

HPI Cosponsors Non-Proliferation and Disarmament Conference

Eighteen representatives from around the world discussed ways to prevent nuclear proliferation and promote disarmament at a conference held in Tokyo on Aug. 30 and 31.

The Conference on Urgent Actions for Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament (Tokyo Forum), which was jointly sponsored by the Hiroshima Peace Institute and the Japan Institute of International Affairs, was the first of a series of four scheduled meetings. The conference was proposed in June by then Foreign Minister Keizo Obuchi, (who became prime minister in August) following nuclear tests carried out by India and Pakistan.

The conference is expected to publish a report, either in the form of a suggestion or an advisory, at the end of its final meeting, which is due to take place next summer. The second meeting is scheduled to take place in Hiroshima on Dec. 18 and 19.

The Tokyo meeting comprised four closed sessions titled "General Discussion," "Nuclear Weapons Development in South Asia," "Maintaining and Strengthening Nuclear Non-Proliferation and the Promotion of Nuclear Disarmament" and "Closing Session." Participants exchanged views on the May nuclear tests, the problems of the NPT regime and nuclear disarmament.

At a press conference, HPI President Yasushi Akashi, who acted as cochair, said that the participants, who included former diplomats and scholars from 16 countries, agreed that nuclear disarmament should proceed on a global, not just a regional, basis. The participants were from declared nuclear states, threshold nations and other nations. "I believe that the methods, processes, and procedures to achieve

nuclear disarmament are going to be discussed further at this forum. I would like us to make suggestions that can be acted on by every government in the world," he said.

The main points of discussion were as follows:

India and Pakistan are not signatories to the NPT, but the regime is a global system that has come to be accepted by 187 countries. The Indian and Pakistani tests were a serious violation of the regime and should not be tolerated.

The issue of the nuclear tests by India and Pakistan should be discussed critically, but the international community should not isolate the two countries; there must be a limit to economic sanctions against the two countries.

It would be difficult to force India and Pakistan to abolish nuclear weapons, but we require the means to prevent them from turning their nuclear capabilities into nuclear weapons, and to prevent them from deploying and using them.

It is necessary to build trust between the two countries and foster a dialog between them.

There are discriminatory elements in the NPT, but it has been useful in promoting nuclear non-proliferation. The treaty should be maintained and strengthened.

We should formulate a reliable system of verifying nuclear disarmament. At the same time, we should consider what to do with chemical and biological weapons, which are capable of mass destruction, as well as nuclear weapons.

❖ List of Participants ❖

Lt. Gen. Nishat Ahmad
President of the Institute of Regional Studies, Pakistan

Dr. Zakaria Haji Ahmad
Professor & Coordinator of National University of Malaysia

Amb. Marcos de Azambuja
Ambassador of Brazil to France

Prof. Sergei Yevgen'evich Blagovolin
Vice President of World Economics and International Relations Institute, Russia

Amb. Emilio Jorge Cardenas
Executive Director of Hong-Kong and Shang-Hai Banking Corporation Roberts, Argentine Republic

Amb. Rolf Ekéus
Ambassador of Sweden to USA

Prof. Han Sung-Joo
Professor of Korea University, South Korea

Amb. Ryukichi Imai
Distinguished Scholar, Institute for International Policy Studies, Japan

Dr. Joachim Krause
Deputy Director of the Research Institute of the German Society for Foreign Affairs

Dr. Patricia Lewis
Director of UNIDIR, United Kingdom

Amb. Peggy Mason
Director of Council Development, Canadian Council for International Peace and Security

Dr. Joseph Nye, Jr.
Dean of JFK School of Government, Harvard University, USA

Prof. Robert O'Neill
Chichele Professor of the History of War, All Souls College, University of Oxford, Australia

Amb. Qian Jiadong
Senior Consultant of the China Institute for International Strategic Studies, China

Dr. Abdel Monem Said Aly
Director of Ahrum Center for Political and Strategic Studies, Egypt

Mr. Jasjit Singh
Director of the Institute for Defense Studies and Analyses, India

Amb. Nobuo Matsugana
President & Director of the Japan Institute of International Affairs, Japan

Yasushi Akashi
President of the Hiroshima Peace Institute, Japan

Global nuclear disarmament needs more attention

By Mitsuru Kurosawa

In aiming to agree on proposals for nuclear disarmament through discussions and exchanges of opinion, the Conference on Urgent Actions for Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament is truly epoch-making. The first meeting reportedly focused on non-proliferation, because it was held shortly after India and Pakistan conducted their nuclear tests. However, since the forum was proposed by the Japanese government, I hope it will go further than simply promote non-proliferation, and actually show the way toward the elimination of nuclear weapons.

It will be very difficult to reach agreement as long as some participants put their countries' national interests above all else. Proposals should be adopted on a majority vote; otherwise we may be destined to come up with stale and ambiguous proposals. In that sense, I am both apprehensive and hopeful about the forum's ability to produce effective proposals.

The forum has often been compared with the Canberra Commission on the Elimination of Nuclear Weapons, whose report drew a great deal of criticism from nuclear states. The report was instructive and contained clear, practical steps toward a nuclear-free world. A good idea would be for the forum to discuss issues left unresolved by the commission. It would also be beneficial if the forum could reach resolutions similar to those of the commission. By doing so, we will enhance the value of the original proposals.

