

Presidential Address

by Jayantha Dhanapala

**60th Pugwash Conference on Science and World Affairs:
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It is six years since I assumed the Presidency of the Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs in Bari. It has been a long journey with wayside stops at the conferences in The Hague in 2009 and in Berlin in 2011. We now meet in Turkey at the crossroads of the East and West which has seen a confluence of old empires and old civilizations from Byzantium in the 7th century BC through Constantinople of the 4th century AD and thereafter to today's Istanbul of modern secular Turkey. This historic city symbolizes the Alliance of Civilizations—the UN programme aimed at improving understanding and cooperative relations among nations and peoples across cultures and religions co-chaired by Turkey and Spain - countering the forces that fuel polarization and extremism. This programme underlines the common humanity of us all- a concept embedded in the London Manifesto and in the core philosophy of Pugwash. Today's Marmaray Tunnel is the modern Silk Route symbolizing how modern technology can enhance our connectivity.

We have already heard the report of the Secretary General on the activities of Pugwash and I will not repeat our many achievements. The historical mission of Pugwash from its inception and its impressive record, which, inter alia, earned the Nobel Peace Prize in 1995, has been based on a fundamental relevance to the global context in which we have

been placed and had to function. Thus, as we charter a course for the future we must remain firmly anchored to the global situation of today and its likely developments. I would like therefore, to examine the contours of that political and economic situation.

Political situation:

First, on the political situation - far-reaching changes have been taking place in the structure of international affairs since the end of Cold War bipolarity between the USA and the old USSR leading to a unipolar world dominated by the USA. We now see the beginnings of a multipolar world in both political and economic terms with the old powers who are the permanent members of the UN Security Council – the USA, Russia, the UK, France and China – having to accommodate the so-called emerging economies such as Brazil, South Africa, India, Turkey and the ASEAN countries resulting in new formations like the G20 countries who are gradually becoming the global decision makers.

Rise of the South

The 2013 issue of the UNDP's Human Development Report focuses on the “The Rise of the Global South”. Let me quote from it – “The South has risen at an unprecedented speed and scale. For example, the current economic take-offs in China and India began with about 1 billion people in each country and doubled output per capita in less than twenty years – an economic force affecting a much larger population than the Industrial Revolution did. By 2050, Brazil, China and India combined are projected to account for 40% of world output in purchasing power parity terms.” So it is a tide lifting all boats.

While South-South trade has increased from 8% in 1980 to 26% in 2011 the rise of the South must not be seen purely in terms of a North-South divide. The Human Development Report goes on to say, and I quote again, “The South needs the North, and increasingly the North needs the South. The world is getting more connected, not less...Indeed one can go further and state that there is a “south” in the North and a “north” in the South.”

The Asia Pacific region is now becoming the central theatre of activity eclipsing the Euro-Atlantic. China has become the second largest economy in the world and is expected to overtake the USA in 2030. We must not however be too hasty in assuming that the Asia Pacific has become the centre of gravity of the world since the geo-political reality is that we live in a highly integrated global society. Thus, many of the threats to global security like nuclear weapons, climate change, terrorism, poverty, the global financial crisis and human rights violations continue to affect us all and any one region's insecurity can have a global impact.

Proxy Wars:

The pioneers of Pugwash had as much the abolition of war and conflict as a priority as the elimination of nuclear weapons. Sadly, conflict continues to be a feature of international affairs although more intra-state than inter-state. The re-emergence of proxy wars however is now seen in conflicts like Syria with some states supporting one side and other states supporting and arming the other. As the SIPRI yearbook 2013 says: “There is a clear risk that conflict may spread and escalate further in this region. However, just as

the present conflicts were difficult to foresee at the outset of the Arab Spring, the future paths of conflict are equally difficult to predict.” What is disturbing is the power politics in the Middle East and intra-Arab competition fuelling sectarian conflict and gravely retarding a solution to the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinian people let alone the hopes of the Arab Spring.

The SIPRI yearbook 2013 states that World military expenditure in 2012 is estimated to have been \$1756 billion, representing 2.5 per cent of global gross domestic product (GDP) or \$249 for each person in the world. It further states that the distribution of global military spending in 2012 shows what may be the beginnings of a shift from the West to other parts of the world, in particular Eastern Europe and the developing world. Significantly SIPRI also states that the rate of growth of military spending accelerated in the Middle East and North Africa.

