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Disarmament Office, United Nations Bureau, Japanese Foreign Ministry, 'Regarding the Relationship between the Nuclear Non-proliferation Issue and Japan's Security (Draft)

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Summary:

The Disarmament Office at the Japanese Foreign Ministry reviews three "problematic" aspects of the NPT from the perspective of Japan's national security.

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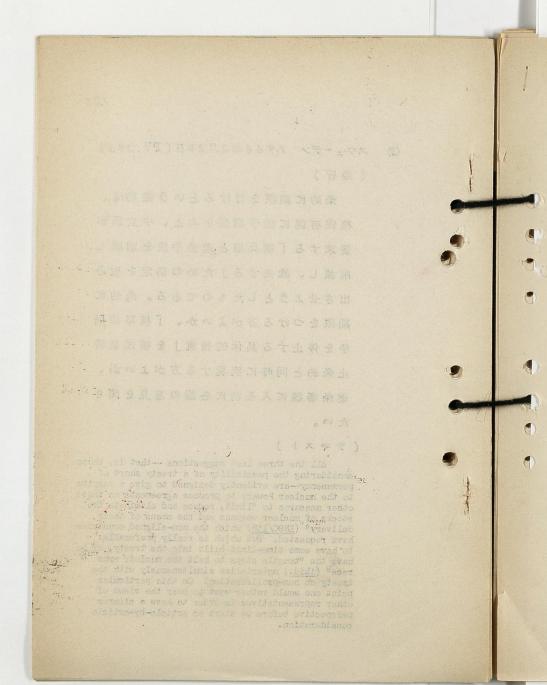
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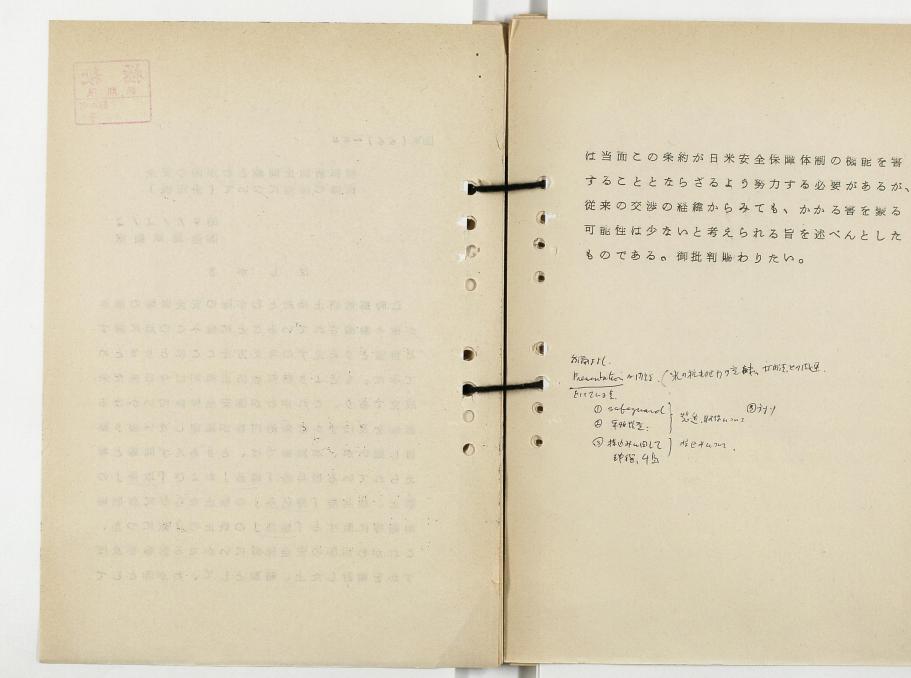


