. Furthermore, nuclear, chemical, biological and especially ballistic-missile technology is increasingly being transferred to more countries. The danger that these weapons will be used in conflicts is constantly increasing.

- The unimpeded and uninterrupted investment in sophisticated new weaponry continues. It is true that the procurement budgets for the purchase of weapon systems have been cut or are stagnating in many countries. But it is equally true that the *research* and development in new weapon systems is still very strong. Plenty of new weapon systems are in the pipeline and the improved arms control climate between East and West can be reversed any time.

Earlier experience with attempts to define and achieve a peace dividend have shown real difficulties. Opposition arises from general scepticism and particular vested interests. Purposeful planning and political initiative and commitment are needed, if the potential for a peace dividend is to be realized.

Political support for a peace dividend would be much greater, it was suggested, if calculations were made in each country, showing the specific economic and social gains which could be obtained if same fraction of the resources at present being channeled to military purposes were diverted to economic and social uses. There was also need to define and quantify peace dividends in international terms, to show how elements of national disarmament could contribute positively to diminishing the international economic and social imbalances which at present add to international tensions.

Three alternative options of the economic order of magnitude of possible benefits of the peace dividend were presented at the meeting. Option A assumes a 50 percent reduction in the US and USSR military expenditures, with a 25 percent reduction in all other regions/countries. Option B assumes a 25 percent reduction in all countries/regions. Option C assumes a reduction of 25 percent in the USA and USSR, with a 10 percent reduction in all other countries/regions. It is further assumed that the resources freed will be used for domestic and international purposes (the latter divided between Eastern Europe and developing countries) according to following formula:

USA and USSR : domestic 80%, international 20% Other OECD countries : domestic 70%, international 30%

Eastern Europe: domestic 85%, international 15%.

Given the present amount of approximately 1,000 billion dollars world military expenditures, a peace dividend of each of these magnitudes would free substantial amounts for international development (See below). In particular, option A and B would do much to

provide the resources needed to restore economic growth in Africa and Latin America and tackle the debt problems in developing countries.

Table

Economic order of magnitude of an international peace dividend (in billion US \$ per year)

	option	option	option
	A	B	C
Reduction in military expenditure Available for Eastern Europe	351	215	169
Available for developing countries	35	17	14
Available for industrial countries	70	53	32
	246	145	123

It must be recognized that while the savings anticipated from arms reduction are like to benefit the global economy in the long run, short term difficulties are likely to be experienced on several levels. Firstly, many soldiers that are demobilized will need training before they are qualified to take a job outside the . military sector; social problems have already been created through disarmament. Secondly, weapons that are withdrawn from the armed forces are usually only of limited value for civilian use. The dismantling and conversion of major weapon system like tanks or aircraft, the exploding, sawing or hydraulically crushing of modern missiles, actually represents the destruction of products that have been manufactured at great cost to the economy. Thirdly, the long term economic benefit of greatest potential is the reorientation of the armament industry into non-military production. Very often, however, the specialization of this industry in the production of sophisticated weapon systems, the secrecy surrounding this industry and its insulation from the rest of the economy are barriers to a swift and smooth transition.

In summary, the strong economic and social incentives for arms control measures, disarmament, cuts in military expenditures and reductions of the arms trade exist both for the developing and industrialized countries (Fast and West). What is needed, however, are systematic plans for the process of reorientation to minimize the difficulties and to shay the economic and social benefits, in ways which can be used for mobilizing political support.

An Agenda for Action

A concrete agenda for action wens suggested by the participants in order to take advantage of the current opportunity.

1. A Code of Conduct:

The' post-cold war world order must be based on a new code of conduct for the superpowers, and indeed for all countries, developed and developing. In theory, it is no different from the ideals expounded in the Atlantic Charter and enshrined in the UN Charter. It calls for a reaffirmation of the principles of peaceful solution of disputes and non-intervention. Such a code of conduct will require law and peaceful negotiations as the solution to conflicts and a move to a world without arms. The orientation of defense and foreign policy objectives and instruments should change from an almost exclusive concern with military security, defense pacts, military bases and alliances to a broader concern for overall security of individuals from social violence, economic distress and environmental degradation. This new orientation will debar use of military force in resolving disputes between the superpowers, stop direct or indirect intervention of superpowers in any conflict between nations or between groups within a national boundary, eliminate the need for maintain7ng military bases by superpowers in third countries, and halt military assistance or shipment of arms to Third world countries.

