

Introduction

The year 2005 marked the sixtieth anniversary of the horrific atomic bombings suffered by Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945. As the only country to have been the victim of nuclear bombings and as a country whose entire population suffered the miseries of war, Japan has established itself as a peaceful nation since the end of World War II with a strong determination never to wage a war again. Japan has also engaged in proactive diplomacy in the field of disarmament and non-proliferation, not only from a national security perspective, but also from a humanitarian standpoint. In particular, Japan has taken a leading role in the world in nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation efforts, submitting draft resolutions on nuclear disarmament to the UN General Assembly every year since 1994.

However, the post-Cold War international security environment has remained unstable, and a security order has yet to emerge. “New threats” have emerged including the nuclear threat posed by North Korea and Iran, activities of international terrorist organizations, and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and their delivery means through an underground network. No effective framework has been defined for resolving the issues of regional conflict, civil war or genocide. Although in the field of disarmament and non-proliferation, the NPT continues to be widely recognized as the foundation for international disarmament and the non-proliferation and various frameworks and initiatives have been developed in response to the new environment, there are numerous issues that need to be addressed, such as the move to challenge the NPT regime and increased divergence in the perspectives on disarmament and non-proliferation. The year 2005, in particular, brought many challenges to international disarmament and non-proliferation efforts, leaving a number of issues yet to be addressed for both the international community and Japan.

The NPT Review Conference held in May concluded without a substantive agreement, and sections on disarmament and non-proliferation were almost entirely omitted in the Outcome Document of the High-Level Plenary Meeting of the UN General Assembly in September. Underlying this was the divergence in opinions between the nuclear-weapon states including the United States that prioritize non-proliferation over nuclear disarmament and the non-nuclear developing countries that attach greater importance to nuclear disarmament and the peaceful use of nuclear energy than to non-proliferation. This divergence in priorities has in fact widened in recent years. Such disagreement can be traced further back to the gap in the underlying perception of threats and views on a desirable international security framework between countries.

In addition, the issue of Iran, which was found to have secretly conducted nuclear activities without informing the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) for 18 years despite its being a party to the NPT, and North Korea, which officially declared its withdrawal from the NPT and the manufacture of nuclear weapons, have yet to be resolved. Both pose a serious security threat as well as a challenge to the international frameworks and rules for disarmament and non-proliferation, and present us with a new challenge of how to deal with violation of rules and noncompliance. The IAEA’s winning the Nobel Peace Prize in 2005 should be understood not only as praise for the IAEA’s achievements to date, but also as expectations for the IAEA to continue playing an increasingly important and difficult role in future.

How the observance of rules should be verified, and whether or not such verification is possible in the first place, have become important issues not only with respect to the NPT and the IAEA, but also for the Biological Weapons Convention (BWC) and the to-be-negotiated Fissile Material Cut-off Treaty (FMCT).

It also remains an important task not to let weapons of mass destruction and the materials and technologies necessary for their development fall into the hands of the states seeking them and non-state actors like terrorist organizations. In 2004, the presence of an underground nuclear proliferation network linked to Dr. Abdul Qadeer Khan in Pakistan came to light, providing the world with a fresh reminder of the seriousness of the problem. In order to make efforts for non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and the materials and technologies for their development, international frameworks such as export control regimes must be set up, and each member state supporting such frameworks must have a strong will to make such non-proliferation efforts as well. In particular, national systems need to be well developed and function effectively. Development of national implementation systems, not only for export control but in general is also indispensable for various international disarmament and non-proliferation frameworks to function effectively.

We should also note that discussions are being held in international fora, on strengthening the control of materials and technologies for enrichment and reprocessing that can be used for nuclear weapons development. This includes the proposal of multilateral approaches to the nuclear fuel cycle (Multilateral Nuclear Approaches; MNA) by IAEA Director General Mohamed ElBaradei.

Another important issue is to link the disarmament and non-proliferation efforts to the improvement in the security environment in Japan and its surrounding regions. For example, there are still many Asian countries that have insufficient national implementation systems due to the lack of awareness of non-proliferation issues, or the lack of human resources and funding for the establishment of such systems, and there is a risk that these countries might be used as transit points for proliferation routes. In addition, disarmament has not always been progressing in all Asian countries. Some countries are, instead, increasing their armaments or lacking military transparency, causing concerns in the surrounding regions. Japan should seriously address these issues from the perspective of disarmament and non-proliferation as they could have bearing on its own security.

Although its direct influence on Japan is not apparent, the fact that the illegal circulation of a large amount of small arms and light weapons (SALW) is prolonging regional conflict, civil war and atrocity cannot be overlooked, particularly from a humanitarian standpoint. Moreover, in the present globalized world, destabilization in any region would affect the security and economic activities of Japan, and it is necessary to note that regions that have lost their governing power due to conflicts or other reasons could become a hotbed for terrorists. While the efforts of the international community in this field have drawn attention in recent years, there are still many challenges to be tackled in terms of making rules or implementing actual projects.

Meanwhile, with regard to anti-personnel mines that are causing harm to ordinary citizens and impeding reconstruction and development even after the end of conflicts, the Convention on the Prohibition of the Use, Stockpiling, Production and Transfer of Anti-Personnel Mines and on Their Destruction (the Ottawa Convention) is already in effect, but further efforts are needed to make the convention's application more universal and implement mine action on the ground.