Nuclear weapons in the world:

Global estimates record that 17,270 nuclear warheads in both active and inactive storage exist in the possession of 9 countries in the world 5 of them within the NPT.

Of this, the USA and the Russian Federation own 95% of the nuclear weapons. 4400 nuclear warheads are on deployed status and nearly 2000 of these are kept in a state of high operational alert ready to be launched within minutes. The world remains hostage to the likely use of these weapons by design or by accident. There is also the additional risk

of non-state actors securing such weapons or weapon material for their use for anarchist purposes. As a member of the Asian Pacific Leaders Network on Nuclear Nonproliferation and Disarmament (APLN) I would like to refer to our Ho Chi Minh City Declaration of the 13th October this year which noted with concern that the “Asia Pacific is the only region in the world where the number of nuclear weapons is growing”. In this region as in other regions Cold War habits of mind persist and the utility of deterrence is being clung to despite the untold risks.

“Building Mutual Security in the Euro-Atlantic Region” is the independent report of the four retired officials from Britain, Germany, Russia and the US – Desmond Browne, Ischinger, Ivanov and Sam Nunn. Their reassessments of the European-Atlantic security situation amid the monetary crisis in the euro zone and the shift of power to the Asian-Pacific rim and other contemporary developments are frank - “The blunt truth is that the security policies in the Euro-Atlantic region remain largely on Cold War autopilot: large strategic forces are ready to be launched in minutes; thousands of tactical nuclear weapons remain in Europe; a decades-old missile defence debate remains stuck in neutral and new security challenges associated with prompt strike forces, cybersecurity and space remain contentious and inadequately addressed.”

The global report 2013 on the financing of nuclear weapons producers titled “Don’t Bank on the Bomb” by ICAN and IKV PAX Christi finds 298 financial institutions involved significantly. The following are excerpts from the summary of the report:

“Looking at the period starting January 2010, 298 banks, insurance companies, pension funds and asset managers from 30 countries were found that invest significantly in the nuclear weapon industry. 175 are based in North America, 65 are based in Europe and 47 are based in Asia Pacific, 10 are based in the Middle East, one is based in Africa and none are based in Latin America or the Caribbean.”

Don't Bank on the Bomb 2013 identifies 27 companies involved in the production, maintenance, and modernization of nuclear weapons. The 27 are companies based in United States, the United Kingdom, France, India, the Netherlands and Germany.

It is my personal conviction that we should be at the vanguard of a divestment campaign to bring down the nuclear weapon industry in the same way as the anti-apartheid divestment campaign undermined the apartheid regime in South Africa.

Economic outlook:

The UN's Millennium Development Goals pledged to halve extreme poverty in the world by 2015 among other tasks on which partial success is being registered. A high level UN report titled “A New Global Partnership: Eradicate Poverty and Transform Economies through Sustainable Development”, which came out in May this year, sets a new date for the total eradication of poverty for 2030 and gives the following description of the world today –

“There are a billion more people today, with world population at seven billion, and another billion expected by 2030. More than half of us now live in cities. Private

investment in developing countries now dwarfs aid flows. The number of mobile phone subscriptions has risen from fewer than one billion to more than six billion. Thanks to the Internet, seeking business or information on the other side of the world is now routine for many. Yet inequality remains and opportunity is not open to all. The 1.2 billion poorest people account for only 1 per cent of world consumption while the billion richest consume 72 per cent.”

To achieve the end of poverty they recommended a big universal agenda driven by 5 transformative shifts –

- (1) Leave no one behind – reaching out to excluded groups irrespective of gender, ethnicity and religion
- (2) Put sustainable development at the core
- (3) Transform economies for jobs and inclusive growth
- (4) Build peace and effective, open and accountable institutions for all
- (5) Forge new global partnerships

We live in an age of transitions. Transitions whether from insecurity to security, from war to peace, from poverty to economic growth are rarely smooth and stable. Political transitions are fraught with competition, controversy and tension; economic transitions can exacerbate inequalities; social transitions may exclude and marginalize some groups. We must therefore ensure that transitions are managed wisely and effectively and Pugwash can play a role in this.

We have still not emerged from the global recession caused in the industrialized West by irresponsible banks which had a contagious effect on the rest of the world. However, the rise of the global south has helped to mitigate the impact of the austerity measures caused by that recession on the emerging economies of the global south. Another important social statistic is that the middle class in the world is expected to number 52% of the world by 2030. That middle class contains the professional classes which have been the engine of democracy and of economic growth throughout history.