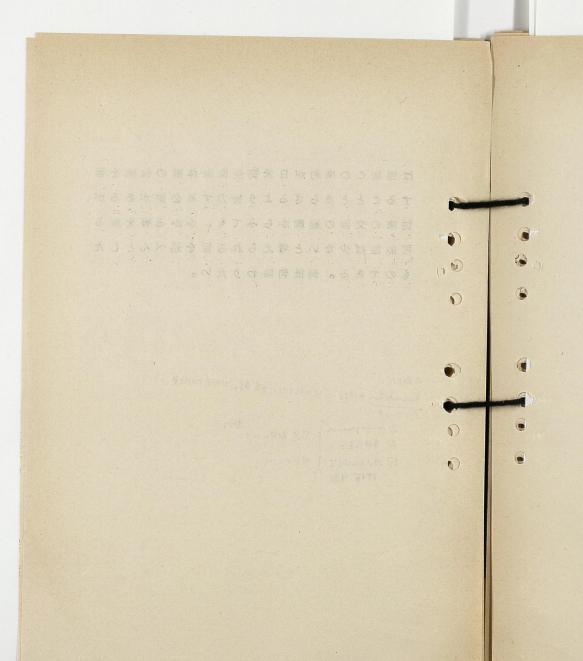
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核拡散防止問題とわが国の安全保障の関連について(未定稿)

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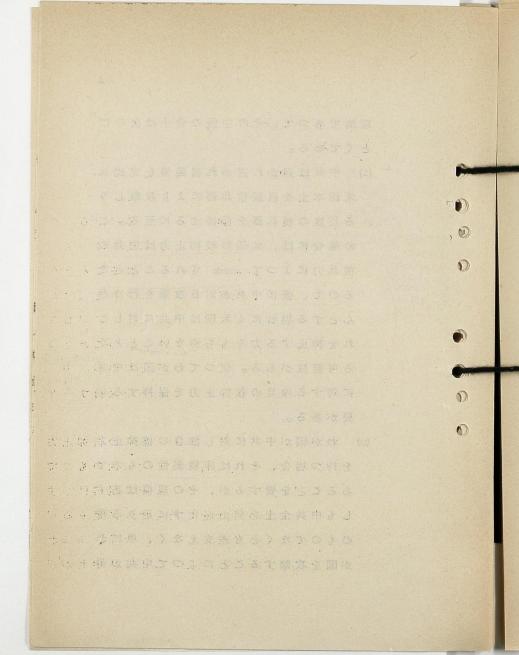




- 7. 核兵器の「製造」および「取得」の禁止と わが国の安全保障
- (/) 非核保有国が核兵器を「製造」し、又は これを「取得」することを禁ずることは、 この条約本来の目的であり、今後いかなる 核拡散防止条約が成立するとしても、上記 2点の禁止は必ず条約中に含まれることと なろう。
- (2)(1) 上記 2 点の禁止がわが国安全保障にと つて影響ありとみるか否かは、結局、将 来わが国が独自の核兵力を保有すべき必 要が生じるとみるか否かによつて異なる が、かかる必要が生じるとみる立場から すれば上記 2 点の禁止はわが国に対し最 も耐え難い安全保障上の制約を課すこと となろう。
 - (中) わが国が独自の核兵力を保有すべしとの主張には種々の類型がありうるが、そのうち最も典型的なのは、一種のガロワ

るであろり利益を相殺するだけの損害を中共に与えりる程度のものであれば十分である。蓋し、核抑止力とは相手方をして、事前に、攻撃を思い止ることが得策なりと判断せしめるに足る兵力だからである。

(*) 上記のごとき主張は必ずしも失当ではない。中共の核開発進展状況からみて、同国がやがて対米核攻撃力を保持するに至ることは時間の問題(/975年頃と見られている)であり、米国のが対し、での開発・配置に成功する等米国の対中共抑止力が現在のとなりに関勢の形で維持されな可能性もありのるからである。ただの場合にありまるであり、現在の段階にからるところであり、現在の段階にからした。



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米国のかかる努力が失敗に帰するものと 仮定してわが国が独自の核兵力、保持に踏 切る必要はなかろう。また、現在かかる 道に踏出すことは、対米抑止力に対する 不信感を表明することとなり、安保条約 の有効性をわが国の側から低下せしめる 結果ともなる。いずれにせよ、わが国は 現在まで核非武装を政策および原子力基 拡散防止条約がわが国の核兵器「製造」 および「取得」を禁止しても、これ故に わが国安全保障に実害を生ずるとはいい 得ない。(尤も、将来かかる政策が変更 されるべき必要も全くなしと断定できず、 かかる観点からみて、核拡散防止条約の 有効期間を限定する等の規定が是非とも 必要であろう)

