

## Understanding Gaps Between the Ideal and Reality of Nuclear Abolishment

# International Symposium “East Asia in Crisis: Searching for ‘A World without Nuclear Weapons’”

Takeshi Yuasa

On July 23, 2016, the Hiroshima Peace Institute (HPI) held the international symposium entitled “East Asia in Crisis: Searching for ‘A World without Nuclear Weapons.’” It was jointly hosted with the Chugoku Shimbun and the Research Center for Nuclear Weapons Abolition (RECNA), Nagasaki University. The symposium was supported by Hiroshima City, the Hiroshima Peace Culture Foundation, Hiroshima Prefecture, and the Hiroshima Peace Creative Foundation. About 235 participants, including young people from high schools and universities, gathered at the venue, the International Conference Center Hiroshima.

This symposium was planned to discuss and understand security issues pertaining to East Asia, especially the North Korean nuclear issue. Since the beginning of 2016, Kim Jong-un’s regime revealed a drastic change in its nuclear policy. On January 6, the regime conducted its fourth nuclear test; since then, it has continued conducting missile experiments. During the month in which the symposium was held, North Korea launched missiles twice (July 8 and 19). With the feeling that, unfortunately, the situation in East Asia has become more and more ambiguous, we planned the symposium to consider relations in the region.

Moreover, an impressive event related to the topic of the symposium was held in May 2016: U.S. President Barack Obama visited Hiroshima and made a speech there. Although it was a historic event not only for Hiroshima but also for the world, reactions to the speech varied, and some people were not satisfied with the content. For example, President Obama offered no concrete measures for abolishing nuclear weapons, nor did he clearly outline the roadmap to nuclear abolition. Further, he had roughly half a year remaining in his presidential term in the summer of 2016. However, it is definitely significant that the incumbent U.S. president, representing the country that dropped the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, visited one of the bombed cities and expressed the ideal regarding the abolition of nuclear weapons globally.

We may be living in a world, in which a very large gap in thoughts regarding the abolition of nuclear weapons exists. How should we understand this gap between the ideal and reality of regional security in East Asia? What can we do to fill the gap? These are the main questions that organizers aimed to discuss at the symposium.

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### Keynote Speech by Professor Hiraiwa, Kwansai Gakuin University

The Keynote speaker of the symposium was Shunji Hiraiwa, a professor at Kwansai Gakuin University. He mainly addressed the decision-making style of the Kim Jong-un regime, especially focusing on recent nuclear tests and the firing of ballistic missiles. Professor Hiraiwa referred to the latest congress of the Korean Workers’ Party in May 2016 held for the first time in 36 years as an example to understand it. According to Professor Hiraiwa, Kim Jong-un wanted to send a political message to overcome his father’s “Military-First Politics” reflecting a shift from a crisis management regime to a peacetime one through the performance at the party congress. Policies by the incumbent regime, Hiraiwa argued, were not decided by the young leader arbitrarily; they were also supported by bureaucrats, technocrats, and economists in North Korea. Kim Jong-un’s regime regards itself as a “peacetime” regime in the domestic context and a “responsible nuclear power” externally. However, such logic by North Korea is extremely distant from the perceptions of the international society, which is asking the country to abandon its nuclear weapons. Professor Hiraiwa concluded that Kim Jong-un’s leadership is at a crossroads today; at stake is whether it can maintain its character as a peace time regime or reflect its predecessor’s reputation as governing according to crisis management.

### Summary of Other Reports

Following the keynote speech, four experts addressed their own research report, analyzing the power balance among related nations including China, the U.S., and Japan and international relations in the region.

Rumi Aoyama, a professor at Waseda University, discussed a perspective on the North Korean issue in the context of China’s foreign policy. China under Xi Jinping’s regime is constructing its global strategy with the “One Belt, One Road (OBOR)” initiative and the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB); additionally, the nation has progressed politically, militarily, and economically. According to Professor Aoyama, China’s policy regarding North Korea has changed repeatedly. She suggested that OBOR is an initiative to be applied even in North Korea. An original aim of OBOR was to create a wider economic zone for China among such regions as Central Asia, Europe, the Middle East, and North Africa. Professor Aoyama suggested that China’s regional strategy may incorporate the initiative to engage North Korea.

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Haksoon Paik, a vice-president of the Sejong Institute of the Republic of Korea (ROK), addressed his view about international relations in the region: because policies concerning North Korea of countries like the U.S., ROK, China, and Japan do not harmonize with each other, these nations have not taken effective measures for denuclearization of North Korea. Thus, he entitled his presentation as “Politics of Confusion.” Dr. Paik also stressed that dialogue and negotiation are more advantageous than pressure or sanctions in terms of North Korean issues; therefore, searching for an opportunity to discuss a new “comprehensive resolution” about the issues is necessary. Moreover, he proposed to institutionalize the North East Asian Security Summit or a forum among states for negotiation as an extension of the existing Six-Party Talks.

Following Dr. Paik’s presentation, Professor Satoshi Hirose from RECNA addressed the possibilities of multilateral cooperation and community initiatives toward denuclearization in East Asia. Professor Hirose argued honestly that it is difficult to achieve the aims of these initiatives in view of the current situation in the region. Despite that, he stressed some possibilities to find a solution to North Korean issues. In this sense, he suggested that states should prioritize not to exacerbate the current situation longer, by resolving cumulative problems in the region. For that purpose, he proposed that it is better to establish a forum for comprehensive discussion about security, like the Conference of Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE: Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe [OSCE] presently), rather than discuss each issue individually.

