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The 3rd Panel on Peace and Security of Northeast Asia (PSNA) Workshop

Tatsujiro Suzuki (Director, RECNA)

he 3rd Panel on Peace and Security of Northeast Asia (PSNA) Workshop was held in Moscow on the two days of May 31 and June 1, 2018. It was hosted by the Research Center for Nuclear Weapons Abolition, Nagasaki University (RECNA), in cooperation with the Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs, the Russian Pugwash Committee under the Presidium of the Russian Academy of Science (RAS), the Moscow State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO-University), and the Primakov National Research Institute of World Economy and International Relations (IMEMO RAS). The meeting consisted of 11 Panel Members (US, Russia, China, Korea, Japan, Mongolia and Australia), as well as many local participants from Russia and two participants from the North Korean Embassy in Moscow, and was attended by 57 people in all. In addition to the issue of peace and security of Northeast Asia the meeting featured a wide-ranging debate on the need for the nuclear weapon states to change their nuclear strategies, the issue of missile defense, the NPT, Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons, and the problem of nuclear power safety and nuclear security. The proceedings of this meeting saw an increase in hopes for the denuclearization and building of peace in Northeast Asia following the Panmunjom Declaration for Peace, Prosperity and Unification of the Korean Peninsula, the possibility of the US-North Korean summit, coupled with the attendance of the Councillor and First Secretary of the North Korean Embassy in Moscow.

In particular, with regard to the Northeast Asia issue,



2nd day of the 3rd PSNA Workshop (June 1st 2018, at IMEMO RAS, Photo by RECNA)

as an evaluation of the Panmunjom Declaration, the clarification of — in addition to the denuclearization of North Korea — the denuclearization of the whole Korean Peninsula and the conclusion of the Korean War, as well the importance of confidence-building measures to prevent military conflict were pointed out. The importance of building a framework for the creation of Northeast Asia Nuclear Weapons Free Zone (NEA-NWFZ) and security across the whole of the region were emphasized. In addition, based upon the lessons of previous US-North Korean negotiations and the Iran nuclear deal, the importance of cautious and patient negotiations in order to avoid demands for a rushed solution or a solution based on mistaken judgments was pointed out.

Above all, it is the US-North Korea summit that holds the key to the future situation in Northeast Asia; there was a collective awareness that if they are successful they will undoubtedly represent an historic turning point for peace and security of Northeast Asia. Subsequently the point was emphasized that, seeing this as an opportunity, from now on steady

debate needs to be continued towards preparing a framework for the denuclearization process and security.

After the Workshop, the PSNA published the Statements and Recommendations of the Co-Chairs. The main points of the recommendations are: 1) on the basis of the talks, the creation of a legally binding Northeast Asia NWFZ (NEA-NWFZ) should be established; 2) a framework should be created for the promotion of security talks covering the entire region; 3) in order to prevent conflict concerning the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons toward the 2020 NPT Review Conference, the nations involved should consider measures to reduce the role of nuclear weapons in security policy; 4) in a state of affairs in which the trustworthiness of governmental diplomacy is viewed as problematic, civil society and experts should monitor governments, and devote their ener-

gies to leading talks in the right direction, and 5) Japan in particular, as a vital nation in the region, should make an eager contribution to the fostering of trust and towards the establishment of NEA-NWFZ.

In order to respond to rapidly changing security situations in Northeast Asia, PSNA decided to set up two Working Groups ([1] Verification of Denuclearization [2] Regional Security and Global Nuclear Disarmament and Non-Proliferation). Working Groups will commission experts in the above two fields to write a concise and effective policy analysis for policy makers so that PSNA can contribute to more effective policy making in a timely fashion. PSNA also decided that the next PSNA meeting will take place in 2020.

For more details refer to the web page below: http://www.recna.nagasaki-u.ac.jp/recna/bd/files/3rd_PSNA_Statement_J_20180601.pdf

Nagasaki Youth Delegation

The second preparatory Committee for the 2020 Nuclear Non -Proliferation Treaty Review Conference

ight members of the Nagasaki Youth Delegation 2018 participated in the second preparatory Committee for the 2020 Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) Review Conference in Geneva from April 23 to May 4 this year. In Geneva, the Delegation listened to the proceedings of the Review Conference, held a workshop at the UN Office and a visiting lecture at the Japanese school, and exchanged opinions with diplomats. The delegation spent each day energetically on their various activities. Here are reports from 2 members, Mr. Nakashima and Ms. Nagae.

