

# Proposal for nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation in the region





## Basic Outline on Role of Nuclear Weapons in Japan's Security Policy

- A 'four' nuclear policy (1968, Sato administration)  
Three Principles, Nuclear Umbrella, Peaceful use of Nuclear Energy, Disarmament Diplomacy
- Exclusive Defense Oriented Policy, (and Posture)  
*Basic Policy for National Defense(1957)*, Non threatening defense policy (based on the spirit of constitution), deny possession of nuclear weapons
- National Defense Program Guidance (NDPG)  
NDPG- 1976, : NDPG-1995, NDPG-2004 (to 2010 or 2015)  
“Japan will rely on the U.S. nuclear deterrent”



## NDPG 2004 and Nuclear Deterrent

- Quote from, NDPG 2004, III. Basic Principles of Japan's Security Policy, 1. Basic Principles
  - “To protect its territory and people against the threat of nuclear weapons, Japan will continue to rely on the U.S. nuclear deterrent. At the same time, Japan will play an active role in creating a world free of nuclear weapons by taking realistic step-by-step measures for nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation.”
  - “Japan also will play an active role in international disarmament and non-proliferation efforts regarding other types of weapons of mass destruction and their delivery means, such as missiles.”

# Japan's Security and Nuclear Deterrent

- **Scope and Depth of US 'Nuclear Umbrella'**

Against what?

DPRK's Nuclear Attack; China's nuclear weapons;  
DPRK's Chemical and Biological weapons, and missile;  
Disputed territories; Terrorist attack; Special Forces

How implemented?

Existing Deterrence (denial): Japan-US Security alliance  
Deterrence by punishment (retaliation): US strategy  
Conventional superiority over regional rivals

How credible?

Strong Japan-US alliance is key to enhance credibility  
Remove Japan's concern on level of US's security commitment  
Strategic ambiguity



# Strategic Ambiguity

- Merits
  - Deter aggression
  - Operational flexibility
- Demerits
  - Increase security concern of Japan, (Shake the alliance and regional security environment through ‘word politics’)
  - Japan’s domestic frustration
  - Disarmament diplomacy



## Need for re-examination

- President Obama's 'nuclear free world' proposal
  - Number of nuclear weapon reduced
  - Credibility of extended deterrence
  - Sense of insecurity increase in Japan
- Trigger proliferation
  - Risk of nuclear proliferation
  - Instability

# How Japan can compromise its nuclear deterrent and disarmament?

Theoretical options considered in Japan by non-governmental experts

- Option 1: *Quid pro quo* against security threat.  
Difficult to manage strategically; Risk of miscalculation; Domestic opposition
- Option 2: Limited nuclear capability  
Domestic opposition; Arms race; Regional instability
- Option 3: Full nuclear capability  
Unthinkable and unrealistic; Crisis of Nonproliferation; Challenge against nuclear-free world proposal
- Option 4: Conventional option (incl. retaliatory capability)  
Risk of nuclear arms buildup; Conventional arms race; Limited resource for arms buildup; Security of ROK

But we believe none of them may satisfy new conditions.



## What AMAD project aims at.

**Encourage Japan's commitment to the Nuclear Free World**

**Not risking Japan's Security**

**Promote nonproliferation**

**Enhance regional security**

**Strengthen measures for Nuclear Security**



## Proposal 1: No-first Use

- Eliminate the possibility of nuclear buildup in Northeast Asia
- US declaration of no-first use accordance with Security Council Resolution 984, which requires nuclear weapon states to provide negative security assurance toward non-nuclear weapon states.



## Proposal 2: Disarmament

- The US and China should promote strategic and arms control dialogue (incl. CTBT and FMCT).
- The negotiations of a treaty banning weapons in outer space.
- Establish Cooperative Threat Reduction program in the denuclearization process of North Korea
- US-China strategic dialogue (incl. PRC's maritime strategy)



## Proposal 3: CBM in Asia-Pacific

- Maintain the deterrence and defense capability with conventional weapons through the Japan-US alliance.
- Increase transparency on conventional capability in Asia-Pacific.
- Prevent nuclear arms control and disarmament between the US and China should lead to an increase of anxiety in the region.



## Proposal 4: Nonproliferation

- Secure legal legitimacy of the nonproliferation measures stipulated in the UNSCR 154.
- Strengthen measures for supply-chain management.
- A follow-on measure of PSI should be considered in accordance with the international law.



## Proposal 5: Education

- Develop a program of education about the threat of nuclear weapons with accuracy and material easy to understand (incl. testimony of the victims).
- Engage more actively than ever in the nuclear disarmament and nonproliferation education. Create “Nuclear Disarmament and Nonproliferation Fund.”
- Create independent thinktank on the nuclear issues.