Lastly, Mr. Uzaemonnaotsuka Tokai from the *Chugoku Shimbun* reported facts and results of President Obama’s visit to Hiroshima and presented future challenges for “a world without nuclear weapons” from the viewpoint of a journalist based in Hiroshima. He covered the president’s visit to Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park. Involving the audience of the symposium, Mr. Tokai described the scene impressively; President Obama offered flowers at the cenotaph for atomic bomb victims. Mr. Tokai assessed the president’s speech as emphasizing his personal philosophy, with expressions dictating consideration for the emotions of Hiroshima and Nagasaki citizens. Mr. Tokai also evaluated the speech positively, because it referred to accurate citation of the figure of atomic bombs victims in Hiroshima as “the dead, including over 100,000 in Japanese men, women and children; thousands of Koreans; a dozen Americans held prisoner.” On the other hand, Mr. Tokai was critical of some parts of the speech, as it summed up victims of atomic bombs with victims of ordinary wars. He also suggested that creating a roadmap to

abolish nuclear weapons is a future task, but President Obama did not touch on this subject in his speech. In conclusion, Mr. Tokai evaluated that the president’s visit was an event of historic significance, although, of course, it produced numerous political problems. He also argued that the “moral awakening” mentioned in the speech is also needed in Hiroshima.

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A summary of the panel discussion was published in the *Chugoku Shimbun* on August 1, 2016. It is also available to read on the website of the Hiroshima Peace Media Center (<http://www.hiroshimapeacemedia.jp/?p=62340>). Moreover, the HPI published the keynote speech and related reports in a booklet series on February 1, 2017.

(Professor at HPI)

## Program

- **Opening Remarks** (KIKKAWA Gen, President, HPI)
- **Outline of the Symposium** (YUASA Takeshi, Professor, HPI)
- **Keynote Speech**  
 “Kim Jong-un Regime and International Relations in East Asia”  
 (HIRAIWA Shunji, Professor, Kwansai Gakuin University)
- **Reports**  
 “China and International Relations in East Asia”  
 (AOYAMA Rumi, Professor, Waseda University)  
 “Politics of Confusion: Denuclearization of North Korea Derailed”  
 (PAIK Haksoon: Vice-President, Director, Center for North Korean Studies, Sejong Institute)  
 “Nuclear Security and Initiatives for Cooperation in East Asia”  
 (HIROSE Satoshi, Professor, Nagasaki University)  
 “President Obama’s Visit to Hiroshima and Beyond”  
 (TOKAI Uzaemonnaotsuka, Editorial Writer, Chugoku Shimbun)  
 —Break/Submit Questions—
- **Panel Discussion**  
 Panelists: HIRAIWA, AOYAMA, PAIK, HIROSE, TOKAI  
 Moderators: Narayanan GANESAN (Professor, HPI), YUASA
- **Concluding Remarks**
- **Closing**

# Hello from HPI

## NAONO Akiko

### Professor

Dr. Naono received her B.A. from American University (Washington D.C.) and was instrumental in organizing a special exhibit on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1995 at American University, with the support of the City of Hiroshima. After receiving Ph.D. in sociology from University of California, Santa Cruz in 2002, she was granted the Research Fellowship for Young Scientists, Japan Society for the Promotion of Science, from 2003 to 2005. She taught sociology and cultural studies at the Graduate School of Social and Cultural Studies at Kyushu University as Associate Professor from 2005, before taking a position at the Hiroshima Peace Institute in October 2016. Her main publication includes, *Gembaku Taiken to Sengo Nihon* [Atomic Bomb Experience and Postwar Japan] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2015), *Hibaku to Hoshō* [Sufferings from Exposures to Radiation and Issues of Compensations] (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 2011) and *Hiroshima Amerika: Gembakuten wo Megutte*. [Hiroshima/America: on the Atom Bomb Exhibit] (Hiroshima: Keisuisha, 1997, winner of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Peace and Cooperative Journalists Fund Award).



It is quite nice to be back to the HPI which hosted me as a graduate student during my fieldwork. As Hiroshima has been my field in the last 20 years, I know quite a lot of people here. Since I took a position at the HPI, many have said to me, “Welcome back,” and it is quite nice to feel at home; at the same time, I am convinced that it is important for myself and the community that I keep my critical views as an outsider on public discourse around the memories of the atomic bombing and peace in Hiroshima. We can no longer take it for granted that the majority of the Japanese public support “pacifism” and anti-nuclear sentiments. Has Hiroshima lost a public appeal for the abolition of nuclear weapons and creation of a more peaceful world? If so, how can we regenerate hope for a better future from Hiroshima? I want to address these questions by taking a detour of following the historical traces of how people have survived and reconstructed life in the devastated city. I also plan to take on a new project on poverty in the single-parent households in Japan, as we cannot get away with dealing with issues around poverty, if we were to take on a path toward creating a more peaceful world.

# Second Lieutenant Onoda on Lubang Island: From Personal Notes Written by a Japanese Ambassador to the Philippines Hitoshi Nagai

## 1. The Death of a Dignified Samurai

On January 16, 2014, a former Japanese Imperial Army soldier died at the age of 91. His name was Hiroo Onoda, a holdout who refused to surrender after the end of World War II and spent nearly 30 years hiding in the Philippine jungle. In March 1974, he finally surrendered and returned to Japan. In Japan today, there may not be many people who are familiar with the phrase “Second Lieutenant Onoda on Lubang Island,” but if they had a chance to glance at the Japanese newspapers printed on the day that he was finally persuaded to emerge from hiding in the jungle and return to Japan, they would find he was touted as a hero at the time.

Recently, I have been able to obtain diplomatic documents regarding the rescue of Second Lieutenant Onoda under the Freedom of Information Act. The diplomatic papers included personal notes written by Toshio Urabe, a Japanese ambassador to the Philippines who strove to secure his rescue, which serve as valuable evidence by a diplomat who gained a behind-the-scenes view of the rescue operation at very close quarters.

## 2. Japanese Soldiers on Lubang Island

Second Lieutenant Onoda hunkered down in the jungles of the small island of Lubang, about 150 km southwest of the Philippine capital Manila (the following is mainly based on papers from the War Victims' Relief Bureau of the Japanese Ministry of Health and Welfare (MHW)). In December 1942, 20-year-old Onoda was called up to join the army in Wakayama. After being stationed in Jiangxi Province, China, he was sent to the Futamata Branch (in Shizuoka Prefecture) of the Military Army's Nakano School, where he was trained to fight guerilla warfare from August to November 1944. In December of that year, he was sent to the Philippines as an intelligence officer, and arrived on Lubang Island on December 31. In March 1945, U.S. forces also landed on the island, overrunning it in a matter of days. In the face of such overwhelming American forces, Onoda and other Japanese soldiers were forced to hide in the jungle.

