TOWARDS A WAR-FREE WORLD

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TOWARDS A WAR-FREE WORLD

Annals of Pugwash 1994

Edited by

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Contents

Preface	vii
Notes on the Contributors	ix
Abbreviations and Acronyms	xi

Part I - Towards a Nuclear-Weapon-Free World

Georgi Arbatov	<i>Towards A War-Free World: A View from Russia</i>	1
Maj Britt Theorin	<i>Prevention of Proliferation: The NPT Review Conference and After; CTBT</i>	7
Julio Carasales	<i>Some Thoughts on the Approaching NPT 1995 Extension Conference</i>	15
Krishnaswami Subrahmanyam	<i>Prevention of Proliferation: The NPT Review Conference and After; CTBT</i>	22
Jozef Goldblat	<i>How to Render Nuclear Weapons Illegal</i>	30

Part II - Conventional Arms Reduction and Control

Jo Husbands	<i>Arms Transfers in a Time of Transition: The Context for Controls</i>	43
Jasjit Singh	<i>Managing the Transfer of Arms</i>	56
Jeffrey Boutwell	<i>The Global Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons</i>	65
Alexander Nikitin	<i>Non-Traditional Peace-keeping</i>	71

Part III - Local and Global Governance

Toshiki Mogami	<i>The Democratic Reform of the UN</i>	75
Omran El Shafei	<i>Greater Roles of the UN in the Prevention and Resolution of Conflict</i>	81
Marti Rabinowitch	<i>The Role of Non-Governmental Organizations in Governance</i>	84

Douglas Roche	<i>Education for World Citizenship and Global Responsibility</i>	91
Ana Maria Cetto	<i>Dialogue Between Histories</i>	97
Part IV - Towards Sustainability: World Resources and the Environmental Problem		
Noah Cox-George	<i>The New Economic Order: Internationalization of Environmental Costs</i>	101
Mikulas Huba	<i>The Environment - A New Dimension To Global Security</i>	109
Alfred Schmidt	<i>Sustainable Development</i>	117
Part V - Regional Confidence-Building Measures		
Klaus Gottstein	<i>Control of Regional Conflicts by Confidence-Building Measures</i>	125
Nansen Behar	<i>Confidence and Security-Building Measures in the Balkans</i>	130
Sverre Lodgaard	<i>Confidence-Building and Arms Control in the Middle East</i>	133
Marie Muller	<i>Sources of Tension and Conflict in Southern Africa and Possible Confidence-Building Measures</i>	142
Part VI - Ethical Challenges		
Roger Williamson	<i>Ethics, Survival and Belligerence: Faith and Dogma as a Source of Collaboration and Conflict</i>	149
Gerald Barney	<i>The Parliament of the World's Religions, The Millenium Institute and the Future of the Earth</i>	166
Serguei Kapitzza	<i>Population Dynamics and the Future of the World</i>	175
Appendix		
Statement of the Pugwash Council on the 44th Conference		181
Subject Index		189

PREFACE

The theme of the 44th Annual Pugwash Conference, held in July 1994 in Crete, was "Towards a War-Free World." The main effort of Pugwash in recent years has been directed towards the creation of a nuclear-weapon-free world (NFWF), and even this - much more limited - objective is still far from being achieved. Nevertheless, it is important to keep the ultimate objective in mind while pursuing the more immediate goals. In this particular case, the societal changes that will have to be introduced on the way to achieving a NFWF will also pave the way towards general and complete disarmament.

Actually, only one paper was presented at the Conference which dealt directly with the problem of a weapon-free world. This was written by a Russian veteran analyst and presented a view from Russia. Considering the chaotic situation existing in post-Cold War Russia, an opinion coming from there is bound to be pessimistic, even cynical, but surprisingly it is not dismissive of the idea of a war-free world, and it encourages collaboration towards it.

The bulk of the papers in this volume discuss the variety of steps that need to be taken on the way to a war-free world. These include international control of conventional weapons and the arms trade, and problems of world governance, but nuclear issues commanded much attention, in particular the problem of proliferation of nuclear weapons. Most of the papers in Part I were concerned with the decision to be taken at the Extension Conference in April/May 1995, on whether the Non-Proliferation Treaty, which is then coming to an end, should be extended indefinitely and unconditionally, or conditionally for a limited period or periods. There are strong arguments for and against both alternatives, but while there was no consensus in Pugwash on this issue there was general agreement that the nuclear weapon states must demonstrate at the Extension Conference a stronger commitment to general nuclear disarmament. The relevant question of the legality of the use of nuclear weapons is discussed in one paper, which includes the history of the various treaties and conventions relevant to nuclear warfare.