I hope that participants at the second meeting in Hiroshima will have the chance to visit the Peace Memorial Museum and the A-bomb Dome, and to exchange views with the citizens of the city. The true destructive capability of nuclear weapons will become all the more apparent once the conference moves to Hiroshima.

Kurosawa is dean of the Osaka School of International Public Policy at Osaka University.

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Japan Must Reassert Leadership Role In Disarmament Movement

By Ryukichi Imai

"We can hardly overcome the pain and sorrow that come from remembering the damage an atomic bomb has inflicted on the city of Hiroshima. However, it is possible to offer a justification for the bomb; i.e. that it prevented a greater loss of life that would have resulted from a planned ground war on mainland Japan." These words were spoken by an American professor during a working group discussion at a disarmament conference organized in Hiroshima by the United Nations in 1991. As moderator of the working group, I warned him, saying "I know there is such a view, but those words are not appropriate at a conference like this." He seemed to understand what I meant.

When I was Japanese ambassador to the Conference on Disarmament about 15 years ago, Japan was a member of the so-called Western group of nations, holding position similar to those of the members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) through the Japan-U.S. security treaty. Indeed, Japan had often spoken as a representative of the Western alliance. I remember that I often found myself in a dilemma, working between Tokyo, satisfied with its three non-nuclear principles, and NATO, which held firm to its faith in the nuclear deterrence.

The destruction of Hiroshima was beyond description. However, the damage caused by Allied air raids to cities such as Dresden was no less painful for the Germans. A German ambassador once said that Japan was not the only country to have suffered in the war. I used to have difficulties in explaining Japan's non-nuclear policy to ambassadors from the Third World, who would say, "You have great cars, stereos and cameras. You must also have nuclear weapons of a high quality."

I want to use the above episodes to stress that Japan's nuclear policies are difficult for some countries to understand. It has been repeatedly asked whether Japan is preparing to use its large stock of plutonium to become a nuclear state. It may be natural for people to suspect that Japan is planning to go nuclear, since it is a technologically and economically advanced nation surrounded by three nuclear powers; the United States, China and Russia. But, I know most Japanese people are against the possession of nuclear weapons from the bottom of

their hearts. There would be few engineers willing to cooperate with a nuclear weapons developing program. Moreover, the people would never approve. And we explain that it is impossible to develop nuclear weapons from plutonium produced from light water reactors. But we are still faced with such comments as, "Just look at how Japan's national feeling has changed since the time of the Great East Asia Co-Prosperty Sphere."

Japan tends to shun a step-by-step approach to the resolution of the nuclear weapons issue and instead lump together the total processes of development from the weapons' structure and transportation to actual controls. But such ambiguous rallying calls as "No more bombs!" will hardly convince those who have been discussing the details of nuclear strategy, nuclear disarmament and arms control since the end of World War II.

It is natural that most Japanese are unable to participate in discussions on the concrete and incremental reduction of nuclear weapons from preventing nuclear proliferation to decreasing the number of nuclear warheads and eventually bringing about abolition. By concentrating only on the "good or bad" of possessing nuclear weapons, Japan has been left at a different level of discussion than most other countries.

The Japanese government expressed deep regret over the recent nuclear tests by India and Pakistan, and has decided to withhold part of its Official Development Aid to those countries. But it is still not clear what kind of reform within the international nuclear regime Japan really wants. The Conference on Urgent Actions on Nuclear Non-proliferation and Disarmament (Tokyo Forum) held in August was, I hope, at least a step forward.

One of the problems with agreements on nuclear disarmament the Partial Test Ban Treaty of 1963, the Non-proliferation Treaty and the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty of 1996 is that they have not defined terms such as nuclear explosion and nuclear weapons. Several efforts have been made, but no definitions have yet been found that do not cause confusion regarding tests for the peaceful use of atomic energy.

Because of this, sub-critical tests and explosive nuclear fusion experiments conducted by the United

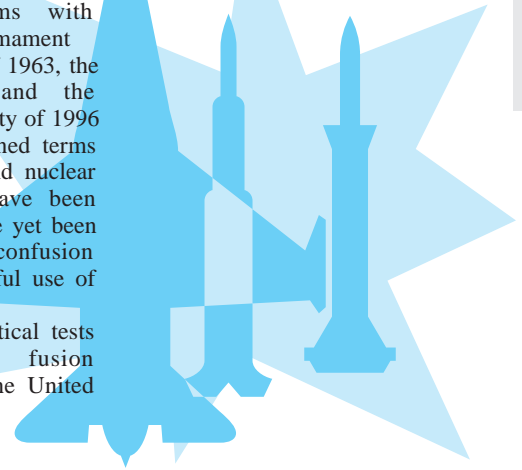
States are considered contraventions of the CTBT. And given that some of the nuclear tests conducted by India and Pakistan in May which were of sub-kiloton yield range of TNT were not detected by seismic monitoring devices, it may be impossible for the international community to detect similar tests in the future. Moreover, experts in the United States point out that simple model atomic bombs made from either uranium or plutonium can be assembled without the need for tests.

The Fissile Material Cut-off Treaty and no first-use policy are of great importance in disarmament negotiations following the conclusion of the CTBT, and we should intensify negotiations on those issues.

