

**December 16, 1966**

**United Nations Bureau, Japanese Foreign Ministry,  
'Our Lobbying on the Nuclear Non-Proliferation  
Treaty (Draft)'**

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**Summary:**

The Japanese Foreign Ministry plans to convey its views on the proposed nuclear non-proliferation treaty to the United States, particularly its concerns about how it might affect the US-Japan security alliance and the balance between nuclear weapons states and non-nuclear weapons states.

**Credits:**

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Japanese

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極 秘  
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核拡散防止条約に関するわが方  
見解の申し入れについて(案)

昭41/2/6  
国 連 局

1 方針

核拡散防止条約案作成に関する米ソの交渉  
が進展しつつあり、兩國共同条約案の成立も  
間近いことと考えられるので、右案文が固ま  
る前に早急に、わが方見解を関係国特に米國  
に申し入れ、これが同条約案中に反映される  
より努力することとする。(核拡散防止問題  
に関するわが方の基本的立場は、国連第2/  
回総会訓令——関係部分別添——のとおりで  
ある。)

II 要領

1. わが方見解を申し入れる相手國はまず第

Prevention of the Spread of Nuclear Weapons  
CANADA July 5, 1966  
Tabular Comparison of the USA Draft Treaty to Prevent the Spread of Nuclear Weapons (ENDC/152.2 &  
ENDC/152/Add.1) and the USSR Draft Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (ENDC/161.)

USA Draft Treaty

Preamble:

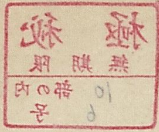
The Parties to this Treaty,  
Desiring to promote international peace  
and security,  
Desiring in particular to refrain from  
taking steps which will extend and intensify  
the arms race,  
Believing that the further spread of  
nuclear weapons will jeopardize these ends,  
Recalling that Resolution 1665 (XVI) of  
the General Assembly of the United Nations  
urges all States to cooperate for these  
purposes,  
Desiring to achieve effective agreements  
to halt the nuclear arms race, and to reduce  
armaments, including particularly nuclear  
arsenals,  
Reaffirming their determination to achieve  
agreement on general and complete disarmament  
under effective international control,  
Have agreed as follows:

Agreed Text

USSR Draft Treaty

Preamble:

The States concluding this Treaty, here-  
inafter referred to as "the Parties to the  
Treaty",  
Considering the devastation that would  
be visited upon all mankind by a nuclear war  
and the consequent need to make every effort  
to avert the danger of such a war and to  
take measures to safeguard the security of  
peoples,  
In conformity with the resolutions of  
the United Nations General Assembly calling  
for the conclusion of an agreement on the  
prevention of the wider dissemination of  
nuclear weapons,  
Desiring the earliest possible attainment  
of agreement on the complete prohibition  
and elimination of all types of nuclear  
weapons within the framework of general and  
complete disarmament under strict inter-  
national control,  
Desiring to further the easing of inter-  
national tension and the strengthening of  
trust between States, thus facilitating  
the conclusion of a treaty on general  
and complete disarmament,  
Have agreed as follows:



式ははる十開の蘇聯土領地局  
(案)アソコガ人」申の報展

る1と114開  
張 紙 用

後式 I

蘇交のく米は十開の蘇聯土領地局  
を立廻の蘇聯土領地局、4の「ソ」領地局  
を國境文書は、そのみはる大勢とらるるに  
國米の蘇聯土領地局を報展すは、其早に前  
るはるはるに中蘇聯土領地局、人」申の  
報展土領地局(案)アソコガ人」申の報展  
1と114開、其蘇聯土領地局の式ははる十開の  
式ははる十開の——蘇聯土領地局——合開命書

(。の案

開張 I

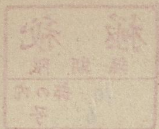
式ははる十開の蘇聯土領地局

一に米國とし、右申し入れは在米武内大使  
を通じて行なうこととする。ついで必要に  
応じ他の國にアプローチすることを考える  
こととする。

2 米國に対して申し入れる事項は下記のと  
おりとする。(米國以外の國に対して申し  
入れる場合には対米申入れに準じ適宜 ver-  
sion を作成することとする。)

(1) (核問題をめぐる国際政治のあり方に  
ついてのわが國の見解等を introduction  
の形で述べる。——別途地域局で作成)

(2) わが國は核拡散防止条約の締結が望ま  
しいと考えるものであるが、同条約への  
わが國の参加については、以下に述べら  
れたわが國の要望にてらし、条約の最終  
テキストをみた上でその態度を決定したいと考えている。



