

From Peace on the Korean Peninsula to a Northeast Asia Nuclear Weapon Free Zone (NEA-NWFZ)

P3+3 COALITION FOR NEA-NWFZ

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[HTTP://WWW.RECNA.NAGASAKI-U.AC.JP/RECNA/EN-TOP](http://www.recna.nagasaki-u.ac.jp/recna/en-top)

Nuclear Nightmare to Historic Dialogue and back to..



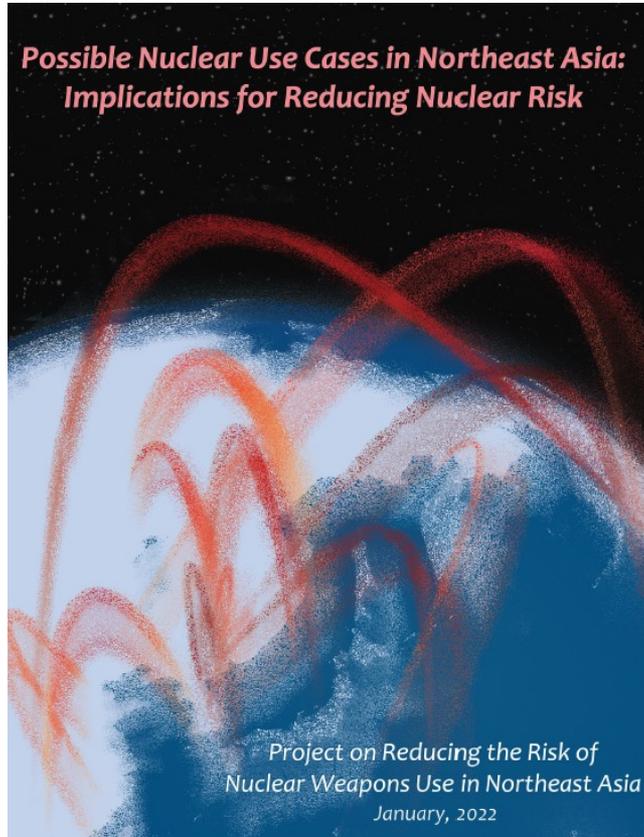
2016/05/28 <http://www.economist.com/printedition/2016-05-28>



2018/06/16

<https://www.economist.com/printedition/2018-06-16>

Possible Nuclear Use Cases in Northeast Asia: Implications for Reducing Nuclear Risk (2022)



- Collaboration between RECNA, Nautilus Institute and Asia Pacific Leadership Network for Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament (APLN).
- 25 “plausible cases” involving nuclear weapon use in the region.
- Possible implications include:
 - “Unintended” use of nuclear weapons
 - Huge uncertainty after the first use of nuclear weapons
 - Constant communications among nuclear weapon states are essential to reduce nuclear risk.

https://www.recna.nagasaki-u.ac.jp/recna/bd/files/Year_1_NU-NEA_Report_E_220128-1.pdf

A proposal from RECNA (2015)

A Comprehensive Approach towards to a Northeast Asia Nuclear Weapon Free Zone (NEA-NWFZ)

http://www.recna.nagasaki-u.ac.jp/recna/bd/files/Proposal_E.pdf

Proposal:

