

The world is at a crucial turning point. Behind us: almost half a century of stifling cold war and management of superpower confrontation. Before us: the historic chance to move towards a new era of peace, cooperation and dialogue.

Although the old order is gone, a coherently structured new order offering a predictable framework for international intercourse is not yet in place. Conflict management and international cooperation are vital in this period of transition.

Moreover, the new era is inconceivable without a redefinition of the interrelationship between national and global interests, without new institutions, mechanisms and instruments, and without effective political leadership.

The immediate challenge is to establish common structures and a set of rules into which all the new state actors can be integrated and can manage their relations and conflicts. The creation of such a modernized world order may take some 10 to 20 years.

Beyond this, the world community is at present not equipped to deal efficiently with the new threats, which had so far been overshadowed by the cold war but which today are more and more understood as menaces to mankind: environmental degradation and biospheric depletion, climate change, the emission of greenhouse gases, the demographic explosion and transborder population movements, AIDS, drug trafficking, ethnic and regional conflicts, the callous disregard of human rights and the specter of nuclear proliferation and terrorism. A new cooperative global order must be devised to safeguard mankind from self-destruction.

* Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany (1974-1982).

The search for global order

*Helmut Schmidt**

New dangers in the post-cold war era

As political units disintegrate into yet smaller units, the national interest moves again to center stage. The quest by minorities for self-determination causes further complication, undercutting the sovereignty of a larger entity.

In the process, a complex set of territorial disputes may arise, which the international community must help to resolve. Yugoslavia or Azerbaijan serve as unhappy reminders of the potency of nationalism and the drive toward political fragmentation.

In Europe, there is some concern about a possible tendency toward hegemony of Russia and of Germany. The former represents a danger not only for Eastern Europe but for the entire continent. As yet, Europe has no mechanism such as the creation of a European Security Council to counteract such developments.

We may also witness mass migrations across sovereign borders of a staggering magnitude. This is bound to lead to new types of conflict—from police-type interventions escalating into local and regional armed conflicts or wars.

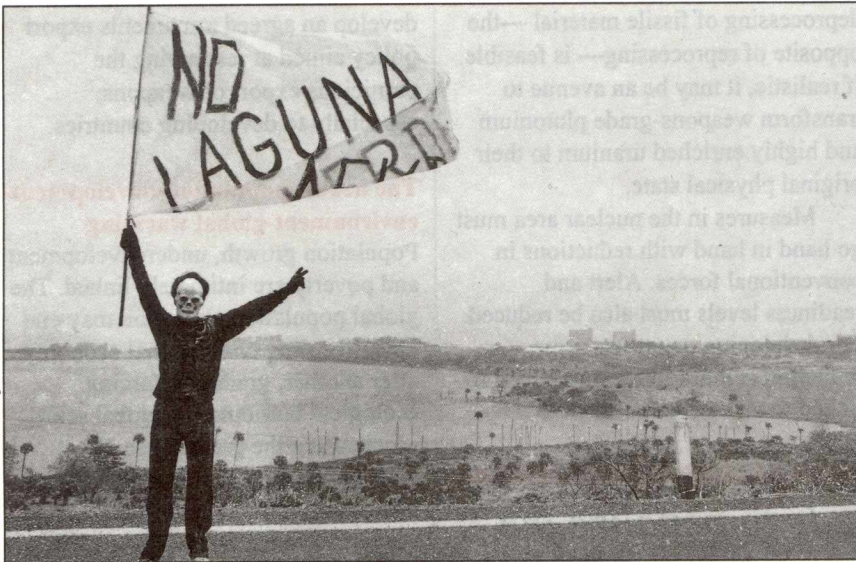
Such migratory processes will not be stemmed unless the main

determining factors such as overpopulation, environmental degradation, and economic and social underdevelopment are alleviated.

Worldwide, conflicts between ideologies persist. It is possible that religions and their political interpretations may turn into the ideological instrument for carrying on conflicts which in reality originate from hunger, poverty or destitute economic conditions. The re-emergence of ideological conflicts disguised as religious conflicts might be a prime source of future tensions.

Local violence may also escalate all over the world, mostly as mutual violence rather than one party indulging in violence against another party. In large parts of the world, handguns and weapons are readily available to individuals, exacerbating problems of local violence, crime and policing.

Efforts must be made to penalize the possession of handguns and weapons and enforce legislation. This is above all a question of leadership and political will. Local activism may also be an effective way to tackle this problem, another—if present conditions persist—may be international intervention.