Climate change:

Climate change is another area with which we, as a conference of science and world affairs, must be concerned. The 5th Inter-governmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) assessment report has now been published evaluating new evidence of climate change. The findings are irrefutable. It says that human activity has been undoubtedly the cause of climate change which will make our existence ultimately unsustainable unless changes in our life styles and our consumption of fossil fuels are controlled immediately. To quote the IPCC experts:

“Warming in the climate system is unequivocal and since 1950 many changes have been observed throughout the climate system that are unprecedented over decades to millennia. ...Observations of changes in the climate system are based on multiple lines of independent evidence. Our assessment of the science finds that the atmosphere and ocean have warmed, the amount of snow and ice has diminished, the global mean sea level has risen and the concentrations of greenhouse gases have increased...Continued emissions of greenhouse gases will cause further warming and changes in all components of the

climate system. Limiting climate change will require substantial and sustained reductions of greenhouse gas emissions.". These changes have an impact on international peace and security and our very existence.

Given the background I have described what are the prospects for nuclear disarmament?

Challenges for a world free of nuclear weapons:

We remain wedded to our primary goal of the elimination of the most destructive weapon invented by human kind. That goal motivated our pioneers in 1957 and continues to motivate us all today. The much advertised vision of a nuclear weapon free world which we all enthused over following the historic Wall Street Journal op-eds of Shultz, Kissinger, Perry and Nunn, and translated into official policy in the Obama speech of April 2009 in Prague has now faded. After the modest New START treaty of 2011 we have still to see a resumption of US Russian talks. Obstacles have appeared in the form of the ballistic missile defence plans of the US, perceptions of imbalance in conventional weapons arsenals and the presence of theatre weapons in Europe which have no longer any military rationale. The CTBT is blocked from entry into force by 8 countries that have still to sign or ratify that vital brake on the modernization and development of nuclear weapons. They are China, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Egypt, India, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Israel, Pakistan and the United States of America. The Fissile Material Cut off Treaty negotiations in the Conference on Disarmament have been blocked since 1995 while that "single multilateral negotiating body on disarmament" with so many important agenda items cannot even agree on a programme of work!

An Open Ended Working Group on Promoting Multilateral Nuclear Disarmament and a one-day High Level meeting of the General Assembly on Nuclear Disarmament held on

26th September have been the multilateral devices designed to keep nuclear disarmament on the agenda. Their effectiveness and durability is in serious doubt. Despite the support of the UN Secretary General and civil society globally, the elimination of nuclear weapons remains a low priority for the nuclear weapon possessing countries. Pugwash must once again proclaim the outlawing of nuclear weapons as an urgent priority and lead the global campaign for this. The humanitarian aspect of nuclear disarmament, which Pugwash identified from its inception, has received fresh emphasis following the 2010 NPT Review conference which saw Governments expressing deep concern for the disastrous humanitarian effect caused by any use of nuclear weapons and called for all states to comply with international law and international humanitarian law at all times.

As the March 2013 Oslo Conference on the humanitarian consequences of nuclear weapons organized by the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN) concluded, the humanitarian impact of nuclear weapon use would be unacceptable and called on all to work towards a treaty banning nuclear weapons. The government of Norway too hosted an international conference on the humanitarian impact of nuclear weapons from 4-5 March which concluded with the announcement of a follow-up meeting to be hosted by Mexico scheduled for 2014

On the 26th of September UN General Assembly hosted a high-level meeting on nuclear disarmament which provided an opportunity for states to outline their policies and priorities for nuclear disarmament. In his concluding remarks Ambassador John W. Ashe President of the 68th Session of the United Nations General Assembly said, “The journey

of the United Nations began plagued by the same threat that we now discuss today. Not only have we lagged in our efforts to eliminate nuclear weapons, we have veered even further off course.” It is only an agreement on a Nuclear Weapon Convention outlawing nuclear weapons that will be the effective step needed. Negotiations for this must begin now.

