



Peace Depot Newsletter

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NAC (The New Agenda Coalition) and Japan

— Emergence of a Dynamic Interaction Between the Japanese Government and NGOs on Nuclear Disarmament

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A new and potentially promising dimension in the dynamics of the interaction between Japanese citizens and the Government regarding the nuclear disarmament policy of Japan is emerging. This change is an outcome of the courageous joint statement of June 9, 1998 by the now seven-nation New Agenda Coalition (NAC) for nuclear disarmament.

It was a pity, but by no means surprising to most Japanese people, that the Japanese Government refused to join the NAC when it was kindly invited to do so. If the refusal had happened in a different international environment regarding the nuclear issue, such news would have disappeared without drawing any further attention, even in the disarmament activists' circle in Japan. However, it happened just after the series of nuclear tests by India and Pakistan, and the Japanese Government, responding to the strong public call in Japan, had already committed itself to an initiative for enhanced efforts toward nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament.

Specifically, then Foreign Minister and now Prime Minister of Japan, Keizo Obuchi, proposed an international conference to address the new global implication of nuclear proliferation in South Asia. Initially, the conference was named the "Conference on Urgent Action for Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament," but was later changed to the "Tokyo Forum on Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament" at its first

meeting. Dropping the words "urgent" and "actions" from the conference title might be seen as a substantial retreat in the determination of the Japanese Government to expedite nuclear disarmament. The Tokyo Forum plans four meetings with eighteen experts as commissioners. The Forum is sponsored by two non-governmental institutions — The Japan Institute of International Affairs, affiliated with the Japan Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) and the Hiroshima Peace Institute. The MOFA serves as the conference secretariat.

The first and second in the series of four meetings took place on August 30-31, 1998 in Tokyo, and on December 18-19, 1998 in Hiroshima. Reportedly, the third will be held in New York in April next year. It has been announced that the final report of the commission will be issued in July next summer.

NGOs in Japan, as well as in many different parts of the world, welcomed Japan's initiative, but at the same time, they were aware that the majority of past conferences convened by the Japanese Government had only provided opportunities for discussions by officials and experts, but lacked resolute political direction from the Japanese Government. Given the

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urgency of issues confronting humanity, NGOs believed the Tokyo Forum had to be different from those earlier efforts. Therefore, an international NGO letter to the Foreign Minister of Japan was organized to address such concerns and to ask Japan to assume bold leadership in the Tokyo Forum, reminding Japan that it has a special responsibility to human kind as it is the only nation victimized and devastated by nuclear bombing in a war. Accordingly, the steps that the NGO letter asked Japan to undertake included that Japan should express its support for the NAC initiatives.

In combination with the international NGO letter, a broad coalition of local citizens from various Japanese NGOs organized public counter-conferences in both Tokyo and Hiroshima. In Tokyo, the "Citizens' Conference on Urgent Actions — Abolish Nuclear Weapons Now!" was held on August 29, with a guest speaker from the Abolition 2000 Interim Coordinating Committee. The MOFA was requested to send an official to the panel of the conference. After a lengthy negotiation, MOFA accepted the request, even given that all other panelists were from anti-nuclear organizations including Abolition 2000 and Hidankyo (Hibakusha's National Federation). Such an appearance of a MOFA official on an NGO anti-nuclear discussion panel was an historical first in Japan. Hiro Umebayashi, executive director of Peace Depot, moderated the discussion.

Under such national and international pressure by NGOs, the MOFA official Yasunari Morino explained publicly why Japan refused to join the New Agenda Coalition, when asked about the reason at the conference. The crucial point of the Government official has turned out to be related to the request for legally binding instruments for no-first-use among nuclear weapon states and for non-use or threat of use of nuclear weapons against non-nuclear-weapon states, both requests which appear in the NAC joint statement. The Japanese Administration believes that such an undertaking by the United States may jeopardize Japan's security, especially in relation to the potential of chemical and biological attack by North Korea. The Government's view caught most Japanese disarmament workers, not to mention the general public, by surprise because the overall understanding of the Japanese Government's nuclear weapon policies has been that they came from the mandates of the broad U.S.-Japan security relationship, not from the specific local security considerations of Japan. This may appear to be simplistic understanding but this has been the widely-held view. Now that citizens are aware of this different rationale which implies the possible use of nuclear weapons against North Korea, a logical question must be asked of the MOFA: "Is Japan thinking of causing the birth of new hibakusha in Pyongyang despite Japan's knowledge

of what happened to hibakusha in Japan?"