Daniel Mendoza / Imagenlatina.

Safety and waste disposal, obstacles to a wider use of nuclear power.

Peace and security

While the cold war period has expired, its ultimate instruments are far from being eliminated. Previously, weapons of mass destruction were in the domain of a few countries. Today, partly as a result of a disintegrating nuclear-armed superpower, a larger number of countries are within reach of their possession. This threatens to induce new types of conflict.

Collective efforts must be mounted to prevent the leakage and proliferation of nuclear weapons, hardware and technologies. Equally, the spread of chemical, biological weapons and ballistic missiles must be brought under control.

In the wake of the breakup of the Soviet Union three distinct problems are endangering nuclear non-proliferation:

Loose nukes. There are some 15,000 tactical nuclear weapons and 12,000 strategic weapons in the territory of the former Soviet Union, whose existence per se poses obvious risks. However, the successor states—the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)—are neither technically nor financially capable of dismantling such a large number of nuclear devices in short order. The cost of their dismantling and destruction is in the

order of several billion US dollars per year. The Western countries must speedily provide technical and large-scale financial assistance for the disposal facilities, control capabilities and storage technologies of fissile products.

White collar mercenaries. The know-how of nuclear weaponry may be spread by hundreds of thousands of now jobless engineers, scientists, technicians and specialists. Apart from a mere monitoring of such disquieting developments, the international community must create and fund

nuclear mercenaries from CIS countries. This would exacerbate the problem of nuclear proliferation. Measures should therefore be taken in the CIS countries to prevent the brain drain of nuclear expertise.

The adherence to the nuclear non-proliferation treaty (NPT) must be broadened. States should be approached both on a regional basis and through the United Nations. Greater authority must be conferred and substantial funding granted to the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) to carry out challenge inspection of all nuclear facilities.

More NPT signatories should adopt the policy of the G-7 countries—cooperation on civilian nuclear matters only with those countries which accept full-scope safeguards.

The NPT review and extension process should yield certain trade-offs: all nuclear weapon states should voluntarily commit themselves to signing the total nuclear test ban treaty, subscribe to the principle of non first use of nuclear weapons, and pledge not to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear states and nuclear weapon-free zones.

In North East Asia, a spiraling danger of proliferation lingers since

“A new cooperative global order must be devised to safeguard mankind from self-destruction”

appropriate employment programs, in conjunction with the dismantling of nuclear weapons and civilian nuclear programs to improve the safety standards of nuclear plants.

Nuclear aspirations of states. Especially in the Middle East and Asia, countries with clandestine nuclear weapons programs and ambitions may attempt to attract

North Korea could become a nuclear weapon state by the beginning of 1993. If agreements are concluded and implemented putting all North Korean nuclear installations under international surveillance in accordance with the IAEA safeguard regime, the region may witness a peaceful revolution comparable to that of Central Europe in 1989-90.

If no agreements are concluded, a nuclear North Korea may emerge with major implications for South Korea's military ambitions and for the strategic choices of the United States, Japan, China and Russia.

The nuclear non-proliferation treaty will have to be reviewed in 1995. As a minimum, the treaty should be extended for a further 25 years. This period must be used to strengthen non-proliferation, including provisions to prevent signatories from withdrawing.

deprocessing of fissile material—the opposite of reprocessing—is feasible. If realistic, it may be an avenue to transform weapons-grade plutonium and highly enriched uranium to their original physical state.

Measures in the nuclear area must go hand in hand with reductions in conventional forces. Alert and readiness levels must also be reduced. For developing countries, arms reduction is more likely to succeed if linked to an incentive.

develop an agreed armaments export policy aimed at restraining the pernicious export of weapons, especially to developing countries.

The nexus: population-development-environment-global warming

Population growth, underdevelopment and poverty are intimately linked. The global population explosion may end up suffocating one national economy after another, gradually forcing ecological burnout on a global scale, accelerating the greenhouse effect with devastating rise in sea level and loss of agricultural lands, and triggering considerable population movements which would intensify the spiral of ever more poverty, disease and conflicts.

The population explosion. World population presently exceeds 5 billion and is doubling every 40 years. Different scenarios estimate that by the year 2025, world population may reach anywhere between 8 and 14 billion. Whether the low or the high estimate will materialize depends on policies and measures taken in the next few years. Twenty years ago population growth was cast in terms of North-South antagonisms. Today (contrary to the rest of the world including most of the Far East, South East Asia and Latin America) the African and Islamic countries are

“Efforts must be made to penalize the possession of handguns and weapons and enforce legislation”

Irrespective of the time and cost factors involved, the elimination of all nuclear weapons should unambiguously be declared a long-term objective.

