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WEAPONS PROLIFERATION, INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AND THE FUTURE OF THE GLOBAL SYSTEM

ABSTRACT: Today, the world faces countless difficulties, but none of them is more threatening than the unfiltered and unguarded spread of illicit weapons across the international system. While among threats to international security one can mention poverty, terror, xenophobia, food insecurity, war, and climate change, a far more lethal challenge, which has the destructive capacity to erase the history of all the peoples from the surface of the planet, is currently unfolding. With tens of thousands of people being killed or wounded daily, it has become imperative to interrogate the politics behind the endless abuse, misuse, and illicit proliferation of lethal weapons in the global system and its implications for global security given the scant academic attention it has received in recent time. Relying on archival and other non-quantitative data, this study examines the implications of the continued illicit proliferation of weapons for international peace and security. The results reveal that the failures of state actors to address the problem of illicit weapons proliferation have grave implications not only for global peace and security but also for the future. State actors must assume a critical role in minimizing the illicit proliferation of weapons if the future of the global system is to be secure.

KEYWORDS: weapons, illicit proliferation, international security, international system

PROLIFERACJA BRONI, BEZPIECZEŃSTWO MIĘDZYNARODOWE I PRZYSZŁOŚĆ SYSTEMU MIĘDZYNARODOWEGO

ABSTRACT: Obecnie świat stoi przed niezliczonymi problemami, ale żaden z nich nie jest bardziej niebezpieczny niż rozprzestrzenianie się nielegalnej broni. Podczas gdy wśród zagrożeń dla bezpieczeństwa międzynarodowego wymienić można między innymi: biedę, terror, ksenofobię, zagrożenia bezpieczeństwa żywnościowego, wojny, zmiany klimatyczne, obecnie rozwija się również wyzwanie o wiele bardziej śmiercionośne, które ma niszczycielską zdolność całkowitego wymazania historii wszystkich ludów z powierzchni planety. Ponieważ codziennie dziesiątki tysięcy ludzi ginie lub zostaje rannych, konieczne jest zbadanie polityki stojącej za niekończącymi się nadużyciami, niewłaściwym użyciem i nielegalnym rozprzestrzenianiem śmiercionośnej broni w systemie globalnym oraz jej konsekwencjami dla bezpieczeństwa międzynarodowego, biorąc również pod uwagę to, że w ostatnim czasie nie poświęcono temu zagadnieniu zbyt wiele uwagi. Opierając się na danych archiwalnych i danych jakościowych, niniejszy artykuł analizuje konsekwencje ciągłego nielegalnego rozprzestrzeniania broni dla bezpieczeństwa międzynarodowego. Wyniki badania pokazują, że niepowodzenia podmiotów państwowych w rozwiązywaniu problemu nielegalnego rozprzestrzeniania broni mają poważne konsekwencje nie tylko dla globalnego pokoju i bezpieczeństwa, ale także dla przyszłości ludzkości.

Podmioty państwowe muszą odgrywać kluczową rolę w minimalizowaniu nielegalnego rozprzestrzeniania broni, jeśli przyszłość globalnego systemu ma opierać się na bezpieczeństwie.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: broń, nielegalne rozprzestrzenianie, bezpieczeństwo międzynarodowe, system międzynarodowy

INTRODUCTION

The world is indeed confronted with a myriad of challenges, but to say the least, none of these challenges is more threatening than the uncensored and unguarded proliferation of weapons in the international system. While poverty, terrorism, xenophobia, bad governance, corruption, and climate change, among others, have been identified as threats to the continued existence of the entire world, a far more deadly challenge that possesses destructive capacity to erase the history of all people completely from the surface of Earth is weapon proliferation, especially the increasing rise in the proliferation of small, medium, and light weapons, as well as the most dreaded weapons of the 21st century, nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons¹. It is a world where survival is rated highest in any course of action by state and non-state actors, whilst weapons proliferation is thus seen as an alternative security measure that could guarantee firstly their survival, and secondly, help them in maintaining an edge over others². As a result, tens of thousands of innocent people are killed, devastated, or wounded each year as a result of the abuse or misuse of contemporary lethal weapons³. With machetes and AK-47 alone, almost a million people were massacred in less than a month in the Rwandan genocide. In Liberia, also, a civil war lasting more than a decade, fought primarily with small arms and light weapons, claimed the lives of more than 250,000 people, while displacing almost of the Liberian population⁴. These horrific acts and many other devastating ones eventually led to the convening of a United Nations panel of experts in 1996 with the aim of developing an agenda for addressing the excessive and unguarded proliferation of small arms. Although this was greeted with another convening of a panel of United Nations experts in 1999, the United Nations Security Council and the United Nations General Assembly deliberated and took up the issue as a matter of global concern. Combined with the unguarded and uncensored proliferation of nuclear weapons, the world thus clearly moves toward a state of nature where perpetual fear, distrust, subjugation, and anarchy reign supreme.

