

## Joint ROK-Japan Workshop “From Peace on Korean Peninsula to North East Asia Nuclear Weapon Free Zone” Held in South Korea

Fumihiko Yoshida (Director, RECNA)

2018 was a milestone year showing historic developments for the denuclearization of North East Asia. The Inter-Korean Summits and the North Korea-United States Summit were held in quick succession, and the move towards the denuclearization of the Korean peninsula switched to a faster gear than has been witnesses before.

It was at this juncture that the Nagasaki University Research Center for Nuclear Weapons Abolition (RECNA) and the Sejong Institute, an influential South Korean thinktank hosted a joint ROK-Japan workshop “From Peace on Korean Peninsula to North East Asia Nuclear Weapon Free Zone” over the two days of June 1 and June 2, 2019. The workshop took place in the city of Seongnam, where the Sejong Institute are located, and was jointly held by the Institute and RECNA. With the cooperation of the Panel on Peace and Security of Northeast Asia (PSNA) of which RECNA serves as the secretariat, a vibrant exchange of opinions took place with the proceedings held under the Chatham House Rule (a format in which information presented at the meetings can only be made public in a manner whereby the party providing the information and its source remain strictly anonymous).

RECNA, which has planned a Northeast Asia Nuclear Weapons Free Zone, has reacted to the new developments of 2018 by considering that the wisest choice would be first of all to make the denuclearization of DPRK definite, and then to proceed with regional denuclearization. In order to do so the strengthening of col-

laboration with South Korean researchers and experts is absolutely essential and RECNA therefore decided to deepen its links with the Sejong Institute. It was in this context that the ROK-Japan workshop was held.

A total of 25 people exchanged opinions on the latest information: eight researchers and experts each from Japan and South Korea, as well as participants from the United States, Russia, China, Australia, Germany and Austria. Following the stagnation of the North Korea-United States summit the “optimistic mood” that had spread in 2018 is no longer with us, but nonetheless a majority of participants agreed on the point that there is still a good opportunity to shift the security environment in Northeast Asia. Adhering firmly to the stance that military conflict between the South and North and the United States and North Korea should be avoided, all sorts of ideas were suggested in order to deepen and widen the denuclearization concept.

While referring to the debate at the workshop, RECNA and the Sejong Institute, in conjunction with the twin chairs of the PSNA, compiled and made public a policy proposal on the basic theme of “From Peace on the Korean Peninsula to a Northeast Asia Nuclear Weapon Free Zone.” The Policy Proposal, that will be published in Japanese and English, will be posted on the RECNA website and sent out to all those involved in Northeast Asian policy.

An outline of the workshop is available [here](#).



Joint ROK-Japan Workshop “From Peace on Korean Peninsula to North East Asia Nuclear Weapon Free Zone”  
(June 1, 2019, The Sejong Institute, ROK, Photo by RECNA)

## Publication of the RECNA Policy Paper No. 8 “Nuclear Disarmament in a Labyrinth: Toward Reducing Risk”

Tatsujiro Suzuki (Vice Director, RECNA)

Since the beginning of 2019, the situation surrounding nuclear disarmament has undergone major changes. As of January, the Doomsday Clock is still set at two minutes to midnight, the same as last year, and the worst situation since the end of World War II continues. The situation concerning nuclear arms has been showing signs of tumult since the beginning of 2019 against a background that includes the stagnation of nuclear disarmament effort by the United States and Russia as well as advancement of nuclear modernization programs the development of new, low-yield nuclear arms, the new nuclear strategy of the United States of using nuclear weapons without hesitation, the seesaw situation regarding nuclear arms in North Korea, and also the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (“the Iran nuclear deal”) in crisis since the United States announced its withdrawal from the deal.

