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Disarmament Office, United Nations Bureau, Japanese Foreign Ministry, 'The NPT Issue (Views of LDP leaders)

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Summary:

The Office of the Disarmament Affairs summarizes the views of several leading LDP personalities (Matsuno, Nakasone, and Shiina) on the NPT.

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官房長（3）

極秘
無期限
23部の内
8号1

NPT問題（自民党首脳の見解）

国・軍

昭50.4.15

15日、大河原官房長は松野政調会長、中曽根幹事長、椎名副総裁と本件につき順次個別的に会談したところその要点次の通り。

1、松野政調会長との会談

（官房長より今次宮澤大臣の訪米の際の日米安保条約の再確認につき大臣より14日、3部会長に説明された3項目の内容を中心に説明したところ、）松野会長は訪米の成果が得られて非常に良かった。22日、総務会がNPT批准案件をあげるようにしたいと述べた。

2、中曽根幹事長との会談

（官房長より今次宮澤大臣の訪米につき同様の

GA-6　　外務省

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説明を（たいところ）中曽根幹事長は次のように
述べた。

(1)（再検討会議の開催時期、日本の同会議
におけるステータス、同会議における非核兵器
国の安全保障等の問題に言及し、同会議への
関心を示していた。）(注)

(注) 中曽根幹事長は、3月17日、グレーラ在京独大使に対し、
再検討会議に係る日本の態度については外務省で検討しているが
いずれ党とコンタクトがあるはずと語っている（軍縮室長）

(2)（官房長より宮澤大臣訪米に際し大臣より
我国としても非核兵器国の安全（の問題）が重要である
と考えている旨述べ、再検討会議をひかえ、
今後ひきつづき日米間で協議することになって
いる。この問題について既に非同盟諸国が

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核兵器不使用を内容とする議定書の採択を考えているが、我国はこれに同調する

ことはできない旨を説明したのに対し、）昨年11月、キッシンジャー長官来日の際、自分も

この問題につき同長官と話をし、同長官より返事をよこすと言った。この問題は何とか推進をはかる重要な点だと思う。ワルソー条約軍との軍事バランスの問題は「キ」長官も指摘していたし、自分もよく知っているが、日本はドイツ等NATO諸国とは立場が異っていると考える。（官房長より、国際会議で採択される決議は個々の国や個々の地域の立場を超えて

一律に問題をとり上げる必要があるので、日本としても、NATOの立場も含め、あらゆる

国の立場を考えて対処する必要があると述べた。）

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(3) いずれにしてもこの問題についての外務省の勉強は充分ではない。自分としてはNPTの目的とすべきことは核兵器国に対する他の核兵器国による攻撃を防止することが重要なのではなく、非核兵器国に対する核兵器国の攻撃を行わしめないことに重点があると考えており、このような方向で核兵器国のコミットメントをとりつけるよう、しっかりやってほしい。

（官房長より、再検討会議をひかえ我方で安保理決議255をとり込んだ何らかの決議ができないものかいろいろと準備をすすめている旨を説明。）本件批准問題は(注)如何なる外交努力がはらわれるか又再検討会議で如何なる決議が採択されるかその

内容したいんだ。安保理決議255は攻撃を受けた場合乃至脅威を受けた場合の措置を記しているにすぎない。自分は上記の通り、核兵器国が非核兵器国に攻撃を行わないとの約束をすることが重要であると考えている。既に南米に非核地帯が設けられているが今後非核地帯をふやしていくことが望ましいと考えている。

(注) わが方決議案は、

(イ) 非核兵器国の安全保障の強化が全ての核兵器国の high responsibility であることを強調(主文2項)

(ロ) 核兵器国に対し(国連憲章に従って)核兵器又は非核兵器の使用による武力の威嚇や行使を慎しむよう要請(主文3項)

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(1) 安保理決議255の支持（主文4項）

を骨子とするもので、或程度、中曽根幹事長の注文に

応えうる内容となっている。但し、米が支持してくれるか、

最終的に採択されるかが問題。（軍縮室長）

3. 椎名副総裁との会談

（官房長より今次宮澤大臣の訪米につき

同様の説明を（たところ、）

(1) 核兵器国が今後増えないようにとの

ような努力が行なわれているか（官房長

より米もイスラエルやエジプトに対する

原子力機材の供与については（極めて）厳しい措置

をとっている。我々も米国に対しルーズに

なってはならないと話している旨説明。）

(2) 米国の立場からみて日本のNPT批准は

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優先度が低いという話もある。（官房長より。
Hellman教授の意見は承知しているが、同教授
が何処まで米政府の立場を代表しているか
疑問あるべく、米政府は内政干渉といわれる
のを避けるため強い関心の表明にとどめて
いるが、核防条約体制の全般的強化という
形では各国が条約を批准することを強く
希望していると認められると説明。）

The NPT Issue (Views of LDP leaders)

Office of the Disarmament Affairs, the United Nations Bureau
1975. 4. 15

On 15th, the Deputy Minister Okawara individually met with the Chairperson of the Policy Research Council Matsuno, the Secretary-General Nakasone, and the Vice-President Shiina in a sequential order on this topic.