A Comprehensive Approach
to a Northeast Asia Nuclear Weapon-Free Zone



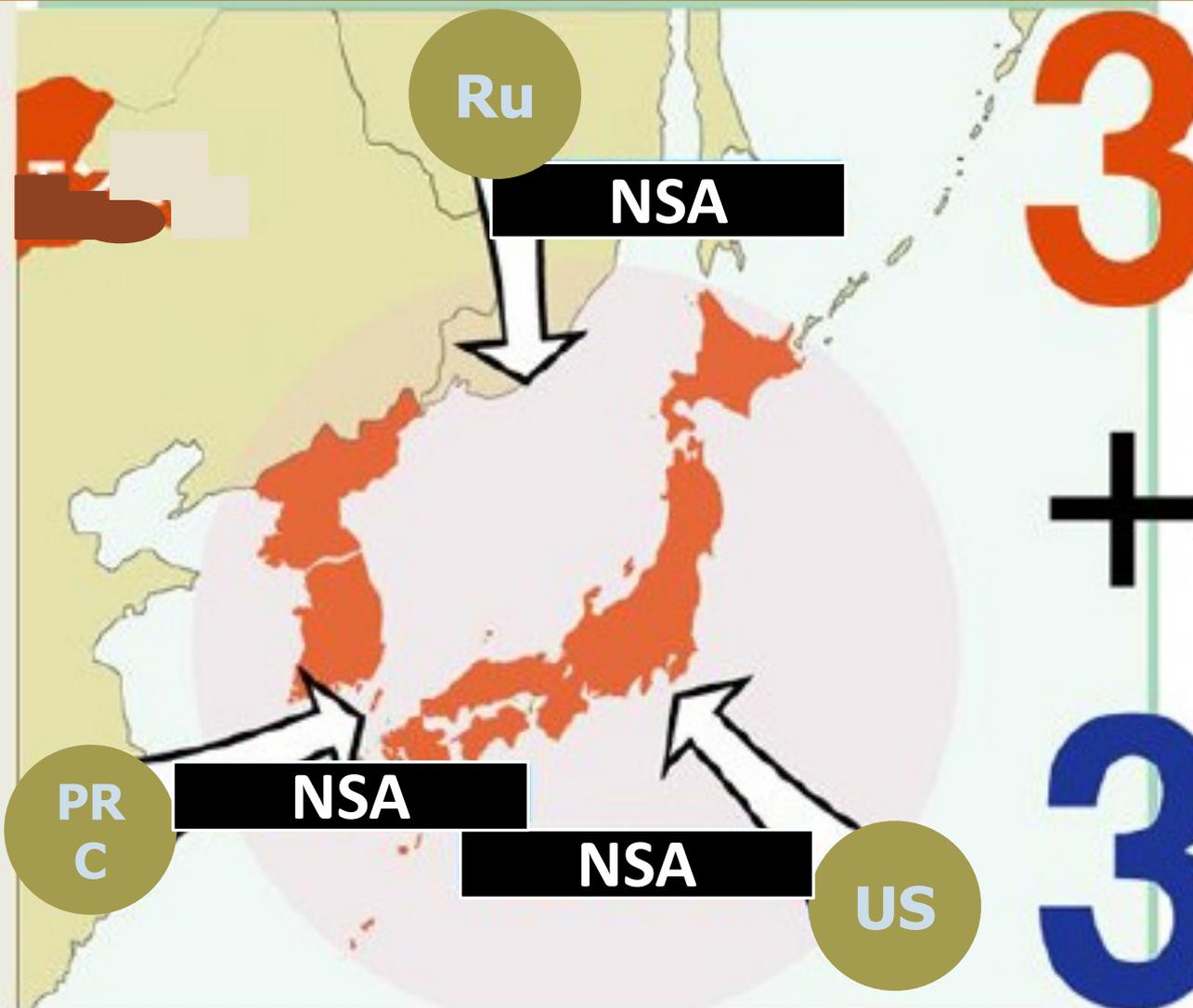
March, 2015

Research Center for Nuclear Weapons Abolition,
Nagasaki University (RECNA)

“Comprehensive Framework Agreement(CFA) for the Denuclearization of Northeast Asia”

1. Declare **to terminate the Korean War** and provide for mutual non-aggression, friendship, and equal sovereignty among CFA state parties.
2. Assure **equal rights to access all forms of energy** including nuclear energy.
 - Establish a Northeast Asia Energy Cooperation Committee
3. Agree on a treaty to establish a **Northeast Asia Nuclear Weapon Free Zone (NEA-NWFZ)**.
 - Obligated to join the Chemical Weapons Convention, while protect the right of signatory states for peaceful space exploration
4. Establish a **permanent Northeast Asia Security Council** To ensure implementation of the CFA and to serve as a platform for discussions involving various NEA security issues.

