



Open Symposium How to Confront the Nuclear Threat: Denuclearization and Security in North-East Asia

Tatsujiro Suzuki (Director, RECNA)

On November 23, 2017, the University of Tokyo's Policy Alternatives Research Institute (PARI) and RECNA jointly held a public symposium at the University of Tokyo under the above title. In this RECNA-led symposium, researchers from the University of Tokyo, Hiroshima City University, Hitotsubashi University and elsewhere built on the fruits of a Grants-in-Aid for Scientific Research program, "Analysis of Promoting and Inhibiting Factors toward the Realization of Denuclearization and Security in North-East Asia" (FY2015-17), and discussed next steps in response to the nuclear threat and security of North-East Asia.

In the first part, RECNA's professors Suzuki and Hirose, on behalf the research team, presented the program's findings focused topically on the role of non-nuclear weapon states (but under a nuclear umbrella), "Track 2" (confidence-building measures by non-governmental organizations), and verification of nuclear disarmament. They announced that these findings will be published in March 2018 as RECNA series publication No.3, "How to Confront the Nuclear Threat: Denuclearization and Security in North-East Asia" (tentatively titled; editorial supervision by Kiichi Fujiwara and written and edited by Satoshi Hirose and Tatsujiro Suzuki).

In the second part, PARI director Kiichi Fujiwara, a project member and the editorial supervisor of the above publication, and Masakatsu Ota, RECNA visiting professor and Kyodo News editorial writer, joined a panel discussion moderated by RECNA vice director Fumihiko Yoshida. The panel discussion opened with the role of nuclear weapons in the cur-



Dr. Suzuki speaking at the public symposium of RECNA (November 23, 2017, Tokyo University, Photo by RECNA)

rent security policy. "While the role of nuclear weapons has diminished, they are still relied upon in order to preserve the policy paths," Professor Fujiwara said. Professor Ota stated that systematic research and analysis about nuclear deterrence are needed. It then moved on to discuss Japan's security. Prof Fujiwara commented that while deterrence is needed, this would preferably be achieved through conventional weapons rather than nuclear weapons. On response to North Korea, Prof Fujiwara emphasized that the current diplomacy underway is not intimidation but coercion (bringing powerful sanctions and military pressure to bear on an adversary to change its policy), adding, "intimidation based on nuclear weapons will fail." Prof Ota stressed the importance of "Track 2" from RECNA research findings.

In the Q&A session including two RECNA professors, the audience raised many questions, about the verification of nuclear disarmament, Japan's non-nuclear defense policy and missile defense, and a very lively exchange ensued. We also thank the PARI for jointly hosting the symposium.

International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN):

My Insights as an Intern Jo Takeda, (4th year Nagasaki University, Fourth Nagasaki Youth Delegation)

From late June through August 2017, I worked as an intern at the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN). ICAN, as the name suggests, is an international non-government organization working energetically to abolish nuclear weapons. Much credited for the United Nations adoption this July of the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons, it won the Nobel Peace Prize.

I travelled to venues where the Treaty was negotiated, which gave me an opportunity to see ICAN in international conferences. I also saw ICAN up close in its day-to-day work, outside of international conferences. There I felt the importance of continuity.

ICAN is allowed to speak at these international conferences about nuclear weapons and, as an organization, has a lot of influence over them. I was always interested in learning how ICAN operates and why it has stature to speak at international conferences. What ICAN members were doing was to talk over tea with government delegates outside the conference hall. They approached individual delegates from different nations one by one, going over the terms of the Treaty so as to obtain their signatures in support of the ICAN positions. I had imagined something far more sophisticated but their actions were not. Initially I felt let down but, working as an intern, I came to understand that ICAN members, through their seemingly mundane efforts, were bonding personally with government stakeholders, gaining information unavailable through mere conference attendance, and exploring coopera-



ICAN staff visiting the Australian parliament and attracting support from the assemblyman to the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (Photo by author on the left)

tion. Even when a conference had ended, it was business as usual for ICAN to follow up, by email and phone, with those countries that voted for the Treaty to make sure they were going to be signatories.

Much of what ICAN does is simple, straightforward networking. While such efforts may appear low profile, for the first decade since its foundation ICAN just kept at it, which led to such great accomplishments as the adoption of the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons or the awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize. My two months at ICAN made me fully appreciate the old dictum, continuity is strength. I continue to expect a lot from ICAN's low-profile campaign for a world without nuclear weapons.

Nagasaki Youth Delegation: Members of the Sixth Nagasaki Youth Delegation are Chosen

The organized by PCU-Nagasaki Conference is now in its sixth year and the eight following members of the Sixth Delegation have been selected. These delegates are set to attend the second Preparatory Committee for the 2020 NPT Review Conference in Geneva in April-May 2018. They will be conducting a number of activities around that time to send out messages from Nagasaki for the abolishment of nuclear weapons.

Mitsuki Kudo, Third Year, Faculty of Global and Media Studies, University of Nagasaki Siebold Campus

I was a member of the Forth Delegation. With renewed desires for actions toward the abolishment of nuclear weapons, I am coming aboard the Sixth Delegation. I want to acquire a wide variety of ideas and, through offsite lectures and other activities, share a lot with all of you.

Tamaki Sakai, Second Year, Faculty of Humanities, Nagasaki Junshin Catholic University

I am continuing from the Fifth Delegation to the Sixth. So I want to turn my thoughts from the Fifth Delegation and related activities into concrete actions and be able to communicate my opinions to more people, more of my peers.