The main points of which are as follows.

1. Meeting with the Chairperson of the Policy Research Council Matsuno

(Regarding the reconfirmation of the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty during Minister Miyazawa's visit to the United States, the Deputy Minister explained mainly the contents of the three items explained by the Minister to the chairpersons of the three subcommittees on the 14th) Matsuno said that it was very good to see the fruits of his visit to the United States and would make effort to let the General Council to decide the NPT ratification proposal on the 22nd.

2. Meeting with the Secretary General Nakasone

(The Deputy Minister gave a similar explanation about the visit of Minister Miyazawa to the United States) Secretary-General Nakasone said as follows.

(1) (He expressed an interest in the review conference, referring to issues such as the timing of the meeting, Japan's status within the meeting, and the security of non-nuclear weapons states) (Note)

(Note) Secretary General Nakasone told German Ambassador to Japan Grewe on March 17 that Japan's attitude toward the review conference was being considered by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and there would be a contact with the party in due course. (Director of the office of the Disarmament Affairs)

(2) (On the occasion of Minister Miyazawa's visit to the United States, Deputy Minister stated that the safety of non-nuclear weapons states is important even for Japan, and Japan and the United States will continue to hold discussions in the run-up to the review conference. In this regard, he also explained that non-aligned countries are already considering adopting a protocol on non-use of nuclear weapons, while Japan cannot agree with this) When Kissinger came to Japan last November, I discussed this issue with him, and he said he would make a response. I thinks that this problem is an important point that needs to be promoted. Secretary Kissinger pointed out, and I am also fully aware, that there is a problem of military balance with Warsaw Pact forces. However, I think that Japan is in a different position from NATO countries such as Germany. (The Deputy Minister said that resolutions adopted at international conferences need to address issues uniformly beyond the standpoint of individual countries and individual regions. Therefore, Japan needs to consider the standpoint of all countries, including NATO.)

(3) In any case, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has not sufficiently explored this issue. I believe that what the NPT should aim for is not to prevent attacks by other nuclear powers vis-a-vis nuclear weapons states, but to prevent nuclear weapons states from attacking non-nuclear weapons states. I urge firmness in trying to secure the commitments of nuclear weapons states in this way.

(The Deputy Minister explained that Japan is making various preparations to see whether a resolution incorporating Security Council Resolution 255 can be adopted before the review conference.) (Note) The ratification issue depends on what diplomatic efforts will be made and what resolutions will be adopted at the review conference. Security Council Resolution 255 only describes actions taken in the event of an attack or threat. As mentioned above, I think that the point is a promise of nuclear weapons states not to attack non-nuclear weapons states. Although a nuclear-weapon-free zone has already been established in South America, we believe it is desirable to increase the number of nuclear-weapon-free zones in the future.

(Note) Our resolution:

(a) emphasizes that strengthening the security of non-nuclear weapons states is the high responsibility of all nuclear-weapon states (paragraph 2 of the main text).

(b) requests nuclear weapons states (in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations) to refrain from threatening or using nuclear or non-nuclear weapons (paragraph 3 of the main text).

(c) essentially supports Security Council Resolution 255 (paragraph 4 of the main text), which can meet Nakasone's request to some extent. However, the question is whether the United States will support it and whether it will eventually be adopted. (Director of the office of the Disarmament Affairs)

3. Meeting with the Vice-President Shiina

(The Deputy Minister gave a similar explanation about the visit of Minister Miyazawa to the United States)

(1) What kind of efforts are being made to prevent the increase of nuclear weapons countries in the future? (The Deputy Minister explained that the United States has taken extremely strict measures in providing nuclear equipment to Israel and Egypt. He also mentioned that we talked to the United States that we must not loosen up)

(2) There is an information that Japan's ratification of the NPT is of a low priority from the standpoint of the United States. (The Deputy Minister explained that though he is aware of professor Hellman's opinion, there are doubts about how far he represents the position of the U.S. government. Moreover, while the U.S. government only expressed a strong interest to avoid being criticized for interference in domestic affairs, it is observed that the United States strongly wishes the countries to ratify the treaty in the form of general reinforcement of the nuclear nonproliferation treaty system.)