(3) なお、「取得」については、わが国が他 国より核兵器を取得するとすれば、現状で

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固まり核長器を収得するとすれば、現代で、北・

溢红路出于它とは、另米排止为区特实态中 4 する の有効性をわが固の関から低下さしから・・いる 0 在在各類点如白各下,及桂皮的止寒和口。上近如

は、まず米国から取得することしか考えられないが同国自身が核拡散防止条約に参加すれば、核兵器の譲渡を禁ぜられるわけであり、わが国としてはこの条約に参加するとに拘らず取得の方途は存在しなが閉るとにある。従兵器取得の成立に登録が開発をある。だの条約参加とは直接の関係係は、この条約参加とは直接の関係係国とない。また、「製造」についても3年の部分を映上条約の内で、核兵器の「製造」についる。

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(A 核兵器の「製造」「取得」禁止のほかに、 核拡散防止条約が核兵器のいわゆる「持込 み」(核兵器を外国領域内に物理的に配置 することであつて、その兵器の発射権等管 理権一コントロールーがその兵器を配置す る国の手にある点で「取得」と異なる)を 禁止するか否かがわが国安全保障との関係 で問題となりうる。

わが国は従来より政策面において核兵器のわが国内「持込み」は許さないこととしているが、日米安保条約第6条およびその実施に関する交換公文による事前協議による承認を条件として、米国核兵器をわが国内に「持込み」5る法的可能性が存在することは事実であり、また、実際上でも、対中共考慮から、防衛的性格の核兵器「持込み」の必要が生じ5ることも予期しておか

才几位、模块器の模型分类并高机器 B. B. B. B. B. B. F. **5.9、5**次图としてはこの東郊に合成する は 1 0 の。主義、「整治」については、ちかればわかにふ ついてもこの点で現で大きな別的を気は投ぎを立た

校立等の「投込み」等止らわれ間の完全体

複枚数の止発剤が被互番のみむゆる「特込

ナスト ペル ロイン て、その主義の開発と等性

を 田の手 にある点で「散得」と異なる」を

此才占於首分於拉於國安全保障と白度係

5. が国内「特別子」は許さないこととし

ているが、日本を除金が高さからしている。

る重點を条件として、米国核兵器を均が服

内に「形だり」のこの即の即になった。

。主友意から、時点的性格の後兵器「特込

· (1)

ねばなるまい。かかる観点からすれば、仮 に核拡散防止条約が一律に核兵器「持込み」 までも禁ずるものとなればこれによつて安 保条約がその部分だけいわば「漫蝕」され る結果となることは明らかであり、従つて、 わが国は安全保障上のマイナスを蒙ること となろう。

(2) ただ、核拡散防止条約締結問題に関する 従来の審議および交渉の経緯よりみて、締結されるべき核拡散防止条約が「持込み」 までも禁止するものとなるとは考え難い。 現に、米国は西独等のNATO諸国内に戦 術的核兵器を配置していると考えられており、また、ソ連が東欧諸国内に核兵器を配置していると考えられており、また、ソ連をかれていない。 従来の交渉過程においては、ソ連もかかる 核兵器の「持込み」を禁止することは特に 問題としていない。(尤も、今年の18カ 国軍縮委員会の席上、東欧諸国の中には、

, 对对中心国情观录。是对中心的证明。

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持込みも禁止すべき旨主張したものもある。 また、いわゆる「コスイギン提案」も間接 的にしろ核兵器の持込みを困難ならしめる ために行なわれたものなりと言いうる。) 仮に、「持込み」を禁止すべしとの正式提 案がソ連等より行なわれるとしても、米国 としては西欧防衛に関するコミットメント との関係上、これを受諾することはまずあ るまいと判断される。

(3) もとより核拡散防止条約上「持込み」が 究極的に禁止されるや否やは同条約成立後 によつてはじめて確定することであり、交 渉過程にある現状においてはあらゆる可能 性を考慮に入れておくべきことは言うまで もない。仮にこれが禁止されることとなる 場合にはわが国の将来の安全保障にとつて かなりの影響が出ることも十分考えられる ので、条約によつて「持込み」までが禁止 されることとならざるよう適宜米側に申入 れおく等の措置をとることも必要となろう。

