

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

Tatsujiro Suzuki (Director, RECNA)

The 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 Councilor 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

Eight 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 RECNA 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 some 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 PCUNC, 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)

After 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-nuclear-weapon 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)

On 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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**How to proceed to 'the world without nuclear weapons'
A close aide to President Barack Obama speaks**

Fumihiko Yoshida (Vice Director, RECNA)

In his early 40s, this genius joined the nuclear policy team at the White House under then-President Barack Obama. A huge baseball fan in his private life, he supports the Yankees because New York is his hometown. When he visited Hiroshima, he visited a baseball stadium to cheer on the Hiroshima Carp. His everyday conversation is interspersed with many jokes even as he tells enthralling behind-the-scenes stories of political administration.

This is Mr. Jon Wolfsthal, former Special Assistant to the President of the United States. On August 24, Nagasaki University was honored with a visit by Mr. Jon Wolfsthal to our Bunkyo Campus, where he spoke at a lecture entitled "How to proceed to 'the world without nuclear weapons'" (hosted by the PCU Nagasaki Council) about the importance of peace and safety that are not dependent on nuclear weapons. Attended by 80 university students and citizens, the lecture included a Q&A session in which hand after hand was eagerly raised to ask a question.

Of the points Mr. Wolfsthal made in his speech, the following left the greatest impression on me. He said that, as President Obama had stated in his "Prague Speech", even if we are able to realize a "world without nuclear weapons", we will not arrive at that point in a short time. Considering the current US government administration and relationship between the United States and Russia, it is also difficult to imagine nuclear disarmament proceeding at a rapid pace. However, there is a need to prepare for the time when people have changed their thinking about nuclear weapons and political leaders with a passion for



Mr. Jon Wolfsthal
(Aug. 24 2018, at Nagasaki University, Photo by PCU-NC)



Mr. Jon Wolfsthal and Students
(Aug. 24 2018, at Nagasaki University, Photo by RECNA)

the abolition of nuclear weapons that reflects the people's thinking have emerged, so that ideas and policies showing "this is how the abolition of nuclear weapons can be achieved" can be put forward.

This may seem to be a somewhat roundabout approach, but I thought it was a very important point. After President Obama left the White House having been unable to fully advance nuclear disarmament, the world was enveloped in a feeling of blankness, as if we had all lost a political leader to act as a driving

force towards achieving the vision of a “world without nuclear weapons.” However, precisely because of that, even if there are currently no political leaders who could immediately take on this role, we need to prepare concrete policies and measures for the abolition of nuclear weapons so that these can be passed onto suitable leaders at any time, while at the same time encouraging and supporting the birth and multiplication of such political leaders. I thought that this was a major pillar for the future goals of the cities that experienced the atomic bombing and the RECNA.

Before the lecture, Mr. Wolfsthal participated in a discussion (without interpreters) with approx. 10 Nagasaki Youth Delegation members and other students. The lively discussion ran well over the scheduled time, only wrapping up five minutes before the lecture began. Although the discussion had to be cut off due to lack of time, it was undoubtedly a precious experience for the young generation to be able to speak directly with one of the world’s preeminent specialists on nuclear issues.

U.S. - North Korea Summit

The Significance of the U.S. - North Korea- Summit and Future Challenges

Tatsujiro Suzuki (Director, RECNA)

President Donald J. Trump of the United States of America and Chairman Kim Jong Un of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea met for a summit meeting on June 12, 2018. Following this historic meeting, RECNA first of all released its “Statement of the U.S.-North Korea Summit and Joint Statement” on June 13. That RECNA statement emphasized the significance of how the two nations, who had been at loggerheads with each other just six months before that, were able to achieve a historic dialogue and initiate steps towards denuclearization through their diplomacy. However at present, the roadmap towards complete denuclearization is not clear and the RECNA statement pointed out that there are still a mountain of issues yet to be resolved. The statement also mentioned that in particular, institutionalized denuclearization and institutionalized peace are crucial.

The professors at RECNA wrote papers in each of their fields of expertise regarding the significance of the 2018 U.S.-North Korea Summit and future challenges and these were compiled into a RECNA Policy Paper, published in July, 2018 (REC-PP-07: <http://naosite.lb.nagasaki-u.ac.jp/dspace/bitstream/10069/38424/1/REC-PP-07.pdf>). In the first chapter, RECNA Director Tatsujiro Suzuki points out that there is no example of legally binding powers over the verification of the process of denucleariza-

tion of a nuclear-armed country, and that in order to verify the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula, it would be necessary to create a new system. In the second chapter, RECNA Vice Director Satoshi Hirose makes an analysis and concludes that to terminate the Korean War not only North Korea and the United States, but also South Korea and China also need to be involved, and that a peace treaty would impact on how US forces are stationed in Korea and in Japan too. In the third chapter, RECNA Vice Director Fumihiko Yoshida illustrates that there are four vital points for institutionalizing peace in the region: improving confidence-building; creating a crisis management system; arms control; and economic power. In the final fourth chapter, Visiting Professor and former RECNA director Hiromichi Umebayashi concludes that the concept of a Northeast Asia nuclear-weapon-free-zone would be the desired final scenario of the stabilized region would be fulfilled by Japan participating in a Korean Peninsula nuclear-weapon-free-zone.

Since then, the denuclearization talks between the United States and North Korea do not seem to be progressing smoothly. North Korea announced that it had dismantled a missile launch pad but meanwhile, the United States Institute for Science and International Security (ISIS) reported the existence of a secret uranium enrichment facility in North Korea. This

information and other factors prompted President Trump to cancel Secretary of State Mike Pompeo's scheduled visit to North Korea for talks. However, as of late August, decisions had not been made to cancel negotiations and the third inter-Korean Summit was scheduled to take place in Pyongyang on September 5.

Rather than oscillating between optimism and pessimism over short-term developments, it is more desirable for negotiations to continue patiently so that matters are not allowed to relapse and the above-mentioned issues are resolved.

Nagasaki Youth Delegation

Library Gallery Exhibition

Rena Harada (Nagasaki Youth Delegation 2018)

Nagasaki Youth Delegation conducted an exhibition of photographs in the Nagasaki University Library from July 1-16, 2018 as a post-event activity after the delegation's trip to Switzerland. Nearly 50 photos and the captions show the delegation's activities from the members' appointment, study before departure for Geneva, activities in Geneva, and the debriefing session after the delegation's return to Nagasaki. In addition, two posters showing information about the Peace Caravan were included in the exhibition. The purpose of this exhibition was to introduce the activities of the Sixth Nagasaki Youth Delegation to as many citizens as possible, to raise awareness of the nuclear weapons issue, and to arouse the interest and concern of young people about this issue. The exhibition also served as a venue for PR activities to recruit new members for the Seventh Nagasaki Youth Delegation.

