

The Report of the Workshop
Towards Cooperative Security in Northeast Asia
- Six-Party Talks, NEA-NWFZ, Nuclear Fuel Cycle –

At the 1st Preparatory Committee of 2015 NPT Review Conference

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Co-sponsorships

Peace Depot (Japan), Peace Boat (Japan), Peace Network (ROK),
People's Solidarity for Participatory Democracy (PSPD) (ROK), Nautilus ARI (ROK)

Table of Contents

Preface

p.2

Messages

Mayors for Peace

- Matsui Kazumi, Mayor of Hiroshima

p.3

National Council of Japan Nuclear Free Local Authorities

- Taue Tomihisa, Mayor of Nagasaki

p.4

Speech

Part 1

Korean Issues: New Governments and New Approach

- Wooksik Cheong (Peace Network)

p.6

Comprehensive Cooperative Security in Northeast Asia

Korea-Japan Cooperation towards NEA-NWFZ

- Ichiro Yuasa (Peace Depot)

p.8

Part 2

DPRK Satellite Launch: In Search of Alternative Approaches

- Takao Takahara (Peace Depot)

p.12

Naval Base in Jeju and Missile Defense

- Wooksik Cheong

p.14

Nuclear Fuel Cycle and Reprocessing

- Akira Kawasaki (Peace Boat)

Material

Statement of Support for a Northeast Asia Nuclear Weapon Free Zone (as of 7 May 2012)

p.16

Preface

In January 2013, UN Security Council adopted Resolution 2087 on DPRK's satellite launch in December 2012. And DPRK carried out her 3rd nuclear test against the resolution. This situation reminded us the same pattern of what happened between DPRK and international society in 2009.

Meanwhile, the Korean War Armistice Agreement marks the 60th anniversary in 2013. Yet we still can't find ways to turn the armistice system into peace regime. Among Northeast Asian countries, their military power bring out the continuous strained relations, and the mutual distrust and hatred get extended. As a result, the tension in this region keeps increasing. Like this, Northeast Asia is trapped in a vicious circle of contradiction.

To break this stalemate, we need to make a framework of cooperative security in Northeast Asia on the basis of dialogue and cooperation. On 7 May 2012, we convened the workshop **Towards Cooperative Security in Northeast Asia** at the 1st Preparatory Committee of 2015 NPT Review Conference in Vienna. This booklet is a report of the workshop that contains the script of the speeches and related materials. But the 2 scripts by Wooksik Cheong were specially amended to reflect the changing situation on the Korean Peninsula as of January 2013.

Despite the condemnation against DPRK satellite launch and the 3rd nuclear test followed by DPRK, we have a strong belief that fundamentally we don't need to change the direction that we should seek. Rather, a series of this situation underlines the importance of a comprehensive approach that includes an early end of the Korean War, Northeast Asia Nuclear Weapon Free Zone and so on. Therefore, we publish this booklet as considering that it deserves record in view of the current situation. We hopefully expect that it would contribute to achieve nuclear abolition and the security mechanism that doesn't rely on military power.

1 March 2013, on the Bikini Day

Ichiro Yuasa, Representative of Peace Depot (Japan)
Wooksik Cheong, Representative of Peace Network (Korea)

Message from Matsui Kazumi
Mayor of Hiroshima, President of Mayors for Peace

I am pleased to send this message for the workshop “Towards Cooperative Security in Northeast Asia” at the 2012 NPT Preparatory Conference.

On August 6, 1945, one atomic bomb destroyed the city of Hiroshima, and by the end of that year the precious lives of 140,000 people were sacrificed. The citizens of Hiroshima, including the Hibakusha (people who experienced the atomic bombings), lost the city they knew and loved, and many beloved family members and friends. Their mental pain is beyond expression.

Despite the struggles faced by the Hibakusha every day, they kept in their hearts the voices of those whose lives were lost to the atomic bomb. They rebuilt the city, and have continued to pursue the abolition of nuclear weapons and lasting peace for the world. The average age of these Hibakusha is now more than 77. Therefore, I strongly believe that this is the right moment for us to learn from the experiences of all Hibakusha, to learn their desire for peace, and to pass this on to the next generation and each individual throughout the world.