More deliberation will be necessary to determine to what extent Japan's notion about the U.S. first use of nuclear weapons and such as the North Korean threat is true and to what extent it is merely an excuse to cover a hidden motivation such as US pressure or a lack of diligent deliberation by the Japanese Government. Nevertheless, MOFA's revelation is very significant in that it gives citizens a better knowledge of the Government thinking and will aid them in their future discussions with the Government. As is well known, there has been a striking division between Japanese citizens' strong anti-nuclear sentiments and the passive policies exhibited by Japanese officials in international nuclear disarmament negotiations and discussions. It is surmised that this is mostly because there has been very little open debate on the security aspects of the nuclear weapon policy of Japan. However, that situation is now going to change.

The dialogue between NGOs and the Administration continued in Hiroshima when Hiroshima and Nagasaki citizens held a conference entitled, "Hiroshima and Nagasaki Citizens' Conference for Abolition of Nuclear Weapons" in Hiroshima on December 12, 1998 to prepare their recommendation to the second Tokyo Forum. The same MOFA official attended this conference and was asked questions by hibakusha and others one after another. Specifically in this case, the Government policy of "ultimate" elimination of nuclear weapons and the lack of protests by the Government against subcritical nuclear tests were highlighted.

Some of the hibakusha asked what was the Government's definition of "ultimate" elimination which had been included in the title of the well-known UN resolution presented by Japan every year recently as it could also imply allowing the "eternal" existence of nuclear weapons. Mr. Morino responded that like the citizens the MOFA shared the spirit of immediate elimination of nuclear weapons, but such a proposal would not be accepted in international negotiations and that the MOFA was doing its best to propose the most advanced possible measures. Most of the audience was unsatisfied with the response, and some asked why Japan didn't protest US and Russian subcritical tests. Mr. Morino then responded that those tests do not violate the CTBT and that they are intended only to maintain the safety and reliability of the current arsenals and not to modernize or upgrade nuclear weapons. Then the audience asked: "Have you been given any evidence by the United States to prove what you say?" He replied, "No comment."

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Some Items from the recent issues of NWNTM

(from August 1 to December 15, 1998)

Articles:

August Issues

- ◆ "Strategic Defense Review (SDR)" of the U.K. leaves much to be addressed
- ◆ Use of nuclear weapons and the other weapons of mass destruction were not explicitly included as war crimes in the Statute of the International Criminal Court (ICC)
- ◆ ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) must be monitored by citizens
- ◆ Council for Alternative Security in Asia and the Pacific (CASAP) was established, drafting a joint plan for withdrawal of U.S. military bases from the region
- ◆ Establishment of Ad Hoc Committee on Fissile Materials Cut-off Treaty (FMCT) was agreed at the Conference on Disarmament (CD)

September Issues

- ◆ China raised the issue of Theater Missile Defense (TMD) at CD, suggesting draft bill on Situations in Areas Surrounding Japan to increase regional tension
- ◆ Mayor of Nagasaki follows Hiroshima in calling for security without nuclear umbrella
- ◆ A series of non-violent actions, Trident Ploughshare 2000, took place in the U.K.
- ◆ Public response to the missile (rocket) launch by the DPR of Korea (DPRK) revealed lack of principles on how to handle regional security issues
- ◆ Summit of the Non Allied Movement (NAM) proposed an international conference to ban nuclear weapons to be held in 1999
- ◆ The Nortilus Institute disclosed an U.S. documents on the withdrawal of nuclear weapons from the Republic of Korea (ROK)

October Issues

- ◆ Foreign Ministry of Japan stated at a

NGO conference that they rely on the U.S. policy to use nuclear weapons even for countering non-nuclear weapons

- ◆ Commentary on TMD, on which U.S.-Japan joint investigation started
- ◆ Preparatory Symposium to Hague Appeal for Peace 1999 (HAP99) is to be held in Tokyo

November Issues

- ◆ Outcome of the first meeting of the Tokyo Forum on Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament
- ◆ A representative from Middle Power Initiative (MPI) appealed for support of New Agenda Coalition's (NAC's) resolution in UN General Assembly (UNGA)
- ◆ Intense diplomatic negotiations took place around UNGA over NAC resolution
- ◆ U.S. put strong pressure on NATO and others against NAC and Canada

- ◆ Yokosuka is going to be a homeport of a U.S. nuclear-powered aircraft carrier