The exhibition was mainly focused on our participation as public observers of the second session of the Preparatory Committee for the 2020 Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty Review Conference, held in Geneva from Monday, April 23 to Friday, May 4, 2018. Also included were visits to international institutions and side events, and visiting lectures. We took care in setting up the exhibit such as positioning the photos at about eye level, trimming the photos panels to make them better to look at, and so on. Comments on the questionnaires filled out by visitors to the exhibition included "It was easy to understand the delegation's activities," and "It looked like the members were all having fun," as well as "It would be good if this could be shown at other venues."



Gallery Exhibition
(at Nagasaki University Central Library, Photo by PCU-NC)

Attention seems to be focused somewhat more on conveying the nuclear weapons issue vertically, that is from the hibakusha on to the next generation. However, we feel that it is still not conveyed well enough horizontally, that is from Nagasaki to the rest of Japan and the rest of the world. This exhibition was the first attempt by the Nagasaki Youth Delegation and we hope it will be the first step for conveying the nuclear weapons issue horizontally toward the younger generation, including Nagasaki University students and also residents of Nagasaki.

The Nagasaki Youth Delegation visited schools throughout Japan which requested such a visit, as a part of the delegation's activities after returning from our visit to Geneva. I visited a total of six schools: two within Nagasaki prefecture; and four outside the prefecture. Lectures were tailored to fit each school's request. In carrying out lectures at the six schools, again I was made aware that depending on the area, there is a gap in opportunities to know about the damage from the atomic bombing. Even within Nagasaki prefecture, students at schools close to Nagasaki city have many opportunities in their school education and other occasions to find out about the damage from the atomic bombing and how terrible and frightening the atomic bombing was. On the other hand, at schools further away from Nagasaki City, such as Tsushima Island, the only occasion students have to learn about damage from the atomic bombing is the peace gathering, usually once a year, a part of their school education. Outside the prefecture, the subject is only touched upon briefly during social studies classes. It's no wonder that, depending on the region, there is a difference on matters and material that students learn about, as well as differences in the curriculum for school education.

However, simply because the atomic bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, I do not think that the citizens of these places should be the only people who are thinking deeply about the atomic bombings. It is easy to understand my reasoning if we think of the nuclear accident in Fukushima, or areas that suffered major damage from some natural disaster. Those who were directly affected by the nuclear accident in Fukushima should not be the only people who are thinking about it. Similarly, those who are living in areas that have experienced a major earthquake who should not be the only people thinking of countermeasures. It is the same with the nuclear weapons issue.



Visiting Lectures

(in Hakodate, Photo by PCU-NC)

People in areas with nuclear power plants need to learn from the accident in Fukushima and need to reconsider once again. There is a lot to be learnt from the recovery process of the regions affected by the Great East Japan Earthquake and also municipalities need to be reviewing their hazard maps.

In other words, the important thing is that we should not look upon matters as someone else's problem but instead always think about whether it could really affect us too, and gather information. As I mentioned earlier, there is a gap as to what information can be picked up depending on one's location. It is my hope that Nagasaki Youth Delegation can play a part, however small, in contributing to closing that gap regarding information about the nuclear weapons issue. I shall be happy if more people come to know and think more about the reality of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, about peace, and also the current nuclear weapons issue, through visiting lectures such as those which Nagasaki Youth Delegation conducts.

Dispatches from Nagasaki No.25

Nagasaki Peace Declaration 2018

Satoshi Hirose (Vice Director, RECNA)

Again this year, on August 9 Mayor Tomihisa Taue read out the Nagasaki Peace Declaration.ⁱ⁾ For this first time, the Nagasaki Peace Memorial Ceremony was attended by the incumbent UN Secretary-General, Mr. António Guterres. After first recalling the catastrophes wrought by the atomic bombings, Mayor Taue expressed the United Nations' expectations regarding the abolition of nuclear weapons, emphasizing the significance of the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons, which was adopted by the United Nations last year. He then strongly requested that the Japanese Government support the Treaty, towards which it has maintained an oppositional stance. In addition, welcoming recent developments in the North Korea situation, Mayor Taue expressed expectations for the realization of a Northeast Asia Nuclear Weapons Free Zone (NEA-NWFZ).

Next, Mayor Taue expressed in the words of Mr. Sumiteru Taniguchi and Dr. Hideo Tsuchiyama—longtime leaders of Nagasaki's anti-nuclear movement who passed away last year—the importance of the young generation who have never experienced war never forgetting the pacifism of the Constitution of Japan, which opposes the tragedy and misery of war. He also emphasized the importance of individual Nagasaki citizens contributing towards peace efforts. Finally, in closing the declaration, Mayor Taue touched on the practical issue of providing relief for those who “experienced atomic bombings” but are unable to receive assistance because they are not recognized as hibakusha—despite their being thought to have been harmed due to the atomic bombings—as well as the people who are still suffering as the result of the nuclear accident at the Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant.

With regard to the Treaty, in addition to the Nagasaki Peace Declaration strongly requesting the Japanese

Government to sign and ratify the treaty, UN Secretary-General Guterres also strongly insisted that Japan should completely support the Treaty, expressing his concern about the current stagnation in nuclear disarmament efforts and calling on the nuclear weapons states in particular to promote nuclear disarmament. At the same time, UN Secretary-General Guterres praised the hibakusha, saying, “The survivors of Nagasaki and Hiroshima, the hibakusha, have become leaders for peace,” and presenting a stance of pouring all effort into the abolition of nuclear weapons, declaring, “Let us all commit to making Nagasaki the last place on earth to suffer nuclear devastation.” In response, President Toyokazu Ihara of the Society of Hibakusha Certificate Holders of Nagasaki Prefecture said that the Secretary-General's words had given him “strong expectations,” and President Tamashii Honda of the Nagasaki Surviving Families Association also commenting that he thought the Secretary-General” was a “very progressive thinker,” both welcoming Mr. Guterres's words. (10 August 2018 edition of *The Asahi Shimbun*) Dr. Tatsujiro Suzuki, Director of RECNA also commented that Mr. Guterres's message of ‘making Nagasaki the last place on earth to suffer nuclear devastation’—which clearly steps into the territory of the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons— has been spread widely throughout the world. This is extremely meaningful.” (10 August 2018 edition of *The Asahi Shimbun*)

In contrast, however, Japan's Prime Minister Shinzo Abe, who also attended the ceremony, said not even a word regarding the Treaty during his addressⁱⁱ⁾, and to the representatives of the atomic bombing survivor groups with whom he met, he again displayed a stance of rejecting Japan's participation in the Treaty, stating that the Japanese Government intended to take a different approach towards achieving the abolition of nuclear weapons. (10 August 2018 web edition of