Also, together with the City of Nagasaki, I will exert efforts to expand the solidarity of Mayors for Peace that has more than 5,200 membership cities around the world, so that cities can aim together for a nuclear-weapons free world by 2010. Moreover, I prevail to host an international conference such as the NPT Review Conference in Hiroshima, where policy makers from all over the world come together to discuss the total abolition of nuclear weapons.

We, citizens have the power to make a difference in the world, and to decide the future of humanity. Those workshops such as today's “Towards Cooperative Security in Northeast Asia” are being held, and particularly in cooperation by Japanese and Korean NGOs, is of particular significance. I appreciate your sharing the experience and thoughts of Hiroshima, and your tireless efforts to achieve lasting world peace for the future of humanity.

Finally, I sincerely hope for the success of this workshop, and wish you well-being and happiness in the future.

24 April, 2012

Mayor of Hiroshima, Matsui Kazumi
President, Mayors for Peace

Message from Taue Tomihisa
President of the National Council of Japan Nuclear Free Local Authorities,
Mayor of Nagasaki

I am honoured to have this opportunity to greet the organizing NGO representatives and all present at the “Towards Cooperative Security in Northeast Asia” workshop held jointly by Japanese and Korean NGOs on behalf of the National Council of Japan Nuclear Free Local Authorities.

I express my great respect for all those who have been involved in coordinating the joint Japan-Korea NGO workshop at the previous 2010 NPT Review Conference in New York, and this time in Vienna.

I participated in the last Review Conference as the Mayor of a city that has experienced the atomic bomb, the Vice President of Mayors for Peace, and the President of the National Council of Japan Nuclear Free Local Authorities. Unfortunately for scheduling reasons I am not able to be with you in Vienna this time. I look forward to hearing a report of this workshop from the Japanese NGOs involved, and to meeting with you all at another opportunity in the near future.

The issue of nuclear weapons in the Northeast Asia, as in the Middle East, is an urgent issue that the international community must address. Within the National Council, as municipalities of a country which has experienced the atomic bombing, we have worked towards the creation of a “Northeast Asia Nuclear Weapons Free Zone.”

The National Council was founded in 1983 through the cooperation of local municipalities throughout Japan, at during a time in the Cold War when cities throughout the world were declaring themselves nuclear-free. It has expanded to now have 285 municipalities as members, and we are approaching our 30th anniversary next year.

Believing that the protection of residents is the responsibility of local municipalities, and in order to create a peaceful local society, we have been working for the abolition of nuclear weapons through means including the creation of a “Northeast Asia Nuclear Weapons Free Zone.” In August 2011 and March 2012, we also cooperated with Peace Depot to submit to the Japanese Government the “Statement in Support of a Northeast Asia Nuclear Weapons Free Zone”, with endorsement by 289 heads of municipalities throughout Japan.

Furthermore, in cooperation with the National Council of Japan Nuclear Free Local Authorities, Mayors for Peace is also striving for the abolition of nuclear weapons. Last year we reached 5000 member cities, and in commemoration of this achievement called for an A-bomb photo exhibition to be held. During the current Preparatory Committee, this exhibition is on display at the Vienna International Centre. We hope for your cooperation in holding such exhibitions in many more cities throughout the world, to deepen understanding of the fearful inhumanity of nuclear weapons.

Local citizens' concern for the issue of nuclear weapons in the Northeast Asia is very high, and the North Korean nuclear issue is an urgent concern related to the security of our everyday lives.

Within today's programs, many issues of deep concern for Japanese municipalities are sure to be addressed, including the Kim Jong Un regime and the Six Party Talks, North Korea-US bilateral talks, and the recent satellite launch. I hope that the discussions today can contribute to the creation of lasting peace and security in Northeast Asia.

I wish all the best for the success of the Joint Japan-Korea NGO workshop, and for the activities of all those present. I close my message asking all of you for continued cooperation with cities, NGOs and peace groups around the world to realise a world free of nuclear weapons.

7 May, 2012

Mayor of Nagasaki, Taue Tomihisa
President, National Council of Japan Nuclear Free Local Authorities

Korean Issues: New Governments and New Approach

Wooksik Cheong (Peace Network)

The first black President of the United State just began his second term. President Obama's inauguration day, 21st of January, coincided with the 50th anniversary of Martin Luther King Jr. holiday and the 150th anniversary of the former President Abraham Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation. Probably, it was the best day to remind that behind today's Mr. Obama is sacrifice and courage of Martin Luther King Jr. and Abraham Lincoln.