Son Mingyue, First Year, Graduate School of Global Communication, University of Nagasaki

My name is Sun, a student from China. I am currently enrolled at University of Nagasaki's Graduate School of Global Communication. As a Nagasaki Youth member, I want to study and experience many things and explore my abilities.

Taiki Nakashima, Second Year, School of Global Humanities and Social Sciences, Nagasaki University

My name is Taiki Nakashima, a second year student in Nagasaki University's School of Global Humanities and Social Sciences. I want to utilize this opportunity to build foundation for a better future 10 or 100 years later.

Saki Nagae, Second Year, School of Global Humanities and Social Sciences, Nagasaki University

The world peace can never be an easy goal. But even in a world like ours, I want to try and do my part as a youth member and work toward that day in future when everyone around the globe can feel like they have been happy.

Rena Harada, Second Year, School of Global Humanities and Social Sciences, Nagasaki University

I came to Nagasaki for college. In this city, you have many opportunities to think about the nuclear problem or peace education and over time my desires to contribute to the abolishment of nuclear weapons and learn about international affairs grew gradually.

So I applied to become a Nagasaki Youth Delegation member. Through Youth activities, I want to learn the importance of civic movements and policies of different governments and enrich my insights about nuclear issues.

Atsumi Fukui, Second Year, School of Global Humanities and Social Sciences, Nagasaki University

As part of the Fifth Nagasaki Youth Delegation, I participated last May in the first Preparatory Committee for the 2020 NPT Review Conference in Vienna. Now, as a member of the sixth delegation, I will draw from my experience and knowledge from last year and do more this year as an agent of peace!

Taiki Miura, Fourth Year, Faculty of Environmental Science, Nagasaki University

I grew up in Nagasaki and learned from peace education and my grandparents about the cruelty of war and the terror of nuclear weapons. Through this activity, I will acquire new knowledge but I also want to think about my role at various junctures and how I may contribute.

Dispatches from Nagasaki No.22

Satoshi Hirose (Vice-Director, RECNA)

Last year the Japanese government once again submitted to the UN General Assembly its Draft Resolution on Nuclear Disarmament, which was duly adopted. This marks the 24th consecutive year that Japan has submitted such a draft resolution. The draft resolution gained overwhelming support, including even the nuclear states of the US and UK, with 156 nations in favor, 4 against and 24 abstentions. Compared to last year's result (167 in favor, 4 against and 16 abstentions),

while those nations against the motion remained unchanged those in favor declined, their votes switching the abstainers. Looking back at the votes over the past decade, out of the ten votes the support of 170 or more nations was obtained on six occasions, and the number did not once fall behind the 160-vote mark. Neither did the number of abstainers exceed 20 nations. Little surprise then that the Nagasaki Shimbun carried the headline "Support for nuclear abolition proposal drops" in the October 28, 2017 edition.

Citing the reasons for this decline the Nagasaki Shimbun quoted from the interpretation made by the Kyodo Press Agency that the failure of the Japanese government's resolution to mention the U.N. Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons passed in July, and the watering down of the wording of the text related to the inhumanity of nuclear weapons had created an impression that Japan's stance on nuclear disarmament has receded (Nagasaki Shimbun, October 28 edition). In fact, nations such as Austria, New Zealand, Costa Rica and Nigeria, that supported the resolution last year and also signed the U.N. Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons, decided to abstain .

The Japanese government has long proudly insisted that it should bridge the gap between the nuclear and non-nuclear nations. However, this year's draft resolution was considerably watered down compared to last year's. In particular, the removal of the word "any" from the text that last year read "the catastrophic humanitarian consequences of any use of nuclear weapons" hints that, although the use of nuclear weapons still raises humanitarian concerns, it could be open to the interpretation that exceptional use of nuclear weapons could be tolerated on humanitarian grounds. It was thus that RECNA director Tatsujiro Suzuki fiercely criticized the government in the October 20 edition of the Nagasaki Shimbun, saying: "It would hardly be surprising if the right of the Japanese government to talk about the abolition of nuclear weapons is called into question."

Speaking of the decision to award the 2017 Nobel Peace Prize to the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN), Japan's Foreign Minister, Taro Kono, issued a statement saying that: "The Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons that ICAN has supported is a different approach from that of the Japanese government, but we share the same goal of nuclear abolition. We will rebuild a relationship of trust between the nuclear and non-nuclear states and non-nuclear states in different security environments, and resolutely stick to the task of gaining the involve-

ment of the nuclear states in a realistic and practical manner." However, this year's Japanese draft resolution contains no new concrete suggestions towards the disarmament or abolition of nuclear weapons, and it would be extremely difficult to describe it as offering an alternative approach to the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons that the government is rejecting. Indeed, it is perfectly natural that nations calling for the same abolition of nuclear weapons have turned against Japan, which feebly calls for a "realistic approach" without even trying to show a persuasive alternative course of action, and is utterly uncooperative in the pursuit of nuclear disarmament on the grounds of a difficult security environment and its perceived need for nuclear deterrence. Meanwhile, fierce criticism of the Japanese government is being voiced in the atomic bombing site of Nagasaki.

However, there is still a large number of nations that support both the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons and the Japanese government's draft resolution. While Japan still maintains the trust of these nations, if it is unable to put forward specific proposals for nuclear disarmament instead of listing all the issues in East Asia and emphasizing how they currently make nuclear disarmament impossible, Japan will inevitably be told that is no longer a nation bridging" between the nuclear and non-nuclear states.



Volume 6, No. 3 December, 2017

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