NEA-NWFZ with Three plus Three Structure



**Non-nuclear States
Comprise of a
NWFZ (Intra-
zonal States)**

**Nuclear Weapon
States Provide
Negative Security
Assurances**

A Nuclear Weapon Free Zone (NWFZ), A Possible Answer

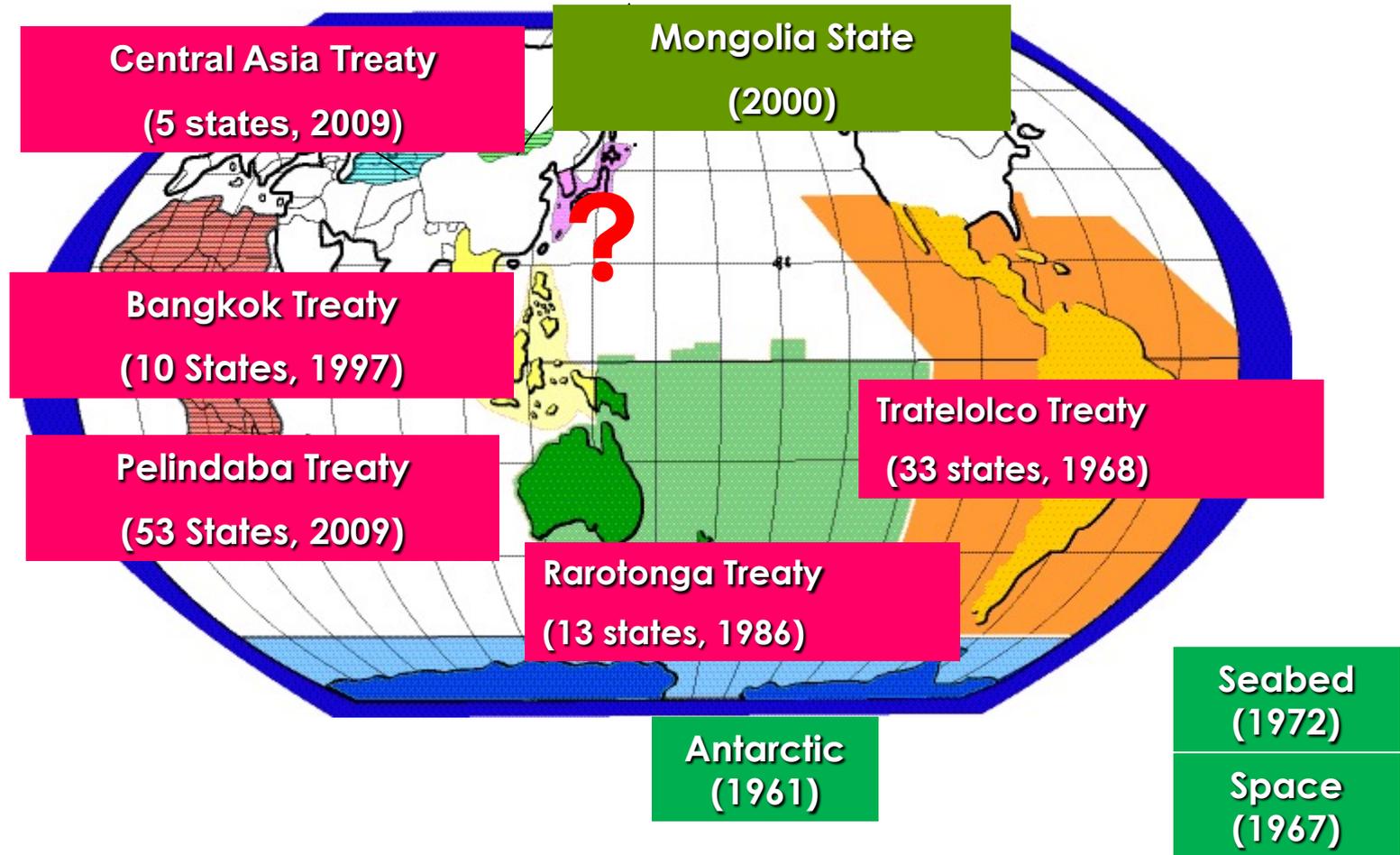
Three Basic Elements of A NWFZ (UNGA Res 3472 B, 1975)

1. Total Absence of Nuclear Weapons
2. Establishment of International (Regional) System of Verification and Control
3. Obligation of NWS to Provide Negative Security Assurances (NSA)



**A Regional Security System without
depending upon Nuclear Weapons**

Nuclear Weapon Free Zones



Nuclear Weapon States and NWFZ

Only US out of 5 NWS has not ratified.