Nagasaki Youth Delegation 2018 (From left, Kudo, Sakai, Sun, Fukui, Harada, Nagae, Miura, Nakashima) (at UN Office in Geneva, Photo provided by PCU-NC)

Listens to the proceedings of the Preparatory Committee for the 2020 NPT Review Conference

Taiki Nakashima (3rd year, School of Global Humanities and Social Sciences, Nagasaki University)

Attending the second Preparatory Committee for the 2020 NPT Review Conference and through the activities carried out there I felt something regarding the meaning of this conference. As is argued in the REC-NA NPT blog, this meeting showed no particular progress, and I myself could not find anything of signifi-

cance towards the abolition of nuclear weapons.

The first day saw an exchange between the US and Russia concerning the problem of chemical weapons in Syria, ending with no reference to the NPT at all. The discussions between the nuclear-weapon and non -nuclear-weapon states found no common ground and the gap between them merely grew wider.

With regard to the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons, of the 58 signatory nations only 10 have actually ratified the treaty. Obviously things are unlikely to proceed simply, but in the background is the fact that the African nations have pressure exerted upon them by the European nations, just as the US exerts pressure on Japan. The truth of the matter is that some nations are pressurized, and some of these nations succumb to this pressure.

In our globalized world it is probably difficult for nations to completely decouple themselves from others. However, is this the case with national defense?

The Nagasaki Youth Delegation staged a side event at the conference, in which we argued that nuclear weapons dropped 73 years ago were not just dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki but upon all mankind collectively. Though the circumstances of the nations may differ, some nations manage to sustain their states without reliance on military force. Is it currently only Japan, the European states and the US and so on that are exposed to the threat of nuclear weapons? No, the nuclear menace stretches across the entire world. In the midst of this state of affairs, it is an unfortunate fact that there are no signs of nuclear abolition and there are many countries sitting at this meeting without feeling any hope- any hope for nuclear disarmament on the part of the five Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT) nuclear-weapon states (P5) or indeed for the very meeting itself - even while they make eager move towards nuclear disarmament.

Upon attending the conference I felt that this is the reality of the international society surrounding nuclear weapons, and that it is all about politics. The third session of the Preparatory Committee will take place next year, and the Review Conference itself in 2020. I will be closely watching to see if largely meaningless events like this one continue or whether there will actually be come sort of change.

Handing down the Nuclear Bombing Experience

Saki Nagae (3rd year, School of Global Humanities And Social Sciences, Nagasaki University)

This was the first time that I have participated in the Preparatory Committee for the 2020 NPT Review Conference. For someone like me who was attending an international conference for the first time ever, meeting the people assembled there, listening to the subjects under discussion and the atmosphere of the meeting itself were all a completely new experience.

I gave a presentation at one of the side events held inside the UN building. What I have realized upon taking part in the activities of the Nagasaki Youth Delegation is that the history of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki is not being handed down to future generations on an international scale. Japan often describes itself as the only nation to have experienced a nuclear attack, and one hears similar words

from people around the rest of the world. However, I felt that this phrase of "the only nation to have experienced a nuclear attack" is also building a vast wall in people's awareness of history. When the Nagasaki Youth Delegation 2018 started I talked with Ms. Sun Mingyue, a Chinese woman, and felt that there was clearly a vast difference in the volume of knowledge about the Nanking Massacre and the atomic bombings. This is surely due to the difference in the education provided in each country. Moreover, I suspect that the reason for this difference lies in the fact that national governments decide the policy for what parts of their history they want students to be taught. However, the history of the atomic bombings is not just Japanese history.

In this globalized society in which people can easily come and go, the things I like and my friends are all over the world. But in that world there are still around 14,500 nuclear weapons. They represent a common risk to all people living in this day and age, and that risk we all fear actually turned into a reality 73 years ago. I think that this reality should be interpreted not as something that happened in Nagasaki and Hiroshima but as something that happened to all mankind on this planet. This should not be made to involve political or economic factors. I delivered my presentation at the UN with the feeling that I wanted people throughout the world to understand this concept, and think again about themselves and the question of nuclear weapons.