At the same time, we should also address the issue of dismantling nuclear warheads. This can be achieved by inspecting stockpiles, transporting and disassembling warheads in the United States and the former Soviet Union which together once possessed a stockpile of more than 60,000 and ensuring the safe transfer of enriched uranium and plutonium to atomic power plants for use as fuel. We should try to include France and China in this, because they disapproved of the NPT in its early stages, claiming it was inequitable. Whether they will cooperate in enforcing the treaty is still a delicate question. The same goes for India with regard to its participation in the CTBT.

Japan, as a nation that favors non-nuclear diplomacy, should seek concrete measures for the abolition of nuclear weapons and call on others to help it realize this aim. In that way, Hiroshima can also deserve the status of world peace capital it has been claiming.

Imai is a professor at Kyorin University graduate school.



Today's Disarmament Landscape

By Patricia Lewis

Despite significant progress over the last decade and recent progress on negotiations to ban fissile material for weapons purposes, arms control and disarmament face a deep crisis. The future path of disarmament negotiations is unclear and certain existing agreements are under threat.

The NPT, at the heart of the global nuclear non-proliferation regime and despite its unlimited extension in 1995, has been dramatically undercut by the declared and demonstrated capabilities of India and Pakistan in 1998.

The Indian and Pakistani nuclear tests symbolize the end of the "post-cold war" phase. It seems now to be pointless to try to resolve present dilemmas or predict future issues within the structures and practices of a bygone international order be that of the cold war or the post-cold war period.

The responses to the tests have been varied. They can be basically categorized into three groups: () in actuality little has changed, India and Pakistan have merely come out of the nuclear closet and we carry on as before; () the tests show that non-proliferation efforts can only fail, and so the response of the NWS should be to take heed, stop further reductions and shore up defenses; and () the tests show that efforts at non-proliferation and disarmament have to be redoubled so that a process of global nuclear disarmament will include all countries with nuclear weapons and nuclear-weapon capabilities and that we should begin now.

Failure to achieve further disarmament could result in disaster. The spread of WMD, leading to unprecedented regional instabilities with the increasing probability of actual use, demands that steps be taken to control and eliminate such weapon systems. These steps need to embrace the global and the regional aspects of security and as such the solutions need to be regional and global in their approach.

Collective security, through security assurances, regional cooperation and UN peace operations, development and human rights, would offer the most conducive framework to bringing about disarmament, and disarmament in turn could also encourage regional and global attempts to strengthen international security and legitimacy. The UN, as the depository of international legitimacy, and supporter of governmental disarmament activities has a central role to play.

The time when India and Pakistan have just decided to go openly nuclear may not appear as the most auspicious for

such thinking to take hold. But recent events in South Asia also provide a stark illustration of the risks involved in the opposite course of action. Failure to bring about nuclear disarmament has provided an excuse for certain countries to proliferate. Similarly, proliferation can provide justification for those who reject moves towards disarmament. This particular spiral of negative reinforcement needs to be stopped before it escalates again beyond control and produces another, although different, arms race.

Export controls (however necessary) can only delay the inevitable in the face of a determined proliferator. The speed of scientific advances and the rapidity of the spread of such knowledge and of its technical applications usually means that export controls are quickly out-of-date and the suppliers groups are often running just to stand still.

Small arms and light weapons have been a long-neglected area of arms control and disarmament. The attention that has increasingly been devoted to them in the last few years stems from a recognition that the ravages they cause are a daily reality in many regions, and one that not only threatens the very security of life and limb of some of the world's most destitute peoples, but also severely hampers any prospects for significant socio-economic development in states and regions affected by internal and trans-border strife. Responses to this recently acknowledged disarmament challenge remain in their infancy. There is in fact good reason to believe that the excessive accumulation and destabilizing impact of small arms does not lend itself to any single remedy. Rather, the issue is one that will need to be woven into a number of aspects of the foreign, defense and development policies of industrialized and developing states alike.

Certainly, the link between conventional arms including landmines and small arms and WMD ought to be acknowledged. Rather than such linkage being used as a way to prevent progress in one if there is no progress in the other, a more constructive approach would be to see that progress in one would inevitably lead to progress in the other purely because of the inherent linkages. Control of, say, small arms or larger conventional weapons could lead directly to reductions in nuclear weapons. The spectrum of weaponry is a continuum with nuclear weapons at one end (with the potential for killing millions of people and completely destroying civilizations) and small arms at the other end (which are currently killing

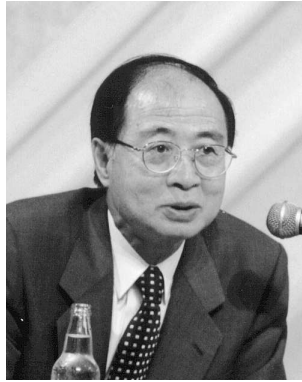
millions of people and destroying societies and nations). Begin to unravel one end of this spectrum of violence and chances are that the rest will be easier to undo.

It remains to be seen whether the established structures, such as the CD can respond to these challenges. The multilateral disarmament agenda today is still based on the one crafted at the first UN Special Session on Disarmament in 1978. Twenty years on, it is surely long overdue for the disarmament vehicles to be taken for a collective service and maybe even for States to decide to trade them in for more up-to-date models, which are more suited to the times, run more efficiently, can carry a wider variety of cargo and, at the very least, start when the ignition key is turned.