December Issues

- ◆ Canada and Germany successfully brought the U.S. into diplomatic defeat regarding NAC resolution in UNGA
- ◆ German foreign minister proposed new nuclear policies shaking NATO doctrine
- ◆ Japan Federation of Bar Associations published a comprehensive report on security and military bases in Japan
- ◆ NGOs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki urged the Tokyo Forum to be open to the public
- ◆ Canadian Parliamentary Committee reported carefully wording but epoch-making 15 recommendations on Canada's nuclear weapon policy after two years' review
- ◆ U.S. and Russia conducted subcritical tests

Resources (in Japanese):

- ◆ Full translation of the Chapter 4 of SDR of U.K. (on nuclear disarmament), Jul. 8, 1998
- ◆ Data and diagram of the number of nuclear warheads all over the world (as of the end of 1997)
- ◆ Appeal for Negotiations to Eliminate Nuclear Arms signed by Carter, Gorbachev, Arias and others on Aug. 6, 1998
- ◆ Official CD documents related to FMCT, including the Japanese Ambassador's speech on Aug. 11, 1998
- ◆ NGO International Letter regarding the Tokyo Forum on Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament Aug. 30, 1998
- ◆ Transcript of comments by the Deputy Director Morino, Arms Control and Disarmament Division of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, at the NGO conference prior to the Tokyo Forum, Aug. 29, 1998

- ◆ Japanese Diets' resolutions to protest against the launching of a missile by DPRK, Sept. 3, 1998
- ◆ Chronology on U.S. tactical nuclear weapons (1991-94)
- ◆ U.S. Department of Energy (DOE) press releases on 4th subcritical tests, Sept. 23 and 26, 1998
- ◆ Full translations of the NAC, Malaysian and Japanese resolutions related to nuclear disarmament in 53rd UNGA and their voting patterns
- ◆ Full translation of an article entitled "Canada refuses to back U.S. on nuclear arms", Nov. 14, 1998, [The Globe and Mail](#)
- ◆ Summary of an article entitled "After the tests: India and Pakistan update", R. Norris and W. Arkin, Set./Oct. 1998, [The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists](#)
- ◆ Full translation of the List of Recommendations from Canadian Parliamentary Committee Report, Dec. 10, 1998
- ◆ Daily chronologies of Japanese Diet and national/global events related to nuclear issues
- ◆ Daily chronologies of Okinawa issues

1998 Annual Report: The Peace Depot's First Year

1. Overview

The first year of the Peace Depot, which was formally established after seven years of preparation, has been a challenge. It has turned out really successful, rather than it has merely managed to overcome difficulties.

The value of the biweekly publication, "Nuclear Weapon and Nuclear Test Monitor(NWNTM)," is increasing as public demand for nuclear disarmament is intensifying toward the end of century. As nuclear tests by India and Pakistan have made it clear to the general public how the contemporary world gives nuclear weapons a dominant status in global politics, the NWNTM is increasing its function as a unique vehicle, providing a reliable source of information upon which one can develop one's own analyses. In addition, the timely publication of ten issues of a prompt report, "India-Pakistan Special Update" supplemented and strengthened the NWNTM.

The new guidelines for defense cooperation between Japan and the United States, and the Japanese Government draft of new legislation to implement them is another issue of critical importance to the peace and security of East Asia as well as to the Asia-Pacific as a whole. The Peace Depot has been involved in investigating the true status of the U.S. Forces Japan and advocating the idea of common security for citizens. Based upon its accumulation of data in these fields during its preparatory periods, the Peace Depot expanded its research, information and analysis activities, responding to the new situation that emerged in 1998.

In terms of its organizational operations, the Peace Depot is to be acknowledged for its efficiency and resourcefulness in being able to implement a significant amount of programming on a budget of roughly 10 million yen. The Peace Depot owes a great debt of gratitude to its dedicated staff and its supportive volunteers. For example, regular mailing tasks were carried out largely by volunteers. No doubt such a spirit of spontaneous activism will serve as an ongoing source of vitality for the Peace Depot. However, it is also noted that improvements in working conditions are needed to reduce pressure on staff and volunteers. In this respect, the situation of the staff needs to be remedied in the long-term. In order to be effective, such changes to the Peace Depot's operational function require consultation with, and the support of, its membership.

2. Program Report

Major Peace Depot programs in 1998 included:

(a) Bi-weekly Publication of "Nuclear Weapon & Nuclear Test Monitor(NWNTM)"

The NWNTM covered issues related to nuclear disarmament, as well as Asia-Pacific regional security. Its emphasis was on accurate information, translation of original documentation, and analyses based upon such factual information. The contribution of the Peace Depot's Advisors was encouraged in order to provide a broader perspective on issues.

