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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.

• **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.



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)

• **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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Research Center for Nuclear Weapons Abolition, Nagasaki University

1-14 Bunkyo-machi, Nagasaki, 852-8521, JAPAN

Tel. +81-95-819-2164 Fax. +81-95-819-2165

E-mail. recna_staff@ml.nagasaki-u.ac.jp

<http://www.recna.nagasaki-u.ac.jp/en-top/>

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