It is now time to re-think and re-structure the whole disarmament and security agenda. Given the stalemate in the CD, the nuclear tests by India and Pakistan, and the difficulties exposed in the NPT PrepCom mechanism, now is the time for a complete reassessment. There is a need to weave together the issues and approaches to nuclear disarmament, small arms, the arms trade, biological and chemical weapons, landmines, new technologies, missile proliferation, fissile material production and so on.

A fourth Special Session on Disarmament, which could be structured so as to allow a complete overhaul of the disarmament agenda, could be one way forward. There is much, valid, opposition to such a session taking place if it is structured to achieve nothing. Too much time and taxpayers money can be wasted on large international conferences that achieve very little. On the other hand, much time and many taxes are being spent right now on the CD, on the UN Disarmament Commission and on the various other conferences and international assemblies that take place on disarmament, with little to show as a result. Perhaps, effort put into re-assessment would not go to waste if there is careful preparation and a strong will to bring about effective change. Without such determination, the disarmament landscape will continue to present a bleak picture.

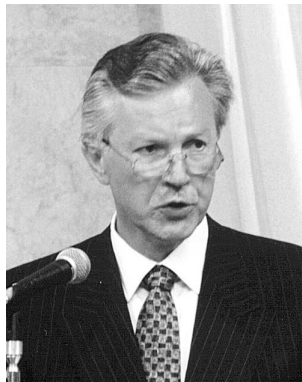
Lewis is director of the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR).



PRESIDENT AKASHI

The balance between small and large nations in a global relationship, power struggles, and the dignity and position of nations in an age where economies and the flow of information know no boundaries are important to any nation, but perhaps more so to a nation such as India. We must also bear in mind the fact that Pakistan chose to place greater importance on its national security and stock of nuclear weapons than on improving the standard of living of its poor. Our immediate task is to stop nuclear testing and prevent the accidental outbreak of a nuclear war. We must also continue our efforts to eradicate the causes of conflicts such as the one currently dogging Kashmir. We should also look at the different privileges enjoyed by large and small nations, the organization of the United Nations Security Council and the rectification of such disparities. All over the world, particularly in Northeast Asia and in the Middle East, there remains a deep mutual distrust among nations. Wrestling with such matters will also assist the cause of nuclear non-proliferation and continue to expedite nuclear disarmament. One of our most important tasks is to improve the present organization of the NPT and the CTBT. The NPT is an unfair treaty that clearly discriminates against the nuclear have-nots. But if there were no treaty, nuclear proliferation would continue unabated. So how can we improve the treaty? In the process of trying to eliminate nuclear weapons, we need to define our aims in specific terms. The tests conducted by India and Pakistan provide a good opportunity to shift our perspective and face the nuclear issue, and at the same time consider measures to deal with the current crisis.

Trying to move India and Pakistan into the NPT is, at least for the time being, a waste of time. Realistically, I believe the objective should probably be to stabilize nuclear competition in South Asia at the lowest possible level. On the other hand, it is fundamentally important to keep the NPT intact. And this is the first and foremost matter of implementing article VI of this treaty. This phase involves three specific measures: A test ban; a cut off, that is, ceasing the production of weapons grade material; and security assurances for non-nuclear states. Specific measures to eliminate nuclear weapons include the idea of storing weapons at a certain distance from delivery vehicles, and the signatures of India and Pakistani to the CTBT. In contemporary civil wars, small arms are the most lethal. Using development aid means conflict prevention and preventive action. West African countries are planning to declare moratoriums on the import, export and manufacture of small arms. At the same time, they have entered into dialogue with arms-exporting countries. New forms of violence have emerged from the civilian population, so it follows that they may be freely available. Groups wishing to hit other countries' values might be a political movement that uses violence, or a terrorist organization. There is no lack of demanding items on the security and disarmament agenda.



SVERRE LODGAARD

Lodgaard is director of the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs in Oslo and a member of the Security General Advisory Board on Disarmament Matters. Positions previously held include Director of European Security and Disarmament Studies at the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute and Director of the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research in Geneva.

I am convinced that there are no short cuts; we have to identify the political conditions that stand in the way of the phased reduction and elimination of the nuclear threat. And we have to work to change those political conditions to make them favorable for the phased reduction and elimination of the nuclear threat. Let me give you five necessary political conditions that need to be in place for us to succeed. First, we have to reduce the perceived utility value of those weapons. We have to diminish their military utility. Second, we need to secure improved relations between the United States and Russia. If we fail to do that, we will fail to bring about nuclear disarmament. Third, the five permanent members of the UN Security Council should have closer working relations. At some stage, the current negotiations between the United States and Russia to reduce their nuclear arsenals need to include the other permanent members of the UNSC. Fourth, we have to strengthen the NPT and other non-proliferation arrangements that most countries adhere to. Fifth, we need to work together to resolve very difficult regional tensions step by step. We need to work together to make progress in reducing and eliminating nuclear weapons. The orthodox timetable to achieve this is eroding basic partnerships for disarmament. I think we should start by reminding ourselves that despite the difficulties, we have made unprecedented progress and can build on our successes by reaffirming the fundamental building blocks for success in progressively reducing and eliminating the nuclear threat. Those building blocks are the NPT, the CTBT, controls on dangerous exports, the negotiation of a cut-off treaty and negotiations to further reduce and move toward the elimination of strategic nuclear arsenals, indeed all nuclear arsenals. We need these building blocks.