報道器にある様での多いてはあらいる可能 :: まない。 既にとれが紅虫されることとなる ・ 場合心はわが固つ終束の安全保護にとって でなりの影響が出ることを十分者がられる ので、乗物によって「辞込み」とてか異正

3. 核戦略問題等に関する協議の禁止とわが国 安全保障

(/) ここにいう核戦略問題等に関する協議等とは、平時における抑止力としての核計画の立案、目標の選定、核兵器の使用等に関する協議をさす。わが国の安全保障は基本的には日米安保条約にもとずく米国の核抑止力に依存している現状からみてこの種協議を米国との間で行なうことは将来必要となることも十分ありうると考えられ、核拡散防止条約がこれを禁ずることとなる場合には、わが国安全保障にとつてもかなりの影響を生じることとなろう。

(2) ただ、先述のごとく核拡散防止条約は目下交渉段階にあり、従来の交渉経緯からみて、核拡散防止条約がかかる協議までも禁止することになる可能性は少ないものと考える。現に、米国は、従来より一貫して、NATO同盟国内においてこの種協議を行

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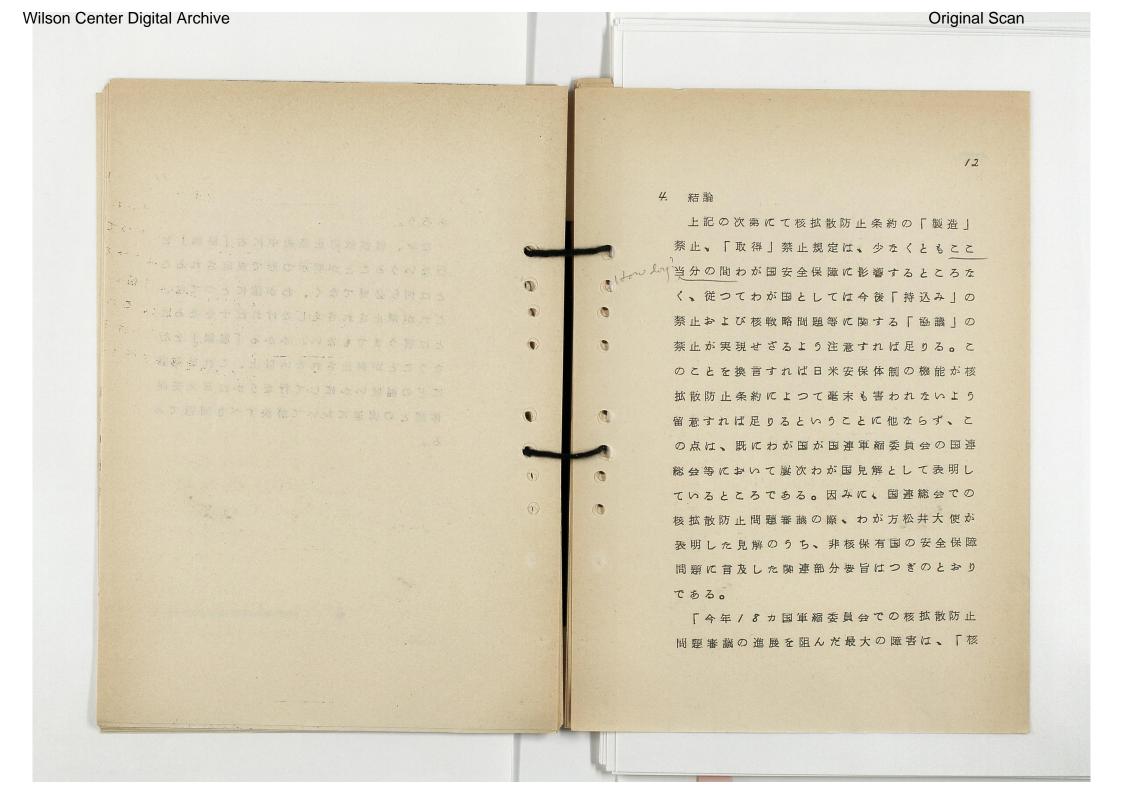
() 的优优设施安保系的优惠之主义 米国口险部