Even after the war ended in August 1945, 55 Japanese soldiers refused to surrender and hid in the jungle. By the end of March 1946, 48 of them had surrendered, with another three soldiers killed during a clash with U.S. troops. Second Lieutenant Onoda and three other soldiers still remained hidden in the jungle. On July 5, 1950, one of the four, Private Yūichi Akatsu walked away from the others to surrender. On May 7, 1954, Corporal Shōichi Shimada was shot dead by Philippine Scout Rangers, and on October 19, 1972, Private Kinshichi Kozuka was also shot and killed by the Philippine Constabulary (PC). Onoda thus became the last remaining Japanese soldier on Lubang Island.

The Japanese government, with the cooperation of the Philippine Air Force (PAF), launched a massive search on three occasions from October 1972. However, all those attempts failed as Onoda did not open his mind, believing such attempts to be traps and that the war was still ongoing. Later, his encounter with Norio Suzuki, a young Japanese adventurer with a great deal of curiosity who traveled to the Philippines to look for Onoda independently, finally led the former soldier to decide to surrender on the condition of an order from his former commanding officer that released him from his military duties. At last, Onoda surrendered on the evening of March 9, 1974.

## 3. From Personal Notes Written by Toshio Urabe

Second Lieutenant Onoda, who gave himself up and came out of hiding on March 9, 1974, arrived at Lubang's Air Force Radar Station the following night, when a ceremony for his formal surrender and a press conference were held. On March 11, he was transferred to Manila by the PAF helicopter to meet Philippine President Ferdinand E. Marcos at the Malacañang presidential palace, and on the following day, he left for Japan. It was March 19, one week after the event, when then Japanese ambassador to the Philippine Toshio Urabe sent his personal notes entitled “Survival and Return Home of Second

Lieutenant Onoda” to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. Perhaps he had thought that his own unique experience should be recorded before his memory deteriorated.

The personal notes written by Ambassador Urabe contain a detailed description of behind-the-scene efforts made over 20 days from February 20, when Onoda encountered the young adventurer Suzuki in the jungle, to March 10, when Onoda, accompanied by the PAF officers, emerged from his mountain hideout. Onoda's decision to surrender rested on broad search operations by both the Japanese and Philippine governments, as well as a series of lucky coincidences. When some Japanese government officials conducted a search, and dropped leaflets to find former Japanese soldiers who still remained behind in 1954 and 1959, Onoda and his comrades did not show up, dismissing the messages written in the leaflets as a plot by the Americans, because they thought that the leaflets were filled with mistakes. In December 1959, the Japanese government gave up its search and decided that Second Lieutenant Onoda and Private Kozuka were dead (MHW Papers).

When it turned out that Kozuka had died in October 1972 and Onoda was still surviving in the jungle, the Japanese government launched another massive search. As a consequence of repeated search efforts by the government, Onoda gradually came to believe that the war was over. At a time when he felt himself weakening, he encountered a young Japanese man, Norio Suzuki, who was at a camp at Wakayama Point (named after Onoda's home prefecture), near Buroi in the east of the island. “I thought it was a hundred to one that the war was over, since the local people had allowed a Japanese man to be in camp by himself,” Onoda said to Ambassador Urabe, “I had to take that bet, and if I lost the bet, it couldn't be helped. It would be entirely my fault.” Onoda decided to talk to Suzuki, eventually paving the way for his surrender.

After the end of the war, local people had begun to expand their living areas by cultivating the jungle. Onoda and his comrades, who believed that the war was still ongoing, considered this an encroachment on their own territory. While hunkering down in the jungle, they killed local people on sight. They saw this killing as in self-defense. Quite a few people were killed or injured by the survivors. The houses of some locals were burned, while others were deprived of their livelihoods. In his memoir, Ambassador Urabe notes that it was quite natural for the families of those victims to be unable to accept such an explanation, and that in fact, he did hear some local people expressing their anger about the former soldiers' multiple killings.

Ambassador Urabe's personal notes also reveal just how remarkable the Philippine government's cooperation with the Japanese search activities was. When Private Kozuka was shot to death by the PC in October 1972, President Marcos heard the news with regret and immediately ordered the PC to withdraw its forces from Lubang Island, leaving the policing of the island and search-and-rescue operations to the PAF. In order to rescue Onoda, the president gave the PAF a strict order not to kill him and decided to allow him to return home under amnesty. In fact, when he met Onoda at Malacañang Palace on March 11, 1974, the president gave him a full and complete pardon for any violations he may have committed on Lubang during and after the war, and allowed him to return to Japan. Ambassador Urabe ended his memoir by noting that the saga of Onoda was rendered all the more compelling and memorable by the Philippine government's humanitarian considerations towards him.

What drove President Marcos to treat Onoda with such magnanimity? How did the local people on Lubang Island view the Japanese soldiers who remained after the end of the war? To consider the responses taken by the Philippine government and the local people's feelings about Onoda returning home would require much further elaboration.

*(Professor at HPI)*



# “Human Security Project” and “Confidence and Security Building Measures Project”

Kazumi Mizumoto, Vice President at HPI

Of the three research projects that were started in April 2014 when Gen Kikkawa became the new HPI president, namely the projects on (1) Nuclear Weapons and Disarmament, (2) Human Security, and (3) Confidence and Security Building Measures, I will briefly explain (2) and (3) in this issue of the newsletter, following the article about (1) in the previous newsletter.

The Project on Human Security is based on the recognition that the concept of Human Security is important for peace research because it respects individual human being's survival, life, and dignity. The concept of Security used to mean National Security which focused only on military and defense issues, but the project reflects the conceptual change of idea regarding focus of the Security from the state to its inhabitants.

In the three years, a total of 13 presentations were given, of which six presentations were done by HPI researchers, three presentations were done by Japanese scholars, and four presentations were by foreign scholars.

