

## Japanese-German Dialogue on Security and Non-Proliferation

Expert Conference organized by the Japanese-German Center Berlin (JDZB), the Heinrich Böll Foundation and the Center for the Promotion of Disarmament and Non-Proliferation (CPDNP) at the Japan Institute for International Affairs (JIIA).

**Date:** Friday, July 6, 2012,

**Location:** Japan Institute for International Affairs, 3rd Floor, Toranomon Mitsui Building, 3-8-1 Kasumigaseki, Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo 100-0013, Japan

**Language:** English only

### Background:

Germany and Japan live in very different regions, yet they pursue similar goals on nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament. Both support a strengthening of multilateral accords like the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. The engagement of both states in the 10-country Non-proliferation and Disarmament Initiative (NPDI) is a visible expression of their preference for multilateral approaches to non-proliferation. Germany sees its engagement in NPDI (which was initiated by Australia and Japan) as a major element of its multilateral arms control efforts.

Yet, there are also differences between the German and Japanese nuclear arms control policies. Germany articulates its security policies through a dense network of institutions like the EU, NATO and the OSCE and closely cooperates with partners and allies on all issues related to arms control and non-proliferation. Despite all difficulties of integrating Russia in the European security architecture, Germany still pursues a policy of engagement vis-à-vis Moscow. Japan relies primarily on its strong bilateral ties with the United States and is therefore tied more strongly to changes in U.S. foreign and security policy. Tokyo's relations with China are more ambivalent, reflecting compound aspects of the relationship.

Germany and Japan have different concepts about the role of deterrence, and particularly extended deterrence. Viewed from Berlin, the role of nuclear deterrence appears much smaller in today's world and Germany actively pursues a policy to further marginalize nuclear weapons. Arms control is seen as one way to achieve this, and the vision of a world free of nuclear weapons is therefore broadly supported. The current government's 2009 initiative to advocate withdrawal of the remaining U.S. tactical nuclear weapons from Europe is an example of this policy.

Japan's position on nuclear deterrence is more ambivalent than Germany's. While then-Foreign Minister Katsuya Okada in 2009 supported the retirement of U.S. tactical nuclear weapons then stored in the Pacific theatre, this policy was contested. Likewise, Japan is yet to endorse a nuclear no-first-use policy.

Japan's strong support for U.S. missile defence plans is a visible proof of its reliance on strong military ties with Washington. While Japan supports President Obama's Global Zero agenda, this is viewed against the background of Chinese efforts to increase and modernize its nuclear and conventional forces and North Korea's nuclear and missile programmes.

#### Objective of the Expert Conference

To discuss forward-looking issues where both countries can make a difference. Their strength is to be perceived as economically important middle-powers, closely allied with the United States, that have a solid reputation as arms control advocates.

### **Draft Agenda**

(As of June 05, 2012)

**1.30 pm – 1.45 pm**

#### Opening Remarks:

**Ralf Fücks**, President, Heinrich Böll Foundation

**Dr. Friederike Bosse**, Japanese-German Center Berlin

**Hideki Asari**, Deputy Director General, Japan Institute of International Affairs

**1:45 pm - 2:00pm**

#### Keynote:

**Dr. Volker Stanzel**, German Ambassador to Japan (asked)

**2:00 pm - 3:00 pm**

#### **Session I:**

##### ***Dealing with non-cooperative states: How to prevent nuclear proliferation in Iran and North-Korea***

Germany and Japan are both deeply involved in dealing with two major non-proliferation crises. Germany is part of the P5+1 group that is trying to find peaceful solution to the dispute about Iran's nuclear programme. Japan is a key participant of the six-party talks with North Korea. Both have thus extensive experience in dealing with states that are not willing to cooperate with international organizations and are in non-compliance with their non-proliferation obligations.

Despite the different character of the two problems, are there common lessons to be learned? What leverage do middle powers like Japan and Germany have in dealing with regional problems? What steps could both countries take to facilitate diplomatic solutions of these crises? How to judge the potential roles of Japan and Germany once a worst case scenario takes place, i.e. military confrontation between Israel/US and Iran.

#### Speakers:

**Prof. Hideya Kurata**, National Defense Academy, Japan

**Prof. Dr. Sebastian Harnisch**, Heidelberg University, Germany

Chair: **Ralf Fücks**, President, Heinrich Böll Foundation

**3:00 pm – 3:30 pm Coffee break**

**3:30 pm - 4:30 pm**

**Session II:**

**After the first NPT Preparatory Committee meeting for the 2015 Review Conference: *How can the multilateral nuclear arms control contribute to regional and international security?***

Germany and Japan support a strengthening of the NPT. The recent NPT preparatory committee session in Vienna marked the beginning of the new review cycle leading up to the 2015 NPT review conference, which will focus on the implementation of the Action Plan agreed at the 2010 NPT review conference . Both countries pursue similar policies on nuclear disarmament, yet they have different positions on the peaceful use of nuclear energy. Germany has made a decision to phase out nuclear energy and Japan has been scrutinizing its nuclear policy including the future of its nuclear fuel cycle program. Despite such a difference in the future role of nuclear energy in Tokyo and Berlin, joint initiatives on nuclear export controls and strengthened safeguards would be particularly important and meaningful areas of bilateral cooperation for global nuclear non-proliferation.

What should be the next steps to strengthen controls on the trade in nuclear technology? How can the International Atomic Energy Agency be strengthened? Are multilateral nuclear approaches a realistic way to prevent the misuse of nuclear energy? How can emerging economies like India best be brought into the nuclear non-proliferation regime? How do Japan and Germany see the future role of nuclear weapons in regional security? What nuclear doctrines are appropriate to enhance regional stability and strengthen non-proliferation? Can and should we restrict the role of nuclear weapons to the deterrence of other nuclear weapons?

**Speakers:**

**Frithjof Schmidt**, MP, Vice-chair of the Green party parliamentary group

**Nobumasa Akiyama**, Hitotsubashi University

Chair: **Hirofumi Tosaki**, CPDNP/JIIA

**4.30 pm- 5:30pm**

**Final Discussion and conclusion**