The Nagasaki Shimbun) In response, President Shigemitsu Tanaka of the Nagasaki Atomic-bomb Survivors Council said that, “If Japan does not take the lead in abolishing nuclear weapons, it should not be called the ‘only country to have experienced atomic bombings. The hibakusha are being ignored” (10 August 2018 web edition of *The Nagasaki Shimbun*). Chairman Koichi Kawano of the Liaison Council of Hibakusha, Nagasaki Peace Movement Center, said, “[The Japanese Government’s] statements are inconsistent. They have absolutely no real intention of abolishing nuclear weapons.” (10 August 2018 web edition of *The Nagasaki Shimbun*). Furthermore, President Ihara said, “The government’s approach is

mistaken. As matters currently stand, Japan cannot possibly seize the initiative in the abolition of nuclear weapons.” (10 August 2018 web edition of *The Nagasaki Shimbun*) Strong voices of criticism were raised one after the other, centered on hibakusha. Even Mayor Taue said, “It was disappointing that I could not hear a positive statement” (10 August 2018 web edition of *The Nagasaki Shimbun*). Thus August 9, this year was a day on which the gap between the wishes of Nagasaki—one of the cities that experienced atomic bombings—and the Japanese Government’s security policies was clearly visible.

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- i) <https://nagasakipeace.jp/japanese/peace/appeal/2021.html> (11 languages)
<https://nagasakipeace.jp/content/files/appeal/2018/english.pdf> (English version)
 - ii) http://www.kantei.go.jp/jp/97_abe/statement/2016/0809nagasaki.html



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RECNA Newsletter

長崎大学核兵器廃絶研究センター

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PCU-NC and RECNA invites Dr. Mark Suh and holds a press conference at Japan National Press Club

Fumihiko Yoshida (Vice Director, RECNA)

The PCU Nagasaki Council for Nuclear Weapons Abolition (PCU-NC) and Research Center for Nuclear Weapons Abolition, Nagasaki University (RECNA) together invited Dr. Mark Suh, a South Korean political scientist who is an expert on the situation in North Korea, to Tokyo. Dr. Suh, a Pugwash Council member, currently resides in Berlin.

At a 9 November 2018 press conference held in Tokyo at the Japan National Press Club, Dr. Suh presented his views on recent developments toward North Korean denuclearization, touching on such matters as the diplomatic strategies of leading players and the power base of the Kim Jong-un regime. Later that day Dr. Suh participated in a lively roundtable discussion with senior writers and editors from news media.

Dr. Suh, who frequently travels to Pyongyang to exchange views with high-ranking North Korean government and Workers' Party of Korea (WPK) officials, is known for his expertise on North Korea. He has long been a regular participant at Pugwash Conferences, serving as a liaison to that country. He is known for his aggressive, "go-to-the-source" style of information gathering, eschewing word-of-mouth rumor for direct discussion, and speaks with authority. Journalists busily took notes throughout the press conference.

Dr. Suh's visits to North Korea began in 2001. That was the year of the September 11 attacks in the US, which touched off a series of events leading to a US government declaration of North Korea as a ter-



Dr. Mark Suh
(Nov. 9 2018, at Japan National Press Club , Photo by PCU-NC)

rorism-supporting country and member state of the "Axis of Evil." Fearing the dangers presented by taking such a hostile policy to North Korea, Dr. Suh stepped forward to promote direct dialogue with WPK officials.

Dr. Suh revealed several inside stories regarding the political situation on the Korean peninsula. One concerned the "reconciliatory mood" that suddenly took hold in both the north and south earlier this year. It goes as follows.

A big change came with the inauguration of South Korean President Moon Jae-in back in May 2017. Mr. Moon was an infant back during the Korean War and lived under very harsh conditions within a refugee camp. It is this experience that induced him to seek better relations with the north immediately after taking office. In July of that year, President Moon made a groundbreaking speech in Berlin, within which he sent three very important messages to North Korea: (1) we do not seek a change in the North Korean government; (2) we do not demand a prompt

unification of the Korean peninsula; (3) we will not interfere with North Korean efforts to establish relations with the US, Japan or other countries.

Up until that time North Korea had repeatedly conducted nuclear and missile tests. Mr. Moon's messages were heard, however, and elicited a response: Dr. Suh was invited to Pyongyang to speak directly with North Korean leaders. "Can President Moon be trusted to keep his end of the Berlin promise, even in the face of US opposition?" — DPRK officials wanted to know. Here, Dr. Suh pointed to the upcoming (February 2018) PyeongChang Olympic Winter Games as an excellent opportunity to establish a north/south dialogue and bring the two countries closer together.

This is not to say that the North Korean government changed its foreign policy solely on the advice of Dr. Suh. But it does attest to the importance of the advice and assistance provided by Dr. Suh.

Ten or so prominent journalists/editors were invited to a roundtable forum hosted by RECNA. Discussion here was carried out under "Chatham House rules," which, to promote the free and uninhibited discussion of sensitive matters, hold that specific statements are not to be attributed to specific speakers. This was the first such forum ever arranged by RECNA for Tokyo news media and it was well received, with participants agreeing that it should be done again. Credit for this success goes to the secretariat of the PCU-NC.

Members of Nagasaki Youth Delegation 2019 are chosen

The Nagasaki Youth Delegation organized by PCU-NC is now in its seventh year and the nine following members have been selected as Nagasaki Youth Delegation 2019 including two members of the Delegation 2018. These delegates are set to attend the third Preparatory Committee for the 2020 NPT Review Conference at the UN Headquarters in New York in April-May 2019. They will be conducting a number of activities around that time to send out messages from Nagasaki for the abolishment of nuclear weapons.



Nagasaki Youth Delegation 2019

Top (from left) Yano, Nagae, Atsuta, Nakayama, Uchihashi

Bottom (from left) Muta, Takami, He, Nakashima

(Dec. 6 2018, at RECNA, Photo by PCU-NC)

• **Riho Atsuta**, Second Year, School of Global Humanities and Social Sciences, Nagasaki University

As a student at Nagasaki University, as a Japanese citizen, and as a human being, I try to view the world from all these aspects. On this trip I hope do to all that I can with my colleagues to address the issues we face.

• **Kanji Uchihashi**, Third Year, School of Global Humanities and Social Sciences, Nagasaki University

The abolition of nuclear weapons is something we must do as we strive for world peace. I intend to focus on the various problems facing the global community while participating in antinuclear activities from the standpoint of a person living in Nagasaki, a city that experienced atomic bombing.

• **He Yunyan**, Third Year, Doctoral Program, Graduate School of Fisheries and Environmental Sciences, Nagasaki University

I am from Fujian Province in the Peoples' Republic of China. Through my studies here at Nagasaki University, I have come to realize that global peace is the foundation upon which all things rest. I think it is the responsibility of young people, my generation, to build a world free of war and nuclear weapons. And here, I certainly want to do my part to contribute to global peace and cultural interaction.