As the need for disarmament and non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, their deliv-

ery means and certain conventional weapons have come to be recognized, various international conventions and frameworks have been established to respond to such issues in addition to the treaties created during the Cold War such as the NPT. International conventions for nuclear weapons, biological and chemical weapons, as well as certain conventional weapons were adopted, and an international code of conduct for missiles was launched. International frameworks have also been developed in the export control regimes aiming at non-proliferation. In 2003, a new type of non-proliferation initiative, the Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI), was launched, and in 2004, UN Security Council Resolution 1540 for promoting the development of national systems for disarmament and non-proliferation was adopted with the primary aim to prevent weapons of mass destruction and their delivery means from falling into the hands of non-state actors such as terrorists.

However, the opinions and positions of various countries in the international community regarding the new challenges and issues discussed above have not necessarily converged, and discussions to seek better solutions are being held as they grapple with such issues. As a country that is making a proactive effort in the field of disarmament and non-proliferation, Japan has full intention of actively participating in developing various frameworks and other activities, as well as presenting its ideas in a range of international forums and constructively contributing to discussions in order to effectively address these new challenges.

First of all, in terms of nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation, Japan holds the view that the NPT is the cornerstone of international regimes, and that its three pillars, namely nuclear disarmament, nuclear non-proliferation and the peaceful use of nuclear energy, should be promoted in a balanced manner without placing a disproportionate emphasis on any one of them. Under this policy, Japan in 2005 fundamentally reviewed the structure and content of the past resolutions on nuclear disarmament, and once again submitted a draft resolution to the UN General Assembly entitled “Renewed determination towards the total elimination of nuclear weapons” as a concise and powerful message. This was adopted with the largest-ever support.

With regard to non-proliferation, Japan attaches particular importance to the universalization of the Model Additional Protocol for strengthening IAEA safeguards, and has achieved certain results through continued efforts in this respect. In the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG), which is an export control regime for nuclear related materials and technologies, Japan has been making proactive contributions in the form of offering the function of its secretariat.

In addition to these efforts, in the field not only of nuclear weapons but also chemical weapons and biological weapons where international frameworks and rules exist for disarmament and the non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, Japan has also engaged in down-to-earth, practical and effective measures such as universalizing such frameworks and rules, strengthening the functions of the frameworks and rules including verification and supporting development and reinforcement of the national implementation systems sustaining these frameworks and rules.

With respect to export controls, Japan has developed and operated its own strict national export control system. At the same time, in international frameworks including the NSG, the Australia Group (AG) for biological and chemical weapons, the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR) and the Wassenaar Arrangement (WA) for conventional weapons, Japan has actively participated in discussions as well as engaged in outreach activities, which call on non-members to develop and

strengthen their export control systems, with favorable results to a certain degree.

Furthermore, in order to strengthen non-proliferation efforts particularly in the Asian region, Japan frequently holds seminars for this region, and has actively participated in and contributed to the PSI since its inception, in its effort to improve the international security environment.

The issue of small arms and light weapons (SALW) is relatively new in the sense that it was only after the mid-1990s that the issue was raised in the international community and the awareness of the need to address this issue increased. In this area, Japan has consistently played a leading role in the international community. Specifically, Japan performed a significant role in the adoption of the UN Programme of Action to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects in 2001 and subsequent international community efforts through submitting draft resolutions on SALW to the UN General Assembly and contributing to various conferences within the UN framework. In addition to international rule making, Japan has also engaged proactively in the on-the-ground implementation of projects, such as actually collecting and destroying small arms in countries and regions that suffer from the damage inflicted by such arms.

Moreover, in the field of anti-personnel landmines, Japan has been making efforts to universalize the Ottawa Convention and to strengthen assistance in mine action on the ground based on its new policy against landmines announced in December 2004.

This book basically summarizes the international environment and Japan's efforts concerning disarmament and non-proliferation up to the end of 2005. In addition, it also describes more recent developments regarding particularly important issues including the nuclear issues of North Korea and Iran.

This book aims to promote more in-depth understanding of Japan's foreign policies and concrete measures in the field of disarmament and non-proliferation by explaining these matters in a straightforward manner. To this end, while introducing the current outstanding issues in the field of disarmament and non-proliferation and the international community's efforts to address these issues, we also refer wherever possible to specific measures Japan has taken, especially in terms of its national interests and in context of the international community's efforts. As mentioned earlier, the international community still faces a lot of difficult challenges in the field of disarmament and non-proliferation. In addition, disarmament and non-proliferation policies need to be reviewed from a variety of perspectives, including that of the international security environment, regional peace and stability and the humanitarian consideration. While Japan has been making concrete efforts by conducting analysis and examination from diverse perspectives with its national interests in mind, it must continue examining and discussing its effort by constantly employing diverse perspectives when addressing new and challenging issues. In this sense, we hope that this book provides an opportunity to take an interest in disarmament and non-proliferation diplomacy and stimulate discussion on policies concerning disarmament and non-proliferation, as well as contribute to the formulation of disarmament and non-proliferation policies that serve the national interests of Japan.