Mongolia State
(2000)

Central Asia Treaty
(5 states, 2009)



All 5 NWS have not signed nor ratified.

Bangkok Treaty
(10 States, 1997)

All 5 NWS
ratified

Trateloico Treaty
(33 states, 1968)

Pelindaba Treaty
(53 States, 2009)

Only US has not ratified

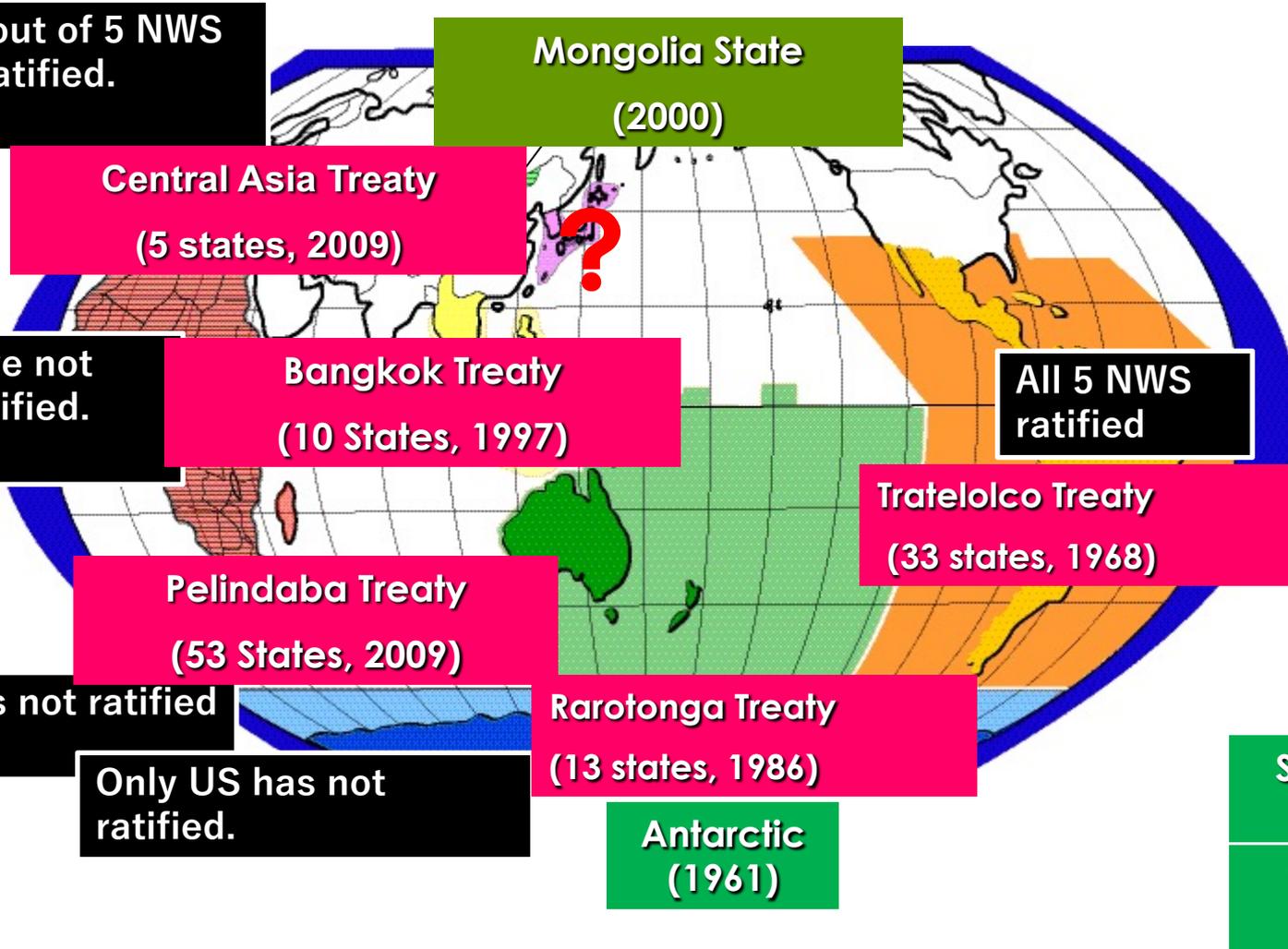
Rarotonga Treaty
(13 states, 1986)

Only US has not
ratified.