In light of this tumultuous situation, on July 31 RECNA released Policy Paper No. 8 “Nuclear Disarmament in a Labyrinth: Toward Reducing Risk” ([REC-PP-8](#) in Japanese). RECNA’s group of professors have each penned an article on their field of expertise, comprising eight themes. Worthy of note are firstly, a special interview with the Chair of the third session of the Preparatory Committee for the 2020 Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT), UN Ambassador Syed Mohamad Hasrin Tengku Hussin of Malaysia (Satoshi Hirose and Hibiki Yamaguchi) and another article about the outlook for the NPT Review Conference (Satoshi Hirose). The contrasting conclusions drawn by Mr. Hussin who is

quite positive, and Professor Hirose who objectively analyzed the reality, were most interesting. Next is an article about the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW) (Keiko Nakamura) which mentions not only the increase in the number of countries ratifying the treaty but also introduces a new trend in the financial world for divestment from industries related to nuclear weapons as well as the adoption of resolutions by state legislatures in the United States. In other articles about the new nuclear strategies adopted mainly by the United States (Hiromichi Umebayashi) and nuclear modernization programs (Akira Tomizuka), the latest situation in nuclear-weapon states and its significance is analyzed. For the regional nuclear situation, in the article regarding the state of affairs in North Korea, Professor Masakatsu Ota analyzes in detail the 2019 North Korea-United States Hanoi Summit, in light of the sudden and unexpected meeting in June of the United States and China, and makes proposals for the future. In the article regarding the issues surrounding the Iran nuclear deal (Tatsujiro Suzuki), the circumstances of the recent crisis are objectively analyzed against the historical background and proposals are offered to promote dialog. Finally, in the article regarding the Kyoto Appeal produced by the Group of Eminent Persons for Substantive Advancement of Nuclear Disarmament (Masao Tomonaga), its significance and future outlook is explained.

This concludes a brief overview of the RECNA Policy Paper No. 8. We hope that it will be of help in understanding the recent turmoil in the nuclear situation.

## Participating in the Third Session of the Preparatory Committee for the 2020 Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT)

Keiko Nakamura (Associate Professor, RECNA)

Next year, the 75th since the atomic bombings of Japan, the Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) that takes place every five years will be held. The conference will be one of the utmost importance, with the very *raison d'être* of the NPT that has been the cornerstone of international disarmament and non-proliferation for half a century inevitably becoming called into question.

The third session of the Preparatory Committee, which is vitally significant in terms of forecasting the direction of the conference, was held at the UN headquarters in New York from April 29 to May 10 this year. As the final session of the Preparatory Committee prior to the 2020 conference, in addition to procedural preparations such as selecting the chair and gaining a consensus on the process, another of the session’s missions was to adopt a report including substantive recommendations in the lead up to the conference.

In terms of the conclusions, while agreement was achieved regarding the minimal number of procedural



The Third Session of the Preparatory Committee for the 2020 Review Conference of the Parties Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) (May 7, 2019, UN headquarters, Photo by RECNA)

matters, it proved impossible to plug the wide gap between participants regarding substantive recommenda-

tions and it was decided the Chair's working paper would be sent to the conference next year. There has been no agreement on recommendations at any of the past preparatory committees, so this result can be described as being "within expectations." However, the recent Preparatory Committee strengthened the impression that the divergences between the nuclear-weapon states and the non-nuclear-weapon states, as well as the divergences between the nuclear-weapon states themselves are falling into a state of irreparable damage.

The structure of conflict between the nuclear "do-haves" and "don't haves" surrounding nuclear disarmament is hardly something new. However, caution and opposition among the non-nuclear-weapon states are becoming stronger in the face of the attitude of the nuclear-weapon states, headed by the US and Russia, who openly preach the need for nuclear arsenal reinforcements, quite in reverse to nuclear disarmament, make light of the current arms control and disarmament framework, and are leaning towards an "our country first" approach. While there were many mentions of the collapse of the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty, the US's unilateral withdrawal from the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action ("the Iran nuclear deal"), and the unclear future of the new Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START), in a wider context what left a deep impression was the consecutive voicing of concerns about the absence of trust between nations, and the potential disintegration of the international nuclear order that has been built up through long years of diplomatic effort. With regard as well to the Middle East issue that was the direct cause of the breakdown of the previous Review Conference in 2015, it remained impossible to achieve a decisive breakthrough amid the current state of affairs such as the deterioration of US-Iran relations.

