

**"CHALLENGES TO GLOBAL PEACE AND THE
HIROSHIMA LEGACY"**

Keynote Speech

by

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at

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Professor Dr. Mitsuo Ochi, President of Hiroshima University,
Professor Tsuneo Nishida, Director of the Institute for Peace Science,
Excellencies, Distinguished Participants, Ladies and Gentlemen.

Konnichiwa.

Hiroshima ni kite ureshii desu.

It is a great honour for me to have been invited to deliver the keynote speech at the 2015 International Symposium of the Institute for Peace Science of Hiroshima University.

As we gather here today on the eve of the 70th anniversary of the tragic atomic bombing of Hiroshima, we remember the innocent lives that were lost. As we gather together, we must resolve to work tirelessly to never have such a calamity inflicted upon humanity again.

Earlier this morning, after the opening ceremony, I took the opportunity to visit for the first time, the Genbaku Domu, which has become a UNESCO World Heritage Site, on the grounds of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park.

I was deeply moved by the silent monument to lost lives, by the symbol simultaneously of both horrific tragedy, and of the hopes for peace.

Indeed, we must learn from the past to understand the present in order to be able to shape the future. This is how we can honour the memory of the victims of Hiroshima and ensure that their legacy and their voices will continue to live on.

NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION

Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen.

Two weeks ago, the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action on Iran's nuclear programme was agreed upon in Vienna. The agreement seeks to prevent Iran from developing nuclear weapons, and commits Iran to destroying 98 percent of its stockpile of enriched uranium. This is a hopeful development. It is something that should be welcomed by all peace-loving peoples.

Although as President Obama correctly stated, the deal is not built on trust, but on verification, and we must wait to see how all the commitments are adhered to, at the very least, the agreement has put off for now a potentially disastrous nuclear weapons arms race in the volatile Middle East region.

The comprehensive nature of the Iran nuclear agreement, which took into account the overall security and economic interests of a potential nuclear-weapons country, and which involved the active participation in the negotiations of all the major powers, can also serve as a model for disarmament negotiations with nuclear weapons states such as North Korea.

Almost exactly 70 years ago, the only two atomic weapons used in wartime struck the urban centers of Hiroshima, first, on the 6th of August, then Nagasaki three days later. Over 160,000 people perished. Thankfully none have been used in warfare since. However, as we learned this morning, the number of nuclear weapons in existence has increased tremendously since then, and the increase over the past 70 years in the number of countries that possess nuclear weapons stockpiles, from one to nine, continues to be a cause for concern.

In addition, according to the civil society watchdog group Nuclear Threat Initiative, over 2 dozen nations have weapons usable nuclear material, and there is nearly 2,000 metric tons of it, enough to make thousands of bombs as powerful as the one used on Hiroshima. The dangerous materials according to the Nuclear Threat Initiative are stored in hundreds of different sites around the world, both military and civilian locations, where security is sometimes minimal.

The International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) has revealed that more than 100 incidents of thefts are reported each year involving nuclear and radioactive materials. In 2007, for example, gunmen broke into a nuclear research centre in South Africa that had enough weapons grade uranium to build several nuclear bombs. The threat of nuclear materials falling into the hands of non-state terrorist groups and extremists therefore remains very real.

The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, the NPT, remains the cornerstone of the nuclear non-proliferation regime since its inception in 1969. However, looking at the nuclear programmes across the Sea of Japan in North Korea, in the Middle East, and South Asia, the NPT is evidently woefully out of date.

At its inception, it represented a bargain between the 5 nuclear weapons states at the time, the US, UK, USSR, China and France, and the rest of the countries without nuclear weapons.

The non-nuclear weapons states promised not to build Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMDs). In return, they would be given the complex and state-of-the-art technological capabilities, knowhow and materials to freely build civilian nuclear programmes.

The other side of the bargain was that the big 5 nuclear weapons states promised to dismantle their nuclear weapons, at some time in the future.

Now, unfortunately, this original bargain has become out-of-date and irrelevant.

Non-nuclear weapons states have frequently sought to build WMDs in contravention of the NPT. Libya, Iraq, Iran, North Korea, Israel, India and Pakistan never joined. Other countries stay within the bounds of the NPT by constructing the components necessary for a nuclear weapon without assembling it. They are threshold states.