On the other hand, the Project on Confidence and Security Building Measures was initiated by President Kikkawa's conviction that, in Asia, we need a similar security framework like the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) which contributes to the maintenance of security in Europe. The initial aim of the project is to develop confidence and security between Japan, South and North Korea, and China in East Asia.

A total of six workshops and meetings were held in the three years, of which three were workshops and joint research meetings organized by the HPI and research organizations or academic associations in South Korea, whereas the other three were lecture meetings by individual scholars from Japan and China.

The dates, presenters, and topics of the meetings are shown in the tables below.

## The Research Project on Human Security

	Date	Presenter	Topic
1	2013.10.17(Thu)	Hitoshi Nagai, Associate Professor at HPI	On the Issues of B Class and C Class War Crime Trials in the Philippines
2	2013.12.19(Thu)	Narayanan Ganesan, Professor at HPI	The Role of Civil Society in Democracies and Democratic Transitions in Southeast Asia
3	2014.4.24(Thu)	James Llewelyn, Australian Government, Department of Education, International Group, North Asia Section	Japan's Cold War Diplomacy and its Return to Southeast Asia
4	2014.7.24(Thu)	Gen Kikkawa, President/Professor at HPI	What is Peace?
5	2014.10.9(Thu)	Ran Zwigenberg, Visiting Researcher at HPI	Survivors: Hiroshima, the Holocaust and the Rise of Global Memory Culture
6	2014.10.24(Fri)	Tetsuya Yamada, Professor at Nanzan University, Department of Policy Studies	The Range of “Human Security” Theory
7	2014.12.18(Thu)	David Walton, Lecturer at University of Western Australia/Visiting Researcher at University of Tokyo	Australian Policy toward Japan and China
8	2015.2.25(Wed)	Kim Sung Chull, Professor at Institute for Peace and Unification Studies, Seoul National University	Lost Time Never Be Found?: Coping with Nuclear Arming North Korea
9	2015.5.28(Thu)	Takeshi Yuasa, Professor at HPI	International Politics of Contemporary Central Asia: with the Analysis of Russian Trends
10	2015.6.25(Thu)	Kennedy Mkutu Agade, Professor, United States International University in Nairobi, Kenya	Oil and Insecurity in Turkana, Kenya
11	2015.12.3(Thu)	Naoko Kumagai, Associate Professor, International University of Japan	Japan's Diplomacy in the 21st Century observed through “Comfort Women” Issue: Japans Postwar Responsibility and Reconciliation
12	2016.1.18(Mon)	Taizo Miyagi, Professor, Sophia University, Faculty of Global Studies	Japan's Diplomatic Security Policy in the age of Coalition
13	2016.2.25(Thu)	Mika Inoue, Associate Professor, Hiroshima Shudo University, Faculty of Law/Visiting Researcher at HPI	Transition of PKO and UN/Regional Organizations: focusing on African Issues

## The Research Project on CSBMs

	Date and Venue	Participants and Topic
1	2014.2.27(Thu) HCU Satellite Campus	Joint Workshop of Jeju Peace Institute in South Korea, Consulate General of Republic of Korea in Hiroshima and HPI on CSBMs in East Asia
2	2014.9.5(Fri) HCU Satellite Campus	Joint Workshop of Association of International Law on the Sea in South Korea and HPI with the Participation of Shigeki Sakamoto, Professor at Doshisha University and Tsuyoshi Ohira, Professor at Kitakyushu City University
3	2014.12.11(Thu) Sejong Institute in Seoul, South Korea	Joint Research Meeting of Sejong Institute in Seoul and HPI
4	2015.3.19(Thu) HPI	Lecture meeting Presenter: Kan Kimura, Professor at Kobe University, Graduate School of International Cooperation Studies Topic: On the Issues of Historical Recognition in Japan and Korea: History Textbook, “Comfort Women” and Populism
5	2016.10.9(Thu) HCU Satellite Campus	Lecture Meeting and Discussions Presenter: Gen Kikkawa, President at HPI Topic: A Security Community in the Region of East Asia Discussions on the Future Direction of the Project on CSBMs
6	2016.1.28(Thu) HPI	Lecture Meeting Presenter: Ma Xing-guo, Professor at Kanagawa University, former President of Institute of Japan Studies, Liaoning University in Shenyang, China Topic: For the Improvement of Japan-China Relations: the Role of International Politics and Culture

# Nuclear Weapons Development Issues and the International Community

Hyun Jin Son

The Hiroshima Peace Institute (HPI) held a public lecture series for the first semester of FY2016 from June 3 to July 1, 2016 at the GOJINSHA Wendy Hito-Machi Plaza in Hiroshima. More than 70 years have passed since the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, but today there are still over 15,000 nuclear warheads in the world. To consider this issue, the HPI published a book titled *Why We Can't Eliminate Nuclear Weapons II* in August 2016. In this lecture series entitled "Nuclear Weapons Development Issues and the International Community," five speakers, including HPI researchers who coauthored the book, gave lectures to present the challenges we need to overcome to eliminate nuclear weapons from the globe. The lecture titles were: (1) "The Evolution of Warfare and World Peace," (2) "Global Nuclear Disarmament and the Task of Japan," (3) "Usefulness of the Humanitarian Approach," (4) "North Korea's Nuclear Development: Issues and the Future," and (5) "Implications of the Iranian Nuclear Deal on Middle Eastern Regional Stability."

## Description of Lectures

### (1) June 3 (Fri.)

#### "The Evolution of Warfare and World Peace"

Gen Kikkawa

President and Professor, at HPI

This lecture examined the relationship between the increasing mechanization of wars resulting from the evolution of weapons and changes in the international peace order. Prof. Kikkawa clarified the process of how the advancement of mechanization in warfare has influenced the formation of an international peace order, with a focus on three issues: the military use of railroads, the practical use of machine guns, and the development of nuclear weapons. Moreover, an explanation was given of how the militarization of international relations is promoted by the escalation of nuclear development and the spread of conventional arms, backed by a military-industrial complex.