OPCW :

The award of the Nobel Peace Prize this year to the organization committed to the elimination of another category of WMD is an encouraging sign. I was happy that Pugwash in its statement on this occasion said, and I quote

“We applaud the decision of the Norwegian Nobel Committee to award the 2013 Nobel Peace Prize to the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons (OPCW). The timing of this award is striking. The OPCW represents an outstanding example of what the international community can accomplish even at the most dire of times. This is being proven in the ongoing Syrian crisis, where in response to the use of chemical weapons bold political moves were made to attempt to avert a further escalation of the already grave military conflict. This creative solution represented ‘out of the box’ thinking and also was discussed at the unofficial “Track II” level, including through the Pugwash network. “

As the Secretary-General of the UN noted in his message to this conference both Pugwash and the OPCW “have demonstrated that disarmament issues lie at the heart of the global security agenda.”

I welcome the presence at our conference of the Deputy Director-General of OPCW in the absence of the indisposed Ambassador Ahmet Üzümcü - a national of our host country Turkey - who has led the organization with great distinction.

Syria

At the same time, the United Nations rose to one of its finest moments when the Security Council unanimously adopted Resolution 2118 (2013) on 27 September, addressing the outrageous use of chemical weapons in Syria while setting guidelines for a political solution to the civil war in that country. Great powers can sometimes, and all too infrequently, agree to use diplomacy to save the world from conflict. However the assumption that the Syrian crisis has been solved through a U.S. -Russian agreement on Syria's chemical weapons hides the ugly reality of a continuing civil war with daily death tolls adding to a total of over 100,000, a suffering populace and an exodus of refugees now numbering over two million apart from the displaced. Pugwash wishes Ambassador Lakhdar Brahimi all success as he works patiently and constructively to hold the Geneva II conference. Syria in the immediate neighbourhood of our host country Turkey, is an example of the complexity of the proxy wars that are being fought sacrificing the lives of innocent civilians causing the destruction of economies and historic cities. Concepts like the "Responsibility to Protect" (R2P) are being abused for regime change by arms merchants and motley groups as a result of refusal of dictatorships to listen to the voices of their people. A Pugwash role in these situations is difficult but the responsibility cannot be shelved. A far more appropriate use of the concept of the use of R2P, unlike proposals like "Responsible Protection" or "responsibility while Protecting", is contained

in this quotation taken from the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientist article by Kennette Benedict:

“Applying the concept of the responsibility to protect, it follows that the international community has a duty to intervene and provide protection to individuals in the face of the state’s incapacity.

But if the United Nations and humanitarian agencies judge that they are not able to respond effectively to protect civilians from nuclear detonations, as they warned in Oslo, then the only way to defend populations is to eliminate these weapons. The responsibility to protect is not only for situations where armed forces use conventional weapons to commit mass atrocities; it must also include preventing the catastrophic destruction nuclear weapons can cause. Simply put, the responsibility to protect requires global nuclear disarmament.”

The world is on the cusp of a new era when peaceful co-operation is vital if we are to forge ahead. The next steps in arms control and disarmament are a priority in this journey. Apart from the next stage in US-Russian nuclear disarmament two great opportunities are immediately available – Syria and Iran.

On Iran, the model framework agreement drafted painstakingly by Pugwash has a chance of being implemented in the new atmosphere generated by the election of President Rouhani in Iran, his statements at the UN and the telephone call between the President of the US and him. There will be obstructionist moves and negative warnings but the news so far inclusive of the meeting between the IAEA and Iran is hopeful.

The Work of Pugwash

Pugwash has been active in regional conflicts especially those that could lead to nuclear proliferation and nuclear war and our website contains comprehensive details of this. Some examples this year alone are – the Pugwash meetings on Afghan reconciliation held in Dubai, 15-17 January 2013; “Ways Forward on the Iranian Nuclear Issue” held on 28 February 2013, Washington, DC; meetings on US-Palestine Relations held in Ramallah, Palestine, 14 March 2013; the Pugwash Consultation on the Syrian Crisis 27 June 2013 in London; Pugwash Meeting on Jammu Kashmir, 15-17 September 2013 held in Islamabad amongst many others.

I must congratulate our tireless Secretary-General and his very small team for their efforts to put these consultations together. They involve delicate negotiations, careful selection of key actors and perseverance but they achieve the task of engaging in dialogue which Pugwash has been committed to in the achievement of peace and understanding. The withdrawal of ISAF from Afghanistan next year opens fresh opportunities for Pugwash to work with our Afghan and other South Asian partners to ensure the security of that country and that region.