Antarctic
(1961)

Seabed
(1972)

Space
(1967)



Which is majority?

All NWFZs combined	84 million km2	114 states	39% of world population
Nuclear Armed States	41.4 million km2	9	47% of world population
Neither Nuclear Armed States nor NWFZs	24 million km2	74	14% of world population

Sejong Institute – RECNA policy proposal “Peace on the Korean Peninsula to a Northeast Asia Nuclear Weapon Free Zone” (2019/9)

<http://www.recna.nagasaki-u.ac.jp/recna/bd/files/Policy-Proposal-2019.pdf>

1. End Goals for Northeast Asian Regional Security
2. Peace and Security in the Korean Peninsula
3. Dual-Track Approach to Establishing Both a Comprehensive Security Framework and a Nuclear Weapon Free Zone in Northeast Asia
 1. Comprehensive Security Framework
 2. Nuclear Weapon Free Zone in Northeast Asia
4. Developing regional and International Support for a Northeast Asia NWFZ in the Context of a Comprehensive Security Framework
5. Japan and the ROK: Possible Actions

(Proposal) Northeast Asia Nuclear Weapon Free Zone(NEA-NWFZ)

1. Establish a legally binding Northeast Asia Nuclear Weapon Free Zone Treaty (NWFZ)
2. Design of NEA-NWFZ to address the specific nature of existing and potential nuclear threats within the region through the following provisions and measures
3. **The two Koreas, Japan, and Mongolia hold a regional summit to discuss a regional road map for denuclearization, non-proliferation, and reduction of nuclear risks in Northeast Asia**
4. **Confidence- and trust-building approaches to maximize the prospects for successful negotiation of regional denuclearization and the conclusion of a legally binding NWFZ treaty**
5. Further research to assist policy development and negotiation of a regional Northeast Asia NWFZ

Japan and the ROK: Possible Actions

1. Japan should initiate direct dialogue with the DPRK
2. The ROK should prevent military exercises and drills from escalating to political conflicts that damage the overall process of implementing the 2018 ROK-DPRK summit joint declarations
3. Japan and the ROK should reexamine security policy dependent on nuclear extended deterrence and explore an alternative security policy built on the new regional security regime proposed here
4. The ROK and Japan reestablish bilateral (ROK-Japan) and trilateral (ROK-Japan-US) policy-coordinating frameworks to pursue and substantiate “Complete Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula” in a final, fully verifiable manner
5. The ROK and Japan should be prepared to multilateralize the peace and denuclearization process in Northeast Asia after a critical give-and-take deal is concluded in the US-DPRK negotiations and is implemented in a parallel, simultaneous-action manner by the US and the DPRK
6. Japan and the ROK should consider joint collaborative projects to reduce nuclear threats during the denuclearization process such as “cooperative threat reduction” initiatives, addressing also the safety and security risks of civilian nuclear fuel cycle programs in the region.

Implications of Ukrainian Crisis for NE Asia: Avoiding Nuclear Domino

- Did Ukraine make a mistake giving up “nuclear weapons” stationed in Ukraine after the end of Cold War?
- Remarks by conservative politicians and security experts in Japan and in ROK for “nuclear sharing” or acquisition of its own nuclear weapons (in responding to Russian nuclear threats against Ukraine).
- DPRK, learning from Ukrainian Crisis, strengthens its belief that nuclear deterrence is essential against nuclear threats posed by US.



- **NWFZ, which can provide legally binding negative security assurance, can provide an alternative to security policy dependent on nuclear deterrence as well as possible base for regional security arrangement.**

TPNW and NWFZ

- Idea of NWFZ emerged as a response to lack of legally binding “negative security assurances” scheme under the NPT.
- TPNW, even if it were universally adopted and implemented, will be an effective treaty for nuclear disarmament as Michael Hamel-Green argues as follows:

“NWFZs would still need to play a key role in regional zone measures to complement central measures of verification, compliance; to create regional security forums and governance pursuing cooperative security rather than arms racing; and to address the need for linkage to wider zonal bans on all kinds of weapons of mass destruction”

- Michal Hamel-Green, “The Implications of the 2017 UN Nuclear Prohibition Treaty for Existing and Proposed Nuclear Weapon-Free Zones”, *Global Change, Peace and Security*, Vol. 30, No 2, pp.209-232, 2018.