• **Sunao Takami**, First Year, School of Global Humanities and Social Sciences, Nagasaki University

This is my first year at Nagasaki University, where I'm now enrolled in the School of Global Humanities and Social Sciences. I was in Tochigi Prefecture at the time of the Fukushima meltdowns. I remember the fear. The nuclear era has brought pain and suffering to the world. The hibakusha of Nagasaki certainly know that. I want to make the world aware of it too.

• **Saki Nagae**, Third Year, School of Global Humanities and Social Sciences, Nagasaki University

I am looking forward to my second challenging trip. Last year I went with the Delegation 2018. There I felt the importance of transmitting Nagasaki and Hiroshima not as historical events that drew in the nuclear age, but rather as human events, a shared tragedy of mankind, a lesson that transcends generations and borders. Now, as a member of the Delegation 2019, I hope to tell people more of what I think.

• **Taiki Nakashima**, Third Year, School of Global Humanities and Social Sciences, Nagasaki University

While it may appear that, with the current international affairs, we are unlikely to make much progress toward a world without nuclear weapons, I do see several signs of encouragement, including pro-

gress with the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons and widespread participation by the world's young people in the Second Preparatory Committee held last time in Geneva. Let's think together what we can do now and what we should do in the future.

• **Honoka Nakayama**, First Year, School of Dentistry, Nagasaki University

I grew up in the greater Tokyo area and came to Nagasaki to further my education. I was struck by how the people of Nagasaki view nuclear weapons so much differently than the people back home. I realized that it was me who was ignorant, and I vowed to learn the truth about what happened. I intend to learn, think and speak as I do my part as youth member to bring about a world without nuclear weapons.

• **Urara Muta**, First Year, School of Global Humanities and Social Sciences, Nagasaki University

The people of Nagasaki overcame the great pain, the great suffering of a nuclear horror. And now here I am, in Nagasaki, walking on the same ground, wondering what it means to have been born here, to have grown up here. Through youth activities I hope become able to learn, think and act in a multifaceted way, to join heads with seventh delegation colleagues to consider what our generation can do, now, to build a better society, and to grow into a person capable of taking effective action.

• **Daiki Yano**, First Year, School of Engineering, Nagasaki University

What can we do as individuals, you and I, to bring about a world free of nuclear weapons, what can we do to bring about a peaceful world, one free of war? I hope to keep this spirit of inquiry with me as I participate in youth activities to the full extent of my capabilities.

Nagasaki special citizens' seminar: The Atomic Bombings were Unnecessary – UCSB Emeritus Professor Tsuyoshi Hasegawa

Hibiki Yamaguchi (Visiting Researcher, RECNA)

In the US, there is a history professor from Japan who digs deeply into the political process that led to the decision to drop the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. His name is Tsuyoshi Hasegawa, Emeritus Professor at the University of California at Santa Barbara (UCSB). Dr. Hasegawa's original areas of expertise are Russian history and Soviet-Japanese relations, and indeed he is still quite active in those fields. Earlier a Professor at the Slavic Research Center of Hokkaido University, he transferred to the UCSB Department of History, where he applied his specialized knowledge on Russia to a rare and highly valued analysis of the process leading to that decision under the three perspectives of Japan, the US and the Soviet Union. This research culminated in two works: in the US, *Racing the enemy: Stalin, Truman and the Surrender of Japan* (2005); and, in Japan, *Anto*, Chuokoron-Shinsha Inc. (later Chuko Bunko (2011)).

When we learned that Dr. Hasegawa, a scholar who has long dealt with the issue of nuclear weaponry, was soon to pay his first visit to Nagasaki on a private vacation, we did all we could to persuade him to address a special seminar of local citizens. He graciously consented, making a presentation on “the atomic bombings, Soviet entry into the war and the Japanese decision to surrender” at the Bunkyo Campus of Nagasaki University on 10 October. Dr. Hasegawa must have been quite busy over this two-day stay, as, in addition to speaking at this seminary, he also called on the Mayor of Nagasaki and the President of Nagasaki University, visited the Nagasaki Atomic Bombing Museum and toured related historical sites.

Basing his presentation largely on *Anto*, Dr. Hasegawa challenged two assertions commonly cited to justify the atomic bombings.

The first assertion holds that in order to force Japan to surrender, US President Harry Truman had only two options: attack the Japanese mainland, or drop the



Emeritus Prof. Tsuyoshi Hasegawa
(Oct. 10 2018, at Nagasaki Univ. , Photo by PCU-NC)

atom bombs. An invasion of the mainland would have entailed extremely heavy casualties and great suffering, so, as it goes, he chose the second option.

With regards to this assertion, Dr. Hasegawa points out that President Truman also had other options he chose not to pursue, specifically “allowing Soviet participation in the war against Japan” and “guaranteeing the continuity of the Japanese monarchy.” The Potsdam Declaration, crafted by Mr. Truman, was to pertain solely to the US, United Kingdom and China. He was adamant that the Soviet Union be kept out of the deal. Second, any references to the Japanese monarchy within drafts were quietly deleted. The Japanese government took this Soviet exclusion the wrong way, pinning its hopes to the possibility of a Russian-brokered peace and, accordingly, ignoring whatever the Potsdam Declaration might have to offer. And it was this decision to ignore the proclamation that gave the US a reason to drop the atomic bombs.

The second assertion holds that the atomic bombings played a decisive role in compelling Japan to surrender.

Dr. Hasegawa criticizes this as well. He points out that while the Supreme War Council was not convened following the August 6 atomic bombing of Hiroshima, it was convened immediately after the Red Army declared war on Japan and, early in the morn-

ing of August 9 , staged a full-scale assault on Japanese positions in Manchuria. This led to Emperor Hirohito's decision to surrender. Note that the atomic bombing of Nagasaki did not have any influence on this decision.

By refuting these two assertions, Dr. Hasegawa concludes that the atomic bombings were not necessary to force Japan's surrender.

Dr. Hasegawa also argues that the US had come to cross an ethical boundary – prohibition of cruel treatment of civilians – by 1945. He argues that the honorable thing for the US to do would be to admit that the atomic bombings were war crimes.

On the other hand, Dr. Hasegawa does not hesitate to point out the Japanese government's war responsibility. He argued that if the government had surrendered earlier, there would have been no atomic bombings and no Soviet entry into the war against Japan. The Japanese policymakers who failed to avoid these outcomes are at fault as well, he says.

Will these tragic events of 73 years ago ever be justifiable? This is a question we must address if we want to prevent such tragedies from happening again. For if people somehow manage to find a way to justify it once, they will probably find a way to justify it for a second or third time. Dr. Hasegawa left the citizens of Nagasaki with this very serious issue to ponder.