CTBT membership, political dialog keys to preventing India-Pakistan N-arms race

Need for Realism Theme of HPI's Opening Symposium

Representatives from Japan, the United States and Norway discussed ways to prevent nuclear proliferation and promote further disarmament at a symposium titled "World Disarmament Issues Towards the 21st Century," held July 9 at the International Conference Center in Hiroshima.

At the symposium, which was held to mark the opening of the Hiroshima Peace Institute in April, participants reviewed efforts made by the international community under the Non-proliferation Treaty (NPT) regime and addressed nuclear tests conducted by India and Pakistan in May.

They stressed the importance of approaching problems realistically and progressively, and the need to shun idealism. They also agreed that Japan, as the only country to have experienced nuclear attacks, and non-governmental organizations should play a leading role.

Question & Answer

AKASHI: If tension is not relieved, then no country will implement disarmament measures. On the other hand, as long as we have military capabilities, no country really feels secure. How do we resolve this paradox? We probably have to take a parallel approach encompassing disarmament, security and the resolution of regional conflict. That may be the only way. What should the government of Japan do to achieve nuclear disarmament, and what can we do? You have emphasized the role of NGOs, but is it possible to follow the ban on land mines?

KREPON: I think Japan's role in promoting nuclear disarmament at the UN General Assembly is very welcome. I hope Japan will have creative ideas about how to resuscitate the conference on disarmament, perhaps through some non-negotiating formats, such as discussions on the political conditions necessary for phased nuclear arms reduction and disarmament. I see clear roles for Japanese NGOs in pushing this process forward, but they need to find a new mode of operation. It is no longer sufficient for NGOs to simply convene meetings of experts, to write essays and not to do other things. We have found that NGOs in today's environment need to be involved in training a new generation of analysts and advocates for disarmament, in applying the conclusions that they have reached and trying to make them happen.

LODGAARD: It is necessary to follow up what the Canberra Commission phrased as an input to the next UN special session on disarmament. And I think major Japanese input there in the form of a special commission to help prepare the agenda would be useful. I think there is a case for some Japanese involvement in security issues in the Persian Gulf, as well as arms control issues. In that part of the world there may be a need for an arbiter, a facilitator, coming in from a distance. This might be an opportunity for powerful NGOs and governmental agencies. With regard to the relationship between NGOs and governmental agencies, NGOs tend to follow their own schedule. On the other hand, the government is likely to be passive. Consequently it is difficult to cooperate, but it is possible to build a relationship that would lead to nuclear disarmament. So far disarmament has been treated as a matter of nuclear weapons and

delivery vehicles. But plutonium can be taken from delivery vehicles and then stored in the form needed to become part of a nuclear weapon. The International Atomic Energy Agency's statute has provisions for the establishment of an international plutonium storage regime. Japan, with the background that it has in the nuclear power industry and the problems it has with reprocessed plutonium, would be in a good position to make a contribution to the solution of all these problems. It would be wise to expand the UN arms register to include nuclear weapons.

AKASHI: The land mine treaty is complete. Is it possible to apply it to nuclear weapons?

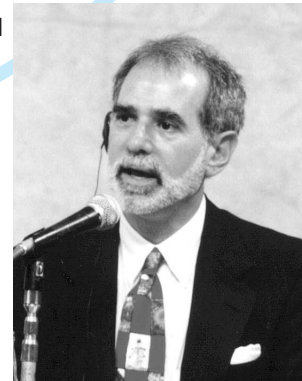
TANAKA: At the disarmament conference in Geneva, there was a heavy debate regarding land mines. There were many countries that felt the mines were vital in terms of national defense. But with the support of the public, the treaty was adopted. Land mines are completely different types of weapons (compared with nuclear weapons), but the enactment of the ban on land mines is a step toward nuclear disarmament. The success of the land mine ban will contribute to the process of total nuclear disarmament.

KREPON: Hiroshima recently sent a delegation to India and created a great deal of discomfort there. I think this is a wonderful role for the people of Hiroshima and Nagasaki to play, because the rest of the world needs discomfort. So you have contributed a great deal and I trust that you continue to contribute a great deal.

AKASHI: Today's discussion will not come to the end with this meeting. This symposium should be just another starting point. It really is easy to grieve or to be pessimistic about the current international situation, but we should not miss any opportunity to create a new international wave for disarmament, not only on a local level, but among peoples from all over the world. Thank you very much for your enthusiastic participation.

MICHAEL KREPON

Krepon is the president and cofounder of the Henry L. Stimson Center in Washington, D.C. The center conducts research and draws up policy suggestions on national and international security problems. He is a former consultant to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and to the Under-Secretary General of the UN for Disarmament Affairs.



The nuclear tests by India and Pakistan weakened, rather than enhanced their national security. The fact is that both countries, which have both been involved in conflicts in the past, have created greater instability in South Asia. To stabilize the region, both countries must join the CTBT and end their nuclear tests. Unlike the NPT, all nations participating in the CTBT have the same obligations, regardless of whether they possess nuclear weapons. I do not think that India and Pakistan would lose their national dignity by joining the CTBT. They would be in a similar situation to China, the United States and Russia in joining the treaty, so they would in fact enhance their national dignity. They will inevitably be subject to severe international sanctions if they do not take appropriate measures for domestic reasons. We may have to wait for a while for people in India and Pakistan to say which course they want their governments to take.