What is most clear is that the ever expanding group of existing nuclear weapons states will not give up their capabilities under the current NPT, nor have sufficient energy-security technologies been transferred to discourage states from seeking nuclear capabilities.

Collectively we must reaffirm our efforts to prevent the spread of nuclear material and strive for a future free of nuclear weapons. How can we do this? First, we must keep alive the memory of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and the devastating human cost of the use of nuclear weapons, which is still felt today. The events in August 70 years ago must always be remembered so that they will never be repeated. This is the key task of civil society. At the state level, we must review the tools we are using to prevent nuclear proliferation, because they are out of date. The NPT needs to be updated to respond to the new challenges of the 21st Century and provide benefits for all participating states. The International Atomic Energy Agency – IAEA -- currently headed by Mr. Yukiya Amano of Japan, must be strengthened and its mandate enlarged.

We must be vigilant against rogue states and terrorist groups, and prevent them from acquiring nuclear materials. We must undertake counter proliferation measures.

And we must continually remind the nine current nuclear weapons states that peace and security can exist without depending on nuclear capabilities. There must be concrete achievements at the Fourth Nuclear Security Summit scheduled to be held in the United States next year, especially concerning measures for securing nuclear and radioactive materials.

It is a difficult task, we, the international community, have failed many times to reach agreements, but we must persevere. As the Japanese saying goes, although we may fall down seven times, we can get up on the eighth -- *Nana korobi: ya oki*.

SEANWFZ

In South-East Asia, an initiative has been made to curb the spread and prevent the use of nuclear weapons. The South-East Asian Nuclear-Weapon-Free-Zone (SEANWFZ) Treaty was signed in Bangkok in December 1995 by the ten member states of ASEAN. The States Parties are obliged not to develop, manufacture or otherwise possess or have control over nuclear weapons, station nuclear weapons, or test or use nuclear weapons; not to seek or receive nuclear weapons; and to prevent the stationing of any nuclear device or dumping of radioactive wastes in the territory of the States Parties.

Over the past 20 years, the SEANWFZ Treaty has worked well among the States party to the Treaty. However, the Treaty contains an attached Protocol open to signing by the 5 major nuclear powers. Thus far, none of the 5 have signed, although some individual countries have indicated their willingness to do so. Some of the reservations concern the 2 unique features of the Nuclear-Weapon-Free-Zone, namely: the territorial coverage to include continental shelves and Exclusive Economic Zones, and the "negative security assurance" requirement not to use nuclear weapons against any other contracting party. We see here the two outstanding issues. One, the continued refusal of nuclear weapons states to renounce the use of nuclear weapons, and two, the growing concern about other related issues such as territorial seas and the right of maritime passage.

The application of SEANWFZ has now made more complicated by the South China Sea issue, whereby China has reasserted its sovereign territorial claim to over ninety percent of the sea area in which there are five other claimants, namely, Chinese Taipei, the Philippines, Vietnam, Malaysia, and Brunei. In turn, the reaction of the United States to the rise of China in the form of the pivot to Asia has served to raise tensions.

RISE OF CHINA

The rise or re-emergence of China as a world power has become the major issue in the global security debate. People in Asia are nervous about what kind of resident superpower China will evolve into as its military and economy continue to grow.

The US will remain engaged with Asia but its relative influence will inevitably wane.

The big question is, who will set the rules of the game in Asia? The current rules were established by the United States after WWII, and then reinforced by Washington during its post-Cold War unipolar moment.

China has been a major beneficiary of the world order established by the United States. Its GDP has risen from \$202 billion in 1980 to \$10.3 trillion in 2014.

As the world's major exporter and a huge consumer of raw materials, China has greatly benefitted from the free and open international system which encourages trade, economic interdependence and open diplomatic interactions.

According to the IMF, in 2014, China overtook the United States as the world's largest economy in terms of purchasing power parity. For the first time in nearly 150 years, the US economy is not the biggest in the world. China still has a long way to go to catch up to the developed world in terms of per-capita GDP, but its growing economy is paving the way for a bigger military and a more influential foreign policy.

As China rises, it is inevitable that it will want to exert some of its newly-earned clout in its own backyard. It will want to ensure its own security, engage and influence its neighbours, and change the rules of the international order to suit its own interests, just like the United States, Great Britain and the other great powers have done in the past.