¹ O.O. Akinrinde, U.A. Tar, *Political Economy and the Dialectics of Xenophobia in Post-Apartheid South Africa*, "The Journal on African-Centred Solutions in Peace and Security" 2021, 4 (1), p. 60; W. Cukier, *Gender and Small Arms. A Special Report for the Small Arms Yearbook Project*, Geneva 2000, p. 5.

² M. Amitav, *Technology and Security in the 21st Century*, Oxford 2014, p. 215.

³ O.O. Akinrinde, U.A. Tar, D.A. Babalola, A.A. Osuwa, *Human Insecurities in Africa, the Politics of Non-Refoulement and the Plights of the African Refugees along Mexican-American Borders*, "Studia Politica Slovaca" 2021, 14 (1), pp. 3-11.

⁴ Small Arms Survey, *Shadow of War*, Cambridge 2011; R. Stohl, E.J. Hogendoorn, *Stopping the Destructive Spread of Small: How Small Arms and Light Weapons Proliferation undermines Security and Development*, March 10, 2010, https://www.americanprogress.org/article/stopping-the-destructive-spread-of-small-arms/ (31.05.2021).

Although efforts continue to be intensified to control and guide the proliferation and misuse of small, medium, and light weapons, as well as the most dreaded weapons of the 21st century, nuclear, chemical and biological weapons, reports of loss, theft, diversion, and misuse of these deadly agents of destruction continue to increase⁵. It is against this backdrop that this paper seeks to examine the operational difficulty in achieving comprehensive regulation and control of these weapons; while also interrogating the weapon proliferation and international security paradoxes as well as the impacts of weapon proliferation on the general state of international security. In doing this, a discursive analysis rooted in qualitative methodology shall be adopted. Therefore, the article relies on data from international archival sources, treaties, reports, and journals. It is against this backdrop that this paper seeks to examine the operational difficulty in achieving comprehensive regulation and control of these weapons; while also interrogating the weapon proliferation and international security paradoxes as well as the impacts of weapon proliferation on the general state of international security. In doing this, a discursive analysis rooted in qualitative methodology shall be adopted. Therefore, the paper relies on data from international archival sources, treaties, reports, and journals.

CONCEPTUALIZING SECURITY, INTERNATIONAL SECURITY, WEAPONS AND WEAPONS PROLIFERATION

International Security: It is an ideal state of sustained peace and the absence of all forms of human and artificial threats to people, race, and the world at large. Referred to as global security in a more scholarly manner, international security could equally be taken to imply the amalgamation or harmonization of all policy measures and actions taken by sovereign states and international organizations with a view to achieving the continued survival, safety and existence of all peoples and the universe. Scholarly speaking, Samuel Makinda conceives of it as the preservation of the norms, rules, institutions, and values of society⁶. Discernibly, we can deduct from Makinda's conceptual framework that international security is basically a system that encapsulates other subsystems such as ecosystem, economic system, political system and cultural system. It is practically the ability of sovereign states in conjunction with other stakeholders to provide protection and defense of all peoples regardless of their national, racial, religious, and ethnic affiliations. It is a collective conscious effort geared toward ensuring the economic, food, health, ecological, personal, community, and political lives of people.

Small Arms and Light Weapons: Basically, by small arms and light weapons, we are according to The ECOWAS Convention on Small Arms and Light Weapons, referring to arms destined for personal use and which include: firearms and other destructive arms or devices such as an exploding bomb, an incendiary bomb or a gas bomb, a grenade, a rocket launcher,

⁵ O.O. Akinrinde, D.A. Babalola, U.A. Tar, *Nigeria-South Africa Relations and the Politics of Xenophobia in Post-Apartheid South Africa*, "Journal of Humanities and Peace Studies" 2021, 2(2), p. 15.