In the Korean peninsula, the year 2013 is the 60th anniversary of the Korean War Armistice Agreements and the following US-Korea alliance. The US-Korea alliance shares its root with the Korean War and therefore, in this context, it can be said that the US-Korea alliance and the Armistice Agreements are "historical twins". Despite the 3 years of sanguinary war which decimated millions of population, the Korean War has not officially ended. Consequently, the Korean War is often referred to as one of the longest wars in the modern world history.

Initially, the United State, before the outbreak of the Korean War, did not recognize the strategic significance of the Korea peninsula and exclude Korea from the "Acheson line". Yet, the United States later, regarding the Korean War as a prelude to the possible World War III, began to dispatch its troops and made Korea as the outpost of Anti-communist line. This strategy of the United States, in combination with brinkmanship of Syngman Rhee, brought about the ROK-US Mutual Defense Agreement. Nowadays, South Korea is one of the most important allies of the United States.

Replacing the armistice regime with peace regime is complicatedly interrelated with the ROK-US alliance. Not only is the alliance based on the concept of "public enemy", but also the main purpose of the ROK-US alliance is to maintain stability of the Korean peninsula by checking the threat of the North. Consequently, building peace regime in the Korean peninsula can undermine the fundamentals the ROK-US alliance.

Such complex situation is the main culprit of strategic distrust between the US-ROK alliance and the Sino-DPRK alliance. Both Seoul and Washington are still skeptical over the Pyongyang's veracity concerning peace regime building. They believe that North Korea's claim of peace regime is actually aiming at termination of the ROK-US alliance and the withdrawal of the US troops from the Korean peninsula. On the other hand, for Pyongyang and Beijing, Seoul and Washington are reluctant to discuss the peace regime issue openly since they attempt to reinforce the ROK-US alliance on the excuse of the North threat.

Such strategic distrust of the both sides has been postponing the end of the Cold War era on the Korean Peninsula and exacerbating concerns over the possible Neo-Cold War in East Asian region. Moreover, it is the very reason why the Peace Forum among South Korea, North Korea, the United States, and China, which has been agreed during the six-party talks, is urgently needed.

It is commonly said that the US Presidents tend to care about the re-election during their first term while focusing on the achievements during the second term. Consequently, there are many discussions and suggestions about goals that should be achieved during President Obama's second term. Yet, unfortunately, among them, it is hard to listens to the voice

insisting that the ceasefire regime on the Korean peninsula must be replaced by the peace regime. Not many people are concerned about finishing the longest war in the history of the United States.

In spite of such indifference, building peace regime on the Korean peninsula can have significant implication. Although “the end of the Cold War” discourse has been in fashion in the West, the Cold War has not been ended in the Korean peninsula. In this regard, “the end of the Cold War” discourse can also be deemed as another form of Orientalism. Building peace regime is the most influential way to end the Cold War on the Korean peninsula and to ease the emerging neo-Cold War tension in East Asia. In addition, it can also contribute to the world peace by precluding the Second Korean War in which, if broke out, the United States and China should be involved in any way.

Furthermore, the peace regime can also break the deadlock over the nuclear issue, making a significant contribution to denuclearization of the Korean peninsula if the denuclearization is set as a priority goal of the regime. To be specific, it is also plausible that the peace regime stipulates the subject of nuclear decommissioning, the methods, and the deadline.

It is the first time that President of the United States and South Korea inaugurate in the same year since 1993 when Bill Clinton and Kim Young-Sam took office. 1993 was also the year that the nuclear crisis on the Korean peninsula intensified as North Korea withdrew herself from the NPT. 20 years later from 1993, President Obama and Park Geun-Hye need to make “Nuclear Korea” history. It can be made possible only by replacement of the armistice regime with the peace regime.