We all put our heads together and thought long and hard about what would be acceptable to talk about at the UN and what we as young people from Nagasaki would be able to express; we decided that through whatever activity it may take what is most important in thinking about nuclear weapons in this day and age is the question of "handing down" history and experiences. This entails a vertical handing down transcending generations, and a horizontal handing down transcending regional and national borders. I think that this would be a huge step forwards towards the abolition of nuclear weapons in this era. Being able to single out this thought and share it together with my companions, and express it at a forum such as the UN is something for which I have to thank the PCU-NC, RECNA and all those who provides their support. I had a tremendous experience at the Conference and am sincerely grateful for it.

I intend to continue to relay to people all that I learned through this experience and these thoughts that I have mentioned.

Eminent Persons Group

Outline of the proposal of the Eminent Persons Group

Masao Tomonaga (Visiting Professor, RECNA/ Member of the Eminent Persons Group)

fter the adoption of the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW), in addition to the deterioration of the international security environment, there has been anxiety that the serious fissure between the nuclear-weapon states aiming for a world without nuclear weapons and the non-nuclearweapon states and civil society may increase. This led the former Foreign Minister of Japan, Fumio Kishida, to announce at the First Preparatory Committee for the 2020 NPT Review Conference that Japan would pursue a policy of nuclear deterrence based on the US-Japan security treaty, and that while Japan would not participate in the TPNW it would establish an Group of Eminent Persons for Substantive Advancement of Nuclear Disarmament (Eminent Persons Group) that would propose "bridge-building policies" in order to seek a resolution to this fissure.

The 16-member group, of which 10 people are from

outside Japan, met twice, and submitted its recommendations to the new Foreign Minister, Taro Kono, on March 29. The preamble argued that the common goal of the NPT member states is to achieve a world without nuclear weapons in line with Article VI of the NPT, but concluded that nuclear disarmament is stagnating under the current NPT. On the other hand, the recommendations emphasized the fact that the international norm "that nuclear weapons are never used under any circumstance" has taken root. They also underscored the importance in joint approaches to nuclear disarmament with civility in discourse and respect for divergent views.

The NPT still remains the axiomatic regime with regards to nuclear disarmament. Every single decision so far made under the NPT must be put into practice. Specifically, the complete ratification of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT); the implementation of the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA)

regarding Iran; the holding of a conference for a Middle East Weapons of Mass Destruction Free Zone (WMDFZ); the strict adherence to the US-Russia nuclear arms control system that is the keystone of global nuclear disarmament (in particular the five-year extension of the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START)); the resolution of North Korean nuclear and missile crisis through peaceful dialog between the nations involved (as is now being carried out).

Proposed Bridge-building Actions

- 1. Measures to boost the NPT Review Conference: all the nuclear-weapon states should announce their own nuclear weapons disarmament measures; transparency should be improved and considerable progress made in building confidence; subsequently, the nuclear-weapon states should hold dialog with the non-nuclear-weapon states and civil society.
- 2. Confidence-building measures as a foundation for bridge-building: the role of nuclear weapons in international security must be reduced; the nuclear-weapon states should strengthen negative security assurance commitments to the non-nuclear-weapon states and the member states of treaties on nuclear-weapon-free zones under United Nations Security Council Resolution 984.
- 3. Preparing the ground for convergence of different approaches: the absence of any consensus about verification and enforcement in nuclear disarmament is a problem; verification and observance should be strengthened; discussion of the problems of fissionable material storage and the Fissile Material Cutoff Treaty (FMCT) should be encouraged.
- 4. There are many "hard questions": the nuclear deterrence policy brings stability in certain environments, but in terms of global security it could in the long term be dangerous. All nations should consider alternative security mechanisms; a benchmark (Minimization Point) should be indicated from now on in the nuclear abolition movement; with regard to

the right to self-defense under extreme circumstances of national survival, international humanitarian law should be considered in the event that limited threat of use or use of nuclear weapons is foreseeable; Solutions for the greatest dilemma of how to achieve a balance between enforcement and obligation/observance by all nations under the NPT regime.

Taro Kono, the Foreign Minister of Japan, declared that he would incorporate the content of these recommendations in the policy of the Japanese government at the Second Preparatory Committee for the NPT Review Conference. From now on, the degree of sincerity of the Japanese government will be tested by its specific proposals at the NPT conferences and upon the hosting of international conferences on overcoming nuclear deterrence.