Whilst nuclear weapons pose a potential threat, conventional weapons are actually used all the time in the various current conflicts. The problem of the control of these weapons is the theme of the papers in Part II. It starts off with a comprehensive review of the production of arms and their international transfer, and the prospect of control of the arms trade. The need for a UN Register of small arms is stressed, leading in particular to the ban on the use of land mines and other indiscriminate weapons. A dedicated UN force to be concerned with these matters is recommended.

This leads on to Part III which is concerned with the development of more effective mechanisms for conflict resolution at global and local levels. A much greater role for the UN in preventing conflicts is evaluated and strongly advocated. One paper, after an erudite analysis of various means of governance, recommends a fundamental reorganization of society in which NGO's would play a major role. The basic issue of global governance is examined in another paper, which calls for a new global ethic, and for education for world citizenship. The last paper in this section considers the different ways in which the concept of global citizenship is viewed by people from different countries.

Part IV is concerned with problems which mainly affect the less developed countries. There is an analysis of the New International economic Order, in theory and in practice, and

a critical assay of the recommendations of the recent UN Conferences on environmental problems. This and other papers come to the conclusion that new approaches are needed at all levels, local, national and international. One paper goes into detail about sustainable development, mainly in regard to the depletion of natural resources and the pressing need to develop renewable energy resources.

The need for the creation of a climate conducive to the peaceful settlement of conflict is the essence of Part V, which deals with confidence-building measures, particularly at the regional level. After a general examination of the role of confidence-building measures in regional conflicts, three papers examine this issue in specific regions: the Balkans, the Middle East and Southern Africa.

Part VI is concerned with an entirely different issue, but relevant to all problems debated in Pugwash: the ethical challenges they pose. There is an extensive and erudite, largely philosophical, examination of the ethical dilemmas for modern society when dealing with conflicts. The role of religion in these matters comes under scrutiny. Religion is of course involved in one of the most intractable issues facing modern society: control of population growth. The importance of demographic factors in any future world order is discussed in another paper. Finally, in connection with the approaching end of the millennium, specific plans are described for a Millennium Institute in conjunction with the Parliament of the World's Religions.

The papers in this volume were extensively discussed at plenary sessions or in the Working Groups of the Conference. The outcome of these discussions is summarized in the appended Statement, issued by the Pugwash Council at the conclusion of the Conference. The authors of the chapters in this book participated in the Conference in their personal capacity, and the views expressed are their own. Finally, the Council Statement does not represent a consensus of the Conference but only of the members of the Council.

In editing this volume I was immensely helped by Tom Milne and David Rule, who have also prepared the camera-ready copy of the text. I wish to express my great indebtedness to them. I am also grateful to Sue England for her help in preparing the index.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ABM (Treaty)	Anti-Ballistic Missile (Treaty)
ACDA	Arms Control and Disarmament Agency
ANC	African National Congress
BWC	Biological Weapons Convention
CBM	confidence-building measure
CBW	chemical and biological weapons
CD	Conference on Disarmament (in Geneva)
CFE (Treaty)	Conventional Forces in Europe (Treaty)
CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States
CSBM	confidence- and security-building measure
CSCE	Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe
CTB (T)	comprehensive test ban (treaty)
CWC	Chemical Weapons Convention
EU	European Union
GDP	gross domestic product
GNP	gross national product
HEU	highly-enriched uranium
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency
ICBM	inter-continental ballistic missile
ICJ	International Court of Justice
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INF (Treaty)	Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (Treaty)
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO	non-governmental organization
NIEO	new international economic order
NPT	(Nuclear) Non-Proliferation Treaty
NWFW	nuclear-weapon-free world
NWFZ	nuclear-weapon-free zone
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OTA	Office of Technology Assessment
PTB(T)	Partial Test-Ban (Treaty)
SIPRI	Stockholm International Peace Research Institute
START	Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty
UNCED	United Nations Conference on Environment and Development
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
WUFUNA	World Federation of UN Associations