Comprehensive Cooperative Security in Northeast Asia – Korea-Japan Cooperation towards NEA-NWFZ –

Ichiro Yuasa (Peace Depot)

1. Northeast Asia where Cold-War structure is maintained and Road to Cooperative Security

Northeast Asia is the only place where the U.S.-Soviet cold war structure still remains. The existence of the military demarcation line of 38° north managed under the armistice pact symbolizes it. Now since 20 years have passed since the cold war ended, the Korean War has not ended. Thus, the nuclear development of North Korea continues, the military cooperation of Japan, U.S. and South Korea becomes strong, and China-Russia advances the modernization of military forces. The vicious circle that should be said to the "Security dilemma" in which mutual distrusts invents a nuclear arms race is maintained. We can be seen according to this scenario only in the future when a military tension continues constantly. We cannot view the road to peace and security with this structure maintained.

Only now, an inclusive frame "Common security" by the conversation and the cooperation between multi countries is requested to be formed to make it out of the vicious circle of "Security dilemma". The concept of "Common security" is the one that Palme Committee (Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues) advocated it in 1982. This is an idea said that "Common security" will be formed by the conversation between multi countries to secure it on the assumption that all countries have a right to safety.

This idea led the road to the cold war ending, and it led to the formation of the fall of the Berlin Wall and EU in Europe. Furthermore, it is said that it led to the formation of the regional security mechanism of European Security Cooperation Mechanism (OSCE) in 1995.

It is necessary to advance the approach that forms the frame of "Common security" in Northeast Asia only now. It can be declared for Japanese Government to follow the spirit of the Article 9 of constitution, and to take a diplomatic policy of basing on to non-military affairs. This is a large task that the civil society in Japan should accomplish.

So, I want to advocate the formation of a Northeast Asia Nuclear Weapon Free Zone (NEA-NWFZ) with the verification system as a clue of a bigger frame formation to produce "Cooperative security" between multi countries.

2. Passage over denuclearization in Northeast Asia

There was a chance to enable military arrangement and nuclear strategy in Northeast Asia by the ending of the U.S.-Soviet cold war at the beginning of the 1990's. In the meantime *Joint Declaration on the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula* came into force on 20 Feb. 1992. This is epoch-making, and this *Declaration* included some but not all of the core elements of other NWFZs, including prohibitions on the testing, manufacture, production, receiving, possession, storing, deployment or use of nuclear weapons. Although it was not called a NWFZ, it was in fact the fourth NWFZ to be negotiated following the earlier treaties at that time. Unfortunately, the Declaration was never successfully implemented. This was because of weaknesses in the Declaration itself. One weakness was the fact that the Declaration did not develop a fully-fledged NWFZ treaty structure under which there would not only be verification provisions but also compliance mechanisms. Anything has not advanced actually

without performing the effort of the protocol making by the verification system and the negative security assurance by the nuclear weapon states (China, Russia, and United States). The U.S–DPRK will become a simmering tension oppositely in only two years, and the promise by a joint declaration is not accomplished, and frustrated.

Twist and turn has continued for 20 years afterwards. Six-party talks started after 2003, and the denuclearization of North Korea was aimed at. There is a result of a valuable conversation like the joint statement in Sep.2005 etc. too. Six-party talks do not open now, and the route turned to the solution is not seen. In February 2012 by the U.S.-North Korea high-level deliberations U.S-North Korea agreement was made. But by satellite launch problem, it is suffering a setback again also including the possibility of the 3rd nuclear test of DPRK.

Up to now, Japan and ROK government have persisted in the policy of depending on the nuclear umbrella of the United States because of an insistence on the nuclear weapon possession of North Korea and a military tension of northeast Asia. There is no change in the posture now. However, now since it is declared that five nuclear weapon states (P5, United States, Russia, Britain, France, and China) aim at "World without nuclear weapons", the non-nuclear-weapon state (ROK and Japan) that depends on the nuclear weapon should also materialize the security policy that doesn't depend on the nuclear weapon. The establishment of a NEA-NWFZ is the most adequate answer to the question. As a result, we can step forward one big step that promotes movement to a global abolition of nuclear weapon from the region through the activity that aims at denuclearization in the region.

3. North-East Asia Nuclear Weapon Free Zone (NEA-NWFZ)

Now, Japanese Government is passive to the NEA-NWFZ. For example, Prime Minister Yoshihiko Noda said that Nuclear weapon free zone generally contributes to the purposes of nuclear nonproliferation. However, in Northeast Asia the realistic environment for nuclear-weapon free zone is not yet ready. We have to try towards realization of the nuclear abandonment by North Korea for improvement of security environment in Northeast Asia."

