

## **Actions to Enhance Global Security – Discussion Paper on WMD and Terrorism\***

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*This paper incorporates perspectives and recommendations developed at the WAAS-ELN- Dag Hammarskjöld University College conference on Nuclear Threats and Security in Dubrovnik in September 2012, as well as proposals submitted by participants in advance of the Zagreb conference, May 3-4, 2013. The document is intended to serve as a basis for discussion leading to the preparation of a formal presentation to the NATO conference on WMD in Split, May 6-7, 2013.*

At the time when we are preoccupied with the financial and economic crisis, with unemployment, climate change and ecological disasters, it is easy to lose sight of the fact that the greatest existential threat to our civilization, to life on Earth, is the continued threat of nuclear weapons and of nuclear weapons proliferation to state and non-state actors (Fig. 1).

Biological, chemical and nuclear weapons form weapons of mass destruction (WMD). Some military arsenals are enriched with 21<sup>st</sup> century weapons: high tech non-WMD, autonomous weapon systems, killer robots, laser weapons, prompt-strike non-WMD force and cyber weapons. In 1947, doomsday clock on the front page of the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* put the humankind at 7 minutes before midnight. Following the end of the Cold War in 1990 it was set at 17 minutes before midnight and now it is set at 5 minutes before midnight. Threats and dangers facing the contemporary world are interconnected and interdependent. War and violence make all problems and threats worse. As President D. D. Eisenhower said in his speech on August 16, 1953: "Every gun made, every warship launched, every rocket signifies in the final sense a theft from the hungry. The world in arms is not only spending money. It is spending the sweat of its labourers, the genius of its scientists." Current crises destroy human capital and harm and humiliate human dignity, which, together with the frustration resulting from unfulfilled expectations, provides fertile grounds for terrorism. Terrorism in turn aggravates all problems. Mistrust and tensions in economic, social and political spheres reinforce each other. Albeit advocating the abolition of nuclear weapons (NW), some

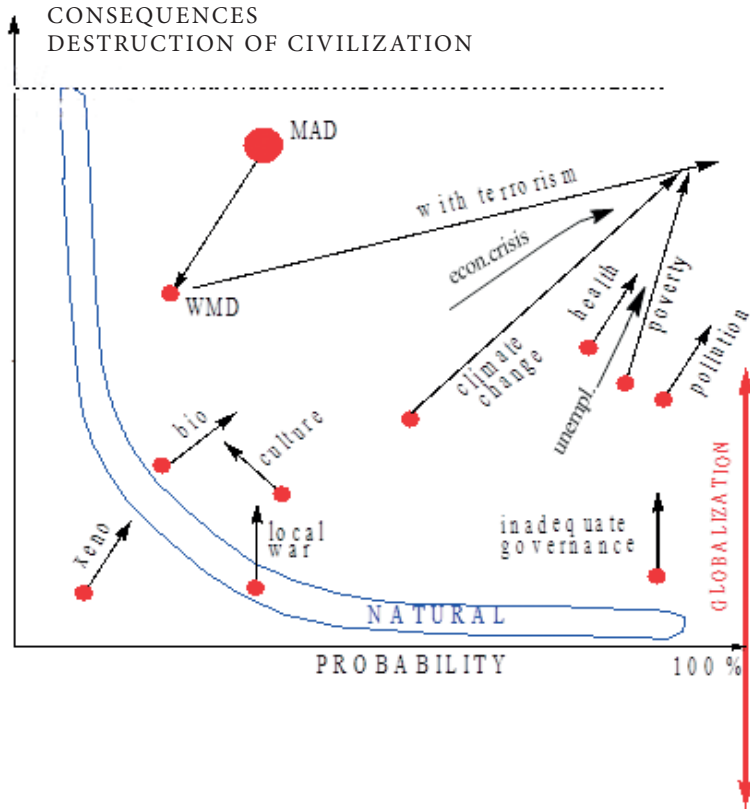


Fig. 1

argue for creating conditions for a nuclear-weapon-free world and this set of conditions could postpone the abolition of NW to a distant future.

It appears to be a mission impossible. Nevertheless, the global environment increasingly favours the abolition of WMD. First, growing unwillingness to tolerate the fact that a few states keep all the world hostage of their possible disagreement; second, significant accomplishments have been achieved: Chemical Weapons Convention, Biological Weapons Convention, land-mine and cluster-bomb prohibition agreements, Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) and the UN General Assembly on disarmament, and, most importantly, significant scientific breakthroughs; third, several nuclear-weapon-free zones (NWFZ) have been established: including 115 states, which equals to 39 per cent of world population; fourth, increasing awareness of most citizens of the world that meeting present dangers and threats with old approaches must end,

that new strategy for building mutual security – global, regional, of each sovereign state, of each human being – are required; fifth, in addition to several global organizations devoted to the abolition of WMD and even to the abolition of war, collaboration of sovereign states and civil organizations are formed, e.g. Middle Power Initiative; sixth, following the end of the Cold War, a relative agreement among the major military powers was formed convincing their political elites that WMD represent more danger than benefit; and seventh, pressure of other threats and a realization of catastrophic intertwining of all of them.