Dispatches from Nagasaki No.26

Sixth Nagasaki Global Citizens' Assembly for Elimination of Nuclear Weapons (Nagasaki City, November 16-18, 2018)

Masao Tomonaga (Organizing Committee Chairman, Visiting Professor, RECNA)

Background
Two recent events have given hope and encouragement to us members of civil society – an adoption of the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW) (July 2017) and a conferral of the Nobel Peace Prize to the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN).

And, on the Korean peninsula, where tensions still ran high last year, two inter-Korea summit meetings kindled hopes for “denuclearization and a path to peace,” after which a historically groundbreaking US-DPRK summit meeting in Singapore bolster prospects for denuclearization together with a formal end to the Korean War. Such developments present an excellent opportunity for Japan and other regional players to establish a Northeast Asia Nuclear Weapon-Free Zone (NEA-NWFZ).

This said, on a global perspective, the general outlook for nuclear disarmament is deteriorating. Here, a number of developments portend increasing instabil-

ity. First, leaders in the US are calling for a Nuclear Posture Review that would seek to expand the role of nuclear weapons by developing/deploying smaller, more “usable” nuclear weapons. Second, the US has also declared that it will no longer abide by the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (the Iran nuclear deal), earlier crafted to limit the Iranian nuclear program. And third, the US has stated its intention to fully abandon the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty, a historically significant arms control agreement reached with the Soviet Union in 1987.

One main theme of this assembly is that now is the time to follow on the momentum of the TPNW and the ICAN Nobel Prize conferral as we strive to attain a world without nuclear weapons. This is an international assembly, the first such convocation in five years, one hosted by the people of Nagasaki together with their representatives in the Nagasaki municipal and prefectural governments. The assembly welcomed researchers and specialists from Japan and around the world, the Director of Arms Control and Disarmament Division at the Japan Ministry of For-

eign Affairs (MOFA), no less than 12 representatives of leading NGOs, and 17 college students: two from the US, five from Malaysia, five from China, and five from South Korea. Together we listened to a keynote speech before breaking down into four workshops, where we separately discussed issues toward the creation of a world without nuclear weapons before re-gathering to present our conclusions to all. The assembly extended over three days and entailed the participation of 3,500 private citizens, college students, and even schoolchildren. The full program can be followed with the links below.

1. Keynote speech: Professor Mitsuru Kurosawa, Osaka Jogakuin College

Professor Kurosawa stressed the importance of centering the security of global citizens on the denuclearization movement. His approach was broad and encompassing. He pointed out the conceptual framework for security arrangements is showing signs of changing, of shifting from one centered on the security of nation states and, as an extension of that, the international community, to one centered on security of individuals and, as an extension of that, the community of mankind. With the TPNW, he said, we strip such weapons of their legitimacy, we stigmatize them. He concluded that the global trend of the anti-nuclear weapon movement is now toward broadening the scale of such legal efforts and, under the NPT framework, to advance both treaties together, not under a spirit of confrontation but rather of comprehensiveness. The participants were able to gain a real sense that the actions of those of us in Nagasaki, the site of an atomic bombing, who have continued with this Assembly over the past 18 years with a sense of being global citizens, are indeed starting to finally reach the new concept of security.

2. Workshop I: Progress in peace talks and denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula – the future of Northeast Asia without nuclear weapons (seven panelists)

The inter-Korea Summit led to the Panmunjom Declaration and the Pyongyang Declaration, which promise a formal end to the Korean War, a framework for peace across the Korean peninsula, and an abandonment of the nuclear ambitions of the North Korea. All panelists welcomed this. Representatives of South Korea, China, Russia, the US, Germany, Mongolia and Japan next exchanged a variety of opinions as to how such promises could be turned into reality. Professor Tatsujiro Suzuki, RECNA Director, pointed out that this offers us an opportunity to draw within range of our targets for peace on and denuclearization of the peninsula, and to realize an NEA-NWFZ, including Japan. The emergence of the NEA-NWFZ, as well as the existing nuclear weapon-free zones in the northern hemisphere (Central Asian Nuclear Weapon Free Zone running through five countries in central Asia, Mongolian Nuclear-Weapons-Free Status) would do much to encourage global denuclearization on a global scale. Furthermore, if the three predominant nuclear powers in the region (the US, China and Russia) would offer negative security assurances, that too would do much to further the development of international security arrangements. It would also present Japan with an opportunity to abandon the US nuclear umbrella. Participants specializing in nuclear disarmament next made some good points about conditions (establishment of a system of verification; etc.) for North Korean denuclearization.

Workshop II : Carrying on the legacy of hibakusha – learning from, and transmitting, the thoughts of nuclear victims (four panelists)

Hibakusha have long called for the complete elimination of nuclear weapons. And here, to continue to promote denuclearization into the future, we must transmit this fervor to the next generation. We invited Ms. Kathleen Sullivan, whose award-winning book, Nagasaki: Life after Nuclear War (Penguin Books,

2016), has had a significant social impact, to join us. Ms. Sullivan is from the US, which is regarded as the leader of the nuclear weapon states. She nonetheless has been very active in citizen movements over the years and here, at the assembly, participated in vigorous discussions with hibakusha and, in cases, their grandchildren. First-hand accounts by these and other hibakusha had an especially strong impact on participants from overseas. Also felt was the importance of creating a network capable of passing on these lessons to a broad international audience.

This workshop was comprised of two parts, with the second being a “transmittal salon,” within which representatives of a number of peace/antinuclear civic organizations introduced themselves and their activities, exchanged views on various initiatives, and discussed activities and prospects for the future. To effect this transmittal, cited was the importance of media, such as photographs, music, movies, and anime. Participants were encouraged by the enthusiasm for nuclear disarmament displayed by their younger colleagues, many of whom have started peace-related educational or political programs under their own initiative.

Workshop III : Building a world without nuclear weapons with future generations

University students from Nagasaki, Tokyo and other areas of Japan joined local citizens and overseas students -to discuss the results of a survey on attitudes toward initiatives to build a future without nuclear weapons. Approximately 150 people participated in this workshop, breaking off into groups of five or six to discuss various issues and arrive at conclusions for presentation to the other groups.

The survey was carried out over SNSs (social networking services) and on a fairly large scale, entailing the cooperation of nearly 1,000 students (half high school, half college). A full 80% of respondents expressed an interest in the abolition of nuclear weapons; and nearly 85% said that they consider a nuclear-free world to be an attainable goal. These results were

heartening to assembly participants. On the other hand, as for actively participating in the movement, many respondents expressed a lack of interest, a reluctance to get involved, and a need to avoid standing out as a radical with upcoming job hunts in the near future. All told, about 30% expressed an intent to actively participate, and only 47% said the Japanese government should immediately sign a petition calling for a ratification of the TPNW (among Nagasaki students, though, the affirmation rate was 59%). About 20% of all respondents (12% of Nagasaki respondents) felt such action would be premature. A fairly high percentage (30%) said they considered Japan to be under the protection of the US nuclear umbrella. Japanese young people thus show a fairly high degree of interest in nuclear issues but are hindered from participating in related movements by a variety of obstacles. Here, many groups pointed out the necessity of a network to widely share information/knowledge and tie it into action. This is a very important conclusion, one of much significance with regards to devising ways to raise the level of nuclear consciousness/awareness among members of the next generation of Japanese as they strive to attain a nuclear free world. Here, the core Nagasaki group proposed the formation of a nationwide “Youth Network for Peace” promote nuclear disarmament educational programs and political actions. A majority of the working groups expressed their agreement with this proposition.