### (2) June 10 (Fri.)

#### "Global Nuclear Disarmament and the Task of Japan"

Kazumi Mizumoto

Vice-President and Professor, at HPI

This lecture considered how Japan, as the only nation struck by atomic weapons, should address four major issues: 1) How to make North Korea, which could not have become a nuclear nation under normal circumstances, and India, Pakistan and Israel, which are all non-NPT-member nuclear powers, abandon their nuclear weapons; 2) How to encourage countries whose possession of nuclear weapons has been accepted under the NPT—the U.S., Russia, the U.K., France and China—to reduce their nuclear arsenals; 3) How to discourage nations and organizations under the nuclear umbrella, including Japan, Australia and NATO, from seeking continued dependence on nuclear weapons; and 4) How Japan, as the victim of atomic bombings, should tackle various issues to achieve the elimination of nuclear weapons as sought by international civil society and the conclusion of the Nuclear Weapons Convention.

### (3) June 17 (Fri.)

#### "Usefulness of the Humanitarian Approach"

Yasuhito Fukui

Associate Professor, at HPI

With little substantial progress being made in the reduction of nuclear weapons, this lecture examined humanitarian approaches, such as so-called "humanitarian initiatives." The international community has commenced at the same time discussions on Lethal Autonomous Weapons Systems (LAWS) under the framework of the Convention on Certain Conventional Weapons (CCW) for the sake of international norm setting by humanitarian approaches although the CCW does not cover the prohibition/restriction of the use of nuclear weapons, while LAWS does not cover the use of conventional weapons. This lecture provided an opportunity to understand the significance of humanitarian approaches in

international law making, by clarifying the similarities and differences between the CCW and LAWS.

### (4) June 24 (Fri.)

#### "North Korea's Nuclear Development: Issues and the Future" Hyun Jin Son

Associate Professor, at HPI

This lecture discussed the current status of North Korea's nuclear development, including its recent nuclear tests and missile launches, with a focus on major issues confronting the country and its future. In January 2016, North Korea conducted its fourth nuclear test, followed by the launch of long-range and short-range missiles. The country's acquisition of nuclear capability and highly advanced missile technology has brought an imbalance and threat to the security landscape of Northeast Asia. In South Korea, there are debates on the necessity of nuclear armament. The struggle for power surrounding the Korean Peninsula has become increasingly complex. Following North Korea's recent nuclear tests, the UN and its member countries have introduced a condemnatory resolution and imposed sanctions against the country. This lecture raised the question of how the international community should respond to the nuclear and missile developments of North Korea.

### (5) July 1 (Fri.)

#### "Implications of the Iranian Nuclear Deal on Middle Eastern Regional Stability"

Koichiro Tanaka

President, the Institute of Energy Economics, Japan (JIME) at the Institute of Energy Economics, Japan (IEE)

This lecture took up the 2015 Iran Nuclear Deal as a successful example of multilateralism that has put a long-term brake on nuclear development through negotiations, and explored the context of the case. However, it was also indicated that the relaxation of economic sanctions on Iran in return for the scaling down of its nuclear development has alerted some countries to take precautions against its potential return to the international community, thereby, ironically, failing to ease tensions over the country. Today, there is concern that civil wars in the Middle East could escalate into major regional conflicts. Given the fact that the issue is not irrelevant to Japan, with its heavy dependence on the supply of oil and natural gas, this lecture also looked at the roles Japan and the international community should play in bringing stability to the region.

Many people participated in all the five lectures, with about 100 participants attending each lecture. Each lecture featured a lively question-and-answer session with the audience. In the questionnaire conducted after the last lecture, many views and opinions were expressed. We will make efforts to take into account the feedback in our future activities.

(Associate Professor at HPI)

# 2016 Hiroshima International Conference on the Northeast Asia Peace and Cooperation Initiative (NAPCI)

Hyun Jin Son

On September 13, 2016, the Hiroshima Peace Institute with the co-sponsorship of the Sejong Institute (South Korea), held the 2016 Hiroshima International Conference on the Northeast Asia Peace and Cooperation Initiative (NAPCI) at Rihga Royal Hotel Hiroshima.

The conference consisted of three sessions, which were followed by a general discussion. The sessions were 1) "The Experience of CSCE and Improvement Strategies for NAPCI," 2) "Status and Tasks of Track 1.5 Network Building by Cooperation Area," and 3) "Strategies for Track 1.5 Network Building and Implementation."

The purpose of NAPCI is to establish an order of multilateral cooperation through the promotion of international cooperation and practices. More specifically, its aim is to build a consensus on multilateral security cooperation among the countries of Northeast Asia by urging them to change their perceptions of security through a step-by-step process of regional cooperation. The 2016 Hiroshima International Conference on NAPCI stressed the need to start with cooperation in non-traditional security areas (nuclear power safety, environmental preservation, and disaster prevention), where individual countries may find it relatively easy to cooperate, and gradually expand such efforts towards cooperation in traditional security areas, including confidence-building measures. This conference also emphasized the importance of preventing risks or confrontations from arising by sharing understandings of potential threats in the region as a common agenda and promoting the stable management of such threats within a multilateral framework.

The objective of this conference is to seek measures to drive NAPCI forward by building a close Japan-Korea cooperation network among experts from the two countries (in the areas of nuclear power safety, environmental preservation, and disaster management).

In the first session of the conference, Gen Kikkawa, President of the Hiroshima Peace Institute, gave a presentation titled "Comparative Analysis of CSCE and NAPCI: Can South Korea become another West Germany?" A summary of the presentation is as follows: In the history of international politics, the greatest achievement of the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) has been its contribution to the prevention of war (particularly nuclear warfare) during the Cold War and to the collapse of the one-party regimes in the USSR and Eastern Europe. These successes by the CSCE can be largely attributed to two factors: the reinforced security involvement of small and medium-sized countries in the CSCE through the employment of a consensual decision-making process, and the strengthened political binding force generated through the creation of an inter-governmental agreement. As a divided state, South Korea needs to play a leadership role in creating an international security community, like NAPCI, to achieve world peace. To this end, it is important for South Korea to take the initiative in encouraging other countries in the region to promote intergovernmental dialogue to identify areas that require intergovernmental cooperation, and to establish an international cooperation system to enable the expansion of the scope of cooperation from non-traditional security areas to traditional security areas under such a multilateral cooperation framework.