Reducing a multitude of diverse threats and dangers requires new, innovative, out-of-the-box ideas. This is a paramount challenge and we attempt here to humbly propose some – what we believe are practical and achievable actions:

1) Commit to remove all nuclear weapons from prompt-launch status globally over the next 10-15 years. As the first step, to be achieved within 5 years, the United States and Russia should remove from prompt-launch status 50 percent of strategic NW operationally deployed today.

2) Implement a 50 percent reduction in the U.S. tactical nuclear weapons now stationed in Europe, with a target for completing consolidation of all U.S. tactical nuclear weapons to the United States within five years; and with reciprocal steps by Russia. All other nuclear weapons states (NWS) should follow this action. In addition to the countries that have nuclear weapons, there are countries that have relied on protection from a foreign country. If their confidence in protection falters, they may be tempted to develop their own nuclear capabilities. Rather than depending on the balance of political blocks, all countries should depend on the global system for their security.

3) All States should affirm the goal of the complete abolition and elimination of nuclear weapons through a multilaterally-verified instrument – a Nuclear Weapons Convention.

4) All NWS should reduce the number of their NW to one half within 5 years.

5) Official declarations by all NWS of a No First Use policy, and adoption of Negative Security Assurances which states that nuclear weapons will never be used against countries that have legally bound themselves not to acquire nuclear weapons.

6) The NATO and Russia should work together – in the context of the NATO-Russia Council – to resolve the contentious issues related to missile defence. The establishment of Missile Defence Cooperation Centre and the pooling and sharing of data and information from early-warning radars and satellites should be implemented within the next 5 years through the new Euro-Atlantic Security Forum. Reciprocal transparency measures regarding missile defence systems and capabilities and annual declarations looking ahead 5-10 years (e.g. numbers of silos and mobile launchers, missiles, radars, ships, and so forth). Joint missile defence exercises should continue and written

political commitments not to deploy missile defences in ways that would undermine stability should be implemented.

7) Full funding and implementation of the International Monitoring System of the CTBT to ensure continued moratorium on nuclear testing, prior to the entry into force of the CTBT. It is crucial that Annex 2 countries sign and ratify the CTBT and the initiative of the USA would be an important leadership act (Russia, UK and France did sign and ratify).

8) Securing nuclear materials to prevent catastrophic nuclear terrorism. Materials necessary for building a nuclear bomb today are stored at hundreds of sites in 28 countries (down from 40 countries just over 10 years ago). But many of these sites are not well secured, leaving the material vulnerable to theft or sale on the black market. Important commitments were undertaken to secure nuclear materials and improve cooperation during the 2010 and 2012 Nuclear Security Summits. These could improve security for generations to come. Yet no global system for tracking, accounting for, managing and securing all weapons-usable nuclear materials is in place.

9) Without verification and transparency, nuclear security agreements cannot be completed with confidence. The US should launch a “verification initiative” that involves the US NW laboratories and global scientific experts in developing essential technologies and innovations for reducing and controlling nuclear weapons and materials. Taking the lead in fostering greater transparency sets an important base line for all nations and can facilitate future verification of nuclear materials and weapons.

10) Complete prohibition of the deployment and use of space weapons. Within 5 years the Information Exchange Pilot project for the International Code of Conduct for Outer Space Activities should be implemented using the new Euro-Atlantic Security Forum and the Missile Defence Cooperation Centre.

11) The stability and security of the global society is increasingly dependent on the operation of ICT system for both civilian and military purposes. National and international security systems depend on the access to reliable information from ICT systems to provide a measure of protection against unexpected threats. Any difference in the smooth operation of these monitoring systems could result in a dramatic escalation of tensions or false perception of threats leading to drastic consequences. ICT also serves as a core of social systems for health, education and human welfare. Most cyber-attacks constitute a direct, indiscriminate attack on innocent civilian populations. Extending the arms race into cyber-space multiplies the threats to global security and undermines the existing security systems. For both these reasons, cyber-attacks must be universally outlawed. New international laws are needed to outlaw the electronic form of aggression and terrorism completely, especially those directed against the civil functions essential for the survival and stability of modern society. The Euro-Atlantic Security Forum

can and should provide a venue to discuss and assess shared approaches to the defence of networks, responses to cyber-attacks and the means of strengthening international partnership to ensure cyber-security.

12) New weapons are constantly developed and the Euro-Atlantic Security Forum can and should provide a venue for assessment and, most importantly, for mutual confidence building.

13) Our global, fast changing world is marked by conflict areas superimposed on uncertainties and instabilities. It is essential to reduce and to resolve – as quickly as possible – these conflict areas. One such area is the Korean Peninsula, the other is the Middle East. The Middle East is the cradle of civilizations. Currently, the Middle East represents a vibrant domain of development, an important source of conventional energy – oil and gas – and it is a place of unnecessary, often violent confrontations, posing imminent threat with catastrophic consequences. Two issues dominate and intertwine: the unresolved dispute between Israel and Palestine and the nuclear energy programme of Iran (Iran claims it develops its facilities exclusively for peaceful use). It can prove its position since it is currently the chair of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) and could lead a process of establishing the Middle East WMDFZ. The Tehran Declaration (August 30-31, 2012) states: “State Parties to the Non Proliferation Treaty (NPT) have the obligation under the Article VI of the NPT to destroy all NW within a time bound framework, which is yet to be fulfilled.” NAM working paper sets 2025 as the deadline for the achievement of the elimination of NW. The previous chair of NAM, Egypt, and the future chair, Venezuela, belong to the NWFZ of Africa and Latin America, respectively. Leading a process of establishing the Middle East WMDFZ, Iran demonstrates its commitment to remain a non-nuclear weapon state and to adhere to NPT.