Participants from the US, a nuclear state, reported that young people in that country generally share this view. They spoke of the necessity of stoking a broad-based movement within the US society toward the attainment of a future free of nuclear weapons. Participants from Asian countries beyond Japan also expressed active support for a nuclear-free world, demonstrating that a consensus is taking shape among the young people of the world. Particularly touching was a tearful vow by a participant from Malaysia as she cited the pain and suffering of hibakusha victims.

Workshop IV: Achieving a world without nuclear weapons – the NPT framework and the role of the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (five panelists)

This workshop was particularly notable for vigorous debate under the direction of five distinguished panelists – Mr. Nobuhara Imanishi, Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Division, MOFA; Mr. Daniel Högsta, Campaign Coordinator, ICAN; Dr. Tariq Rauf, a Canadian expert on nuclear disarmament and a member of the Group of Eminent Persons for Substantive Advancement of Nuclear Disarmament; Ms. Masako Toki, a nonproliferation expert active in the US; and Ms. Jacqueline Cabasso, executive director of a US-based NPO.

After half a century, the NPT regime has reached a stalemate and the TPNW was adopted. Amid this, a split is widening between, on one hand, nuclear states and the countries dependent on them for their security (e.g., Japan), which give first priority to national/international security, and, on the other hand, non-nuclear states and civil movements (e.g., ICAN), which give first priority to the security of humanity and global citizens in general. Amid this split, many participants spoke of a need for civil society to work toward the codification of international norms of behavior.

It is the position of the Japanese government that Japan, via a Group of Eminent Persons established with the MOFA, must work to bridge the gap between these two camps. Director Imanishi touched upon this point, which comes amid the Japanese government's refusal to endorse the TPNW. Ms. Toki stressed the importance of nuclear disarmament related education in empowering the young people of the world as they strive to attain a world free of nuclear weapons. She also presented an overview of the current state of such education in the US. While the US Federal government may strongly oppose to any sort of the TPNW, there is a move to collect signatures at the local state level to compel congressional representatives to push the central government in that direction.

Dr. Rauf, a member of the MOFA's Group of Eminent Persons, spoke of the necessity of bridge-building on the part of the Japanese government and of the importance of comprehensively managing the TPNW within the NPT framework (two points in common with the keynote speech). The NPT and TPNW should not be acting in opposition, he said, but rather should supplement each other toward the shared goal of denuclearization. He stressed the importance of having both camps maintain a common, cooperative orientation toward this goal, and participants expressed their wish for the Japanese government to take bridge-building actions to facilitate this.

Within an open debate, Director Imanishi emphasized that the Japanese government is not dead-set against the TPNW. He explained that once certain conditions are met (including, for one, a favorable turn in various international disputes of relevance to nuclear threats) and nuclear weapon stockpiles are reduced to an acceptably low level, MOFA would consider the TPNW as a necessary last step toward the attainment of a nuclear-free world. A statement on this level is something new from MOFA, and we think highly of it.

Japan's so-called "nuclear dilemma" – maintaining the goal of nuclear weapons abolition while depending on the US nuclear umbrella – has been deepening. As above, the Japanese government has established a Group of Eminent Persons for Substantive Advancement of Nuclear Disarmament, which is to serve as a "bridge-builder" between the nuclear-armed/nuclear-umbrella states and the states not possessing nuclear weapons. Although this is a positive step, the Japanese government has yet to make any effective recommendations to that end. On the contrary, as Japan stands in opposition to the TPNW, it seems to have lost its way on nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation policy.

Recently developed as a special project is “What’s Peace Like?,” a unique attempt intended to get children thinking about peace, to make them familiar with what it means and appreciative of its importance. This new avenue toward peace education, which takes the form of picture books and stories, was revealed for the first time here at the assembly.

Nagasaki Appeal

A final draft of the Nagasaki Appeal was adopted upon considerable discussion and debate over a committee draft (link below). To depart from an earlier reliance on security as viewed on a nation state level to a new emphasis on security as viewed the level of global citizens, of people as individuals, including the majority who do not live in nuclear armed countries, we confirmed the heavy responsibility borne by states that do possess nuclear weapons, affirmed the importance of ratifying the TPNW and of maintaining its complementarity with the NPT, and concluded the assembly by calling on the Japanese government to ratify the TPNW.

- Nagasaki Global Citizens’ Assembly for Elimination of Nuclear Weapons website : <http://ngo-nagasaki.com/>



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RECNA Newsletter

長崎大学核兵器廃絶研究センター

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Strengthening Collaboration with Korean Research Institutions: Renewal of the Memorandum of Cooperation with the Institute for Peace and Unification Studies (IPUS)

Tatsujiro Suzuki (Director, RECNA)

On Wednesday, January 9, 2019, the Institute for Peace and Unification Studies (IPUS) at Seoul National University and RECNA held a signing ceremony of the renewed Memorandum of Cooperation and a press conference at RECNA. Professor Kyung Hoon Leem, Director of IPUS, and six other IPUS staff visited RECNA for the ceremony. Their fields of expertise ranged from political science, economics, agricultural economics, peace studies, constitutional studies and reflected the diversity of IPUS.

The original Memorandum of Cooperation between IPUS and RECNA, while based on the Agreement on Academic Cooperation between Seoul National University and Nagasaki University (concluded on July 16, 2007 and renewed on July 16, 2012), was signed by the two research institutions on February 1, 2014.

The catalyst for cooperation between the two research institutions was the participation by IPUS staff in the event “Developing a Comprehensive Approach to a Northeast Asia Nuclear Weapons Free Zone – Workshop II” held in June 2013 by RECNA at the Hanshin University in South Korea. Taking this opportunity, Professor Satoshi Hirose, RECNA Vice Director, and Professor Byungdug Jun visited IPUS in January 2014. As a result of an exchange of opinions on the creation of cooperative relations, a memorandum was concluded in February that year. In accordance with that, IPUS staff participated in “Developing a Comprehensive Approach to a Northeast Asia Nuclear Weapons Free Zone – Workshop



Signing Ceremony. Prof. Kyung Hoon Leem, Director of IPUS (left), and Prof. Tatsujiro Suzuki, Director of RECNA (right)

(Jan. 9, 2019, at RECNA, Photo by RECNA)



IPUS researchers and RECNA staff

(Jan. 9, 2019, at RECNA, Photo by RECNA)

III” held by RECNA in Tokyo in September 2014, while the Nagasaki Youth Delegation visited IPUS in April 2016 for exchanges of opinion. In this manner, exchanges had been taking place.