(b) Research Project: "US Forces Japan"

Research on the true status of the operations of the U.S. Forces Japan was continued. The publication of a book to be entitled, Operational Behavior of the U.S. Forces Japan, was not accomplished this year as was planned.

(c) Writing, Speaking, Performance, and Cooperation with Media

Numerous such undertakings were made, especially on current topics such as the new guidelines for defense cooperation between Japan and the United States and the draft of new legislation to implement them, and on nuclear tests by India and Pakistan.

(d) Timely Publication of the "India-Pakistan Special Update"

To follow the Indian and Pakistani situation after the nuclear tests in May, the "India-Pakistan Special Update" was issued by means of hiring a researcher dedicated to this project. Funds for the project were raised from concerned citizens. The first issue was published on June 29 and the 10th and last issue was published on August 17. They were distributed by fax or e-mail upon request.

(e) Publication of a Year Book, Nuclear Disarmament and Nuclear Weapon-Free Local Authorities, 1998

Development of nuclear weapons, nuclear disarmament, activities of local authorities overseas as well as in Japan, and NGO activities including Abolition 2000 in the period January 1, 1997 to May 31, 1998 were recorded in a book entitled, Nuclear Disarmament and Nuclear Weapon-Free Local Authorities, 1998 (supervised by UMEBAYASHI Hiromichi & MAEDA Tetsuo). KYAN Kaoru, Chair of the National Council of Japan Nuclear-Free Local Authorities, wrote the foreword to the book. The Council purchased and

distributed it to all the member local authorities.

(f) Publication of Other Books

The U.S. Forces in Asia and the New Guidelines (authored by UMEBAYASHI Hiromichi) was published as a well known Iwanami Booklet. It included a summary report of the international symposium which was held in November, 1997, to celebrate the establishment of the Peace Depot. A translation of the briefing book of the Middle Powers Initiative, Fast Track to Zero Nuclear Weapons (Authored by Robert GREEN), was quickly published in time for the visit by the author to Japan in October. The book was used to educate politicians and officials. Also, a book compiling No. 1 to No. 50 of the NWNTM was published.

(g) Sending Youth Activists/Researchers to Peace Conferences Overseas

Funds were raised from concerned public to send a youth activist/researcher to the Geneva Conference of Abolition 2000. Also, a staff person of the Peace Depot was invited to the 2nd Korean and Japanese Youth Forum.

(h) Support of a Study Seminar

The Peace Depot supported the Seminar on Security and Disarmament, a monthly seminar by a voluntary peace study group based in Yokohama.

(i) Co-Sponsoring a Symposium with the Kanto Branch

of the Peace Study Association of Japan

As a Pre-event of the Annual Assembly of the Peace Depot, the Symposium "Peace Activities of NGOs Transcending National Borders" was held in Yokohama, with speakers on four topics: anti-personnel landmine campaign, International Criminal Court and sexual violence in wars, alternative security network in Asia Pacific, and Abolition 2000 to eliminate nuclear weapons.

(j) Preparation for Incorporation

The Non-Profit Organization Act, new legislation to support non-profit activities in civil society, was enacted on December 1, 1998. The act has no provision for tax reduction and the organization's clerical burden will increase, but the Peace Depot decided to incorporate under this law as it will contribute to strengthening the social status of peace activities in general. A special board member and a staffperson were assigned to study the legal aspects related to incorporation.

(k) Newsletters and A Website

As a means for communication with members and advisors, three issues of the newsletter, both in Japanese and in English were published in 1998. Also a test website of the Peace Depot was established. The URL is <http://www.jca.ax.apc.org/peacedepot>. But the website is only in Japanese for the time being.

Proposed Programs in 1999

1. Policy Focus

In terms of the organizational aspects of the Peace Depot, 1999 is designated as a year for strengthening the foundation of the organization.

Although groups affiliated with large labor unions and religious organizations may receive funding from such sources, the Peace Depot does not fall into this category. In addition, in Japan, there is minimal funding available from foundations to support the activities of peace organizations. Therefore, the Peace Depot's greatest challenge has been to establish a sound financial basis to sustain its activities. Mainly because of the lack of human resources, this and other fundamental challenges were not addressed in 1998, the first year of the Peace Depot's operation. These challenges include: (1) increasing membership, (2) establishment of local posts, and (3) researching potential funders. Fortunately, the Peace Depot will have increased staff power in April, 1999, which may

allow for time and energy to tackle these problems. It will not be an easy task, but there is hope. Strengthening the foundation of the organization cannot be attained in isolation, therefore this task must be incorporated into carefully designed programs of activities.