一、核兵器の保有国は、核兵器の拡散防止の目的を達成するためには、中共、フランスを含むすべての核保有国がこの条約に参加すべきである。

二、これとともに出来るだけ多数の非核保有国、特に、核兵器製造能力を有する非核保有国が参加することが肝要であり、これらの国の立場と見解は十分に尊重されなければならない。

三、かかる観点からわが国としては条約締結に当り下記諸点が充されることが必要と考える。

（一）この条約又は別個の宣言において核保有国が今後とも軍縮、特に核軍縮の實現に向つてあらゆる努力をする旨の意図を明確に表明すること。

(1) 核拡散防止の目的を達成するためには、中共、フランスを含むすべての核保有国がこの条約に参加すべきである。

(2) これとともに出来るだけ多数の非核保有国、特に、核兵器製造能力を有する非核保有国が参加することが肝要であり、これらの国の立場と見解は十分に尊重されなければならない。

(3) かかる観点からわが国としては条約締結に当り下記諸点が充されることが必要と考える。

(1) この条約又は別個の宣言において核保有国が今後とも軍縮、特に核軍縮の實現に向つてあらゆる努力をする旨の意図を明確に表明すること。





る核爆発平和利用規制問題は地下実験類  
 止問題との関連において検討すべき問題  
 である。従つて核試散防止条約に於いて  
 平和目的の核爆発を規制することは必要  
 でもなくまた適當でもない。何れにせよ  
 平和目的の核爆発を非核保有國に対して  
 のみ禁止するとの規定は核保有國と非核  
 保有國の義務と責任の均衡の観点からみ  
 て適當でない。

また、核保有國の義務と責任の均衡の観点から  
 平和目的の核爆発を非核保有國に対してのみ  
 禁止するとの規定は核保有國と非核保有國  
 の義務と責任の均衡の観点からみて適當で  
 ない。従つて核試散防止条約に於いて平和  
 目的の核爆発を規制することは必要でもな  
 くまた適當でもない。何れにせよ平和目的  
 の核爆発を非核保有國に対してのみ禁止す  
 るとの規定は核保有國と非核保有國の義務  
 と責任の均衡の観点からみて適當でない。









(a) This Treaty does not prejudice the right of non-nuclear states to allow foreign countries to deploy (so-called "introduction") nuclear weapons in their own countries.

(b) This Treaty does not prejudice the right of non-nuclear countries to consult with nuclear states regarding issues such as planning of nuclear strategy plans and deployment and use of nuclear weapons.

(iv) The duration of this Treaty should be limited to about five years at the outset to allow all countries to review their stance at the end of the term.

(v) Regular and timely meetings of the parties can be held to review any issues relating to the Treaty (including disarmament efforts by the nuclear countries).

(d) In addition, the international safeguards system should be developed and strengthened to ensure the peaceful use of nuclear energy.

(e) Peaceful nuclear explosions are prohibited under the Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, except for the case of an underground test. The issue of regulations on the peaceful use of underground nuclear explosions is a matter that should be considered in relation to the issue of banning underground tests. Therefore, it is neither necessary nor appropriate to regulate peaceful nuclear explosions by the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. In any case, from the viewpoint of balancing obligations and responsibilities of nuclear and non-nuclear countries, it is not appropriate to prohibit peaceful nuclear explosions only for non-nuclear states.

3. The following are points that should be kept in mind when making the proposal:

(a) Of the matters listed in 2., the section on national security (c)(iii) shall be explained to the effect that the conditions are indispensable for Japan's entry to the Treaty. With regard to other points, we will explain that these are our strong requests, and will avoid presenting them as Japan's conditions for joining the Treaty. In addition, if the other party asks whether these points are conditions, the response should be along with the following lines: "Though it is not a condition, to what extent these points are reflected in the completed text will naturally be considered when Japan decides whether it signs the Treaty or not."

(b) Regarding the relationship between the non-proliferation issue and the disarmament obligation of nuclear countries (Section 2(2)(c)(1)), if the other party asks specifically what disarmament measures we are seeking, the response should be along with the following lines: "As a non-nuclear country, Japan strongly opposes the exploitation of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty as a tool for nuclear monopoly. Therefore, it is important to clarify the intention of nuclear countries to make efforts toward disarmament. On the other hand, in light of the current situation that Japan is effectively ensuring its security through U.S. nuclear deterrence, Japan has no intention of demanding disarmament in the form of unilateral reduction of the U.S. nuclear deterrence. Our country believes that disarmament measures should be determined while respecting the principle of military balance, and we fully understand the difficulties of directly linking the establishment of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty with that of other disarmament measures."