The elimination and destruction of all nuclear weapons—and related clean-up operations—will be extremely costly. For the US and the CIS this effort may absorb about 10% of the defense budget or, for each country, more than US \$20 billion a year.

Some of the non-fissile parts can be destroyed, while the fissile material will have to be stored. The International Nuclear Fuel Cycle Evaluation explored the issue of international plutonium storage for energy related reasons. This should be re-examined from the security perspective.

Until such a treaty can be concluded, negotiations should be continued aiming at a reduction of former Soviet warheads to 1 000 or 2 000. British and French nuclear weapons should then also be brought to account.

The scientific community may have to determine whether

There should be clear rewards for reduction, e.g. by tying official development assistance to the military expenditures of a country. The lower the military expenditures, the higher the chance of it receiving substantial development assistance.

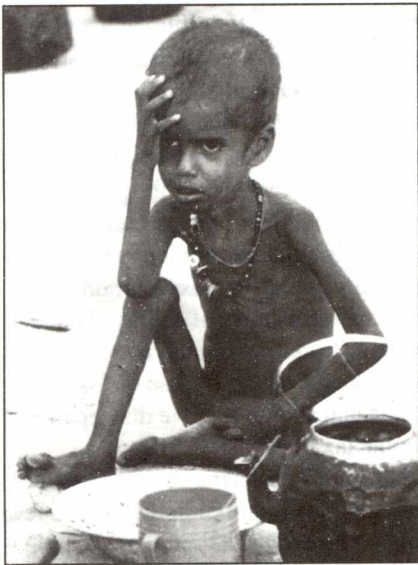
To curb the proliferation of biological weapons, incentives could be equally effective. The relations between biological weapons development and human vaccination is so close that some vaccines have dual applicability.

A fund could therefore be established to finance vaccination programs for those countries which subscribe to a biological weapons convention and open their countries up to inspection.

The arms trade remains unregulated and beyond any effective governmental or international control. The industrialized countries should

growing dramatically. This suggests that policies must be devised in the regional rather than the global context. If, by the year 2040, 10 billion people are to enjoy the same opportunities as the present generation—without pushing the planet beyond critical thresholds—agricultural production will have to quadruple, energy production multiply six-fold and

“Rise in sea level can have disastrous consequences...”



AP.

By year 2040, agricultural production will have to quadruple, to end these nightmarish scenarios.

incomes rise eight-fold. Can growth on such a scale be managed on an ecologically sustainable basis? To achieve a stable global population at the end of the next century, the reproduction rate must continue to decrease to 2.1% as soon as possible. If this is done by 2025, world population may stabilize below 10 billion. If it is reached 25 years later, another 3 billion may be added. The overall goal can be achieved through a variety of measures:

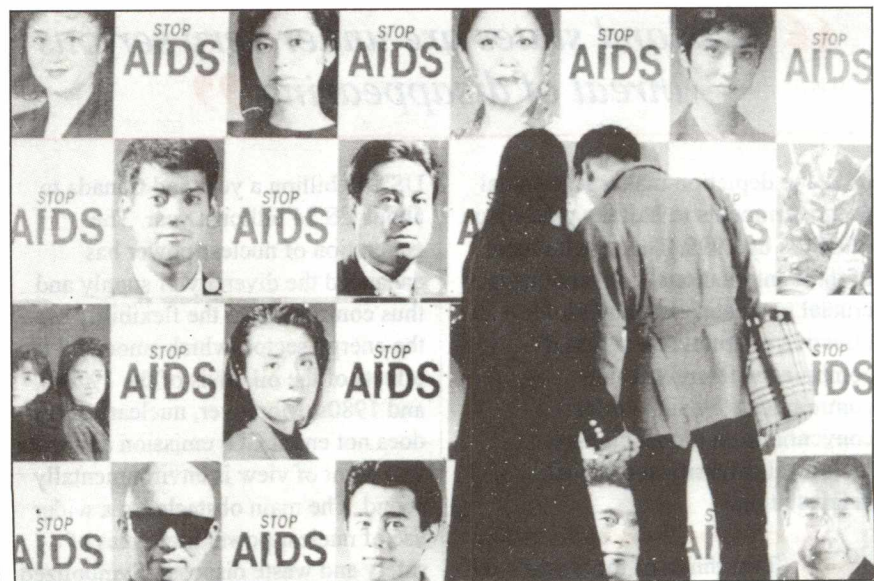
- Access to, and utilization of contraceptives (at present only about 40% of fertile couples in the world have access to contraception).
- Extended education of girls, preferably until the age of 14-16 years.
- Enhancement of women's rights, their status and employment opportunities.
- Improvement of basic health services.