But there are also new issues that we have to be constantly alert to recognize and address where a more prominent role by Pugwash is possible. They include -

Firstly, Cybersecurity. I have spoken in Berlin on the Cyber-security issue on which we undoubtedly have expertise. The revelations of whistle blowers such as Manning, Assange and Snowden reveal how vulnerable we all are to the snooping by governments

and their agencies. In the interest of international peace and security it is vital that cyber security must be assured and common norms, principles and regulations must be found on the international level. Breaches in computer systems could cause instability and even widespread chaos provoking further conflict and the use of force .We have a duty as an organization of scientists to maintain secure systems without perpetuating weapons of mass destruction and governmental systems which oppress there people. I call on national groups who have the expertise to join Prof Gotz Neuneck and me in drafting a programme of action for Pugwash to commence serious activity on cyber security as a parallel program on nuclear disarmament and regional conflicts. SIPRI cites one estimate of global public and private cyber-security spending as \$ 60 billion in 2011. “The USA was the biggest spender accounting for half of the total, and was the only country where the levels of public and private spending were almost equal.”

Secondly, Pugwash has resumed participation in the UNESCO’s world commission on the Ethics of Scientific Knowledge and Technology (COMEST) which is an advisory body and forum of reflection that was set up by UNESCO in 1998 and has the mandate to formulate ethical principles that could provide decision-makers with criteria that extend beyond purely economic considerations. The President of Pugwash is ex-officio a member of this body and we have only recently re-activated our participation.

Currently, COMEST is working in several areas: environmental ethics, with reference inter alia to climate change, biodiversity, water and disaster prevention; the ethics of nanotechnologies along with related new and emerging issues in converging technologies

including military robotics; ethical issues relating to the technologies of the information society; science ethics; and gender issues in ethics of science and technology.

Thirdly, I have sought and obtained the authority of the Executive Committee on bringing Pugwash into the steering committee on the campaign to stop killer Robots. The ‘boffins’ in arms laboratories are now engaged in a new and frightening phase of the arms race – the development of fully autonomous robotic weapons. With these weapons the world will see completely autonomous weapons with zero human participation on the battlefield. This will have huge consequences in terms of accountability and the implementation of international humanitarian law. Alerted to this weird manifestation of the arms industry a number of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) including the Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs launched a campaign in London on April 23 to “Stop Killer Robots.” We have also had meetings in New York on the margins of the UN’s First Committee and will meet in Geneva next week when the CCW holds its next sessions.

Fourthly, following pressure from many delegations and civil society in which Pugwash played a prominent role, the NPT RevCon in 2010 endorsed 5 practical steps to make progress towards the goal of establishing a WMDFZ in the ME which include convening a regional conference to discuss the issue in 2012 and appointing a WMDFZ Facilitator. The conference on a MEWMDFZ was set to be held in Finland in December 2012, facilitated by Ambassador Jaakko Laajava Finnish Undersecretary of State who has been at our Istanbul Conference. However on November 23, 2012, the USA issued a unilateral

statement postponing the December 2012 conference. The U.S. statement cited "present conditions in the Middle East" and the lack of agreement by participating states on "acceptable conditions" for the December conference. A Pugwash statement was issued at the time regretting this decision. More recently a statement by myself and the SG dated 29th August 2013 said that "events in Syria reinforce the urgent need for a Middle East WMD Free Zone. The conference called for by the NPT Review Conference in 2010 for 2012 should be held with utmost urgency."

The International Panel on Fissile Material has released a new research report titled "Fissile Material Controls in the Middle East: Steps toward a Middle East Zone Free of Nuclear Weapons and all other Weapons of Mass Destruction". It suggests "possible initiatives for fissile material control that could serve as initial steps toward an eventual Middle East zone free of nuclear weapons and all other weapons of mass destruction. These initiatives include actions that Israel, the only regional state with nuclear weapons, could take towards nuclear disarmament; and measures of collective restraint regarding fissile material production and use to be taken by all states of the region to foster confidence that their civilian nuclear activities are indeed peaceful in intent and not being pursued as a cover to develop nuclear-weapon options.

For Israel, the initial steps proposed include ending production of plutonium and highly enriched uranium, declaring its stockpiles of these materials, and placing increasing portions under international safeguards as steps toward their elimination. The regional measures that are proposed would serve to bring a Middle East nuclear weapon-free zone

closer and make the zone more robust when it is in force. These measures include no separation of plutonium, no use of highly enriched uranium or plutonium as fuel, and no national enrichment plants. It would greatly strengthen the global nonproliferation regime if these measures were adopted worldwide, including by the nuclear weapon states.”