The extent to which China is able to tweak or dramatically overhaul the rules of the international order is a matter of concern for all in the Asia-Pacific, and around the world. Will China be happy to take a leadership role in Asia, pushing new mechanisms like the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank - AIIB- and the New Silk Roads for the benefit of the region? Or will it want to establish its own Chinese Monroe Doctrine, where it establishes itself as the sole resident superpower overseeing its exclusive sphere of influence, which may lead to conflict with the United States and its allies in the region and thus affect all of us?

Nevertheless, at the present time, all the indications are that China is well aware of and sensitive to the concerns of the other nation-states and other international stakeholders. The Chinese leadership has repeatedly assured that the rise of China will be a peaceful rise; that China seeks win-win cooperation; that China will work towards an economically vibrant Asia that can serve as the engine of growth and a catalyst for economic development for the whole world.

We must work together with China, and other like-minded countries, to maintain this positive trajectory for Asia and the world.

OTHER CHALLENGES

The issue of the rise of China brings together the concerns about nuclear weapons, superpower interstate rivalry, economic and trade rules of the game, and territorial boundaries.

But in the international security landscape there are a number of other challenges. Some of these challenges are as old as human history itself: territorial rivalry and competition for resources. Some are newer: terrorism, climate change and pandemics in a truly globalised world which may have an unprecedented effect on the way we live.

PANDEMIC DISEASES

Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

World War One, fought between the victorious Allies, which included Japan and Siam, and the Central Powers, lasted from 1914 to 1918. By the time of the Armistice in November 1918, over 9 million soldiers and 7 million civilians had died as a result of the war. Sixteen million deaths.

But 1918, unbelievably, saw a killer which was bigger than the Great War. The 1918 flu pandemic, known commonly as Spanish flu, killed 100 million people by 1922. Spanish flu was a mutation of the common influenza virus. It not only killed the elderly, young and ill, but was also deadly for otherwise fit and healthy adults.

Spanish flu reached virtually every country on earth without assistance from aeroplanes and global high-speed transport.

Today, the world is more interconnected than ever. More people are travelling, people are living in closer spaces and there are more people-to-people links than any time in our history. In the globalised 21st Century, the threat of a global pandemic is a greater security issue than it has ever been.

In the 21st Century we've seen infectious mutations of the common cold like SARS and Swine Flu effortlessly cross borders. At the moment, MERS is gripping South Korea, and concerns of it spreading to the rest of Asia have seen security and screening measures in airports stepped up and individuals quarantined in hospitals.

In the modern world, a global pandemic could sweep across the earth in a moment.

However, we must also remember that since 2012 MERS has killed a relatively small number of people, around 400 people, when compared to pandemics such as the Spanish flu of the early 20th Century. The 2009 Swine Flu pandemic killed 18,500 people. SARS just under 800. These viruses have high transmission and fatality rates and can kill in even developed countries, and they can travel fast. This is perhaps why they have captured international media attention, created panic, and thus captured the attention of governments as well. But they haven't reached epic proportions.

In fact, some of the world's biggest killers are those which are entirely preventable, and which have been with us for a long time. These diseases or viruses have more-or-less been eliminated as causes of death in developed countries, but remain prevalent in developing countries in Asia, Africa and South America -- malaria, diphtheria, hepatitis, measles, and mumps.

It is estimated that malaria kills 580,000 people each year. Diarrhoea killed 1.25 million people in 2013.

Around the world, 2.6 billion people lack basic sanitation, 1.1 billion have no access to safe water of whom 400 million are children. This year, 1.4 million children will die from lack of sanitation and safe drinking water.

This reflects great economic disparities around the world, 12% of the world's population uses 85% of its water. Of the 1.8 billion people who have access to a clean water source within a one kilometer radius from their homes, the average person consumes 20 liters of water a day. In the UK, the average person uses 50 liters of water a day to flush toilets.

Poor sanitation, lack of clean water and diseases are the consequence of poverty. As we all know, over 2.2 billion live below the poverty line on less than 2USD a day. 80% of humanity live on less than 10USD a day. According to the UN, every 3.6 seconds one person dies of starvation. According to UNICEF, some 300 million children go to bed hungry every day. Over 22,000 children die each day due to poverty -- 15 every minute. In the words of UNICEF, these children "die quietly in some of the poorest villages on earth,

far removed from the scrutiny and the conscience of the world. Being weak and meek in life makes these dying multitudes even more invisible in death."