YOSHITOMO TANAKA

Tanaka is President of Radiopress, Inc. Positions previously held include Deputy Director-General for European and Oceanic, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Consul General in Sydney, Ambassador to Bangladesh, and Ambassador of Japan to the UN Conference on Disarmament.

The stage of nuclear development varies from country to country. The uses of nuclear weapons for political purpose may also differ because nuclear states' intentions and political situations are not always same. I did not always agree with the indefinite extension of the NPT. One of its harmful effects has already appeared. The number of nuclear states was declared at five by the NPT on Jan. 1, 1967, and it is impossible to take into account other developments because of the treaty's rigid framework. By contrast, the CTBT is rather ambiguous and leaves room for negotiation. I do not think that a country would take nuclear action because it has joined the CTBT while remaining outside the NPT. One way to resolve that problem is to make India and Pakistan join the CTBT. If the two countries show signs of wishing to join, we should do all we can to support their membership.



RYUKICHI IMAI

Imai is a professor at Kyorin University. He is also a counselor at the Atomic Energy Commission, a member of the board at the Institute for International Policy Studies, and a member of the governing board at the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute. Posts held previously include Ambassador of Japan to the UN Conference on Disarmament, and Ambassador to Mexico.

17th IPRA Focuses on Human Cooperation

By Omar Farouk

Every IPRA Conference is always special in its own right. The 17th General Conference of the International Peace Research Association held in Durban, South Africa, from 23 to 26 June 1998, was no exception. It was a very significant meeting for many reasons. In its 34-year history this was the first time that IPRA held its general conference on the African continent. The choice of the venue of the conference at Durban, Kwazulu Natal Province in South Africa, was also meaningful because the first South African Nobel Peace Laureate, Chief Albert Luthuli was born here and that it was also here that Mahatma Gandhi had his own experience of oppression when he was thrown out of a train. Today many followers of Gandhi are to be found in this province and his teachings continue to draw reverence. At the height of the civil conflict in South Africa, Kwazulu-Natal had been infamously referred to as the killing fields of South Africa. There was so much bloodshed and violence there in those years but ultimately it was the path of reconciliation and non-violence that triumphed in the province. Kwazulu-Natal, like the rest of South Africa, seems to be in the threshold of a peaceful transformation towards the goals of a stronger civil society. The relative peace and prosperity that now prevail in the province and the country offer a glimmer of hope to a continent still seriously threatened by ethnic conflict, political turmoil, war, poverty and marginalization.

It was without doubt a most appropriate move by IPRA to hold this eventful conference in Africa to re-focus our attention to the whole range of neglected issues in peace research such as human needs, truth and reconciliation and practical lessons in conflict management and to remind us of the bigger agenda that lie ahead as we prepare to enter the next millennium. The problems that Africans countenance are in many ways not dissimilar to the kind of problems that persistently threaten the rest of the human race albeit in their different forms.

But perhaps more importantly, this IPRA conference, although held in Africa, was actually not just about

Africa. Thus, the theme of the conference "meeting human needs in a cooperative world" underlined the need for global cooperation to tackle human problems in all their forms and manifestations.

One obvious strength of the conference was that it chose to look at peace in a comprehensive manner without losing its focus on the practical aspects of the problem. Most of the papers and presentations complemented each other in their emphasis on the urgency to address the issue of human needs in an environment of cooperation. Thus, the topics for discussion and debate at the plenary as well as the workshop, seminar and commission sessions, while touching on a wide spectrum of issues did not digress from the main theme of the conference. Some of the major issues that were addressed at the plenary sessions of the conference included the problems of North-South cooperation, globalization and its impact on the world community, reform of international institutions, human rights, military versus human security, conflict resolution and future challenges to peace research. In the Commission seminars, of which there were 13, a broader range of issues was addressed. At the opening session, Dr. Francis Deng, an African intellectual and former United Nations envoy on Displaced People, was given the honour to give the keynote address on the theme "Conflict Challenges at the close of the Twentieth Century".

Dr. Deng identified four problem areas which could be investigated and translated into policy, namely, 1) conflict and conflict resolution, 2) human rights, 3) democracy, and, 4) sustainable development. He eloquently argued that part of the African tragedy is that its vision of a state has been externalized to the extent that instead of reconceptualising to meet the demands of the changing times, the leaders of new states simply perpetuate colonial systems causing their governments to appear like a "foreign body". A major challenge facing African governments therefore is how to manage diversities in a creative way in order to involve people in a positive way in governance and to re-apportion responsibilities in a fair and equitable manner. His lucid

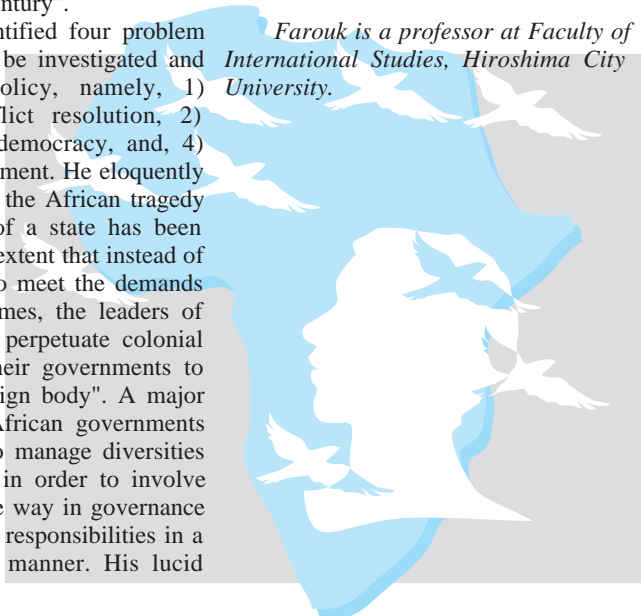
remarks on Africa are equally relevant to many nations now in crisis across the globe.