The realization of these programs will require considerable additional financial resources. In order to increase the rate of access to contraceptives from 40% to 70% of fertile couples by the year 2025, it is

estimated that the current US \$3 billion spent would have to rise to US \$10 billion per year. In particular, international assistance, which is almost negligible now, must be mobilized. To encourage movement in this direction, no official development assistance (ODA) should be given after 1995 to countries that do not demonstrably pursue any of the above measures aimed at mitigating population growth. Church and political leaders must recognize that such measures are entirely unrelated to the issue of abortion and its attendant

Environmental degradation and global warming. We are mismanaging our planet. Poverty and affluence equally cause environmental degradation. Rich countries utilize a disproportionate share of the world's resources and discharge their waste in quantities that exceed the ecosystem's absorptive capacity. A number of developing countries over-exploit their resources just to stay alive. National policy in most countries leads to unsustainable forms of development and encourages global warming, acid rain, air pollution and related syndromes. In its recent scientific assessment, the Intergovernmental

Panel on Climate Change projected increases in all greenhouse gas emissions —CO² from fossil fuel burning, deforestation, CFCs and methane— over the next century, assuming various scenarios. There was a consensus on the scientific reality of global warming and a consensus on its risks and potential impacts. Given the inertia in the world's climate system and the long lead times required for international agreement and national action, immediate action must be initiated. If no steps are taken to limit greenhouse gas emissions —if the world in its complacency and short-termism continues business as usual—, global mean temperatures will increase between 2.6° and 5.8°C over the next century. Sea levels have risen by 4 to 6 inches in the last century. The median forecast is for a further rise of 8 inches by the year 2030 and 26 inches by the year 2100. Rise in sea level can have disastrous consequences, especially when coupled with intensified hurricane and storm surges, and taking into account that up to 37 island states are under very serious threat of disappearing if the world grows any warmer. Coastal areas which contain up to one third of the world's population and economic



REUTER.

Short-term national interests can no longer be segregated from the global challenges.

infrastructure could be devastated within the lifetime of our children and grandchildren. Massive flooding of coastal areas may moreover create millions of new environmental refugees, especially in the poorest countries. A three-foot rise in ocean levels would render 72 million people homeless in China, 11 million in Bangladesh and 8 million in Egypt. In 1985, the highly industrialized countries, including the former Soviet Union, emitted nearly 60% of all greenhouse gases although they account for less than 25% of the world's population. Developing countries with over 75% of world population contributed 40% of all such gases. Subsidies tied to agricultural production encourage farmers to engage in practices that cause a drop in ecological capital, i.e. soil, water and wood. In OECD countries alone, such subsidies total about US \$300 billion every year and virtually every country provides incentives to overcut forests. These subsidies must be stopped and policies put in place to prevent environmental degradation and to encourage an increase in net forest cover worldwide. The scientifically confirmed acceleration

third in the rest of the world. But only 28% of world oil production stems from the Gulf while 72% is produced by the rest of the world. Thus, the rest of the world rapidly depletes its oil reserves, leaving the majority of the reserves in the Gulf. The possibility of further increasing reserves in the Gulf is enormous. So, world dependence on oil coming from the Gulf is increasing rapidly and will grow further. Fluctuating prices are a reflection of different demand and supply situations and prices will undoubtedly fluctuate in the future. However, the world might face a very serious problem, even a disaster, if a few million barrels a day were to be withdrawn. This would lead to a dramatic increase in prices, ruining the world economy. Close cooperation among producers and consumers is essential. As regards coal, there are abundant resources that are heavily subsidized, especially in Europe and Japan. But even if all countries were to abolish coal subsidies immediately, coal would not completely disappear as an energy source for the generation of electricity. In general, most governments subsidize the fossil fuel industry, e.g. the United States to the tune of about

standards in Eastern Europe have given rise to a nightmarish scenario. How can CO² emissions be stabilized by the year 2000 and a further 20% reduction achieved by the year 2005? Through an increase in the price of fossil fuels to discourage their use, to encourage energy efficiency measures and to stimulate the exploration of alternative sources of energy. To that end, all countries should move to introduce a tax on the use of fossil fuels and should remove discrepancies in the taxation system among countries. Politicians should, however, not give the impression that with a few higher taxes the CO² problem will be solved overnight. While it would be an illusion to believe that far into the next century the world could do without coal, oil and gas, determined steps are required to make more use of new and renewable sources of energy, especially wind, solar and biomass energy. Without such efforts, by the year 2000, a mere 7% of total primary energy would be generated by renewables, of which 90% would be hydropower. All countries should be enjoined to increase efforts and devote financial resources for the development of renewables, both nationally and internationally.