So the government has not made the idea of this problem in the past. But various proposals have been done by NGOs. In 1995, Dr. Umebayashi (Peace Depot special adviser) presented the "Three plus Three Nations Arrangement" for a NEA-NWFZ. This plan is considered to be a most realistic and fundamental arrangement because it involves key three non-nuclear states of the region, namely the ROK, the DPRK and Japan, as the central players and three neighboring nuclear weapon states, namely the United States, China, and Russia, as supportive players of the arrangement. This idea has the feature that neighboring nuclear weapon states are participating from the start in the treaty. It is not an accidental coincidence that these six nations are the same with participants in the Six Party Talks.

Aiming at securing the existing structure of the country, North Korea carries out nuclear test twice in 2006 and 2009, and has declared nuclear possession in fact. Therefore, North Korea will stick to nuclear possession to the last minute. If it sees from the side of North Korea at that time, an unequal feeling that only its denuclearization is urged from the nuclear weapon states, and Japan-ROK relying on US nuclear deterrence will not be able to be wiped. Japan and ROK should propose the NEA-NWFZ to change the state that loses such a mutual mistrust, and is agglutinative, and, as a result, the environment that can become an idea that North Korea may dismantle nuclear arsenal at ease be maintained. I want to note that the North Korea representative is making remarks, "The DPRK is of the Position to replace the present unstable armistice status with durable peace arrangement on

the Korean peninsula, liquidate the remnants of the Cold War, the last of its kind in the world, and eventually denuclearize the whole Korean peninsula" at the UN General Assembly (12 Oct.2009).

By the way, there have been five NWFZs established in the world, each of which is stipulated in an international treaty. Five NWFZs embrace 118 countries and areas where about 2.1 billion people live. Almost all of the land in the Southern Hemisphere is covered with NWFZs. Countries of NWFZ recognize that it is not nuclear deterrence but "Non-Nuclear Umbrella" that brings security to them. Efforts to expand a NWFZ into the Northern Hemisphere have made through various approaches now. The following should be made Northeast Asia.

4. International cooperation of Parliamentarians, Mayors and Citizens

It is necessary to strengthen the public opinion of planning to make "Cooperative security" and establishing the nuclear weapon free zone as a clue to "Common security." Next, each government is moved by grace of the public opinion.

First, it is necessary to expand the support of Parliamentarians who has the direct influence power for each government. In Japan, the disarmament study group of the Democratic Party of Japan released a draft NEA-NWFZ Treaty in August 2008. In Nov.2009, the first meeting by Japan and ROK parliamentarians regarding to NEA-NWFZ. After that, mutual visit is continuing in Seoul and Tokyo.

The second is support of Local Authorities that assumes the defense of resident's life and safety. In Japan, National Council of Japan Nuclear Free Local Authorities (JNFLA) is a network of 285 local authorities. One of the major themes of the council has been a NEA-NWFZ.

The idea to utilize sister cities relationship will be useful to promote the idea of a NEA-NWFZ. As of today, 129 local authorities in Japan have entered a sister city agreement with local authorities in South Korea. We would like to establish cooperation among local authorities in Japan and South Korea. The first step could be a joint declaration by mayors in Japan and ROK which calls for the promotion of a NEA-NWFZ. Diego City and Hiroshima will be a good example.

It's been more than 10 years since we, Peace Depot had many workshop jointly held by Japan and South Korean NGOs in Seoul, Tokyo, Shanghai, New York, and Geneva. In 2004, we announced a Model NEA-NWFZ Treaty drafted in cooperation with activists and scholars. We believe these efforts have successfully nurtured a common understanding in civil societies in Japan and South Korea about the significance of a NEA-NWFZ. It is a driving force of public opinion formation as civil society to support the action of parliamentarians, Mayors and to cooperate in strengthening cooperation of Japan-ROK NGO.

In March 2009, we, today's co-sponsorship groups had launched a campaign calling for endorsements to the "Statement of Support for a NEA-NWFZ". In the document prepared for today, we have listed the endorsements of the 289 Mayors in Japan. In August 2011 and March 2012, Taue Mayor of Nagasaki had submitted to the Japanese Government this document.

In addition, it is an important problem to obtain the support to NEA-NWFZ of China that

insist on the negative security assurance fourthly before, and has enormous influence in North Korea.