2. New Concept of Security

Along with the adoption of such a code of conduct by the superpowers, a new concept of global security should be universally evolved and adopted. This concept of security will require attention to causes of individual insecurity and obstacles to realization of the full potential of all individuals. Thus the new concept of security will have to encompass strategies for development of economic potential of all nations, alleviation of poverty, elimination of the scourge of illiteracy and ignorance, prevention of the spread of narcotics and drugs, freedom from disease and malnutrition and protection of the ecological security of the current and the future generations.

3. Reduction of Military Expenditure

The adoption of a new code of conduct by the superpowers and the new definition of the concept of security has to be accompanied by substantial reduction of military expenditure by all countries including the Third world countries for whom defense expenditure is an unsustainable hemorrhage for their economic health. Agreed targets for such reductions in military expenditures should be worked out both for industrial nations and for developing countries. Simultaneously, regional and international mechanisms for dispute settlement and conflict resolution need to be put in place.

4. Removal of Nuclear Threat

As a matter of priority, modernization of all nuclear weapons and weapon production facilities need to be halted. Reduction in nuclear arsenal must be agreed to immediately with a view to their total elimination in the near future. A comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty should be targeted for 1992 while nuclear non-proliferation be universally agreed to within a specified period of time.

5. Reduction in Conventional Forces, Weapons Systems and Chemical Weapons

Main reductions in conventional armed forces by NATO and Warsaw Pact countries along with destruction of weapons systems by both the blocks, should be targeted over the next three to five years. Deep cuts linked with a structural change to a non-provocative defense posture, it is argued by some experts, will still retain the defensive capability of the former antagonists only affecting their aggressive potential. Chemical weapons should be eliminated over a period of five to ten years. It may begin with the destruction of 80 percent of the stockpile and the entire production capacity with immediate effect and cessation of all trade in chemical weapons or its components, and halt to establishment of any new capacity anywhere in the world. For the Third World, the action programme will consist of substantial reduction in defense expenditures in a phased manner, beginning with initial deep cuts. All arms transfers to the Third World, which constitute 75 percent of global transfers, must be frozen immediately so that discard of arms by industrialised countries does not end up as transfers to the Third World. Trade in arms should be targeted for elimination in a period of five years with immediate cessation of all military aid and credit for defense exports.

6. Action Plans for Conversion of Military and Armaments Capability

Simultaneously action plans must be made ready for conversion of military and armaments capability into other productive capacity. There is the issue of what to do with retrenched military personnel. Redeployment and retraining and same kind of adjustment assistance, has to be worked out for each nation. Detailed plans for destruction of military hardware including salvaging of scrap materials and conversion of selected equipment should be put in place. Conversion of military production capacity needs careful and comprehensive planning and, possibly, a phased programme of action geared toward social need. Conversion planning also demands linkage between arms reduction is not offset by "improvements" in the quality of the weapons system. Arms reduction also must not end up in transfer of arms to other countries. In fact, conversion planning needs to be emphasized for each country as well as for each block and each region.

7. International/Regional Peace-Keeping Mechanisms

It will be important to establish institutional mechanisms for conflict resolution as well as for policing disorders, civil upheavals and border conflicts. Such mechanisms can be regional or international or a combination of both. Regional security organizations need to be strengthened in relation to national governments. And procedures need to be developed for effective participation by non-governmental groups in security agencies. This would greatly facilitate conflict resolution.

8. Economic Security - Human Development Targets

Although peace-keeping is important, it is even more important to tackle the roots of insecurity - hunger, ignorance, poverty, health hazards and ecological degradation. Minimum goals should be established for human development and ecological security by the year 2000. Indicators of development should target achievements in health, education and nutrition levels, system of food security and provision of shelter. Objectives to achieve a sustainable relationship between population and environment are also needed together with human rights objectives. Savings from military expenditures should be linked to human development, especially survival, protection and development of children and to resolution of the debt crisis and revival of economic growth in the Third World, especially in least developed and other low income countries. Measures to resolve the debt crisis might be predicated upon

renunciation of arms trade and perhaps linked to the adoption of growth-oriented economic policies and commitment to targets for human development.