⁶ S.M. Makinda, Sovereignty and Global Security, "Security Dialogue" 1998, 29(3), pp. 281-292.

a missile, a missile system or a mine, a revolver and pistol with automatic loading, as well as a rifle and a carbine with machine guns, assault rifles, and light machine guns. Heavy machine guns, mobile or mounted portable grenade launchers, portable anti-aircraft cannons, portable antitank cannons, non-recoils guns, portable antitank missile or rocket launchers, mortals with a caliber of less than 100 millimeters⁷. It has also been estimated that there are now about 500 million small arms and light weapons in circulation across the globe. One for every twelve persons. In fact, it has been credibly inferred that an AK-47 assault rifle could be bought for as low as the price of a chicken⁸.

NON-PROLIFERATION MECHANISMS AND EFFORTS

CONTROL OF SMALL ARMS AND LIGHT WEAPONS

The raging proliferation of small arms and light weapons across the globe came to the front burner of international discourse and actions when the then Secretary General, Kofi Anan, brought the issue of the menace to the floor of the United Nations General Assembly in 2000 through the presentation of the Millennium Report. In his speech, Kofi Annan opined that the death toll from small arms dwarfs that of all other weapon systems and in most years greatly exceeds the toll of atomic bombs that devastated Hiroshima and Nagasaki⁹. In terms of the carnage they cause, small arms, in fact, could be well described as weapons of mass destruction. The proliferation of small arms is not just a security issue; it is also a human rights and development issue. The proliferation of small arms sustains and exacerbates armed conflicts. It endangers peacekeepers and humanitarian workers. It undermines respect for international humanitarian law. It threatens legitimate but weak governments, and it benefits terrorists as well as the perpetrators of organized crimes¹⁰.

Since then, the menace of proliferation of small arms and light weapons has continued to attract serious international attention and currency. In fact, one of the first international instruments designed to arrest the proliferation of small arms and light weapons was the United Nations Policy on Arms. As stated in its preamble, it seeks to address "the uncontrolled spread of small arms and light weapons, which have a wide range of humanitarian and socio-economic consequences and poses a serious threat to international peace, reconciliation, safety, security, stability and sustainable development". However, this instrument lacked the legal binding force to compel adherence. Therefore, a new international framework with a more effective legal framework is needed. However, the United Nations Illicit Firearms Protocol was designed to

⁷ ECOWAS Convention on Small Arms and Light Weapons, Their Ammunition and other Related Materials, 2006. https://www.sipri.org/sites/default/files/research/disarmament/dualuse/pdf-archive-att/pdfs/ecowas-convention-on-small-arms-and-light-weapons-their-ammunition-and-other-related-materials.pdf.

⁸ N. Robert, *The Dark Side of Social Evolution*, London 2002, p. 159.

⁹ Ibidem, 150.

¹⁰ United Nations Millennium Declaration Adopted on 8 September 2000, UN General Assembly resolution 55/2. https://www.ohchr.org/en/instruments-mechanisms/instruments/united-nations-millennium-declaration (31.06.2021).

promote international standards for the movement of firearms. It requires parties to criminalize the illicit manufacture and trafficking of firearms and also to adopt preventive measures. Coupled with this, the International Instrument to Enable States to Identify and Trace Illicit Small Arms and Light Weapons is also a germane standard setting document, though not binding, was also adopted to complement the UN Protocol on Illicit Firearms in the prevention, eradication and combating of illicit proliferation of small arms and light weapons by establishing a mechanism to facilitate the identification and tracking of illicit small arms and light weapons. These international frameworks for the control and prevention of illicit arms and weapons are being complemented by various regional, sub-regional and continental frameworks. At the continental level in Africa, the Bamako Declaration on Illicit Proliferation, Circulation, and Trafficking of Small Arms and Light Weapons was a politically binding instrument adopting a common African approach in combating illicit proliferation, circulation, and trafficking of small arms and light weapons.