The failure to hold the Middle East WMD free Zone talks in December 2012 was a great disappointment. Unless these talks are held soon, the 2015 NPT Review Conference is doomed to fail jeopardizing the viability of the NPT itself and unraveling the package of Decisions adopted at the 1995 NPT Review & Extension Conference which I presided over.

Fifthly and finally, the Arctic is an area where a nuclear weapon free zone could be enforced. The Arctic has been vital to humanity's development, and history has a strange way of repeating itself. What is now the Bering Strait was once a land bridge, across which humans migrated from Asia to the Americas. It promises today to be a maritime conduit for increased global commerce through the Arctic as human-induced climate change causes ice to melt and shipping lanes to open. This development has the potential to bring nations and peoples together for peace and development -- or to spawn dispute and conflict. Beyond its contribution to rising sea levels, the melting of the Arctic ice cap will facilitate the mining of resources, especially oil and gas, and lead to an increase in commercial shipping. The ownership of the resources and the sovereignty of Arctic areas, including the Northwest Passage, are already being contested. As someone who has devoted most of his working life to the cause of disarmament, and especially nuclear

disarmament, I am deeply concerned that two nuclear weapon states -- the United States and the Russian Federation, which together own 95 percent of the nuclear weapons in the world -- face one another across the Arctic and have competing claims. These claims -- not to mention those that could be made by North Atlantic Treaty Organization member states Canada, Denmark, Iceland, and Norway -- may lead to conflict that has the potential to escalate into the use of nuclear weapons. Thus the Arctic is ripe for conversion into a nuclear weapon free zone. An all-encompassing Arctic Treaty, signed a half century after the Antarctic Treaty, would be a major achievement. To those skeptics who dismiss a wide-ranging agreement as unrealistic and impossible, let me quote the great Norwegian explorer, scientist, and Nobel Peace Prize-winning diplomat Fridtjof Nansen, who said, "The difficult is what takes a little time; the impossible is what takes longer." I congratulate the Canadian, Danish and Russian Pugwash national groups and others, including the First Nation indigenous groups, who are in the campaign for the realization of an Arctic NWFZ.

I have no doubt that there are other emerging areas in which Pugwash can and must play an active role given its scientific expertise and influence. I call upon National Groups to make concrete proposals, including ideas for possible financial resources, either through the Working Groups at this conference or at any future stage so that our collective talent can be harnessed to usher in a better world. Pugwash is a big tent which can accommodate all national groups working in unison for the causes we espouse.

Let us unite to achieve our common objectives.

Conclusion

Let me conclude. It was my privilege to represent Pugwash at the annual Nobel Peace Summit held in Warsaw last month. Speaking at the summit I was happy to pay tribute to the memory one of my illustrious predecessors Sir Joseph Rotblat in the country and city of his birth and to have that tribute greeted with applause.

The Final Statement of the 13th World Summit of Nobel Peace Laureates held in Warsaw, Poland titled “Stand in Solidarity for Peace – Time to Act” states as follows significantly echoing our Pugwash philosophy:

“When nations work for common goals great good can be achieved. Sustainable and inclusive development, security and human rights are interdependent. There is no option for failure when addressing the common threats posed by a destabilized climate, polluted oceans, denuded forests, violent conflicts, nuclear, biological and chemical weapons and war. Succeeding in eliminating these threats will achieve global common goods of the highest value. Failure to do so will impact the lives of every individual in every country. This truth must inform our understanding that human solidarity is a necessity. There can be no national security without shared human security.”

The demography of the world is changing and we are seeing an increasing youth segment of society. Pugwash like all others must take cognizance of this. The UN SG in his 2013 report on the work of the organization said: “ The largest generation of young people the world has ever known is hungry for opportunity, for jobs, for a voice in the decisions that affect them, for institutions and leaders that respond to their needs. They want to know that national and international institutions are on their side and can seize the opportunities

of a world in flux." We have to appeal to the idealism of this younger generation as we did during the Cold War and to adopt a programme for Pugwash and make it relevant to them. The presence in our midst of Student Pugwash facilitates our task.

Let us use this resource. Let us draw more young scientists into Pugwash.

Ladies and Gentlemen, fellow Pugwashites - a Turkish proverb says that "If speaking is silver; then listening is gold." And so you deserve the gold for the patient hearing you have given me. Thank you!

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