The divergences between the nuclear-weapon states were once again laid bare. In particular, the US and Russia made plain their mutual distrust and sense of enmity regarding the implementation of the INF and so on, repeatedly aiming criticism at each other. One common thread between the United States and Russia was the way that they attempted to pin the blame for the deterioration of the security environment on each other, seeking to justify their reluctant stances regarding the disarmament obligations of their own country. The US advocated its new disarmament approach entitled "Creating an Environment for Nuclear Disarmament" (CEND) from the standpoint that "without addressing some highly problematic trends in the global security environment, it will be very hard, or even impossible, to imagine any future for nuclear disarmament at all." It is impossible to tell whether, imperfect as it is, CEND will become an option for progress in nuclear disarmament amid its current stagnation, or merely peter out as a simple excuse for not implementing nuclear disarmament. However, if the nuclear-weapon states really are serious about "creating an environment for nuclear disarmament" surely what must be solved first is a review of their own nation's policies that run counter to nuclear disarmament, namely nuclear modernization plans including the development of new types of nuclear weapons and missiles. But the nuclear-weapon states showed no signs whatsoever of listening to this, the entirely reasonable criticism of the non-nuclear-weapon states and their civic societies.

For a more detailed report please take a look at the [NPT blog](#) in which RECNA staff reported (in Japanese) the progress of the meeting from New York in real time.

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## Nagasaki Youth Delegation: Activities in New York

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**T**he nine members of the Seventh Nagasaki Youth Delegation attended the third session of the Preparatory Committee for the 2020 Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) held at the United Nations headquarters in New York from April 29 to May 10. While in New York, they carried out a variety of activities such as observing the proceed-

ings of the session, holding their student-initiated workshop, holding a visiting lecture at a Japanese school in the suburbs of New York City, visiting international organizations, taking part in exchanges with American college students as well as dialog with diplomats, people from NGOs and younger people of the same generation as themselves. Further details on their activities can be found on their [Blog](#) and [Facebook](#) pages (in Japanese).



Members of the Seventh Nagasaki Youth Delegation  
(May 3, 2019, in front of the UN headquarters, New York, Photo by PCU-NC)



## Expectations for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapons

Honoka Nakayama (Second Year, School of Dentistry, Nagasaki University)

Together with my fellow Nagasaki Youth Delegates, I attended the third session of the Preparatory Committee for the 2020 NPT Review Conference. It was the first time for me to participate in an international conference and I was extremely surprised to see government representatives outspokenly criticizing other countries in such an international and public setting. Being able to participate in a conference where I could observe real diplomacy firsthand was a very precious experience for me. When I talked to various members of permanent missions to the United Nations, most of them showed understanding about the inhumanity of nuclear weapons. Civil society movement seems to be getting stronger and expectations for the abolition of nuclear weapons seem more favorable than I had imagined. Amidst talk on a large scale such as national interests and diplomacy, I strongly felt extremely inadequate. However, I feel that I also learned the importance of continuing our activities with conviction. I will make an effort to apply what I have learned through this trip to New York as a youth delegate to my future activities.

## The Reality of an International Conference

Sunao Takami (Second Year, School of Global Humanities and Social Sciences, Nagasaki University)

I attended the third session of the Preparatory Committee for the 2020 NPT Review Conference held at the United Nations headquarters in New York from the end of April to early May. At the conference, I was quite shocked to see members from several countries abusing one another verbally. Especially the comments by representatives of the United States and Iran made a lasting impression on me. The United States representative as-

serted that as the United States is not the only country to possess nuclear weapons, it is not the responsibility of the United States alone, and that the United States should not have to focus attention on nuclear disarmament. Furthermore, the representative commented that it was nonsense and used foul language. In regard to the assertion by the United States that Iran was not complying with its obligation toward nuclear non-proliferation, Iran commented that the United States was a liar. It hit me then that this was the reality of our world where 192 countries are co-existing. The views of nuclear powers and non-nuclear powers are directly opposing and I realized that it may take a long time for countries with diverse standpoints to all aim toward the same goal.