NUCLEAR ARMS CONTROL

Since the US strategic nuclear bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in Japan in 1945 and the incalculable escalation of the nuclear arms race in the wake of the Cold War, the world has since then been in a state of perpetual fear of complete elimination and destruction. The cold war experience further hints at the world of the likely nuclear Armageddon that can be unleashed when states are left unchecked and restricted in their inglorious quest for power and resource appropriation at the international system. The drive to forestall another cold war experience tactically led to the convening of various arms control initiatives, especially the 1972 ABM Treaty, the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty SALT I AND SALT II OF 1972, the INF Treaty of 1987 and the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty START I that was signed in 1991¹¹. The general goal of these control mechanisms was to prevent an unconstrained nuclear arms race and proliferation. States, especially superpowers, have actually responded to these regimes within the limits of their national interests and policy objectives¹². In spite of the abundance of regimes on the control of these deadly weapons, states continue to stockpile and accumulate many more, while states that were hitherto indisposed to armaments are building up nuclear arsenals and weaponries. Could proliferation be tied to the nature and structure of the international system? Or perhaps could the increase in technological realm and the wave of globalization be partly responsible for the proliferation? Or could these factors be multifaceted? The next section examines this problem.

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¹¹ J. Herz, *International Politics in the Atomic Age*, Columbia 1959, p. 301.

¹² J. Cirincione, *Bomb Scare: The History and Future of Nuclear Weapons*, Columbia 2007, p. 157.

TECHNOLOGY AND WEAPONS PROLIFERATION

Ideally, technology is a catalyst for international security and development by all standards. Technology gives states the edge to eliminate any potential threats. With the remarkable breakthrough in technology, states have developed techno-military capabilities that can weather, at least, any external incursion arising from irrational behaviors of fellow sovereign states. As a result, technological transformation has also made the world more interconnected, breaking all barriers to economic, social, cultural, and technological exchanges and relations throughout the world. Globalization has perhaps rendered state's exclusivity of arms and weapons frictional. No- state actors ranging from terrorist movements to militia networks now have little or no restriction accessing technologically sophisticated weapons such as advanced surface to air launchers, Aircraft destroyer, AK-47, Advanced Communications Gadgets etc. Terrorist networks like Al-Qaeda and the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) have at one time or the other resorted to the use of these advanced techno-military equipment in furthering their inhumane campaigns¹³. The former, for instance, used an advanced radio-wave system in communicating with its base while on the American bound Airplane that later rammed into the World Trade Center 9/11. ISIS like other terrorist groups has been televising some of their activities, victims, and demands through the use of Hi-definition system with an almost impenetrable security breach.

Again, the major side effect of technological advances in recent times is the unprecedented proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. The lethality, precision, and nature of the destructiveness embedded in these nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons of mass destruction are far above flaws¹⁴. This has led the world to witness what some scholars have called the 'arm race', especially as it was experienced in the Cold War era. With the fear of using these weapons, hostility, suspicion and sometimes, confrontations have ensued amongst state actors, and even between Terrorist Network and state actors¹⁵.

While aiding the proliferation, diffusion and circulation of these new military inventions, technology has, earlier informed, equally assisted the non-state actors like the Terrorist Network in accessing these new destructive military technologies, thereby threatening the relative global peace and stability. It is not a fallacy to declare here that technological advances in the international system have been a curse and a blessing to the world¹⁶. However, the negative manifestations of technology can be neutralized by implementing adequate measures to forestall further proliferation of high-powered military weapons while channeling its innovations into human development rather than military expansions¹⁷. And finally, a world body like the

¹³ O.O. Akinrinde, *Boko Haram Terrorism and the Futurology of Nigeria's Development*, "Annals of Spiru Haret University Economic Series" 2020, 20(3), pp. 117-119.

¹⁴ J. Lutz, *Global Terrorism*, Routledge, London-New York 2004, p. 10.

¹⁵ M. Amitav, *Technology and Security in the 21st Century*, Oxford 2014, p. 214.

¹⁶ O.O. Akinrinde, *Africanity and the Politics of African Xenophobia: A Study of Two Parallels*, "Annals of Spiru Haret University Economic Series" 2020, 20(4), pp. 133-151.

¹⁷ J. Lutz, op. cit., p. 289.

United Nations should institute a mechanism to prevent the easy access of terrorist networks to already manufactured advanced military weapons.

