

Governance for a Peaceful World: Security for All – But how and at What Price? *

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Abstract

The nuclear weapons issue is discussed by following ancient Buddhist wisdom in four claims: (1) serious security problems exist. (2) There are causes for these problems. (3) Solutions to the problems exist, and (4) there are ways to implement these solution.

Introduction

Global, regional and local sustainability is assumed to be the overarching issue; in other words, secured individual and collective survival in the short term and survival in the long term is the primary purpose of political and personal activity. Security, access to vital resources and satisfaction of all the other basic needs described Maslow are necessary for survival.

Achieving the sustainability goal requires power. By definition, power is the ability of an agent to produce the intended effect. If a nation does not have the power to offer security to its citizen, it has failed.

Power is more than physical strength as the story of David and Goliath shows. It is a mix of 'hardware' and 'software'. According to Kenneth Boulding [1] there are three methods for achieving power. One is the 'stick' method, it uses whatever is needed to overcome opposition; the stick method is the narrow interpretation of Darwin's survival of the fittest. The second road to power uses a more modern interpretation of Darwin emphasizing cooperation. The cooperative way to power is to offer a 'deal' to the others so that they allow you achieve your objectives; all sides should benefit in a good deal. The third way to power is through love; this is Boulding's 'kiss' power. It offers security as a gift and is prevalent inside a family and it is the kind of power advocated by religions.

Stick power is the currently predominant but failing national security paradigm. The more promising but less used security system offers a good deal to other nations. Some of the ideas to these two politically feasible methods discussed in the following originated in a 2010 Workshop on 'Global Governance for a World Without War' at the Wilfrid Laurier University, Waterloo, ON, Canada [2].

Problems of Strength Based Security

Security based on military strength is a multidimensional problem. The planet's ecosystem after a nuclear war may no longer be able to supply the vital services to higher life forms. The social order and the economy of a country are endangered by war action. The individual human suffering as a result of a modern war is beyond imagination. Growing up in Germany during WW2 I experienced what wars do to people. I saw Hamburg burn for days on end. After the war I visited the ruins of Dresden, and I saw the horrible pictures of human misery in the Museum of Hiroshima. The cybernetic control of a war system

and its weapons is a challenge of its own kind. Control of strength can fail by human or technical error. Accidental or deliberate large scale application of nuclear weapons could even spell the end of human civilization **Fig 1** illustrates the destructive potential at the height of the cold war relative to WW2 [3].

Imbalance Between Sword and Shield Technology

Weapons technology by far out performs defence ability. The advent of nuclear weapons leads to mutual assured destruction. There is no defence against nuclear weapons. Therefore, strength based security is no longer a rational option.

Non-zero Risk of Annihilation

There are thousands of nuclear weapons on hair-trigger alert that can be launched on warning within minutes. The risk of starting an accidental nuclear war is not negligible. The Cuba Crisis of 1962 and NATO's Able Archer military exercise in November 1983 are only two of many situations that brought humanity close to self-destruction in a nuclear war. Alan Philips [4] has documented many situations that could have triggered an unintended nuclear exchange. Do the deterrence benefits of stick power outweigh the risk of total annihilation? The dubious notion of security through deterrence is a feeble attempt to cover up the insecurity created by the weapons of mass destruction.

The Arms Race

Security is not determined by the absolute military strength of a nation but rather by the difference of military strength between opponents. Only the stronger one will win, and the vanquished will lose access to resources, if not life itself. In order to achieve security a nation must have the bigger stick. This leads necessarily to escalation and a prohibitively expensive arms race. The demise of the Soviet Union is an example for this problem.