As for the programs planned for 1999, the Peace Depot desires to continue to join in global endeavors to abolish nuclear weapons and will focus on nuclear disarmament issues. Also the year 1999 is a critical year for Japan's defense policy related to the new guidelines for defense cooperation between Japan and the United States and the Peace Depot will strengthen its programs on this issue.

2. Major Programs

(1) Continuation of Key Programs of 1998

The Peace Depot will continue the key programs of 1998, such as the bi-weekly publication of NWNTM, the research project "US Forces Japan," and the publication of a year

book, *Nuclear Disarmament and Nuclear Weapon-Free Local Authorities*, 1999.

(2) Series of Local Seminars on Nuclear Disarmament or on New Guidelines for Japan-US Defense Cooperation

Depending upon the local situation of people's movements and in conjunction with organizing Peace Depot's local posts, a series of seminars on nuclear disarmament or on new guidelines for Japan-US defense cooperation will be held in various parts of Japan.

(3) Research Project on the "Implication of a CVN Homeporting in Japan"

The potential homeporting at Yokosuka of a CVN (nuclear-powered aircraft carrier) is a most controversial issue in Yokosuka, as well as in Japan as a whole. Theoretically, the US Navy will have no CVs (conventional-powered aircraft carrier) to be homeported in Yokosuka in 2007, when the USS Kitty Hawk will be retired and only the USS John F. Kennedy will remain as a training reserve. A new citizen organization, "Concerned Citizens About a CVN Homeporting At Yokosuka," was established on November 29, 1998. As a contribution to the citizens' campaign against CVN homeporting, the Peace Depot will undertake a research project on the environmental and security implications of a CVN homeporting in Japan.

(4) Send Youth Activists/Researchers to the Hague Conference and NPT PrepCom/Tokyo Forum in New York

The 3rd Tokyo Forum on Nuclear Non-proliferation and Disarmament (See the article of page 1) is to be held in New York in April, 1999, just before the 3rd Preparatory Committee for the NPT review conference in the same city. A civil society conference "The Hague Appeal for Peace" will be held in the Hague in May, 1999. As a continuing effort to join international campaigns and to train youth activists/researchers, the Peace Depot plans to conduct a fund raising campaign to send youth to these events.

(5) Publicize the Hague Agenda

"The Hague Appeal for Peace 1999" will adopt a conference document to be named "The Hague Agenda," which is expected to be a landmark document to give a vision for peace activities in the 21st century. The Peace Depot will contribute to publicizing the Agenda by means of translation along with commentary on the document.

3. Organizational Efforts

(1) Incorporation under the Non-Profit Organization Act

The Peace Depot will submit an application to the Kanagawa Prefecture for approval as soon as the necessary documents are completed. It will be approved in September, 1999 at the earliest. Meanwhile, research on management and accounting related to incorporation have to be initiated as soon as possible.

(2) Establishment of the Peace Depot's Local Posts

The Peace Depot's local posts are contact points of the Peace Depot in various areas in Japan. Their roles are four-fold: 1. To serve as a local contact point for organizing seminars, educating politicians, and disseminating information, 2. To research peace activities of the local authorities, especially of the nuclear-free local authorities, 3. To report unique local problems related to peace, e.g. US military bases and plutonium related facilities, and 4. To disseminate the Peace Depot's publications.

(3) Systematic Efforts to Increase Membership

Various efforts are to be made to increase membership; regular advertisement in magazines, writing letters to groups, efficient leafletting at gatherings, and so on.

(4) Improvement of the Website

It is necessary to recruit volunteers who enjoy electronic communication technology and are willing to come to the Peace Depot office once or twice a month to update the website.

NAC and Japan

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Thus, the emergence of the efforts by the NAC and the Tokyo Forum are changing the framework of dialogues between NGOs and the Administration in Japan. The recent visit to Japan by a representative of an international NGO, the Middle Powers Initiative, which serves as a useful vehicle to feed the Administration and parliamentarians information about the development of nuclear disarmament initiatives by the NAC and other governments like Canada, helped enhance the progress. In addition, the recent

innovative report by a Canadian Parliamentary Committee to recommend policies to expedite the nuclear disarmament process, along with the German Foreign Minister's attempt to challenge NATO's first-use policy of nuclear weapons will provide useful themes and opportunities for a more frequent, intensified and hopefully deeper, dialogue with the Government. Such development will, in turn, bring about closer interactions between citizens and parliamentarians.

Schedule of the Tokyo Forum

3rd meeting:	April 9 - 10, 1999 in New York
4th (final) meeting:	July 23 - 25, 1999 in Tokyo