A major concern of IPRA at this conference was to try to relate peace research to the practical situation. The idea of pure and esoteric research has apparently given way to research involving policy proposals and practical solutions to problems. The conference clearly underlined the need for peace research to produce immediate results.

The 17th IPRA General Conference was also special because, for the first time in its history, the selection of speakers in all the sessions was done in such a way as to give greater prominence to the role of the participants from the South. This was one IPRA conference that gave a major platform to speakers from the non-western world. But yet this was also a very well represented forum for peace researchers from all over the world.

The venue for the 18th IPRA, which is now scheduled for the year 2000 has yet to be decided but it seems that Britain and Macedonia have expressed interest to host the conference. As it is going to be the last conference in this millennium, its significance cannot be underestimated. Nevertheless, one thing which is almost certain is that, like the 17th IPRA, the 18th IPRA General Conference will almost certainly be another special event in the future peace research calendar.

Farouk is a professor at Faculty of International Studies, Hiroshima City University.



HPI Invites Experts to Workshops

Four distinguished experts in disarmament and national security gave lectures at two workshops organized by HPI. Following are reports on the lectures compiled by HPI researchers. The first lecture, titled "CTBT Negotiation and the Treaty's Problems," was given by Toshitaka Takeuchi, an associate professor at Osaka University of Foreign Studies, on May 29. Three others, "Nuclear Abolition," by Prof. Tetsuya Umemoto of Shizuoka University; "The Security of Non-nuclear States," by Shinichi Ogawa, a researcher at the National Institute for Defense Studies; and "Nuclear Disarmament and Japan's National Security," by Satoshi Morimoto, a researcher at Nomura Research Institute, were given on July 1.

Difficulties of nuclear negotiations

In his lecture, Prof. Takeuchi, who participated in Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty negotiations in Geneva as a special assistant to Japanese representatives at the Conference on Disarmament, outlined important issues in negotiations and the standpoints of participating nations.

India, for example, wanted to include the abolition of nuclear weapons within a given time frame worked into the treaty. The parties were also divided on what should be included in Article I of the treaty, which specifies which activities are covered by the CTBT.

In a draft of the treaty, nuclear explosions of any type were banned. China, however, insisted that "peaceful" nuclear explosions be permitted. It agreed to review its stance on the issue in the future in accordance with Article XIII of the CTBT.

Nonaligned nations called for a blanket ban on all forms of nuclear testing. However, others pointed out that a ban on sub-critical testing would require inspections of university laboratories all over the world. Even if that were possible, there would still be difficulties agreeing on a working definition of the word "testing."

It has been almost impossible to enforce the provisions of the treaty because they require the ratification of the so-called P8—the nuclear states, the threshold states of India, Pakistan and Israel—and 36 other countries. The treaty is meaningless if it cannot prevent nuclear testing by those countries. To remedy the situation, various proposals were made, but then withdrawn, symbolizing the complex nature of nuclear negotiations.

By **Kazumi Mizumoto**

Stepping stones toward disarmament

Workshop participants discussed the history of the debate surrounding nuclear disarmament, the Indian and Pakistani challenge to the Non-Proliferation Treaty regime which places P5 nations at an advantage and new approaches to the disarmament issue.

There was general agreement that the current NPT regime should remain in place, and that efforts should be made to fully implement the CTBT. There were also calls for immediate negotiations on the cutting off of fissile material and the banning of nuclear test data.

The workshop concluded that the P5 nations should be persuaded to unilaterally make no-first-use declarations and promote reduction of nuclear weapons to enhance security itself.

To achieve the above aims, the workshop agreed that more needed to be done to create an international environment conducive to disarmament. This would involve P5 nations and Japan doing more than before to maintain stability in Asia.

By **Ikuko Togo**



HPI Announces Research Themes

The Hiroshima Peace Institute will concentrate on the following four research themes during the three years following its establishment in April: The research will be conducted by project teams comprising several researchers and experts from around the world.

The themes are as follows:

1. The processes of abolishing nuclear weapons.
2. The easing of tensions, the formulation of confidence-building measures and disarmament in Northeast Asia.
3. United Nations peacekeeping operations and humanitarian assistance.
4. A feasibility study into setting up a disarmament database.

The institute has also identified the following eight themes it intends to tackle in the future:

1. The verification of disarmament.
2. An all-round approach for preventive diplomacy in regional conflicts.
3. The construction of peace after conflicts.
4. The formation of public opinion for peace.
5. Human rights and peace.
6. The problems of small arms and light weapons, and ammunition registration systems.
7. The problems of democratization in the post-Cold War era.
8. International research on damage caused by nuclear radiation.