Terrorism

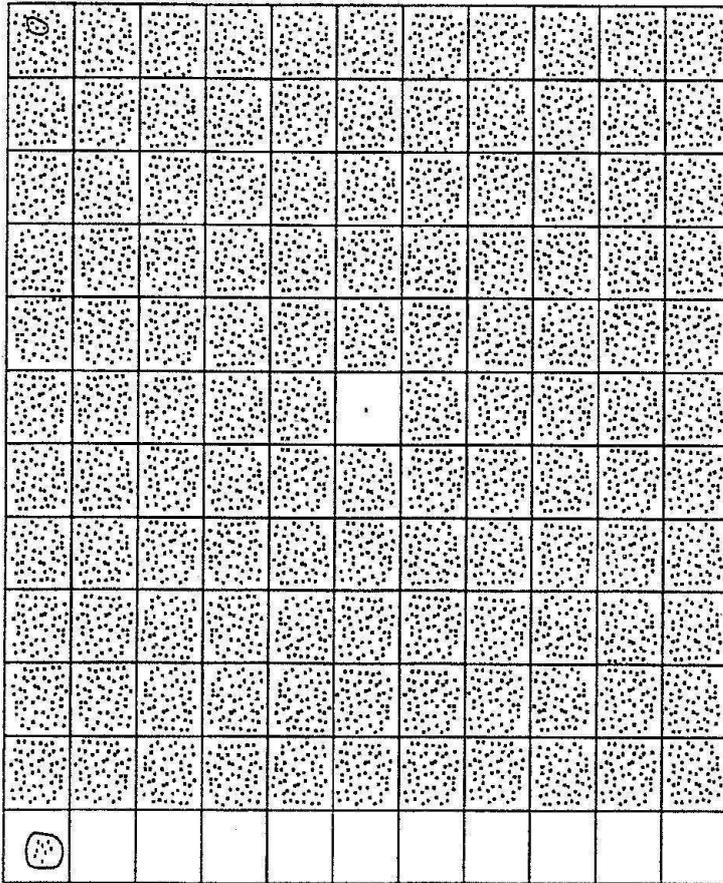
Terrorism is a direct consequence of the strength based security system, because the stronger nations take more than their fair share of vital resources. Individual or state terrorists with nuclear weapons or other weapons of mass destruction can paralyze the strongest nations and even continents.

Private Military Companies

Hired by financially strong industries, private military forces often operate outside the rule of law.

Environmental Consequences of War

War including the perpetual preparedness for war is environmentally destructive.



This updated version of the nuclear weapons chart is reprinted with permission from the Canadian Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War.

Fig. 1: Explosive Power in the world's nuclear arsenal at the time of the cold war. One dot represents the total explosive power released during the entire duration of WW2 by all sides of the conflict. The dots inside the circles represent the explosive power carried by a nuclear submarine. Ref. Harold Willens [3]

Security Based on Immoral Weaponry

Strength based security with total abolition of nuclear weapons has been proposed by Shultz et al [5]. This security system without nuclear weapons will likely be using other weapons of mass destruction, which are immoral and illegal due to their indiscriminate killing of innocent people. The proponents of this bigger stick security system need to be reminded of the 12th century Persian Philosopher Saadi's statement [6]: "If you do not care about the pain of others then you do not deserve to be called a human being", and of the appeal in the Russell- Einstein Manifesto [7]: "Remember your humanity ...". This proposal fails the sustainability test because it continues the expensive arms race and is based on risky deterrence.

Root Causes of Dangers Created by Strength Based Security Systems

Ignorance

Politicians and to a large degree the public have not become sufficiently conscious of the new situation, the deadly insecurity to all created by nuclear weapons.

Social Inertia

Historically, the belief that a nation's security depends on military strength is firmly rooted in humanity's evolution. Therefore, stick power is seen by many as 'realpolitik'. This way of thinking was valid in the past, when Thomas Jefferson said: "Those who hammer their guns into plows will plow for those who do not" and Chairman Mao said: "Political power comes largely from the barrel of a gun". While the advent of nuclear weapons requires a new thinking, most people strongly resist any change to the traditional security paradigm and believe as the abolition of nuclear weapons is unrealistic.

Misguided Notion of Sovereignty

Strong commitment to national sovereignty is a roadblock in the adaptation of a new security paradigm. Sovereign nations, particularly the nuclear weapons states are trying to achieve their goals by deterring others from interfering. However, Japan placed survival ahead of sovereignty after the experience of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Quotes:

"Sovereignty is the worse obstacle to the organization of peace ... The federal principle is the only way forward". - Lord Lothian, British Parliamentarian

"Unless some effective supranational government can be set up and brought quickly into action, the prospects of peace and human progress are dark and doubtful". - Winston Churchill

"As long as there are sovereign nations possessing great power, war is inevitable."
-- Albert Einstein

"Science has made unrestricted national sovereignty incompatible with human survival. The only possibilities are now world government or death". – Bertrand Russell, Philosopher

Resource Scarcity

Overpopulation, consumerism, and use of inappropriate technology are causing resource scarcity and conflicts. Sovereign nations will try to take more than their just share from the global commons. US President Bush said in Rio 1992: "the American way of life is not negotiable." One cannot expect Americans to peacefully reduce their consumption substantially, when relatively minor reductions in Greece recently caused a violent reaction.

World War 2 can be seen as a resource war. Germany and Japan tried to get access to resources by military conquests. When that failed both countries created an economic miracle by peacefully trading manufactured goods for vital resources.

