

# Northeast Nuclear Free Zone

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November 28, 1997

The following is a report of the meeting of the Expanded Senior Panel of the Limited Nuclear Weapons-Free Zone for Northeast Asia, held in Moscow October 1-3, 1997. The meeting was sponsored by the Center for International Strategy, Technology, and Policy of the Ivan Allen College of Georgia Tech University. The report consists of three parts: a brief summary of the meeting, the memorandum produced, and a list of the participants.

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CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL STRATEGY, TECHNOLOGY AND POLICY

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### Summary Report

#### GEORGIA TECH SPONSORED MEETING IN MOSCOW RECOMMENDS FORMATION OF LEAGUE OF NORTHEAST ASIAN NUCLEAR WEAPON FREE STATES

From 29 September to 3 October 1997, the Center for International Strategy, Technology, and Policy of the Ivan Allen College sponsored a meeting in Moscow, Russia, with the cooperation of the Institute of Far Eastern Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences of the Expanded Senior Panel (ESP) of the Limited Nuclear Weapons-Free Zone for Northeast Asia (LNWFZ-NEA). The Moscow conference consisted of senior retired diplomats, retired generals and admirals, technical specialists, and academics from China, Japan, the Republic of Korea, the Russian Federation, and the United States. As part of the Center's Northeast Asia Regional Cooperative Security Initiative, the conference participants recommended in "The Moscow Memorandum" several steps

to create a limited nuclear weapons-free zone in the region:

The creation of a League of Non-nuclear Northeast Asian States consisting initially of Japan, the Republic of Korea, and Mongolia. The Democratic Peoples' Republic of Korea (North Korea) would be invited to join at any time and without conditions. This would constitute Phase I of the new Limited Nuclear Weapons-Free Zone for Northeast Asia.

The identification of one nuclear military base or facility in each of the nuclear weapon possessing states (China, Russia, and the United States) to be part of a non-contiguous Phase II pilot project of the LNWFZ. In this sense, each state would designate one military base where nuclear weapons are present to have some percentage of these weapons included in the system of regional control. Both non-nuclear weapons states and nuclear weapon states would thus be involved in commitments to the regional zone. Phase III would involve the expansion of these single points into a larger zone involving all states of the region.

In addition to the above, the Moscow Memorandum recommended continued research into issues concerning the weapon types to be included, the nature of the inspection system and degree of IAEA involvement, the agency structure to oversee the zone, and the supplementary legal obligations of all states within the zone.

The unofficial representatives from the above states agreed to meet at least once in Atlanta during the coming year, prior to the holding of the next plenary session of the ESP, to prepare for greater coordination of international efforts toward non-proliferation and arms control.

Specific confidence-building measures to contribute to the realization of a cooperative security community in NEA were also identified for further working group efforts. These included:

Methods to configure nuclear weapons within the zone to prohibit rapid launch

Techniques to ensure accountability of nuclear warheads in the region

Studies to review impact of possible theater missile defense systems in the area

Conventional CBMs, and the possible creation of an AsiaAtom to parallel EurAtom

The entire plenary session agreed to meet in Japan or Hawaii to review progress in the Fall of 1998. Representatives from Korea and China agreed to host meetings in 1999 and the year 2000

respectively.

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CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL STRATEGY, TECHNOLOGY AND POLICY

Interim Secretariat for the Limited Nuclear Weapons-Free Zone for Northeast Asia

The Moscow Memorandum of the Expanded Senior Panel of the Northeast Asia Limited Nuclear Weapons Free Zone

Moscow, Russia October 1997

Recognizing that the diligence and energy to insure peace and develop new cooperative patterns of international behavior in Northeast Asia are more demanding than the processes of policy by historic inertia, the individual members of the Expanded Senior Panel (ESP) agree to continue the process toward a complete examination of the limited nuclear weapons-free zone concept for Northeast Asia. The Members of the Expanded Panel resolve to work during 1997 and 1998 toward achieving the following goals:

I. Establish representative ESP working groups to develop operating protocols for:

A. Creation of a Phase I Limited Nuclear Weapons Free Zone based on a Northeast Asian League of Non-Nuclear States, specifically Japan, the ROK, possibly Mongolia, and if its non-nuclear status is clarified, the DPRK;

B. Consideration of a non-contiguous LNWFZ-NEA configuration, i.e., a pilot project to include removal/destruction and/or relocation of nuclear weapons from a few bases, or even one base, in each in/near the region which has nuclear weapons. This configuration could be expanded on a time-phased approach;

C. A combination of both (A and B);

D. Designation of specific weapon types, groups, or categories to be included as covered nuclear weapons for Phase II;

E. Integration of an inspection system into the Zone to cover the categories of weapons to be included for potential Phases II and III;

F. A verification system, perhaps in conjunction with the International Atomic Energy Agency, and contact with appropriate United Nations Agencies;

G. Agency structure/infrastructure, including personnel strengths and qualifications, funding support levels, and preferred location of regional headquarters;

H. Elaborating further on the LNWFZ-NEA with regard to both interests of countries involved and system of legal obligations under their international agreements.

II. Increase utilization of the Track II Secretariat (the Coordinating Institution at the Center for International Strategy, Technology, and Policy, Georgia Institute of Technology) to institutionalize and facilitate contact between National Teams during non-conference periods. Within this organization, continue and deepen sponsored studies on the above issues and insure the dissemination and coordination of views to all members of the Expanded Senior Panel, through all available means including:

A. Meeting at the Track II Secretariat or other designated area for at least one mid-year coordinating session between one representative of each of the various National Teams to prepare draft progress statements and seek greater international recognition of the LNWFZ-NEA concept and the idea of Cooperative Regional Security in Northeast Asia;

B. Increasing the scope of issues reviewed by the Expanded Senior Panel to include appropriate confidence building measures (CBMs) for a Cooperative Regional Security system in NEA, including such issues as:

1. Methods to configure nuclear weapons within the zone in ways that will not permit rapid launch;

2. Techniques to ensure accountability of nuclear warheads other than those deployed with operational delivery vehicles;

3. The impact of the possible deployment of theater missile defense (TMD) systems;

4. Developments related to other CBMs including measures of transparency and restraint, no-first-use pledges, including other weapons of mass destruction, and appropriate conventional force CBMs;

5. Creation of a regional nuclear safeguards organization, AsiaAtom, along the lines of EurAtom.

III. Welcome the Democratic Peoples' Republic of Korea, as a full and equal partner, to join the effort;

IV. Ensure involvement of official government

representatives into the entire process;

V. Meet to review progress toward the above objectives in the Fall of 1998 in Japan or Hawaii, and tentatively agree to designate Korea and China as meeting sites for 1999 and the year 2000.

\_\_\_\_\_ LNWFZ National Team, the Peoples' Republic of China

\_\_\_\_\_ LNWFZ National Team, Japan

\_\_\_\_\_ LNWFZ National Team, the Republic of Korea

\_\_\_\_\_ LNWFZ National Team, the Russian Federation

\_\_\_\_\_ LNWFZ National Team, the United States

\_\_\_\_\_ John E. Endicott Chairman of the Interim Secretariat LNWFZ-NEA

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Northeast Asia Regional Cooperative Security Initiative

Moscow Conference of the Expanded Senior Panel on the Limited Nuclear Weapons Free Zone for Northeast Asia

Participants:

The Chinese Delegation:

Professor Yan Xuetong, Team Leader and Coordinator, Deputy Director of the China Institute of Contemporary International Relations

Professor Huang Ming, Arms Control Group, Beijing Institute of Systematic Engineering

Mr. Liu Huaqiu, Senior Fellow, China Defense Science & Technology Information Center

Colonel (ret) Xia Liping, Shanghai Institute for International Studies

The Russian Delegation:

Professor Anatoly V. Bolyatko, Gen-Major (ret); Team Leader; former Deputy Chief of the Treaty and Law Directorate of General Staff of the USSR; Principal Research Fellow, Institute of Far Eastern Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences

Professor Victor N. Pavlyatenko, Moscow coordinator; Head of Center for Japanese Studies, Institute of Far Eastern Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences; expert on security problems

Dr. Vasilii I. Krivokhizha, professor, Deputy Director of the Russia Institute for Strategic Studies; nuclear weapons expert

The Honorable Andrei M. Efimov, Chief Advisor, Coordination for Asian Department for Security and Disarmament Affairs; Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Official Observer)

Major General Pavel Semyenovich Zolotaryev, Head of Center for Analysis and Information; Ministry of Defense (Official Observer)

The Japanese Delegation:

The Honorable Tatsufumi Tsuboi, former Director General of the Cabinet Security Affairs Office; former President of the National Institute for Defense Studies; currently, Executive Managing Director, Mutual Aid Association Defense Agency

Major General (ret) Tadao Inoue, former Commandant of the Chemical School, Ground Self Defense Force; former Representative of Japan to Geneva Disarmament Conference; currently, Technical Advisor, Fuji Electric Co. Ltd.

Mr. Saburo Koshizaka, Senior General Manager, Space Systems Business, Radio Operation Unit, Computer & communication Product Technologies, NEC Corporation

Professor Mitsuru Kurosawa, Osaka School of International Public Policy and Faculty of Law

Lt. General (ret) Katsuhiko Sho, former Head, Logistic Planning Division, Air Staff Office; former Commander, Western Air Defense Force; currently, General Advisor, Electronic Products & Systems Group, Mitsubishi Electric Corporation

The South Korean Delegation:

Dr. Choi Sang-Jin, Team Leader and Coordinator, Brig.General (ret) ROKA and former Ambassador, Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs; currently, Senior Research Fellow, Sejong Institute

Major General (ret) Lee Suk Bok, formerly Commanding General 5th Division, Senior Negotiator, DMZ Commission

Dr. Shin Sung-Tack, Colonel, ROK Army; Research Fellow, Korea Institute for Defense Analysis (Official Observer)

Brig General Ryoo Jin Kyu, Ph.D, Deputy Director, Army Control Office, Ministry of National Defense (Official Observer)

Major General Kim Jung Whan, retired Air Defense Artillery Officer, former Military Attaché to USA; former Special Assistant to Director, Defense Intelligence Agency

Mr. Shin Kook Ho, Senior Negotiator for Security Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Official Observer)

The United States Delegation:

The Honorable William Clark, Team Leader, former Assistant Secretary of State for East Asia and Ambassador to India; currently, President, The Japan Society

The Honorable James Goodby, former arms control negotiator; currently, Guest Scholar, Brookings Institution

Major General (ret) Richard A. Freytag, former President and CEO, Citicorp Banking Corporation

Admiral William Pendley (USN, ret), former Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense; currently, Professor, Air War College

Mr. Selig Harrison, Arms Control Expert and Senior Research Fellow, Carnegie Foundation for International Peace

Lt. General (ret) Richard Lawrence, Security Consultant, Sunergeo Consulting

Dr. Daniel Papp, Interim President, Southern Polytechnic University, expert on Russia and the former Soviet Union

Dr. John E. Endicott, former Director, National Institute for Strategic Studies; former Associate Dean, National War College; currently, Director, Center for International Strategy, Technology and Policy, Georgia Institute of Technology

Col. Robert Rudesill (USA, Ret.) Senior Adjunct Fellow, CISTP, former Inspector General, U.S. Military Academy, Faculty Advisor, NATO Defense College

Guest Delegates:

From Argentina: The Honorable Oscar Fernandez, President, Nuclear Affairs Committee, Argentine Council for International Relations

From France: Mr. Michel Dusclaud, Ingeniuer d'Eudes, National  
Center for Scientific Research

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End of Report

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