## To inherit the consciousness all humans are HIBAKUSHAs

Daiki Yano (Second Year, School of Engineering, Nagasaki University)

As a member of the Seventh Nagasaki Youth Delegation, I attended the third session of the Preparatory Committee for the 2020 Review Conference held in New York. It was the first time for me to participate in an international conference and I had imagined that the representatives from the various countries around the world gather at the conference to have discussions. However, actually the representatives simply read out their written speeches and I wondered whether this was the reality of international conferences. While the conference was being held, workshops referred to as side events were held by NGOs and representatives from various countries in rooms aside from the main venue. We gave a presentation titled "To inherit the consciousness all humans are HIBAKUSHAs." We received a great response and I was able to convey the experiences of my grandmother who is a hibakusha. I am glad that it went to the hearts of many people.

## Visit to Japan of Ambassador Syed Mohamad Hasrin Tengku Hussin , chair of the Third Session of the Preparatory Committee for the 2020 Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT)

Satoshi Hirose (Vice Director, RECNA)

**A**mbassador Syed Mohamad Hasrin Tengku Hussin, who chaired the third session of the Preparatory Committee for the 2020 Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) and is Malaysia's Permanent Representative to the United Nations, visited Nagasaki on July 11 this year. Although his stay was only a brief one, in between his visit to the Nagasaki Atomic Bomb Museum and meetings with hibakusha he gladly found time to take part in an interview with RECNA staff members and a dialog meeting with students.

This was Amb. Hussin 's first visit to Japan, and he described the way his heart had been wrenched by seeing the horrific sight of the atomic bombing and speaking in person with hibakusha. He also spoke of the amazement he felt at the strength of the people who managed to restore the city.



Ambassador Syed Mohamad Hasrin Tengku Hussin , chair of the Third Session of the Preparatory Committee for the 2020 Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) (July 11, 2019, at the meeting room of RECNA , Photo by RECNA)

With regard to the NPT Preparatory Committee and next year's Review Conference, particularly with regard to nuclear disarmament, Amb. Hussin expressed his view that while there is still a considerable gap between, on one hand, the non-nuclear states centering on the non-aligned countries that demand rapid nuclear disarmament, and on the other hand the nuclear-weapon states and their allies who urge a realistic approach, all of the states parties to the NPT recognize the importance of the treaty itself. Amb. Hussin hinted that he was hopeful about the successful outcome of the Review Conference. Though he expressed concern about ongoing developments that will inevitably exert a negative influence on nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation outside of the NPT framework such as the recent abandonment of the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF) between the United States and Russia, the strained relations between the United States and Iran, Syria and other countries and the discord among the nuclear-weapon states of the United States, Russia and China, Amb. Hussin emphasized that there is still hope as the NPT Review Conference works under a unique dynamic.

Furthermore, with regard to the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons, Amb. Hussin stated that it

complements the obligations regarding nuclear disarmament in Article 6 of the NPT, and that he is hoping it will exert a positive influence on nuclear disarmament. With regards to concerns that the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons may actually weaken the NPT regime, Amb. Hussin mentioned the provisions in Article 10 of the NPT regarding conditions for withdrawal, and commented that he did not think that the establishment of the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons was an event that jeopardizes "the supreme interests" of any of the states parties. His view is that the fears among some nuclear-weapon states that the establishment of the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons may induce countries that are dissatisfied with the NPT regime to withdraw from it will not actually be realized.

Throughout the interview unlike his grave expression in the conference room, Amb. Hussin appeared relaxed as he spoke about his expectation for next year's Review Conference. While at each turn mentioning the gravity of the current state of affairs, he was consistent in his stance that the Review Conference should be approached with a sense of hope.

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## Kyoto Appeal produced by the Group of Eminent Persons for Substantive Advancement of Nuclear Disarmament

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

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**The Group of Eminent Persons for Substantive Advancement of Nuclear Disarmament (EPG), which was established after the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW) was adopted, convened its meeting in Kyoto this March. Concerned by the worsening and lack of progression in the international situation regarding the abolition of nuclear arms, the EPG presented its urgent Kyoto Appeal to then Foreign Affairs Minister Taro Kono. Here I explain the main points, with my own personal responsibility.**

### Main Points

These are the points with the highest priority out of the 13 points listed in [the Appeal](#).