Resources offer an opportunity for business profits. Therefore, vested interests such as the fossil fuel industry may be causing oil wars by deliberately delaying the transition to renewable energy resources for the purpose of making oil profits.

The Military Industrial Complex

Stick based security offers profits for the weapons industry. Even the nuclear weapons research laboratories object to disarmament for selfish reasons.

Unfair Distribution of Wealth

Inequity and the lack of full spectrum justice among nations is causing security threats. The rich nations will defend their advantage using the law of force. These causes are systemic in an unregulated world of sovereign nations and cannot be removed within the strength based security paradigm. In order to achieve security for all, a paradigm shift is necessary.

Solution: Cooperation Based Security Paradigm

A careful reading of Charles Darwin reveals that he placed greater importance on cooperation than on strength in the natural struggle for survival. Cooperation is also survival tool for nations.

Partial Cooperation

The first step to security by cooperation is to form alliances of nations with similar interests. The Alliance is a good deal for all members; it offers more security, because it can wield a bigger stick than the individual nation. NATO, Warsaw Pact, and the European Union are examples of nations cooperating for the sake of security albeit without leaving the strength based security paradigm completely. The members of these unions are just shifting the stick method of security to the supranational regional level. This partial cooperation based security system is still unsatisfactory, as the arms race will continue between alliances.

Inspired by Lloyd Axworthy's notion of a global public domain [8], I suggest that the 200 year experience of developing cooperation based security within a nation should be used to develop cooperation based security on a global scale. With existing technical means of communication and transportation the cooperation on a global scope is feasible. The Baha'i Community [9] suggests that cooperation would also be facilitated if the UN were to pick one auxiliary language for global communication while at the same time promoting the diversity of many local tongues.

Transition to Full Global Cooperation

“It will be just as easy for nations to get along in a republic of the world as it is for us to get along in the republic of the United States” - Harry S. Truman

“The world no longer has a choice between force and law. If civilization is to survive, it must choose the rule of law”. - Dwight D. Eisenhower

“There is no alternative to working together and using collective power to create a better world”.
- The UN Commission on Global Governance [10]

“...today’s global security problems more than ever require cooperative and multilateral solutions. ...the multilateral disarmament machinery has not lived up to the expectations of the international community ...”

- Berlin Statement by Foreign Ministers on nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation (2011-04-30).

“Today’s main challenges - climate change, security and the economy- can no longer be solved at the level of nation states alone. ... The ‘Post-Westphalian Constellation’ that is now taking shape, although committed to joint problem solving, lacks any new overriding governance system.”

- Klaus Linßenmeier, Executive Director, Heinrich Boell Foundation (October 2011)

Global cooperation on security is not just desirable, it is a necessity. In spite of this fact it will not be easy on to move nations in this direction. One reason for the resistance to change is that total annihilation in the stick based security system is only a probability. By contrast, the loss of dominance is a certainty for a nation that lays down her arms. One example of historical evidence for this is that after the dissolution of the Soviet Union NATO mercilessly expanded into Eastern Europe.

However, the complete transition from strength based security to cooperation based security promises enormous personal, social, economic, and environmental benefits for all. Clearly, cooperation leads to a more economic, more humane, more rational, more just and more ethical security system. The cost is a partial sacrifice of sovereignty, which is modest by comparison with the cost of the arms race and the risk of annihilation. This partial loss of freedom is not different from the sovereignty lost in the less effective bilateral and multilateral military agreements practiced in the old stick based security paradigm. A nation’s access to resources in the global commons will be limited by global law to only her fair share and not more.

Cooperation based security inside a quasi autonomous political entity such as municipality a province, a nation, a continental union or a world union is based on the law, which is enforced by police. There is a substantial difference between a police force and a military force. The mandate of police is to enforce the law, while the mandate of the military is to establish the law of force.

Removing Root Causes of Security Threats by a Cooperative System

In a cooperation based security system spanning the whole world the root causes for the threats to security can be removed by the same methods of good governance that are known from handling

internal conflicts within a nation. The rational and fair way to remove causes of insecurity is through legislation, jurisprudence, and executive powers. All three elements are relevant for good governance.

It is important to emphasize once more that a global executive power does not face an arms race problem. Like local police, the global executive force only deals with criminal elements and does not compete with an entity of equal strength. Therefore no nuclear weapons or other weapons of mass destruction are required for security; these weapons can be abolished and thereby the risk of total annihilation is eliminated.