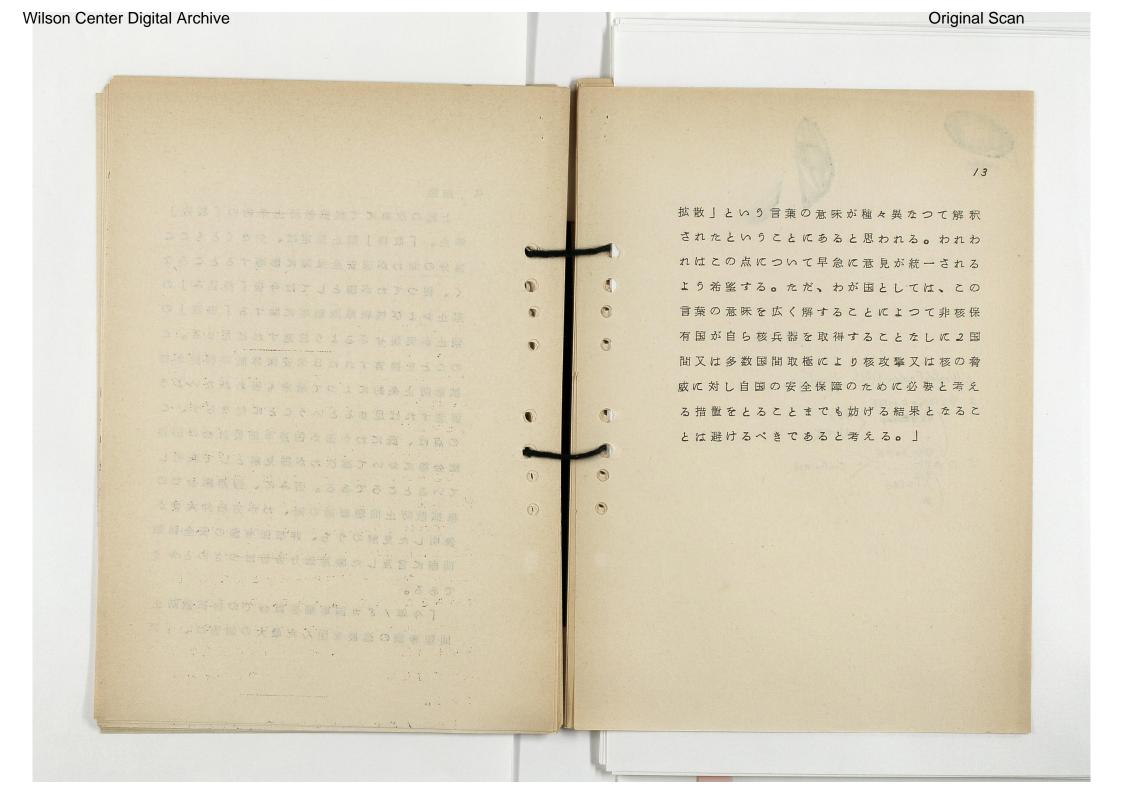
まる。民族者じている異状からみてとの別点

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なりことも核拡散なりとするソ連の主張を退けつづけており、又、最近、ソ連もこの種協議を行なりためにいわゆるマクナマクチ委員会(核計画の立案、目標の選定、移の使用等につき協議するためのNATOのの一機関であつて、従来暫定的性格ののとして設けられていたが、今年9月末のでするにおいて、これを恒久的機関にするといわれる。とは、おいるの態度をとっているといわれる。

(3) 上記次第にてかかる「協議」が核拡散防止条約上禁止されることとなる可能性は少ないと思われる。もとより右が禁止されるよう今後の米ソ交渉に販重なる注意を払うとともに、右、禁止・ルーンととなる。





Regarding the Relationship between the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Issue and Japan's Security (Draft)

1966.12.12

Disarmament Office, United Nations Bureau [Ministry of Foreign Affairs]

Preface

In view of the various recent discussions surrounding the relationship between the Non-Proliferation Treaty and Japan's national security, here is our tentative perspective on this point. Of course, the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty has not yet been concluded as of now, and it is difficult to say for sure how it will affect Japan's security unless the contents of the Treaty are fixed. However, this report examines possible impacts of three problematic points on Japan's national security: the prohibition of the "manufacture" and "acquisition" of nuclear weapons, the prohibition of the "introduction" of nuclear weapons, and the prohibition of the "consultation" on issues such as nuclear strategy. It concludes that while Japan needs to make efforts for the time being to ensure that this Treaty does not impair the functioning of the Japan-U.S. security arrangements, the possibility of such harm is small in light of the previous talks. Any comments are welcome.