In the second session, presentations were delivered on the establishment of a regional private-sector network in each area of cooperation. In the area of nuclear safety, a presentation titled "Asian Leadership in Nuclear Safety" was given by Park Yoon-Won, former President of the Korea Institute of Nuclear Safety. He spoke about the establishment of leadership in the area of nuclear safety and the setting of a Nuclear Safety Directive. He stressed that to this end, it is necessary to maintain a high level of safety, win public endorsement, establish a transparent policy system, and promote information sharing. He also emphasized the need to develop a unique regional strategy based on U.S. case studies. Mr. Park suggested that NAPCI should provide support for cooperative efforts by the Korea Institute of Nuclear Safety and the Japan Nuclear Safety Institute, referring to U.S. cases on the revitalization of the nuclear industry, the setting of nuclear safety standards, the rational management of regulatory bodies, and leading technology research and development by unlimited investment.

In the area of disaster management, Jee Yong Keun from the Korea Disaster Prevention Association gave a presentation titled "The Development and Promotion of an International Disaster Prevention Network to Pursue Peaceful Cooperation in Northeast Asia." He stressed the importance of promoting government-to-government exchange of reliable information and establishing an international disaster management network, in order to prevent large-scale disasters from continuously occurring. He also suggested that considering the potential occurrence of various types and scales of disasters, such an international network should cover a broad range of topics, including mutual cooperation, the sharing of disaster related information, and industries focused on disaster prevention.

In the environmental area, Chu Jang Min from the Korea Environment Institute gave a presentation titled "Establishing a Public-Private Network to Promote the Conservation of Biodiversity in Northeast Asia." In the area of biodiversity conservation, foundations for international cooperation have already been established to some degree, such as the Tripartite Environment Ministers Meeting among China, Japan and Korea (TEMM), the North-East Asian Subregional Programme for Environmental Cooperation (NEASPEC), and the Asia Pacific Biodiversity Observation Network (AP-BON). Dr. Chu stressed the need to look for ways to further promote cooperation within NAPCI, with a view towards setting rules for promoting cooperation in biodiversity conservation in Northeast Asia.

In the third session held under the theme of "Strategies for Track 1.5 Network Building and Implementation," Jin Chang Soo, President of the Sejong Institute, gave a presentation titled "Prospects of NAPCI." As strategies to build and maintain a NAPCI public-private network, he proposed (1) systematically verifying the achievements of cooperation implemented on a function-by-function basis, (2) ensuring the sustainability of NAPCI by expanding the base of domestic and international cooperation, and (3) developing a concrete strategic initiative to produce tangible results. For the development and expansion of an international network for NAPCI, he stressed the need to (1) adopt a political statement and reach high-level agreement for institutionalization and regularization, (2) conduct a detailed analysis of present conditions to develop a regional cooperation network and determine the direction in which to proceed; and (3) develop measures to promote local government-based cooperation by category as well as to respond to the mass media. The presentation was concluded with an assertion of the necessity of considering how to expand the Japan-China-Korea cooperation network step-by-step and how to put the UN's international rules into operation in Northeast Asia.

In the general discussion, participants engaged in a lively exchange of views and opinions.

The panelists were: Kazumi Mizumoto, Vice-President, HPI; Takeshi Yuasa, Professor, HPI; Hyun Jin Son, Associate Professor, HPI; Yasuhito Fukui, Associate Professor, HPI; Makiko Takemoto, Assistant Professor, HPI; Genki Yagawa, President, Nuclear Safety Research Association (NSRA); Tatsujiro Suzuki, Director, Research Center for Nuclear Weapons Abolition (RECNA), Nagasaki University; Koji Suzuki, Executive Director, National Research Institute for Earth Science and Disaster Resilience (NIED); Kazuhito Ueda, Researcher, Asian Disaster Reduction Center (ADRC); and Kenji Otsuka, Senior Research Fellow, Institute of Developing Economies, Japan External Trade Organization (IDE-JETRO)

*(Associate Professor at HPI)*





## Why We Can't Eliminate Nuclear Weapons II: Perspectives and Prospects for a "World without Nuclear Weapons"

The HPI published the book "Why We Can't Eliminate Nuclear Weapons II: Perspectives and Prospects for a "World without Nuclear Weapons" through *Horitsu Bunka Sha*, a publisher of numerous books on the social sciences, in August 2016. This is the outcome of an HPI research project on nuclear disarmament, which was organized during a total of seven research meetings from September 2014 to March 2015.

The book was co-edited by Gen Kikkawa, HPI President, and Kazumi Mizumoto, its Vice President. The contributors include five HPI researchers, as well as scholars and journalists in Hiroshima, Nagasaki, and Tokyo. Co-authors share the idea that it is vital for the advancement of nuclear disarmament to promote the reduction of tension and foster confidence building in international relations, and analyzed the current international situation and challenges surrounding nuclear weapons.

It is the sequel to a book published in 2000 entitled "Why We Can't Eliminate Nuclear Weapons: Nuclear Weapons and International Relations," aiming to present new analysis after the simultaneous terror attacks in 2001 and the inauguration of the Obama administration in the U.S., which were not covered in the previous book.