The invisible but preventable deaths, the quiet suffering of large portions of humanity, must weigh on our collective conscience. The legacy of Hiroshima must be that we all must act in the name of humanity to prevent the great loss of life. If the attention of governments continue to be diverted by other matters, international NGOs and civil society must step in to do more. There can be no real peace until all can live lives of dignity.

Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

The latest Pew Research Center survey of global opinion released this month shows that the world at large is concerned with some additional issues. For the first time, the devastation caused by climate change is identified as the single biggest threat to human kind. In second place was terrorism.

CLIMATE CHANGE

With each passing day, it becomes more and more evident that climate change will be so devastating that it will threaten security, lead to more migrants, create resource, food and water shortages and increase the risk of conflict.

Last year we experienced earth's warmest year on record. This year, it is expected to be even warmer. The latest report issued by the International Panel on Climate Change, the IPCC, predicts that without mitigation measures, global mean surface temperature is likely to increase 3.7 to 4.8 degrees Celsius compared to pre-industrial levels. For the world to have a fighting chance at survival, the IPCC warns that we cannot let the temperature get above 2 degrees of pre-industrial levels.

The world economy must transition to zero-carbon by the early half of this century. Many researchers warn that a failure to do so could lead to the extinction of the human race.

Rising global temperatures will result in the melting of the polar ice caps and glaciers. Water that has been frozen on land for hundreds of thousands of years is now pouring into the world's oceans. This will impact sea levels, causing them to rise by up to 2 meters by the end of the century.

People in low lying population centres like Bangkok, Singapore or in Bangladesh will need to move their homes as sea levels rise. Farmlands, fertile river deltas and low-lying plains which have been breadbaskets or water

supplies for thousands of years will be overcome by sea water. Extreme weather events - droughts, floods, extreme heatwaves and cold snaps, wildfires, and severe storms like typhoons and cyclones – will become more frequent and intense. Crops will fail. There will be fresh water shortages. Food and resources will become more scarce and expensive.

Rising sea levels also means that some nations will disappear off the map entirely.

In our lifetimes, we are likely to see an exodus of climate change refugees from island and atoll countries in the Pacific and Indian Oceans. The United Nations still does not recognise climate change as a valid factor for refugee status. So, where will the potentially millions of displaced climate change refugees go? Which countries in the region will be willing to accept the citizens of a country which no longer physically exists?

The effects of climate change has become a major security issue, particularly for the Asia-Pacific. Extreme weather events, rising sea levels and climate change refugees will challenge countries' capacity to respond to disasters. It will undermine security and lead to greater competition over dwindling resources. It will exacerbate divisions between the 'haves' and 'have nots.'

The COP 21 or also known as the Paris Climate Conference in December this year must come up with a new legally binding and universal treaty with the goal of keeping global warming below two degree Celsius. For this to happen, global civil society must continue to exert pressure. Local communities must make their voices heard, and set the examples.

Excellencies, Ladies, and Gentlemen,

The other extreme threat identified in the Pew Research Center global public opinion survey is that of terrorism.

TERRORISM AND NON-STATE ACTORS

The influence of non-state actors in the international system has never been so profound.

September 11, 2001 saw the Age of Terrorism emerge.

In Japan of course, the age of terrorism began in March 1995 when the Tokyo Subway System was attacked with Sarin gas by the Aum Shin-ri-kyo terrorist group, killing 12 people.

Similar to Mutually Assured Destruction in the Cold War period, and the fear of Great Power conflict in the early 20th Century, today, the ever present threat of terrorism exists at the forefront of our collective consciousness.

Not since before the Treaty of Westphalia, 400 years ago, have non-nation state actors been able to so dramatically threaten states, influence the international system and affect our lives.

There are lone-wolf style attacks, such as in Tunisia in June this year when British and other European tourists were targeted, or most recently in Chattanooga in the United States.

There are mass movements like Al Qaeda with cells in many countries, the Islamic State which control parts of Iraq and Syria, an area larger than Italy and with over 8 million people, or Boko Haram which controls parts of Nigeria, Cameroon and Niger, which can threaten existing states. The UN estimates that 22,000 foreign fighters from 100 countries have joined ISIS, in addition to the 40,000 from Syria and Iraq.