POSSIBLE CAUSES AND TRIGGERS OF WEAPONS PROLIFERATION IN NIGERIA AND THE UNITED STATES

Prevalence of Insecurity, Crimes, Mutual Distrust, and Perpetual Fear: This may seem paradoxical, but assumes great credibility, especially when considering the effect of proliferation of weapons in the world. The quest to remain secure when the security apparatus of the state fails (a development that is common in Africa and other developing countries), in most cases, drives individuals to resort to the use of arms and weapons. It is not surprising that only a few states can holistically provide security to their citizens. In such a scenario, an individual would naturally be challenged to provide their security (a development leading to creation of some community armed groups, vigilante group or neighborhood watch, etc.). The inherent paradox in this development is the fact that the same trigger for this menace could also result in one of its devastating effects. Again, mutual distrust, fear, and unhealthy rivalry and competition, especially with the political space, have also led some individuals to the point of acquiring arms and weapons to settle their political scores or beat competitors.

POVERTY

In a world where more than half of its inhabitants are poorer than the rest; where unemployment ranks highest, and where socio-economic frustrations have become part and parcel of the peoples' lives, then, it should not be surprising to be witnessing battalions of poor young men settling for small arms and light weapons¹⁸. In fact, statistics have shown that poor people could easily be persuaded to buy arms and weapons to commit crimes or engage in terrorist activities.

DEPRIVATION, DISCRIMINATION, AND DEPRESSION

One of the major factors that usually precipitates proliferation of arms and weapons has to do with deprivation. People tend to be depressed or frustrated when their set goals are not achieved. As a result, this could prompt them to take up arms and weapons or use violence in order to change the situation or resolve their plight. This could also ignite the already motivated zeal of weapons manufacturers to increase the production of small arms and light weapons ¹⁹. For example, scholars have attributed the increase in proliferation of weapons and arms in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria to the relative deprivation of resources that the inhabitants of the region are currently experiencing. They see their lack of absolute control of their resources as pure deprivation, while the Nigerian government is intolerant of any attempt to cede the control

¹⁸ O. Oyetunbi, O.O. Akinrinde, *Political Crisis and The Politics of Religious Divisiveness in Nigeria's Fourth Republic*, "The Digest: Journal of Jurisprudence and Legisprudence" 2021, 2(2), pp. 173-196.

¹⁹ S. Rukia, The Proliferation of Small Arms and Pastoralists in the Horn of Africa, Bonn 2002, p. 45.

and management of crude oil and other resources embedded in that region to its people. Therefore, the dilemma in the Niger Delta saga. Apparently, it becomes valid to infer that the prevailing deprivation of resources might need to be taken care of if the rising proliferation of small arms and weapons is to finally nip in the bud.

POROUS BORDERS

Another factor contributing to the proliferation of weapons worldwide is the issue of porous order. This is virtually common in all regions and continents. The United States of America, for example, is not protected from the influx of illegal weapons smuggling and possibly migrants in possession of weapons from Mexico. Nigeria also has to deal with the influxes of illegal smuggling from Chad, the Benin Republic, and others. This unpalatable development has become an issue of global concern.

BLACK MARKET/ RACKETEERING SYNDROME

Statistics have also shown that a large portion of illicit firearms are directly related to leaks from members of the armed forces and other security agencies. There exist several imaginary markets, especially within the African continent, where illicit weapons and remnant arms from local manufacturers or peacekeeping missions or retired and serving military personnel are being marketed, traded, auctioned, and sold. This is evident, for example, in the way some militia networks, such as the Oodua People's Congress (OPC) and the Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB), operate with light weapons, which is very disturbing.

IMPACT OF WEAPONS PROLIFERATION AND INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

There is absolutely no inherent doubt in the general consensus that proliferation of weapons has negatively impacted relative security in the international system.

Human Costs: It has massively caused varying degrees of homicides, injuries, deaths, loss of properties, robbery, rape, etc. as a result of high criminal and other violent activities.