Chapters and contributors are as follows:



Introduction: Today's Nuclear Weapons and International Peace  
Kazumi Mizumoto

Section I: International Regime and Legal Framework of the Weapons

Ch.1 Evolution of the Arms and International Peace  
Gen Kikkawa

Ch.2 Arms Control and Disarmament of Conventional Weapons  
Noriko Sado, Hiroshima Shudo University

Ch.3 Formation of Norms in Disarmament  
Yasuhito Fukui, HPI

Ch.4 Significance and Current Situation of the CTBT  
Satoshi Hirose, Nagasaki University

Section II: Nations and Nuclear Weapon

Ch.5 Security in Europe and Nuclear Policy of NATO  
Itsuki Kurashina, Hiroshima City University

Ch.6 Nuclear Policy of China  
Ikuko Kayahara, Takushoku University

Ch.7 Nuclear Issues and Conflicts in the Middle East  
Shintaro Yoshimura, Hiroshima University

Ch.8 Nuclear Development in North Korea  
Hyun Jin Son, HPI

Section III: Towards a World without Nuclear Weapons

Ch.9 American Fantasies about Nuclear Weapons and Hiroshima  
Robert Jacobs, HPI

Ch.10 Conditions for Abolition of Nuclear Weapons  
Norito Kunisue, *The Asahi Shimbun*

Ch.11 Banning of Nuclear Weapons and Civil Society  
Keiko Nakamura, Nagasaki University

Conclusion: The Role of Japan, the Atomic-Bombed Nation  
Kazumi Mizumoto  
Kazumi Mizumoto, Vice President at HPI

## DIARY

May 1 - October 31, 2016

- ◆ **May 2-14** Narayanan Ganesan serves as coordinator and trainer for the Social Science Summer Institute to train faculty at Dagon and Mandalay Universities in Myanmar.
- ◆ **May 14** Yasuhito Fukui presents report on the "New technology and applicability of international law: the case of LAWS" at annual academic conference of the World Law Association, held at Senshu University in Tokyo.
- ◆ **May 17** Robert Jacobs gives lecture to students from Meiji Gakuin University and the University of California on American reactions to the nuclear attacks on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, held in Hiroshima City.
- ◆ **May 20** Kazumi Mizumoto gives lecture "The View Point of Politics and International Relations in Southeast Asia" at the "Training Program for Global Human Resources from the View Point of International Cooperation and Contribution" organized by Hiroshima University of Economics, held at Satellite Campus Hiroshima.
- ◆ **May 21** Mizumoto gives lecture "The Meaning of Studying the Hiroshima Experience: What do you think about President Obama's visit to Hiroshima?" at the Hiroshima Peace Forum organized by the Hiroshima Peace Culture Foundation, held at the Gojinsha Wendy Hito-Machi Plaza.
- ◆ **May 22** Akihiro Kawakami delivers keynote presentation on "Security Legislation and Japan Standing at a Crossroads" at the section meeting for "Human rights, peace, culture and international relations" of the 31<sup>st</sup> Local Government Research Meeting in Hiroshima organized by the Hiroshima Local Government Research Center, held in Hatsukaichi City.
- ◆ **May 23** Gen Kikkawa attends the joint meeting "Hiroshima" organized by the City of Hiroshima, held in Hiroshima City.
- ◆ **May 30** Mizumoto gives lecture "Hiroshima and Disarmament: The Experience of Atomic Bombing and the Danger of Nuclear Weapon" at the Training Programme on Nuclear Disarmament for Asian diplomats, organized by and held at the UNITAR Hiroshima Office.
- ◆ **May 31** Mizumoto gives lecture "Peace Building and Nuclear Issues" for about fifty second-year students of Kaisei Senior High School visiting Hiroshima on school excursion at the HCU Satellite Campus.
- ◆ **June 4** Jacobs gives lecture to the Royal College of Defense Studies (UK) fellows on the nuclear attacks on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, held in Hiroshima City.
- ◆ **June 9** Mizumoto gives lecture "Hiroshima and Nuclear Disarmament: The Experience of Atomic Bombing and the Danger of Nuclear Weapons" for eight students of the University of Alabama, department of political science, at HPI. ▽Ganesan gives lecture to a group of visiting students from Alabama University on recent developments in Southeast Asian international relations, at HPI. ▽Fukui gives lecture to a group of visiting students from Alabama University on Economic Sanction imposed by Security Council resolution against DPRK, at HPI.
- ◆ **June 18** Kawakami gives lecture on "What are constitutional changes aimed at and where do they lead?" at a lecture meeting organized by the Hiroshima Workers' Union of the All Japan Prefectural and Municipal Workers' Union, held in Hiroshima.
- ◆ **June 19** Mizumoto attends as executive committee member the 1<sup>st</sup> training meeting of "International Youth Conference for Peace in the Future (IYCPR) Volgograd 2016" organized by the Hiroshima Municipal Board of Education, held in Hiroshima.
- ◆ **June 20** Hyun Jin Son gives presentation on "The North Korean Nuclear Issue and Future Challenges" at a joint research meeting with Sejong Institute (South Korea), held in South Korea.
- ◆ **June 21** Mizumoto attends the 2<sup>nd</sup> meeting on Peace Declaration organized by the City of Hiroshima, held at the City Hall.
- ◆ **June 24** Mizumoto gives lecture, "Hiroshima and Peace: Atomic Bombing Experience and Reconstruction" at the training program

on “Educational Reform for Sustainable Social Construction in Cambodia” for the staff of Cambodian Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport, co-organized by Hiroshima Prefecture and JICA, held at the Hiroshima Prefectural Office.