9. National Plans for Peace Dividend

Gains from reductions in military expenditure will largely be utilized for domestic programmes by all countries. But some provision should be made for increasing resource flows to the Third World from the industrialized countries as direct assistance. Plans for peace dividends may be prepared for individual countries as well as for blocks and regions to identify savings and their utilization. In the Third World, the gains will be much more than additional resource flow due to abandonment of militarism and the change in the value system it will bring about - a fact so evident in the experience of Costa Rica. Education, health and social welfare will need to be moved to the centre stage as the military value system is eroded and commitment to economic and human development receives greater priority.

Individual items of the 9-point agenda can be a focus for action individually or jointly, by one country or a region, at the same time or in a phased manner. It may be easier to achieve progress in some areas while others may move slowly. But achievement in any front will reinforce efforts in others.

Window of Opportunity

The decade of the 1990s has opened a window of opportunity for humankind to build a true human security for all based on the twin principles of rule of law and collective security. There is a growing realization that this is not only a unique opportunity but also a fragile one. If the nations of the world, especially the superpowers, do not take advantage of this within the next couple of years, the world could well slip back to the confrontations of the cold war years for another 10-20 years. That is why it is absolutely essential that everybody, the policy makers and the public, focus on the concrete ways that each nation can contribute towards this process. Already the USSR has embarked on big cuts in its military spending; countries of the East Europe have started taking actions along similar lines; the US, though not as yet engaged in such large cuts, has started the process; and in the developing world, India and Pakistan have also joined in this process by reducing their budgetary allocation for defense. These are all hopeful signs, but there needs to be a much broader coalition of countries and peoples in this and much deeper cuts in military expenditure.

The dominant challenge of the new decade is to replace the militaristic thinking that has driven the cold war years with a system of global security that relies on cooperative management of the planet. In order to improve the human condition and to enhance the stability of life on this planet it is imperative that we seize this opportunity and advance concrete, realistic programmes for disarmament, democracy, development and environmental protection - the four pillars of a bridge we need to build to the year 2000.

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LIST OF PAPERS PREPARED FOR COSTA RICA ROUNDTABLE

[These papers will be published by North South Roundtable in a forthcoming volume.]

- | | |
|---|---------------------|
| 1. The Economics of Peace | Oscar Arias |
| 2. "New Thinking" for coping with Regional conflicts | Robert McNamara |
| 3. "A Peace Dividend" for international support of Human Development in the 1990s | Richard Jolly |
| 4. Latin America: Lessons of the 80s, Bases for the new 90s | Cecilia Lopez |
| 5. Perspectives on Security: Europe and the world | Mary Kaldor |
| 6. A Peace Agenda for the Third World | Mahbub ul Haq |
| 7. Disarmament Problems of the South | Maurice Williams |
| 8. Moving to Peace African Perspectives | Olesegun Obasanjo |
| 9. From the Wall to the Bridge: The Peace Dividend in the 1990s | Douglas Roche |
| 10. Demilitarization & the Economics of Peace | Abul Maal A. Muhith |
| 11. Disarmament and Development: Old Issues, New Opportunities | Inga Thorsson |
| 12. The Arms Industry As a Victim of Peace | Herbert Wulf |

NORTH SOUTH ROUNDTABLE

The North South Roundtable, established in 1978 under the auspices of the Society for International Development, is an independent intellectual forum in which academics, researchers and policy makers from around the world come together to discuss global development issues. The Roundtable brings together experts from every continent in many fields, all sharing a commitment to orderly progress in human affairs, for the advancement of a constructive dialogue between North and South, developed and developing, rich and poor nations, in search of a more just and stable world order. In its various sessions the North South Roundtable seeks to identify and analyze the mutual interest of North and South. The ideas evolved in the Roundtable process. are disseminated to the general public, national decision makers and national and international organizations through Roundtable publications and through direct briefings.

NSRT activities are funded by governments, international organizations and foundations; its policies are determined by a Steering Committee.

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