Increased Terrorism: There has been an astronomical increase in terrorist activities. The ISIS, Al-Shabab, Boko-Haram and other terrorist networks continue to unleash terror in the international system. The world is currently witnessing an unprecedented level of terrorism that has never been recorded in history, mainly as a result of the illicit proliferation of weapons and arms. With these sophisticated weapons at the disposal of terrorists, one may be tempted to induce the world to be currently sitting on a time bomb whose explosion is imminent²⁰.

Human Rights Abuse: The uncensored use and proliferation of weapons and other illicit weapons could spark abuse and misuse of these weapons. It could lead to the abuse and violation of human rights. In a highly militarized environment, where illicit proliferation reigns

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²⁰ J. Lutz, op. cit., p. 47.

supreme. This is the case in Nigeria and Mexico as a result of their respective presence of illicit weapons and drugs, as in the case of the latter.

Underdevelopment: Another negative impact of illicit weapons proliferation is the attendant underdevelopment that is certain to manifest itself. Economic activities are stopped and, in most cases, grounded in an environment that is characterized by a general state of chaos, insecurity, and violence. These and many more are basically the consequences of allowing the proliferation of weapons to flourish.

Ecological Degradation: This may seem to be unconnected to the consequences of illicit proliferation of weapons in an environment but, it is factual and valid to note that when these arms and weapons are produced and proliferated illicitly without adequate measures for their use and disposal afterwards, they could impact the ecosystem negatively. Plants and trees could be destroyed and cut down, while the atmosphere could be polluted by gunshots and toxic elements that are released when a shot is fired.

WEAPONS PROLIFERATION AND INTERNATIONAL SECURITY: A THEORETICAL PARADOX?

Ideally, the use of weapons arms is the exclusive responsibility of the government. Until recently, weapons for individual and personal purposes were backed by authorization and license. Individuals ordinarily have no business carrying arms and weapons, even for their own security and safety, since it was the sole prerogative of the government to provide that. And when it is deployed by the government, the assumption is usually that it is meant to ensure security and protection of lives and properties. In essence, states have constitutional and natural authority to make use of weapons and arms. Paradoxically, what weapons and arms are meant to achieve, cum security, at the international system is now dictating the level of weapons proliferation in the world. Whereas the right use of weapons is considered a means towards achieving international security, the nature of the current configuration of international security is substantially affecting the proliferation of weapons. The same way weapons proliferation is affecting international security is clearly the same way international security is conditioning the proliferation of weapons. The simple logic of this paradox is inherent in the realist theoretical view. Realism sees the need to ensure security both at the state and international levels as the driver for the massive proliferation of weapons and arms in the international system. Realism also sees the nature and current level of international security as too porous, weak, and unsustainable. Therefore, the quest for survival and safety. Again, scholars of the realist orientation such as Hans Morgenthau, Henry Kissinger, Niccolo Machiavelli, Barry Buzan, Kenneth Waltz and others have argued that it is within this weapons proliferation that the international system can best be achieved and become sustainable²¹. Since there is a general impulse for all and sundry to be preoccupied with the goal of survival, weapons proliferation will continue to

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²¹ H. Morgenthau, K. Waltz, *Politics among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*, Knopf 6th ed. 1985, p. 48.

subsist in the international system, and so far anarchy, selfishness, greed, impulse for domination, inequality, and imperialism continue to thrive in the international system.

CONCLUSIONS

It is purely incontestable to posit here that weapons proliferation at both the state and individual levels has had a devastating effect on all spheres of the international system. It has largely accounted for virtually all present problems and global concerns in recent times, especially those related to underdevelopment, ecological degradation, terrorism, crimes, and human rights abuses. Although its causes are known, efforts to mitigate these problems have yielded little or no results, as it continues to metamorphose into a bigger problem. Technology has also contributed to this proliferation, but not to illicit use and abuses. However, there appears to be a missing gap between the efforts spent so far on the containment goal and the reality of this menace itself. However, one may be tempted to summarize and conclude here that, with the low success recorded so far in efforts aimed at controlling illicit proliferation of small arms, light weapons, and nuclear weapons, the world may need to embark on a holistic arms revolutionary overhaul that will ensure the destruction of all weapons throughout the world. Either for military or personal purposes, weapons in form or disguise are no friend of humans and the environment. Hence, there is a need for us to completely erase the idea that weapons could be deployed for peaceful, friendly, or developmental use and work toward a world that is completely devoid of arms and weapons.

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