Terrorist groups threaten our citizens, our freedoms and way of life at home, and the very future of the international system abroad.

In the past few years in particular, terrorist groups have devised a brand of extremism, hatred and fear, packaged in the guise of a legitimate religion and broadcast their diabolical activities to the world through the internet and the world social media. For some young men and women, many of whom are ostracized in their homes or communities, many of whose futures are unsure, or whose personal values match the extremism, joining the extremist groups becomes an attractive proposition.

How do we counter this threat?

Our governments, police and intelligence forces must continue to be vigilant in their counterterrorism efforts to make sure domestic terrorists can't hurt our citizens.

It is in the best interests of all countries in the world to work together against the global threat of terrorism. The Member States of the United Nations agreed on a Global Strategy to counter terrorism in 2006 with an action plan that includes measures to address the conditions conducive to the spread of terrorism, measures to build state capacity to fight terrorism, and measures to ensure human rights. But like so many UN resolutions and plans of action, including the eighteen universal instruments against international terrorism that have been adopted, this Global Strategy of 2006 is not being adhered to, and indeed few have even heard about it. Civil society

organizations everywhere must call attention to this agreement, monitor compliance and press for full implementation.

Many terrorists come from the poorest and most war torn countries in the world. We cannot stop our efforts to provide aid and assistance in these places which need it most.

There is an ideological battle being played out. Religious extremists have what is an extremely convincing religious narrative which attracts many.

But, ladies and gentlemen, we must remember, that just as terrorist groups can inspire fear and spread messages of hate and challenge the primacy of the state, so too can other non-state actors be agents of change. Agents of peace. Agents of development. Agents of reconciliation. Agents to stand up for the weakest, poorest or most needy. This will help undercut the attraction of extremist groups that feed on grievances and the marginalized.

ROLE OF CIVIL SOCIETY

Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen,

In a world where non-state actors are increasingly becoming dominant, and in reviewing the many complex and diverse challenges to peace that the international community currently faces, it is abundantly clear that the pursuit of peace can no longer be left only in the hands of nation states.

NGOs and civil society have the potential to act collectively as a counterbalance to state-centered governance and private concerns of the market. They are the 'third force' in international relations, and traditionally been armed only with a couple of very limited tools: a good idea and a desire for progressive change. But new technological advances and the global social network means that the influence that NGOs and civil society can exert is far-reaching influence.

The ability of NGOs and civil society to drive change have evolved remarkably in less than a generation. They have become political and social actors, often called 'norm entrepreneurs' who carve out their own political space to shape the norms, values, rules and ideas that guide the world and our interactions.

Who makes up Civil Society? All of us, any of us, with an idea or desire for progressive change. We join NGOs, parties, unions, political or social movements and organisations, we work in academia, think tanks, associations or networks with other like-minded, similarly motivated individuals who work

to carve out their own political space often separated from the State or big business. Civil Society is plural, it is dynamic and in the 21st Century, it is a real force for change.

In this context, the Asian Peace and Reconciliation Council (APRC), of which I am currently Chairman, was founded in September 2012 on the premise that all differences are reconcilable through peaceful processes.

The APRC is Track-one-and-a-half, an international NGO, but one which brings together former Heads of State, former Prime Ministers and Ministers from various regions of the world who are interested in and concerned with peace, stability and progress in Asia.

The APRC seeks to build on the Asian respect for the wisdom of elders, of consensual decision-making, and of quiet diplomacy in order to help lessen tensions in potential conflict areas such as the South China Sea, as well as to encourage resolution of humanitarian issues that might threaten regional stability such as the Rohingya refugees.

From our experience, the lessons that can be drawn are clear. NGOs and civil society organizations have the ability to generate attention on particular issues, undertake factual and practical analysis, propose solutions, change mindsets and muster resources.

Above all, I believe that it is the duty of civil society to pursue peace and understanding.

On this note, I would like to wish the Institute for Peace Science of Hiroshima University and all associated with, every success for this 2015 International Symposium for your success and future endeavours so important to all of us.

With the name of Hiroshima, you bear the burden of a horrendous event that shocked the world. You also have the duty to carry the torch of the memory of those who lost their lives, and to seek an ever better world.

In the shadow of despair, the people of Hiroshima, the University of Hiroshima and other civil society entities, must help discern for us the contours of hope.

Sekai heiwa no tame!

Domo arigato gozaimashita.