A World at the Crossroads: New Conflicts, New Solutions

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Annals of Pugwash 1993

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NEW SOLUTIONS**

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PREFACE

The dramatic change of the world situation caused by the collapse of the Soviet Union and the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact meant the end of the Cold War and induced widespread hopes for a new, more peaceful and stable world. In reality, the world of 1993 appeared beset with many new conflicts and new obstacles to the establishment of a new world order. How should present policies be changed and what steps need to be taken to approach the long-term goal of a peaceful and nuclear-weapon-free world? These are some of the problems addressed in this book by scientists and scholars from all over the world who gathered in Sweden in a Pugwash Conference on the theme "A World at the Crossroads: New Conflicts, New Solutions".

The problems are discussed in the book under the following themes:

1. Towards a Nuclear-Weapon-Free World.
2. Arms Reduction and Transfer.
3. The Resolution of Conflicts.
4. Equity and Sustainability.
5. Global Environmental Security.
6. Security in the Nordic/Baltic Region.

It is inconceivable that five states could insist indefinitely that possession of a nuclear deterrent is essential to their national security, without provoking other states into acquiring nuclear weapons for themselves. In order to stem nuclear proliferation it is necessary to create security environments that lessen the urge for nuclear possession. The creation of a Nuclear-Weapon-Free World is an enterprise on a grand scale and should be the highest political priority. The imminence of the 1995 NPT Extension Conference underscores the importance of further immediate steps towards genuine nuclear disarmament and to protect and strengthen the non-proliferation regime.

The fact that the Chemical Weapons Convention has been agreed upon and signed by more than 150 countries, and that the Preparatory Commission for its entry into force has been set up in the Hague and started its work, is very positive and gives a strong impetus for a similar agreement on biological weapons.

The United Nations Register of Conventional Arms is the only current international effort in which both supplier and recipient states are cooperating to address the excessive accumulation of conventional weapons worldwide. No further research is required, though, to conclude that the heinous nature of anti-personnel land-mines warrants a worldwide ban on their production and transfer. The long-term objective of constraints is to reduce the frequency and ferocity of conflict.

Most current conflicts are internal rather than international, and have roots in economic oppression, political repression, ethnic tensions, unequal access to natural resources, and shortcomings of national institutions. Greater reliance on preventive diplomacy, an early-warning system, more judicious use of sanctions, and tighter controls on arms transfer are necessary. In order to handle such problems the United Nations has undergone a transformation in the last three years from a debating society to an operational institution. The question in the medium to long term is: Can the UN sustain this role?

Emissions and wastes from the energy, industrial, agricultural, transportation,

forestry and military sectors have reached levels that are rapidly altering environmental conditions, and call for action on a regional to global scale. A review of the economic systems and their effects on the environment seems now as crucial as a review of the nuclear arms race was in the 1950s.

Global environmental change is a challenge to international security. Cross-boundary environmental issues and their impact on relations between states, are therefore a concern of Pugwash. With the benefits of its multi-disciplinary and multi-regional representation, Pugwash is uniquely placed to evaluate and address these potential threats to international security.

In the Nordic/Baltic region the strategic value for Russia of the sea lanes of communication along the Gulf of Finland and the Baltic sea, and the stationing, in the St Petersburg military district, of considerable numbers of troops, reflect potential sources of tension. These are compounded by the uncertain economic and political future of Russia and the other newly-independent states. The new strategic and political situation offers good prospects for a cooperative security regime in the region. Confidence-building measures created and implemented between the states participating in the CSCE process could be helpful also in other parts of the world, for example in the Middle East peace process.

The Appendix contains the text of the public statement issued by the Pugwash Council at the conclusion of the Hasseludden Conference. It summarizes the main points of the discussions but it is not intended to present a consensus of opinion. All authors of the chapters in this book participated in the Conference in their personal capacity, and the views expressed are their own.