- 1. Prohibition of "manufacture" and "acquisition" of nuclear weapons and Japan's national security
- (1) Prohibiting non-nuclear weapons states from "manufacturing" or "acquiring" nuclear weapons is the original purpose of the Treaty. Thus, the above two prohibitions will certainly be included in the Treaty, regardless of its concerns.
- (2) (a) Whether you saw an impact of the above two prohibitions on Japan's national security depends on whether you think Japan should possess its own nuclear forces in the future. If you think Japan needs to do so, the above two prohibitions would impose the most intolerable security constraints on Japan.
- (b) There could be various types of claims that Japan should possess its own nuclear forces. The most typical of which is a kind of theory of Gallois[1], which is summarized as follows:
- (i) Sooner or later, the People's Republic of China will built their nuclear arsenal and possess enough nuclear weapons to directly hit the U.S. mainland. In this case, the U.S. nuclear deterrence will be checked by Chinese nuclear forces. If China were to attack Japan, the U.S. might not be able to deter China. Therefore Japan needs to maintain its own nuclear deterrence against China.
- (ii) If Japan is to have its own nuclear deterrent against China, it must be invulnerable. But it does not need to be sufficient to destruct the entire territory of China. It should be sufficient if it can cause enough damage to offset the benefit that China would gain by attacking Japan. It is because nuclear deterrence is a force that is sufficient to dissuade the other party from initiating an attack in advance.
- (c) The above claims may not be unreasonable. Considering the progress of China's nuclear development, it is only a matter of time before China acquires nuclear forces that could reach to the United States (the timing is said to be around 1975). Furthermore, if the United States does not maintain its current superiority in the development and deployment of anti-missile missiles, Japan's security position may be weakened. However, it is natural to expect that the United States will make every effort to secure deterrence against China. There is no need for Japan to possess its

own nuclear forces even if such efforts by the United States will result in failure at this stage. Moreover, taking such steps means to express distrust of the U.S. deterrent capability, which would undermine the effectiveness of the security treaty on our fault. In any case, Japan declared not to go nuclear in its policy and the principle of the Atomic Energy Basic Law, Even if the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty prohibits the "manufacture" and "acquisition" of nuclear weapons, it cannot be said that it will cause damage to our national security. (Nonetheless, we cannot conclude that there is no need to change such policies in the future. From this point of view, it is vital to stipulate that the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty is valid for a limited period of time.)

(3) With regard to "acquisition," if Japan were to acquire nuclear weapons from another country, in the present situation, it is only possible to acquire them from the United States. However, if that country joins the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, the transfer of nuclear weapons would be prohibited. Therefore there would be no way for Japan to acquire them, regardless of whether Japan joins the Treaty or not. Consequently, the way to an acquisition of nuclear weapons is closed by the establishment of this Treaty and has no direct connection with Japan's participation to the Treaty. As for "manufacture," Japan, as a party to the 1963 Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, was prohibited from conducting all nuclear tests except those held in underground. Japan is already under significant restrictions on "manufacturing" nuclear weapons in this respect.

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- 2. Prohibition of the "introduction" of nuclear weapons and Japan's security
- (1) In addition to prohibiting the "manufacture" and "acquisition" of nuclear weapons, in relations to Japan's national security, whether the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty prohibits the so-called "introduction" could be problematic (the introduction means physical deployment of a nuclear weapon within foreign territory. It differs from "acquisition" in that the right to control the firing and other activities of the weapon is in the hands of the country in which the weapon is deployed).

Though Japan declared a policy not to tolerate the "introduction" of nuclear weapons into the country, in fact it is legally possible that U.S. nuclear weapons are "introduced" into Japan, on the condition that it is approved by prior consultations under Article 6 of the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty and the exchange of notes. Practically speaking, considering China, it should also be anticipated that Japan may need to "introduce" nuclear weapons of a defensive nature. From this perspective, it is clear that if the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty were to prohibit even the "introduction" of nuclear weapons, it would result in the "corrosion" of the Security Treaty in that part. Japan's security would suffer a negative impact.