Now, especially cooperation's in various areas in such Japan-ROK being requested to be constructed in multilayer. NWFZs already established were not able to be done easily. The government somewhere proposes the treaty and the resolution of the agreement is adopted in the United Nations, and the early one has taken years to the approval of the treaty for 9 years. Between multi countries of the region with a constant extension, the difficult problem with historical details is sure to exist. The NWFZ treaty has been approved for the first time through a tenacious process of piling the conversation between multi countries, and cultivating the soil that cooperates mutually while untying those difficult problems one by one. In that sense, declaring that the Japan-South Korea governments want to make the NEA-NWFZ Treaty in a public place at early time is extremely important now.

Recently, (in Nov.11, 2011) the proposal which is consulted as comprehensive approach came out. Former US High official Morton H. Halperin has proposed the "comprehensive agreement on peace and security in Northeast Asia" including the following contents centering on the nuclear weapon free zone treaty by six nations.

1. Termination of the state of war in the Korean Peninsula.
2. Creation of a permanent council on security.
3. Mutual Declaration of no hostile intent.
4. Provisions of assistance for nuclear and other energy.
5. Termination of Sanctions/ Response to Violations of the Treaty
6. Nuclear Weapon Free Zone

Probably, conceiving of a nuclear weapon free zone will be important, putting 1 and 3 into a view. The Japanese government should conceive such a comprehensive vision, having discussion with ROK and U.S.

At last, I want to note that Deputy Prime Minister Katsuya Okada performed the epoch-making utterance in the Upper House Standing Committee on Budget on April 5, 2012. Okada said that " In August,2008, we as Nuclear Disarmament Group of the Democratic Party, those days I was the chairman、 announced the model treaty on the Northeast Asia nuclear-weapon free zone. I would like to realize this very much. "I consider it is very big step toward the world without nuclear weapon." I consider we can utilize this also as a means for making North Korea give up nuclear weapons." This is the first time that such a remark was made on the public place by the Main minister of the Japanese government.

The formation of a NEA-NWFZ gives the beginning of the construction of non-military security situation in a Northeast Asia. And, the trust of each other can be brewed with the process from which the agreement is made through multilateral talks, and it become an advanced opportunity to the agreement of no attack in addition each other, and antiwar, too. This is a process of the frame formation "Cooperative security" in the region.

DPRK Satellite Launch: An Alternative Approach in Need

Takao Takahara (Peace Depot)

In my short presentation, I'd like to put the DPRK "satellite launch" last month not as a story of a rogue-state's unexpected venture, but in the context of a dangerous downward spiral towards militarization on the Korean Peninsula. Let me follow the timeline.

On February 29, an agreement was announced between the U.S. and DPRK. The U.S. would provide substantial food aid in return for the North agreeing to a moratorium on uranium enrichment and missile testing, in addition to the return of IAEA inspectors to Yongbyon, hence leading to resumption of the six-party talks.

On 16 March 2012, however, DPRK announced it was planning to launch a satellite to commemorate the late founder of the state Kim Il-Sung's 100th birthday.

The U.S., Japan and ROK jumped on this as a breach to UNSC Res1874 (2009), adopted unanimously after the second nuclear test conducted by DPRK back in 2009. The resolution included a clause that says: "(The Security Council) demands that the DPRK not conduct any further nuclear test or any launch using ballistic missile technology."

Despite such warnings, DPRK fired a rocket on April 13. The rocket exploded soon after the launch. In the UN, eventually Russia and China sided with the three nations, which resulted in a UNSC Presidential Statement.

On April 19, the New York Times reported online: South Korea said Thursday (4/19) that it had developed and deployed a new cruise missile capable of a precision strike anywhere in North Korea.

Although it had been widely reported that South Korea had developed its Hyunmoo series of cruise missiles with a range of up to 930 miles, it was the first time that ROK publicly confirmed the deployment of such a missile. The government even released a short video strip of the missile hitting a target on a test launch.

South Korea is bound by an agreement with the United States to limit its ballistic missiles to a range of 300 kilometers, but slower, surface-skimming cruise weapons are thought to be exempt from the agreement.

According to the Voice of America broadcasted on April 19, in addition to the news on the cruise missile, there was more news on offensive weapons. South Korean army Major General Shin Wonsik, briefing domestic defense reporters at the ministry, also announced that the South Korean military deployed a new type of tactical ballistic missile with a range of 300 kilometers.