Steps to remove causes of insecurity:

- The media can help educate the public on the dangers of the big stick security, and overcome ignorance and social inertia by pointing to the benefits of security based on good deals.
- Introducing 'enlightened sovereignty', the natural extension of enlightened self-interest [11] allows for making a good deal with the other nations.
- Resource wars can be replaced by legal battles in the International Court of Justice.
- The military industrial complex can redirect its efforts and resources to social programs.
- A fair distribution of wealth is established by international law, and enforced by a global constabulary. Enforced global justice will take the wind out of terrorism and remove extreme poverty.

How to Implement Cooperation Based Security for All

Modestly Successful Use of Existing Global Legislation and Judiciary

Existing global institutions can play a vital role in the transformation of the cooperation based security system. More fundamental changes of the global political architecture may be desirable in the long term, but are not necessary for a transition to cooperation based security.

International legislation is one of the pillars for cooperation based security. The World Federalists propose a world parliament with direct elections [12], and Robert Johansen [13] proposes an E-Parliament. Such substantial changes may be considered in the future, but the transition to cooperative global security system can be achieved by simply accepting the UN General Assembly as the global legislative.

The second pillar for cooperation based security is an international judiciary, which is already well established. The International Court of Justice (ICJ) is the principal judicial organ of the United Nations. It was established in June 1945 by the Charter of the United Nations and began work in April 1946. In 1996 the ICJ has expressed an advisory opinion on the legality of the threat or use of nuclear weapons. [14] According to the court's opinion the threat or use of nuclear weapons is contrary to existing humanitarian law, but permissible when the survival of the nation is at stake. This judgement indicates that the existing international law is not strong enough to eliminate the risk of annihilation. Additional laws are needed to deal with the

scourge of nuclear weapons. In the long term, international law should make even the possession of nuclear weapons illegal.

The International Criminal Court came into being in 2002 [15]. when 60 nations supported it. At present 121 Nations approved the ICC. Although major nations still do not yet recognize the authority of this court, it has at least in participating countries jurisdiction on genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes, and beginning in 2017 on the crime of aggression. In spite of major shortcomings in global representations, the court has already made some rulings at the supranational level.

Modifying the Global Executive Power

An effective international executive is missing in today's global political architecture. The United Nations' Security Council is missing a global constabulary to enforce international law. Peter Langille [16] is proposing the UN Emergency Peace Service; it would supplement existing multinational UN forces that are too slow in their reaction. The UN Security Council handicapped by the Veto right of some members. In general the Security Council is in need of serious reform, which seems to be difficult to achieve [17]

Following the example of the international criminal Court, or the middle power Initiative, I suggest concrete steps be taken towards establishing a functioning global executive power. Forming a coalition of nations that are willing to respect a supranational executive would be a good start. The nations that formed the New Agenda Coalition of Douglas Roche's Middle Power Initiative [18] and all those who are parties of the Rome Statute for the International Criminal Court may be willing to be signatories a of the global executive statute. With a growing number of cooperating nations, the UN Security council will have to listen, or be reformed and morph into an effective global executive power.

Cooperative Security System and Nuclear Weapons Abolition

Nuclear weapons abolition is feasible in a cooperation based security system. However, as long as the arms race continues, some nuclear weapon states will refuse to abolish their nuclear weapons because they cannot afford to develop an alternative stick based security. Currently the pecking order among nations is determined by their military strength. The pecking order in turn determines the access to resources. Unless fair access to resources is globally regulated by enforceable international law, strong nations will try to grab more than their fair share of the global commons, and other states will keep their nuclear weapons in order to prevent that. Unless global justice is realized by the force of law, terrorists will keep trying to get a hold of nuclear weapons. In full global cooperative security system the abolition of nuclear weapons is automatic.

Conclusion

With the advent of nuclear weapons the traditional and current system of security based on military strength is no longer feasible; the arms race and the risk of total annihilation of the human civilization are systemic flaws that cannot be eliminated in a strength based security system.

Cooperation based security can be expanded beyond the national level, military alliances and continental unions to a world union of nations. This expansion of cooperation is feasible through existing communication and transport technology. The transition to a global cooperation based security

paradigm allows for systematic elimination of the root causes of conflict. This supra-national solution to the security problem is more rational, as it eliminates the risk of self destruction; it is more humane as it removes the need for nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction; it is more economic and environmentally friendly as it eliminates the arms race; and it is more just, as it replaces the law of force by the force of law.

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Note: most Quotes listed can be found at the World Federalist Movement of Canada Vancouver Branch website: What Leaders Say About Global Governance: <http://www.vcn.bc.ca/wfcvb/quotesdm.html>

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