“ 37 island states are under very serious threat of disappearing ”

of ozone depletion makes it essential for governments to halt the production of CFC's by 1995. The development of three international conventions is crucial to create a framework for effective international action if combined with enforceable commitments by signatories: conventions on global climate, biological diversity and global deforestation.

The choice of sustainable energy policies. Two thirds of the world's oil reserves are in the Persian Gulf, one

US \$40 billion a year and Canada to about US \$4 billion a year. The generation of nuclear power has enhanced the diversity of supply and thus contributed to the flexibility of the energy sector, which smoothed the effects of the oil crisis of the 1970s and 1980s. Moreover, nuclear energy does not entail CO² emission and from that point of view is environmentally sound. The main obstacles to a wider use of nuclear power are issues of safety and waste disposal. Symbolized by Chernobyl, the poor safety

Challenges in the economic and financial area

Unlike political and security issues, the international economic scene is fundamentally the same as it was before the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989. The legacy of the communist states has proven to be, by and large, one of economic, social and ecological ruin. The global economic downturn is undermining public support for incumbent leaders, specially in industrialized countries, beset by:

- Sluggish economic growth well below capacity.
- High levels of persistent unemployment.
- Large, abiding imbalances at the national and international level.

can it authoritatively intervene against a country that has not acceded to a particular treaty. If at all possible, all international legal instruments should gradually be placed under the umbrella of the United Nations.

The very character of the new generation of global problems demands a substantial restructuring of the United Nations system, some of which may entail the transfer of sovereign rights to the world body.

A number of remedies have been suggested to fill the present institutional lacunae. They range from the periodic convening of special sessions of the Security Council devoted to the new threats to peace and security, the creation of an Earth—or economic security—Council (along the lines of the Security Council but without the right of veto), to a revised mandate for the Trusteeship Council, converting it from a trustee of decolonization into a trustee of the planet's environment and common resources.

Special attention must be paid to the restructuring of the decision-making and management of United Nations development assistance programs. These activities have been fractured and scattered among various

organizations such as UNDP, UNICEF, UNFPA, and a myriad of specialized agencies.

There must be unified direction to the development strategies that these UN organs should follow and how they should be implemented at the level of developing countries. In general, the multitude of UN-affiliated organizations, grown unwieldy over a period of 45 years and competing with each other, must be pruned.

In the environment area, an international court of the environment could be established either within the present International Court of Justice or patterned along it to adjudicate environmental conflicts under the proposed conventions.

The Security Council reflects a bygone order with the preeminence of the five permanent members. It must be restructured so as to acquire the legitimacy, authority and political and financial support necessary for discharging its full responsibilities in the new global order.

Leadership in a global order

History is witness that no new global order will emerge without leadership. The disappearance of the cold war has

deprived the population of many nations of their major organizing principle. The first duties of leaders is to lead and not to follow popular sentiment alone. The population at large seems to be aware of the impending dangers. Many political leaders, however, appear to be incapable of dealing with them.

Political leadership must recognize that short-term national interests can no longer be segregated from the new global challenges which all humanity shares. For too long, political opportunism has substituted political meanderings for final destinations. It is no longer sufficient to manage change alone, it is imperative to change human behavior.

Altruism and morality alone will not work. Neither should we be so naïve as to expect them to. What we need is enlightened self-interest. The countries called upon to provide greater resources will only do so once they fully appreciate that their interests, livelihood and electorates are affected.

Latin America is nuclear-free today because of deliberate decisions by its leaders and not so much because of treaties and effective inspection techniques.

The key challenge for governments is to strike a balance between national interest and global security. That balance cannot be set in concrete and will vary from issue to issue. But the central danger of the accelerating proliferation of almost everything that has a destructive power or can be used for destructive purposes can no longer be ignored.

A leader's most noble duty is to safeguard the security of, and provide a vision for the future of, his or her people: it is time that leaders began to realize that ultimately no facet of national security can be protected any longer without the assurance of global security in the broadest sense. This requires a change of attitude of the first order **M**



AP.

37 island states are under very serious threat of disappearing.