On April 28, Japanese newspaper *Sankei* reported that the talks are going on between ROK and the US on extending the maximum range to 800 kilometers.

It is also necessary to know that in the past ROK attempted to launch a satellite, first in August 2009 and secondly in June 2010. Both launch trials were sort of a joint scheme with

the Russians, and they both did not succeed. ROK plans to launch a third rocket in 2013. These trials go on apparently without any punishment from neither the United States nor the UN.

Just today (May 7), it was announced that the US and ROK will be conducting a large scale Joint Air Force exercise in the Western area of the Korean Peninsula. These series of events show that the situation is not created unilaterally by DPRK, as is often depicted by the media. It is fairly obvious that the system of security dilemma is working: one's action in search for more security brings in the adversary's reaction that makes you more insecure.

The reported deeds of DPRK also gave pretext to Japanese militarization. Temporary deployment of PAC3 missiles with 900 SDF personnel in western Okinawa is the immediate case in point. These developments are justified by the news reports focusing only on North Korean actions. Japan is quickly joining the dangerous see-saw game on the Peninsula, broadening the scope to the situation in East China Sea.

“Don't mimic the Russians” was a slogan of the anti-nuclear movement back in the Cold War days. Reacting against mirror-images will only bring about more militarization; the only way out from the dangerous spiral of armament dynamics is to seek an alternative road. It was spoken by my colleague Ichiro Yuasa. Thank you.

Naval Base in Jeju and Missile Defense

Wooksik Cheong (Peace Network)

I have often visited Gangjeong village which is suffering from the Jeju naval base construction. It is so obvious how unreasonable it is to construct the naval base in this place where Gurumbee rocks span on abundant and fertile farmland with first-class water running along Gangjeong stream and with various endangered animal species. It is so clear in Gangjeong village how the construction tore the village community up which was once beautiful and peaceful, and how the villagers are protesting against the construction at the risk of their lives. It is certain in this village that the remarks from the conservatives like “Kim Jung-il’s puppet” and “advocates for North Korea” are groundless.

However, the South Korean government and the navy are still obstinate. Encompassing the village with hundreds of policemen and fence, they forcefully restart the construction. They are trying to weaken the anti-base construction movement by arresting villagers and activists and abusing governmental authority. By stigmatizing the opposition group as rebellious people, they are attempting to isolate the Gangjeong village from South Korea.

One might think this should be acquiesced for the sake of national interests. However, it is concluded that, for the very national interests, the base construction must be stopped because the base would ruin not only the beautiful and peaceful natural community but also relations between South Korea and China.

One reason, which the government and the navy mention to justify the naval base construction, is the protection of Ieodo which is also called Socotra Rock located between southern sea of Jeju Island and the East China Sea. It is said that the naval base will be helpful to protect Ieodo from China's threat. It is, however, such a dangerous and foolish idea which makes 'uncertain thereat' to 'certain threat'. If a warship is sent first from South Korea to the sea whose mutual consent has not reached yet between two countries, it will cause the confrontation with Chinese navy which can lead to diplomatic, security, and economic losses. Considering China as the biggest trade partner and an amicable relationship with China as an important affair, it is quite doubtful whether the argument of the navy and the government is really for national interests.

The dispute over Ieodo should be settled by positive talks rather than military actions in order to make an agreement over exclusive economic zone (EEZ). If China consents to include Ieodo into South Korean EEZ with the condition that permitting South Korea-China or South Korea-China-Japan to examine and develop oil or seabed resources together, this compromise can be worth considering. It is also important to realize that none of countries can acquire seabed resources near Ieodo unless both countries make an agreement on EEZ.

Moreover, the Jeju naval base is highly likely to be used as a port call and, in the contingency, as a stopover or takeoff base by the U.S. navy. Based on mutual defense pact and Status of Forces Agreement (SOFA), the U.S. has the principle rights to use any South Korean ports and airfields. Given the geographical features of Jeju Island and the fact that the United States is increasing naval powers including Aegis Ballistic Missile Defense (ABMD) and announces that it is seeking for more naval bases and port calls in Asia-Pacific, these concerns are quite reasonable.