However, since then exchanges between the two research institutions came to a halt for a while. In

2018 sudden changes that occurred in the Korean peninsula situation triggered a review towards reactivating exchanges again. When RECNA staff visited the Seoul National University in November 2018, agreement was reached following an exchange of opinions with IPUS staff to renew the memorandum.

IPUS, an independent research institute established at the Seoul National University campus, is not affiliated to any particular college, the same as RECNA. IPUS has a Center for Unification Studies and also a Peace and Humanities Research Group. However, their research is not limited to unification issues or analyzing the political and economic situation in North Korea but also covers peace studies and confidence-building. IPUS does not have many experts on nuclear issues and therefore the cooperative relationship with RECNA is extremely significant for IPUS for research on the denuclearization issue, Director Leem said at the press conference. On the other hand, RECNA is lacking in expertise about the Korean Peninsula so the expertise of IPUS which covers many fields is extremely appealing from the perspective of researching denuclearization in northeast Asia.

After the signing ceremony and the press confer-

ence, Professor Sung Chull Kim, who is very knowledgeable about the situation in North Korea, gave a commentary for the journalists offering important information about the latest trends and future issues. In particular, he shared some important views including the ideas that instead of seeking a complete denuclearization, it is important to proceed with verifiable denuclearization, even partially; what is important is to achieve peace for the Korean peninsula, not only denuclearization, and that we should firstly be aware that Japan and South Korea share common goals. After the meeting, IPUS visitors paid a courtesy call to Nagasaki University President, Shigeru Kohno and held an exchange of opinions.

In conclusion, I would like to say that as is introduced in this newsletter, in addition to IPUS, RECNA will also redevelop cooperative relations with the Sejong Institute and Hanshin University, and strengthen our collaborative relations with the Nautilus Institute for Security and Sustainability and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in the United States. It is our intention to strengthen our ability to make policy proposals for the denuclearization of northeast Asia through the creation of a network of Japanese, Korean and American experts.

A New Collaboration with the Sejong Institute in South Korea

Fumihiko Yoshida (Vice Director, RECNA)

On November 29, 2018, a research team mainly composed of the staff from the Research Center for Nuclear Weapons Abolition (RECNA) visited the Sejong Institute, one of the leading private research institutes in South Korea. Our team received a warm reception from Dr. Haksoon Paik, the Institute's president, and Dr. Myon Woo Lee, the vice president, with our main purpose to deepen our cooperative relations through research exchanges and policy proposals, in light of recent new movement in the situation regarding the denuclearization of North Korea.

The Sejong Institute was established in 1983. In

addition to research related to South Korean national security and inter-Korean unification, the institute conducts educational and training programs as well as research necessary for South Korea's international relations. Upon our arrival at the institute with its impressive architecture and located on the outskirts of Seoul, we were welcomed by Vice President Lee who is fluent in Japanese. He escorted us to President Paik's office.

After we gave an explanation of RECNA's history of building international networks for the denuclearization of Northeast Asia and making numerous policy proposals, President Paik responded by commenting that the state of affairs in the Korean Peninsula may

change dramatically as a result of the 2018 Inter-Korean Summit and the North Korea-United States Singapore Summit. He also said he thinks more effort is needed in research on denuclearization in Northeast Asia, an issue to which RECNA attaches a great deal of importance.

Following that, we received an explanation from Vice President Lee about the organizational structure of the Sejong Institute, research conducted by the institute and also its educational and training programs. The institute maintains the Center for Japanese Studies and the high degree of expert analysis continued by the Center was impressive. Finally, we participated in an exchange of opinions about the denuclearization of Northeast Asia with President Paik, Vice President Lee and others who are experts in the field of national security, North Korea issues and so on.

As a result of the conversations we had with President Paik during our visit and also exchanges of emails after our return to Japan, we have reached a basic agreement to hold a meeting of international experts in Seoul in the first half of FY2019, under the joint auspices of RECNA and the Sejong Institute, with the results of the discussions being dispatched to the world. RECNA intends to continue our exchanges with the National Seoul University, etc., but from the perspective of strengthening our ability to communicate within the international community, we feel that our new partnership with the Sejong Institute is a significant step. We hope to strengthen our cooperative relations so as to ensure that the meeting of experts slated for this year will prove fruitful.

Upon the conclusion of “Workshop III Building a world without nuclear weapons with future generations” of the 6th Nagasaki Global Citizens’ Assembly for Elimination of Nuclear Weapons

Hanako Mitsuoka (Youth Union for Peace)

“Injecting more of a feeling of excitement into peace activities”

The Youth Union for Peace is composed of about ten young members including university students, and we were in charge of the planning and operation of Workshop III of the Sixth Nagasaki Global Citizens’ Assembly for Elimination of Nuclear Weapons. As we pushed forward with preparations for the day of the workshop, our sentiments towards the motto grew stronger.

We feel that the issue of nuclear weapons is not simply for the cities that have experienced an atomic bombing but it is an issue for each and every one of us. So we conducted an attitude survey about the nuclear weapons issue with young people throughout Japan. We received 1,187 responses from which we found that although approximately 80% of the respondents had an interest in the nuclear weapons issue, those with experience in actual activities was



Youth Union for Peace

(Nov. 17, 2018, at Nagasaki City Peace Hall, Photo by Nagasaki Global Citizens' Assembly for the Elimination of Nuclear Weapons)

only 20%. In addition, we found out that young people had negative images of the phrases “abolition of nuclear weapons” and “peace activities.” The reason was that they felt issues concerning nuclear weapons had nothing to do with them as individuals and they had an innate wish to not have anything to do with politics. They felt that if they participated in such

activities, their impression amongst those around them may be tarnished. These were the frank opinions of the young people who responded to our survey.

From these results, we realized that we need to get rid of the image of peace activities as being stiff and formal, and difficult to take part in. Peace activities are something anyone can get involved in, and they should be conducted with a feeling of excitement about having an opportunity to change the future. Of course, it is still necessary to be enthusiastic about peace activities and treat them seriously, but if the concept of them as a minority activity continues, people will not realize these are issues that each of us should be concerned about, and they will end up as something only certain people are involved in. It is therefore important to create an environment where dialog with a variety of people is possible, which is why we revealed the survey results and set up a time for discussion at the workshop.

People who met for the first time at the workshop sat around tables and shared their opinions, had discussions about their feelings about peace and about



Workshop III Panel discussion
(Nov. 17, 2018, at Nagasaki City Peace Hall, Photo by Youth Union for Peace)

how to overcome issues before us. We felt that we had been able to discover the importance of dialog and also the possibilities that the younger generation possess.