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Abbreviations and Acronyms

A/P	anti-personnel
A/T	anti-tank
ABM	anti-ballistic missile
ACABQ	Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions
AFF	arming, firing and fusing system
AIDS	acquired immuno-deficiency syndrome
ALCM	air-launched cruise missile
ANZUS	Australia, New Zealand, United States of America (Pact)
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
BCCI	Bank of Credit and Commerce International
BLDP	Buddhist Liberal Democratic Party
BW	biological weapons
BWC	Biological Weapons Convention
C ³ I	command, control, communications and intelligence
CBM	confidence-building measure
CD	Conference on Disarmament
CENTO	Central Treaty Organization
CEP	Circular Error Probable
CFE	Conventional Forces in Europe
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States
CMEA	Council for Mutual Economic Assistance
COCOM	Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls
COPAZ	Commission para la paz (Peace Commission)
CPP	Cambodian People's Party
CPSU	Communist Party of the Soviet Union
CSBM	confidence and security-building measure
CSCE	Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe
CTB(T)	comprehensive test ban (treaty)
CW	chemical weapons
CWC	Chemical Weapons Convention
EBRD	European Bank for Reconstruction and Development
EC	European Community
ECE	Economic Commission for Europe
ECOSOC	Economic and Social Council
EEZ	exclusive economic zone
EOS	Earth observing system
ESS	environmental sensing system
EU	European Union
FBR	fast breeder reactor
FMLN	Farabundo Marti Front for National Liberation
FSU	former Soviet Union
FUNCINPEC	Front Uni National Pour un Cambodge Independent, Neutre, Pacifique et Cooperatif (United National Front for an Independent, Neutral, Peaceful and Cooperative Cambodia)

FY	financial year
GCD	general and complete disarmament
GNP	gross national product
GPALS	global protection against limited strikes
GPS	global positioning system
HEU	highly enriched uranium
HIV	human immuno-deficiency virus
HLW	high-level waste
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency
ICBM	intercontinental ballistic missile
ICF	inertial confinement fusion
ICJ	International Court of Justice
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
IGY	International Geophysical Year
IIASA	International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis
IISS	International Institute for Strategic Studies
INF	intermediate-range nuclear forces
IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
IPPNW	International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War
IRA	Irish Republican Army
ISOM	international space observation means
KPNLF	Khmer People's National Liberation Front
KR	Khmer Rouge
LEU	low-enriched uranium
LIS	laser isotope separation
LTBT	limited test ban treaty
LWR	light water reactor
MD	military district
MIRV	multiple independently-targettable re-entry vehicles
MOX	mixed oxide fuel
MTCR	Missile Technology Control Regime
MTPE	'Mission to Planet Earth'
MUF	materials unaccounted for
MX	missile experimental
NACC	North Atlantic Cooperation Council
NAM	non-aligned movement
NASA	National Aeronautics and Space Agency
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NFC	nuclear fuel centre
NFU	no-first-use
NGO	non-governmental organization
NNWC	non-nuclear-weapon country/ies
NNWS	non-nuclear-weapon state
NPT	Non-Proliferation Treaty
NWC	nuclear-weapon country/ies
NWFW	nuclear-weapon-free world
NWFZ	nuclear-weapon-free zone
NWS	nuclear-weapon state
OAS	Organization of American States

OAU	Organization of African Unity
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
ONUSAL	United Nations Organization Mission to El Salvador
OPANAL	Organization for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America
OPCW	Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons
OPEC	Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries
PAL	permissive action link
PDK	Party of Democratic Kampuchea
PEC	primary environmental care
PKO	peace-keeping operation
PLO	Palestinian Liberation Organization
PN(C)	Policia Nacional (Civil) ((Civil) National Police)
PTT	postal, telegraph and telecommunications
PWR	pressurized water reactor
R&D	research and development
S&T	science and technology
SCAR	Scientific Committee on Antarctic Research
SDI(O)	Strategic Defense Initiative (Organization)
SEATO	South-East Asia Treaty Organization
SECC	sustainable Earth's carrying capacity
SIPRI	Stockholm International Peace Research Institute
SLBM	sea-launched ballistic missile
SNC	Supreme National Council of Cambodia
SOC	State of Cambodia
SSA	sub-Saharan Africa
SSBN	Ship Submersible Ballistic Nuclear (Nuclear Missile Submarine)
START	Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (or Treaty)
SWAPO	South-West African People's Organization
UN	United Nations
UNAVEM	United Nations Angola Verification Mission
UNCED	United Nations Conference on Environment and Development
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNIDIR	United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research
UNITA	Union for the Total Independence of Angola
UNO	United Nations Organization
UNOSOM	United Nations Organization Mission to Somalia
UNPROFOR	UN Protection Force
UNSCOM	United Nations Special Commission on Iraq
UNSCR	United Nations Security Council Resolution
UNTAC	UN Transitional Authority for Cambodia
WEU	Western European Union
WHO	World Health Organization
WRI	World Resources Institute