Should the Jeju base be used by the U.S. military for the purpose of blockading China, China will retaliate in various ways including diplomatic complaints and economic retaliations such as travel restriction and trade retaliation. In the worst case, China's reaction can include military actions such as retaliatory attack and maritime transportation blockade. On the other hand, if South Korea rejects the U.S. call to use Jeju base, ROK-US alliance would be in peril. That's why Jeju naval base will turn out to be “strategic burden”, not “asset”. We don't need to worry about this kind of dilemma if South Korea cancels the base construction. Thus, the Jeju naval base construction, in the name of national interests, must not be enforced but be stopped.

After The Election

The candidate of the ruling conservative Saenuri Party, Park Geun-Hye, was elected in the South Korean presidential elections on Dec. 19, 2012. Park has expressed her position on Jeju as wishing to make it into a “2nd Hawai’i” and as part of that the Jeju Naval Base construction should be continued without delay. She has also expressed positive interest in ROK-US alliance and ROK-Japan security cooperation, so it is expected that will lead to further elasticity of the ROK-US-Japan trilateral military alliance, desired by the US and Japan.

The United States already aiming to curb and contain China, has declared the “Asian Pivot” policy and has begun concentrating 60% of its naval forces into the Asia Pacific region, spurring arms sale buildups, including the Defense system. Japan, using the conflict of the Senkaku Islands (Diaoyu Islands in Chinese) as its excuse is also stepping up its retrogressive revision of its Peace Constitution, pushing for more aggressive military arms buildups.

The Jeju Naval base is being built in the center of several East Asian conflicts, heightening the danger that South Korea could be pulled into the US/Japan v. China conflicts. This is one reason why Park needs to totally examine the base construction from the viewpoint of peace on the Korean peninsula and in Northeast Asia.

The reality is that even the smallest procedural justice is being violated through the naval base construction which is far from the “citizens’ unity” that Park has emphasized. The National Assembly approved the 200.9 billion won 2013 Jeju naval base budget but attached three collateral conditions which must be executed and reported back to the National Assembly within 70 days: First, the base should be proven to not be primarily a military or military only port; second, the ability to entry for 150,000 cruises must be verified; and third, clarify the rights of official regulation on the harbor and coverage of maintenance & repair costs. However, the Ministry of National Defense and navy are completely ignoring the conditions of the National Assembly and have continued forcing the construction even up until this very moment.

The infuriated Gangjeong villagers and people from civil society groups have sent Park a number of inquiries and requested meetings with her, but all have been consistently neglected. The reality is that the end of the suffering of the Gangjeong villagers, already at 6 years, is not visible yet. Now is the time for urgent support and participation from peace activists and those in solidarity with Gangjeong village, both domestically and abroad.

<Material>

Statement of Support for a Northeast Asia Nuclear Weapon Free Zone

We, the undersigned, express our support for the efforts to establish a Nuclear Weapon-Free Zone in Northeast Asia (NEA-NWFZ). We believe it is an urgent and timely initiative both for strengthening the global tide toward a Nuclear Weapon Free World and for achieving regional stability and peace in Northeast Asia.

Setting the goal of achieving a NEA-NWFZ will create a new positive dimension in the on-going Six Party Talks among the Republic of Korea (ROK), Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea (DPRK), Japan, China, Russia and the United States, by incorporating its goal of “verifiable denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula” (Six-nation Statement, 19 September 2005) within the broader regional vision.

Achieving a world free of nuclear weapons is an obligation not only of nuclear armed nations but of all nations, especially those whose security policy relies on a so-called nuclear umbrella. In this regards, all nations have the responsibility to find a path toward a security polity without nuclear weapons. A NEA-NWFZ will provide such a path for relevant nations in the region, including Japan and the Republic of Korea (ROK).

A realistic scheme for a NEA-NWFZ would be a 3+3 arrangement, in which the ROK, the DPRK and Japan would form the central parties of the zone and the neighboring nuclear weapon states (China, Russia and the US) would support it through the provision of security assurances, as this would build upon the 1992 Inter-Korean Joint Declaration on the Denuclearization of Korean Peninsula and Japan's Three Non-Nuclear Principles.

We call upon political leaders, both national and local, citizen groups, and individuals throughout the world, to express their support for a NEA NWFZ and to work together to realize it.

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