- ◆ **June 28** Mizumoto gives lecture “Current World Situation of Nuclear Weapons” at the training course for recounters of atomic bomb experiences, organized by the City of Hiroshima, held at JMS Aster Plaza.
- ◆ **July 2** Jacobs gives lecture at the Hiroshima Peace Forum on understandings of Hiroshima in the United States, held in Hiroshima City.
- ◆ **July 6** Mizumoto attends the 3<sup>rd</sup> meeting on Peace Declaration organized by the City of Hiroshima, held at the City Hall.
- ◆ **July 8** Mizumoto gives lecture “Peace Building and Nuclear Issues” at the peace studies class of second-year students of Kaisei Senior High School in Tokyo.
- ◆ **July 10** Kikkawa gives presentation on “What was World War II?” at a public lecture, organized by and held at the Fukuyama City Human Rights & Peace Museum in Fukuyama City. ▽ Makiko Takemoto gives lecture on “What Robert Jungk saw in Japan” at a gallery talk in the exhibition “For a Nuclear-Free Future”, held at Shizuoka Peace Archives Center.
- ◆ **July 16** Mizumoto gives lecture “Atomic Bomb Experience and World Peace” at the Hiroshima Peace Forum organized by the Hiroshima Peace Culture Foundation, held at Gojinsha Wendy Hito-Machi Plaza.
- ◆ **July 24** Kawakami gives lecture on “The 2016 Election to the House of Councilors and Argument for Constitutional Revision Today” at a study meeting organized by the Chugoku Region Union’s Municipality Council of the All Japan Prefectural and Municipal Workers’ Union, held in Hiroshima City.
- ◆ **July 26** Fukui gives lecture “LAWS (Lethal Autonomous Weapons System: The case of norm-setting in the field of disarmament)” at the IDEC seminar of Hiroshima University.
- ◆ **July 28** Mizumoto gives lecture “Hiroshima and Peace” at training course for journalists organized by the City of Hiroshima, held at International Conference Center Hiroshima.
- ◆ **July 31** Mizumoto gives lecture “Inhumanity of Nuclear Weapon and Inhumanity of War” at the 4<sup>th</sup> training meeting of “International Youth Conference for Peace in the Future (IYCPR) Volgograd 2016” organized by the Hiroshima Municipal Board of Education, held in Hiroshima City. ▽ Mizumoto attends as coordinator and gives presentation “Current Situation of Reconstruction and Peacebuilding in Cambodia” at the panel of the symposium on Hiroshima Reconstruction and Peacebuilding Research Project organized by the Hiroshima Prefecture, held at Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum.
- ◆ **August 4** Mizumoto gives speech “Atomic Bomb and Peace” at the opening ceremony of 10<sup>th</sup> Hiroshima Children’s Conference organized by the Hiroshima Future Generation Forum, held at International Conference Center Hiroshima.
- ◆ **August 5** Mizumoto gives lecture “Hiroshima and Peace: Inhumanity of Nuclear Weapon and Inhumanity of War” at the Peace Seminar, organized by and held at the Hiroshima Jogakuin University.
- ◆ **August 8** Mizumoto gives lecture “Hiroshima and Peace: the Danger of Nuclear Weapons and the Atomic-Bombing Experience” at the lecture series “War and Peace Seen from the Medical Studies,” organized by and held at Hiroshima University in Higashihiroshima City.
- ◆ **August 17** Mizumoto gives special lecture “The Current State and Tasks of Peace Research” at a training program for Level II Certified Nursing Administrators organized by the Hiroshima Nursing Association, held at the Hiroshima Nursing Association.
- ◆ **August 19** Mizumoto gives lecture “Nuclear Disarmament,

Non-Proliferation and Hiroshima” at the training program of “Global Future Juku in Hiroshima” organized by Hiroshima Prefecture, held in Higashihiroshima City.

- ◆ **August 21** Takemoto gives lecture on “70 Years from the End of World War II: The Case of Germany” at the 11<sup>th</sup> Fukuyama Peace Laboratory, organized by and held at Fukuyama City Human Rights & Peace Museum.
- ◆ **August 22** Mizumoto gives lecture “Hiroshima and Peace: the Atomic-Bombing Experience and the Danger of Nuclear Weapons” for the students of Universiti Sains Malaysia, at HPI. ▽ Ganesan gives lecture on Japan-Southeast Asia relations to a group of visiting students from Universiti Sains in Malaysia, at HPI.
- ◆ **August 22–26** Fukui attends the Meeting of States Parties of ATT as an observer, held in Geneva.
- ◆ **August 24** Mizumoto gives lecture “Hiroshima and Peace: the Atomic-Bombing Experience and the Danger of Nuclear Weapons” at the training program on “Moral Studies” for teacher license renewal, organized by and held at Hijiya University.
- ◆ **August 25–26** Ganesan attends workshop and presented paper entitled “Democratization and its impact on the peace process in Myanmar”, held at Seoul National University.
- ◆ **September 4** Kawakami gives lecture on “Considering the Constitution and Peace” at a lecture meeting organized by the Executive Committee of the Hiroshima Prefecture Peace & Friendship Festival of Youth and Women, held in Hatsukaichi City.
- ◆ **September 5–9** Ganesan trains the Myanmar civil service in public administration and public policy formulation in Hpaan in Kayin State, Myanmar.
- ◆ **September 10** Son gives lecture on the “Legal Status of South Koreans Living in Japan” at the Yamaguchi Branch of the Korean Residents Union in Japan (Mindan), held in Shimonoseki City.
- ◆ **September 11** Kikkawa presents report on “Ethnic Issues as a Factor that Has Changed the International Peace and Order” at the 2016 Conference of the Japanese Society of International Law in Shizuoka City.
- ◆ **September 22–23** Fukui makes presentation “New Technology and legal lacunae: The Case of LAWS” at the Regional Meeting of International Humanitarian Law co-organized by KMOD and ICRC as an invited panelist, held in Seoul.
- ◆ **September 24** Kawakami gives lecture on “The Constitution, Peace and Autonomy: Redefining the Relationship between Peace and Local Autonomy” at the 52<sup>nd</sup> Saga Local Government Research Conference organized by the Saga Local Government Research Association, held in Saga City.
- ◆ **September 30** Fukui participates in the study group meeting on the Atomic bombing and the peace in the Chinese diaspora in Japan as a discussant, organized by the Japan Society for the Studies of Chinese Overseas, held at International Conference Center Hiroshima.
- ◆ **October 1** Jacobs tours Swedish deep underground spent nuclear fuel repository project in Oscarshamn, Sweden.
- ◆ **October 4** Kikkawa attends a reception party to welcome UN Disarmament Fellows, held in Hiroshima.
- ◆ **October 13** Jacobs tours Finnish deep underground spent nuclear fuel repository in Onkalo, Finland.
- ◆ **October 21** Son presents report on “Japan’s Security-Related Laws” at the 2016 Conference of the Korean Society of International Law, held in Kyungpook National University, South Korea.
- ◆ **October 22** Mizumoto gives presentation at “The Talk Session: Present Task on Realization of ‘World free of Nuclear Weapons.’” organized by the branch meeting on Disarmament and Security of Peace Studies Association of Japan (PSAJ) at the Fall Conference of PSAJ, held at Meisei University in Tokyo.

## HIROSHIMA RESEARCH NEWS

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