We re-emphasize: threats and dangers facing the contemporary world are interconnected and interdependent and we have to, almost simultaneously, address nearly all of them. This is a tall order, but as stressed in the Russell-Einstein Manifesto: our survival depends on accomplishing this task.

In 1961 the UN Declaration on the Prohibition of the Use of Nuclear and Thermo-nuclear Weapons, though not a binding international law, stated: “**The use of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons is contrary to the spirit, letter and aims of the United Nations and as such a direct violation of the Charter of the UN.**”

The NPT (1968) clearly calls for complete elimination of NW. The Article VI reads: “**Each of the Parties to the Treaty undertakes to pursue negotiation in good faith on the effective measures relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament, and on the treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control**” [bold added]. The Court clearly im-

posed an obligation on the NWS to demonstrate that good faith by concrete measures designed to lead to total disarmament, yet there has been no significant progress during the last 17 years. On the contrary, a rapid proliferation of NW is taking place and it is likely to spread further, unless specific measures are taken to de-legitimize the production and use of NW. The Court should now be requested to provide specific guidelines and the procedure for meeting the requirements of the NPT.

The problem of nuclear security cannot be resolved merely by the arms reduction negotiation and treaties. Even if all WMD were eliminated, the threat of their renewed production and use would remain. The establishment of a universal norm and a legal standard declaring the production, possession and use of WMD illegal must also constitute an essential component of any effective global security strategy. Only then would any immediate advantage of their use be offset by the assurance of future prosecution by the world community.

The most important legal expression concerning the lawfulness of the threat and the use of NW emerged in an advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice (ICJ Report 1996). The dissenting opinion aimed at strengthening the conclusion is even more important: “The use or the threat of use of NW is illegal in any circumstances whatsoever. [...] It contradicts the fundamental principle of dignity and worth of the human person on which all laws depend. It endangers the human environment in a manner which threatens the entirety of all life on the planet.” An instructive example is a recent Arms Trade Treaty (ATT). Over the years Conference on Disarmament has worked, but the consensus requirement stifled the process, and finally – when several countries supported by the NGOs (such as Oxfam) asked the Secretary General Ban Ki-moon to put the ATT to a swift vote in the UN General Assembly on April 3, 2013, the UN General Assembly adopted the ATT by a massive majority. This shows a success of innovative measures: cooperation of sovereign states and NGOs. The international law must be predicated on the rights of not only sovereign states but also on the rights of individual citizens within states/nations and the rights of humanity as a whole. The international rule of law needs to satisfy the need of our global, fast changing and yet diverse world. Therefore, together with the UN structure, various global organizations and networks of regional organizations such as Pugwash, the Club of Rome, European Leadership Network, International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN), Oxfam, Parliamentarians for Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament, International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, International Organizations of Lawyers Against Nuclear Arms, the International Network of Engineers and Scientists Against Proliferation and WAAS should be collectively engaged in proposing and finding the measures and solutions to overcome the present political and economic crisis. The world democratic structure has to be enriched ensuring anticipation and prevention of threats and conflicts. Various forms should be gradually introduced, e.g. the

UN Parliamentary Assembly and possible direct decision-making through referenda on vital issues such as the abolition of WMD, disarmament and war. Democracy can and should also be global, long-term, fast-response and anticipatory. In addition to the parliaments and governments of sovereign states, an involvement of various NGOs, IGOs and academic organizations proved to be useful.

Many problems subsist on the basis of deeply-seated incorrect misconceptions and prejudices regarding the utility and usefulness of WMD, and the necessity of war. A concerted effort of supportive civil society organizations and sympathetic sovereign governments is needed to conduct a global programme of education to challenge these myths and prejudices. Our goal is the Culture of Peace – introduced by F. Mayor and UNESCO.

The NATO is in many ways a unique structure. It should not be underestimated that one of the three pillars of the NATO is Science for Peace and Security, and that scientific research is among the most important generators of our global fast changing world. Since the world is no longer a bipolar confrontation, but our common global home, the NATO should and could fulfil the role of a significant actor guaranteeing global and human security.

- These recommended actions are based on numerous conferences organized by Pugwash, WAAS, ELN and many other NGOs, as well as the following materials: Building Mutual Security in the Euro-Atlantic Region (2013), Creating the Conditions and Building the Framework for a Nuclear Weapons-Free World (MPI, February 21-22, 2013), WSJ articles by George Schultz, Bill Perry, Henry Kissinger and Sam Nunn, and contributions by participants of the Zagreb May 3-4, 2013 pre-conference.