Dispatches from Nagasaki No.24

The U.S.-North Korea Summit and Joint Statement – Responses from Nagasaki

Tatsujiro Suzuki (Director, RECNA)

n June 12, 2018, President Donald J.

Trump of the United States of America and Chairman Kim Jong Un of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea met at Singapore for the first summit meeting ever held between those two countries. They afterwards issued a joint statement, best summarized as: "President Trump committed to provide security guarantees to the DPRK, and Chairman Kim Jong Un reaffirmed his firm and unwavering commitment to complete denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula."

What were the responses to this joint statement in Nagasaki? Presented below are excerpts from broadcasts or articles from assorted Japanese media sources.

Nagasaki City Mayor Tomihisa Taue spoke highly of the joint statement and expressed his hopes for the future. "This meeting between top-level leaders is progress and, I think, could be considered a start on the road to denuclearization. We will of course have to watch what happens from here. I want the U.S. and North Korean officials to continue with such meetings and make denuclearization a reality." (NHK News Nagasaki: 19:49, 12 June 2018)

Takeshi Yamakawa (81), a Nagasaki hibakusha and representative of the Nagasaki Citizens Association for Protesting U.S. Nuclear Testing, praised the joint statement, saying "this summit marks a historic first step." In August 1974, concerned citizens first began holdings "sit-ins" to express their opposition to nuclear weapons development; and, over the 44 years from that date, there have been a total of 402 sit-ins. Mr. Yamakawa talks of his hopes for the future: "We don't want to have a 403rd sit-in. I'm just glad that the two leaders reached a basic agreement. I certainly hope the U.S.-North Korean relations don't revert to the animosity of days past." (The Mainichi Shimbun,

Nagasaki edition, 13 June 2018)

Dr. Masao Tomonaga (75), former director of the Japanese Red Cross Nagasaki Atomic Bomb Hospital, is another hibakusha. "It's not as if everything will get resolved with just one meeting. There are other issues, too, such as the North Korean abductions of Japanese nationals and verification [of compliance with any denuclearization agreement]. But still, I do think highly that those leaders have charted a course toward denuclearization. Japan is under the U.S. nuclear umbrella and thus, from the point of view of North Korea, part of the threat. Here, it is important for Japan to play its part by, for instance, convincing the United States to agree to a ban on any first use of nuclear weapons." (The Mainichi Shimbun, Nagasaki edition, 13 June 2018)

Mr. Koichi Kawano (78), who was born in Korea during the war, was in Nagasaki at the time of the atomic bombing there. "I have long concerned about my birthplace and I want people to live in peace there as well." For many years, Mr. Kawano has served as Chairman of the Japan Congress against A- and H-Bombs (Gensuikin). In 2007, he had an opportunity to return to the land of his birth in conjunction with a survey of hibakusha then living in North Korea. There, Mr. Kawano was repeatedly told by authorities that "there is an even bigger issue between Japan and North Korea." From this experience, he says: "Throughout the 73 years of the postwar era, Japan has never taken responsibility for its aggression. Instead, we have just abandoned the North Korean people and left things at that. We must regain our awareness of what happened. Denuclearization and a formal end to the Korean War would take us to the point where we could start discussing economic assistance for North Korea." Mr. Kawano adds: "We should not offer assistance to North Korea because the U.S. told us to, we should do so spontaneously, under our own

initiative." As for the Joint Statement, he expresses dissatisfaction: "It does not clarify where and how many nuclear weapons are possessed by North Korea, nor does it describe a concrete process for denuclearization. I was hoping for something more substantial; what we did get is not enough." (Nagasaki Shimbun, 13 June 2018)

Mr. Terumi Tanaka (86), a hibakusha who resides in Saitama Prefecture, serves as Co-Chairperson of the Japan Confederation of A- and H-Bomb Sufferers Associations (Nihon Hidankyo). "I do think well of their agreement to completely denuclearize North Korea. From here, I will be watching the degree of

openness on the part of North Korea as they move to discard nuclear weapons." (Nagasaki Shimbun, 13 June 2018)

As above, the U.S.-North Korea Summit and resulting Joint Statement were generally well received in Nagasaki. This said, in addition to anticipation for the future, some commentators also expressed disappointment with the results, pointing to a lack of completeness or specificity. The people of Nagasaki will be closely watching the progress, or otherwise, of further negotiations.



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