Lessons from Mongolia and Kazakhstan

- Mongolia's two decades of talks with the P5 showed that *perseverance, persistence and clear articulation of one's interest, looking at larger pictures, timing, underlining of the relevance of the issue for others are factors that can lead to agreements...* It has demonstrated that *optimistic approach to issues is important since the power of positive thinking provides energy and search for sustainable credible solutions.*
 - Amb. Enkhsaikhan Jargalsaikhan, "Time to untap the full potential of NWFZs", March 2022.
- In order to avoid possible conflict with the **Tashkent Treaty**, agreement between Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Armenia, Belarus and Russia, NWFZ Treaty include the following para;
 - The new *Treaty does not "affect the rights and obligations of the parties under other international treaties,"* and "the parties should take all necessary measures to effectively implement the new treaty in accordance with its main principles"
 - Togzhan Kassenova, "Atomic Steppe; How Kazakhstan Gave Up the Bomb", 2022, p.248.

Conditions for establishing NWFZ

Hypotheses by Dr. E. Lacovsky: **A NWFZ is more likely to be achieved;**

1. When **regional states values common security** to deal with concerns about nuclear weapons generated either by intraregional dynamics or by external regional actors and threats.
2. When **liberal conditions exist in the region**, including democratic regimes, regional institutions, and regional economic cooperation.
3. When **one or more regional powers exercise regional leadership and take the initiative** of creating a regional security regime within this framework.
4. When **states in regions seek to increase their non-proliferation commitments**, behave in conformity with non-proliferation norms, and be rule makers in their regions in relation to the non-proliferation regime.

- Exequiel Lacovsky, *“Nuclear Weapons Free Zones: A Comparative Perspective”*, Routledge Global Security Studies, 2021.

Pugwash Conference: Note on NEA-NWFZ (2021/01/20)

<https://pugwash.org/2021/01/20/note-on-nea-nwfz/>

1. **Confirm the significance of the Singapore Joint US-DPRK Statement in 2018**
2. **Following the Singapore Statement, declare ending the Korea War and negotiate a peace treaty with DPRK**
3. **Negotiate a phased denuclearization of DPRK with legally binding verification and security assurance scheme, possibly under a NWFZ Treaty in Korean Peninsula, and eventually NWFZ in Northeast Asia (including Japan and possibly Mongolia)**
4. **Establish a regional security framework to discuss possible disarmament and confidence building measures in the region.**

APLN Recommendations for Improving Security Cooperation in NE Asia (2022)

1. Regional security cooperation should be expanded via existing institutions, fora, and multilateral arrangements via an **‘ecosystem approach’**. Issue areas where there is common ground and the barriers to cooperative action are relatively low, such as transboundary environmental risks, should be tackled first.
2. The eco-system approach to regional security-building is a **long-term project and should be supplemented by initiatives that can help manage the most intractable and politically sensitive regional security challenges**, such as arms racing dynamics and managing crises. Where it is not immediately possible to address these effectively at the Track 1 level, **informal regional dialogue should be pursued via Track 1.5, Track 2 and civil society initiatives**.

<https://www.apln.network/projects/northeast-asian-security-architecture/policymakers-and-experts-endorse-recommendations-for-security-cooperation>

Conclusions

- **“Nuclear nightmare” is coming back in Northeast Asia and we need to revitalize strategies to reduce and eventually eliminate nuclear risks in the region. Given the Ukraine crisis, an alternative security framework not depending on nuclear deterrence is now even more needed.**
- **“3+3 NEA-NWFZ” with comprehensive security framework in Northeast Asia could provide an alternative to current security policy dependent on nuclear deterrence.**
- **S. Korea and Japan are in a position to make collaborative efforts to facilitate political process to achieve NEA-NWFZ and new security framework in the region.**
- **Collaboration between civil society, including parliamentarian, and policy makers can play important roles in pursuing regional security and nuclear-free-NEA.**

감사합니다
有難う
Thank you