It is not just activities with a major impact that are necessary for peace; the actions and attitudes of each person leads to peace. With this awareness, we hope to involve many more young people together in our activities.

What is the role of RECNA in the gap between the ideal and the reality of the recent Korean Peninsula situation ?

Byungdug Jun (Faculty of Education, Nagasaki University)

The Panel on Peace and Security in Northeast Asia (PSNA), which is sponsored by RECNA, is an important framework to appeal for the abolition of nuclear weapons in this region. In recent years, as nuclear tests by North Korea and subsequent activity has a profound impact on the situation in Northeast Asia, the activities of and role played by PSNA which carries the aspirations of Nagasaki, the last place to have experience an atomic bombing during wartime, is extremely significant. The participation of those who are experts about the situation in the Korean Peninsula, including North Korea, will be needed from now on at this panel.

Institute for Peace and Unification Studies (IPUS) at Seoul National University, Center for Peace and

Public Integrity (CPPI) at Hanshin University, Korea Institute for National Unification (KINU), Database Center for North Korea Human Rights (NKDB), Korean National Diplomatic Academy (KNDA), and the Sejong Institute (SI); these institutions that I was able to visit and where I could take part in discussions are our important partner institutions in Korea when considering peace and security in Northeast Asia. I would like to summarize my impressions gained during my visit this time.

First of all, great expectations are held of RECNA. Many institutions in Korea study peace and security but generally the focus is on the unification of the Korean Peninsula. Especially, I feel that this has become even stronger under the current Korean administration. However, researchers at the universities and

national institutes which I visited and took part in discussions showed understanding toward the Northeast Asia Nuclear Weapons Free Zone (NEA-NWFZ) which RECNA is proposing, and there were many comments recognizing the necessity of the establishment of this zone. In South Korea, RECNA activities have achieved a certain amount of success and expectations appear to be high.

Secondly, there needs to be some kind of stratagem that can bridge the gap between ideals and reality. A comment from a participant I met at the meeting at KNDA left a deep impression on me. The gist of the comment was, with regard to the possibility of the

denuclearization of North Korea, a topic that is often discussed lately in international conferences, there is no answer to the questions of “Can they be trusted?” and “Is there any credibility?” The reason is because denuclearization is the ideal but concerns about trust and credibility are the reality; however, if North Korea feels there are any benefits to be had by denuclearization, then they would certainly precede down that path. For my part, I believe that reality is oriented towards benefit. I hope that RECNA will be able to come up with a stratagem that creates benefits as a subject for discussion by the panel, while also pursuing the ideal.

Dispatches from Nagasaki No.27

The notice of withdrawal from the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty – Statement from an atomic-bombed city

Satoshi Hirose (Vice director, RECNA)

The announcement by the United States of its notification to Russia to withdraw from the INF Treaty has naturally attracted much criticism in the atomic-bombed city of Nagasaki. RECNA has already declared the decision by the United States as “an absolute act of folly”¹⁾ and there has also been a succession of protests from atomic bomb survivors’ organizations, peace activity groups, and local governments in Japan. Dr. Masao Tomonaga, chairman of the Nagasaki Global Citizens’ Assembly for Elimination of Nuclear Weapons, expressed his fears in comments such as “I feel as though the world is reverting back to the Cold War era, or even before that” and “the United States is playing around with the power of nuclear weapons.” Mr. Toyochi Ihara, president of the Society of Hibakusha Certificate Holders of Nagasaki Prefecture, also echoed this saying, “The move by these two countries (the United States and Russia) goes against the movement to eliminate nuclear weapons and all the hard work thus far will have been in vain” (Asahi Shimbun, February 3, 2019). Mr. Koichi Kawano, chairman of the Liaison Council of Hibakusha, Nagasaki Peace Movement Center, commented “Just when the opportunity is mounting

to eliminate nuclear weapons after so much effort, the boat is being rocked.” Mr. Takeshi Yamakawa, representative of the Nagasaki Citizens Association for Protesting U.S. Nuclear Testing expressed strong concerns in his comment “Not only between the two great nuclear powers, this will have a bad influence on the nuclear weapons situation globally and create an atmosphere opposing the elimination of nuclear weapons” (Nagasaki Shimbun, February 2, 2019).

Although having showed wholehearted approval of the Nuclear Posture Review (NPR) by the Trump Administration,²⁾ the Japanese government responded quickly to the notification of the US’s withdrawal from the INF Treaty with a comment from Foreign Minister Taro Kono at a press conference on February 1. While showing consideration for the position of the United States, Mr. Kono said that “the situation ... is not desirable for the world.”³⁾ Furthermore, in another press conference held on February 5, Mr. Kono said, “Japan will actively urge for expansion of the INF Treaty to countries that already possess such missiles as well as countries that are developing them”⁴⁾ bearing in mind that President Trump mentioned a new treaty to control intermediate-range nuclear missiles.

In regard to the stance shown by the Japanese government, Mr. Yamakawa said, “Japan should take the lead in protesting to the United States and play an intermediary role in preventing its withdrawal from the treaty” (Nagasaki Shimbun, February 2, 2019). In response to a remark on February 4 by Chief Cabinet Secretary Yoshihide Suga that he understands the decision by the United States to withdraw from the treaty, Chairman Ihara voiced severe criticism saying that as a country that suffered such a terrible experience [in the atomic bombing], Japan should guide nuclear powers towards nuclear disarmament and that therefore, Chief Cabinet Secretary Suga’s remark was completely wrong (Nishinippon Shimbun February 6, 2019). Nagasaki Mayor Tomihisa Taue commented that it was “entirely unacceptable” and also that as the collapse of the treaty may possibly have an impact on Northeast Asia, and he urged the Japanese government to persuade the United States and Russia to stay in the treaty. (Asahi Shimbun, February 3, 2019)

The mayors of Nagasaki and Hiroshima visited the embassies in Tokyo of the United States and Russia on February 12 to lodge a direct appeal that the INF Treaty be kept. Also, the main atomic bomb survivors organizations in Nagasaki created a written request dated February 5 which they jointly signed and sent to President Trump urging him to retract the US decision to withdraw from the INF Treaty. Movement is underway in the atomic-bombed cities to directly persuade the United States and Russia to keep the INF Treaty.

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- 1) <http://www.recna.nagasaki-u.ac.jp/recna/en-recnaseye/no8-en>
 - 2) http://naosite.lb.nagasaki-u.ac.jp/dspace/bitstream/10069/38147/1/RECNA_ENL6_4.pdf
 - 3) https://www.mofa.go.jp/press/kaiken/kaiken4e_000600.html
 - 4) https://www.mofa.go.jp/press/kaiken/kaiken4e_000601.html



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