- 1.As the date for the termination of the Intermediate Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF) between the United States and Russia draws closer, bilateral and multi-lateral nuclear arms control treaties or agreements should be steadfastly maintained. (As anticipated, the INF was terminated on August 2.)
- 2.Nuclear-weapon states further explain and share information regarding their nuclear doctrines, deterrence policies, risk reduction measures, and security assurances, among themselves through the so-called "P-5 process," and in parallel with non-nuclear-weapon states at the 2020 Review Conference, which takes place next year in 2020 after a five-year interval.
- 3.All states contribute to forums and processes to address nuclear disarmament verification.
- 4.States possessing nuclear weapons must clarify whether and how their nuclear policies and force postures are consistent with international humanitarian law.

5.Nuclear-weapon and non-nuclear-weapon states should promote the realization of legally binding negative security assurances to non-nuclear-weapon states parties to the NPT and to nuclear-weapon-free zone treaties.

6.Despite the deep differences on the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW), all states should engage with each other to advance nuclear disarmament. (Agreement with Japan acting as a mediator.)

7.All states should take measures to demonstrate how peace and security can be maintained without nuclear weapons.

8.All states should assess how emerging technologies may complicate strategic stability and increase dangers of nuclear-weapons use, and adopt measures to prevent this.

9.All States should sign and ratify the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty (CTBT), persuade all the nations concerned to attend the conference on the establishment of a Middle East zone free of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction, to be held at the United Nations in New York in November 2019, and finally all states should support the United Nations Secretary-General's "An Agenda for Disarmament: Securing Our Common Future."

### The underlying message

To overcome the division between nuclear-weapon states (and allied powers) and non-nuclear-weapon states (civil society), not rejecting the TPNW but cooperating with one another and joining together to advance nuclear disarmament is most crucial.

## 2019 Nagasaki Peace Declaration: Thoughts on Inheriting Hibakusha's Experiences

Satoshi Hirose (Vice Director, RECNA)

The Nagasaki Peace Declaration this year began with a poem written by a hibakusha, making a somewhat different atmosphere to past peace declarations. Probably in the not so distant future, we will no longer be able to hear the words of those who directly experienced the atomic bombing and so the poem made us feel the intention to cherish the words of the hibakusha as they were spoken. Against the backdrop of hibakusha experiences becoming a thing of the past, the content of the declaration showed deep apprehensions about tensions around nuclear weapons in international society and also about the trend running counter to nuclear disarmament.

However, at the same time, the declaration also expresses a strong expectation toward the power of civil society. It emphasizes the way in which the power of citizens' movements played an important role in the adoption of the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons, appealing for the promotion of nuclear disarmament by banding together the power of single individuals in civil society. In particular, the phrase "Let us inform our children about the importance of understanding the pain of others" makes us recognize anew that we can begin to create peace by first starting from places close to us.

The declaration appeals to the United States, Russia and Japan about the heavy responsibility each nation has

toward the abolition of nuclear weapons but we can also read between the lines to feel the frustration about the passive stance of each of the governments in regard to nuclear disarmament. But we must not forget that what underlies the situation is the sad reality that the citizens of each of the countries are not pushing hard enough to seek action from the governments in regard to nuclear disarmament. The great expectation of citizens, and the deep disappointment of knowing that the potential of those citizens is not always directed toward nuclear disarmament right now are the two sides of the same coin.

Unfortunately, the day is not too far away when the hibakusha who spoke of their own experiences in the misery of the atomic bombing, who were the driving force working for the abolition of nuclear weapons and who lead the way in anti-nuclear movements, will have to retire from the front line. Although this year's Peace Declaration was positive, it left us with the grave question of whether in the place of the hibakusha, the generations who have never known war or the atomic bombing can continue to transmit messages from this atomic-bombed city seeking the abolition of nuclear weapons.

Full text of 2019 Nagasaki Peace Declaration is available [here](#).



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