(2) However, considering previous consultations and negotiations regarding the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, it is unlikely that the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty will be prohibiting even the "introduction" of nuclear weapons. In fact, the United States is thought to have deployed tactical nuclear weapons within NATO countries such as West Germany. While there is no evidence that the Soviet Union has not deployed nuclear weapons in Eastern Europe, in the previous negotiating process, the Soviet Union has not raised issues regarding the prohibition of the "introduction" of nuclear weapons. (Nevertheless, at this year's Eighteen Nation Committee on Disarmament (ENDC), some Eastern European countries insisted that the introduction of weapons should be prohibited. In addition, the so-called "Kosygin Proposal" can be said to made it difficult to introduce nuclear weapons in an indirect manner). Even if the Soviet Union or other countries make a official proposal to prohibit the "introduction" of nuclear weapons, the United States is unlikely to accept such a proposal in light of its commitment to the defense of Western Europe.

- (3) Of course, whether the "introduction" is prohibited under the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty will be determined after the Treaty is established. It goes without saying that all possibilities should be taken into consideration since the negotiation is still underway. If such prohibition were to be imposed, it would have significant impact on Japan's security. Therefore it would be necessary to take measures such as requesting the United States not to prohibit the "introduction" in the treat at some point.
- 3. Prohibition of "consultations" on issues such as nuclear strategy and Japan's security
- (1) Consultations on issues such as nuclear strategy refer to discussions on issues including the formulation of nuclear programs, the selection of targets, the use of nuclear weapons as deterrence in the peacetime. Given that Japan's security is basically depend on U.S. nuclear deterrence in accordance with the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty, it is likely that this kind of consultation with the United States will be necessary in the future. If the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty prohibits it, it will have substantial impact on Japan's security.
- (2) However, as mentioned above, the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty is currently under negotiation and it is unlikely that the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty will prohibit such "consultations" in light of the previous negotiations. In fact, the United States has consistently rejected the Soviet Union's claim that holding this kind of consultation within NATO is also nuclear proliferation. Recently, the Soviet Union reportedly has taken an attitude of not objecting to arrangements such as the so-called McNamara Committee (an organization within NATO for discussing the formulation of a nuclear program, the selection of targets, the use of nuclear weapons, etc. Although it was established as a provisional organization, the proposal to make it a permanent organization was adopted at the nuclear working group at the end of September this year. The proposal is set to be discussed at the NATO Ministerial Council in December).
- (3) It is unlikely that such "consultations" will be prohibited under the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. Needless to say, it is necessary to pay close attention to subsequent negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union, and to back up the U.S. position against the prohibition.

As a side note, it goes without saying that it is unnecessary to explicitly stipulate that "consultations" can be held in the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. It would be enough for our country if the consultations were not prohibited. As long as such "consultations" are not prohibited, the extent to which such consultations are actually conducted is a matter to be solved in relation to the Japan-U.S. security arrangements.

4. Conclusion

As is discussed in the above, the prohibition of "manufacture" and "acquisition" under the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty will not affect Japan's national security at least for the time being. Therefore it is sufficient for Japan to be cautious that the prohibition of "introduction" and the prohibition of "consultation" on nuclear strategic issues will not be realized henceforth. In other words, it is sufficient to pay attention that the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty does not harm every functions of the Japan-U.S. Security Arrangements. This point has already been expressed by Japan at the UN General Assembly of [sic] the UN Disarmament Commission (UNDC) and other meetings. Incidentally, among the views expressed by Ambassador Matsui at the UN General Assembly on nuclear non-proliferation issues, the following is a summary of the sentences that refer to the security of non-nuclear weapons states.

"The biggest obstacle that hindered the progress of the discussion on nuclear non-proliferation issues at the Eighteen Nation Committee on Disarmament this year is that the word "nuclear proliferation" was interpreted in various ways. We hope that opinions on this point will be unified as soon as possible. However, we believe that the broad understanding of the meaning of this term should not prevent non-nuclear weapons states from taking measures that they think necessary for their national security against nuclear attacks or threats, without acquiring nuclear weapons, through bilateral or multilateral arrangements."

[1] The theory was named after French nuclear strategist Pierre Marie Gallois.