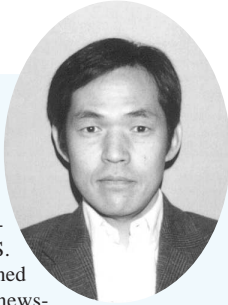
The results of the research will be made public through workshops, lectures and symposiums. At a press conference held at Hiroshima City Hall on July 17, HPI President Yasushi Akashi said the institute should strive to come up with concrete proposals through its research. "We would like to produce the kinds of results that will be taken up by politicians when making policy," he said.

Hello from HPI

Following are brief introductions to three researchers currently working at the Hiroshima Peace Institute

Kazumi Mizumoto

Associate Professor



Specializes in security studies and U.S. Japan relations. He joined the Asahi Shimbun newspaper after graduating from the Department of Politics in the Law Faculty of Tokyo University in 1981. He took a Master's degree at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy in 1989 before becoming the newspaper's Los Angeles bureau chief. Born in Hiroshima in 1957.

"Since studying the issues of A-bomb victims and Korean survivors of the bombing of Hiroshima during my high school days, I have come to regard the A-bomb and the need for peace as my life's work. After watching Hiroshima from the outside for 20 years, I feel I have finally returned to the starting point."

Ikuko Togo

Lecturer



Specializes in the international politics of East Asia and U.S. foreign policy (particularly human rights diplomacy). Studied at Waseda University and the Graduate School of Law and Politics at Tokyo University, where she was also a Ph.D. candidate. Togo was a Rotary Ambassadorial Scholar graduate student in the Department of Government at the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, Harvard University (1996-1997). Born in Hiroshima.

"A peaceful world where human rights are respected and nuclear weapons a thing of the past is the ultimate ideal for all human beings. I will endeavor through my research to find ways of achieving that ideal while bearing in mind the realities of international society."

Nobumasa Akiyama

Research Associate



Specializes in international relations and Japanese foreign policy. Studied at Hitotsubashi University, Cornell University and Oxford University. The theme of his research is the relationship between economic cooperation and Japan's post-Cold War contribution to international society. Born in Fuji, Shizuoka Prefecture, in 1967.

"In order to enhance the process of nuclear disarmament, it is essential to create and maintain an international environment in which containment strategies involving nuclear arms are neither rational nor effective. I would like to conduct policy-oriented research into Japan's role in creating such an environment. I would also like to explore confidence-building measures through cooperation in the areas of nuclear management and the sharing of information on nuclear policies, as well as in the resolution of regional conflicts."



DIARY

Apr. 1 - Sep. 30, 1998

Time for a new approach to human rights in Asia

By Ikuko Togo

The issue of human rights in Asia has been watched with keen interest by the world since the suppression of democracy activists by the Burmese military junta in 1988 and the Tiananmen Square massacre in China in 1989.

After Burma and China were subjected to sanctions and severely criticized by many Western nations, some Asian countries, particularly those belonging to the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), argued that the Western approach to human rights was unsuitable for Asia, and that for economic development to continue, some forms of oppression might be inevitable. They insisted that the region had its own set of "Asian values." Former Singapore Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew became one of the most outspoken advocates of Asian values in the fields of human rights and economic development.

During the Seminar to Commemorate the 50th Anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights held Aug. 15, attention focused on the contribution to the debate of the so-called Singapore School. During discussions, advocates of the school's ideas acknowledged that they had been too defensive in their attitude toward Western critics, and agreed that more should be done to promote multicultural human rights.

About 300 people, including students, members of the media and foreign ambassadors, attended the seminar. While recognizing diversity of cultures and stages of development in Asia, many participants agreed that more effort should be made to promote human rights in the region.

1 July

Hiroshima Peace Institute opening ceremony

9 July

Hiroshima Peace Institute Opening Symposium "World Disarmament Issues; Towards the 21st Century," at Hiroshima International Conference Center

17 July

Research theme announcement at press conference

4 August

President Akashi attends in the International Symposium and Lectures "Our Role in Eliminating Nuclear Weapons" sponsored by Asahi Shimbun, Hiroshima City and HPCF

15 August

President Akashi and Togo attend "Seminar to Commemorate the 50th Anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights" in Singapore organized by the United Nations Association of Singapore

30-31 August

1st Conference on Urgent Actions on Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament

8 ~ 17 September

President Akashi visits the United States

25 September

President Akashi attends the Research Committee on International Affairs of the House of Councilors as a witness

1 April

Hiroshima Peace Institute opening ceremony

30 April

1st hearing for research themes

1 May

President Akashi meets with representatives of 7 organizations of A-bomb survivors

15 May

2nd hearing for research themes

26 May

Inauguration lecture by President Akashi "Towards the 21st Century; Challenge to Peace and Japanese Role," sponsored by Hiroshima Peace Culture Foundation (HPCF) and HPI

27 May

3rd and 4th hearings for research themes

29 May

Workshop

4 June

President Akashi attends the 4th UN Symposium on North East Asia in Kanazawa, sponsored by UN Association of Japan

11 June

President Akashi attends the Committee on Foreign Affairs and Defense of the House of Councilors as a witness

14 June

Hiroshima Peace Institute Advisory meeting

16 ~ 23 June

President Akashi and Mizumoto visit the United States

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