



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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E.O. 11652: XGDS2

TAGS: PARM JA US

SUBJ: JAPAN'S RATIFICATION OF NPT

REF: A. TOKYO 1761; B. IAEA VIENNA 1124; C. TOKYO 2142

SUMMARY: FONOFF'S DISARMAMENT CHIEF PROVIDED US BACKGROUND FOR STRONG PITCH ON NPT RATIFICATION MADE YESTERDAY BY UN BUREAU DEPDIR NODA. NOTING CONTINUED COMMITMENT TO RATIFICATION BY PM MIKI AND FOMIN MIYAZAMA, HE FOCUSED ON STRONG OPPOSITION IN LDP COUNCILS. UNDER MIKI'S INSTRUCTION, FONOFF GEARING FOR MONTH-LONG CAMPAIGN TO OUTHANEUVER OPPOSITION IN LDP BY, IN EFFECT, "GOING PUBLIC" TO DISCUSS NPT AS FACTOR IN JAPAN'S NATIONAL SECURITY. TO OVERCOME CONTINUED ASSERTIONS BY OPPONENTS IN LDP THAT US IS AMBIGUOUS TOWARD JAPAN'S RATIFICATION, FONOFF HOPES FOR VERY HIGH LEVEL "EXPRESSION OF INTEREST". END SUMMARY.

1. FONOFF DIR DISARMA
IN EMBOFF TO PROVIDE, ON STRICTLY PERSONAL BASIS, FONOFF ASSESSMENT OF POLITICAL DYNAMICS ON NPT AND TO SPELL OUT CAMPAIGN PLANNED DURING NEXT MONTH TO ACHIEVE CONSENSUS NECESSARY IN LDP TO PROCEED WITH RATIFICATION. KAZUHARA
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SAID GOJ, FOREMOST PM MIKI AND FOMMIN MIYAZAWA, DETERMINED TO PROCEED BUT MIKI'S WEAK POSITION IN LDP IS MAJOR DEBILITATING FACTOR. UNDER MIKI'S AND MIYAZAWA'S INSTRUCTIONS, VICE FOMMIN TOGO AND DEP FOMMIN ARITA (ACCOMPANIED USUALLY BY KAZUHARA) IN PAST FEW DAY CALLED ON LDP VP SHIINA, SECY GENERAL NAKASONE, UN SPEAKER KONO, LH SPEAKER MAEO, FORMER PM SATO, AND DEP PM FUKUDA, TO SOUND OUT THEIR ATTITUDES AND ELICIT SUPPORT IN FORMING FAVORABLE CONSENSUS IN LDP. NAKASONE APPARENTLY LEAST POSITIVE BUT EVEN HE AGREED TO CONSIDER MATTER VERY SERIOUSLY.

2. OPPOSITION, OF COURSE, CENTERS IN LDP PARTY COUNCILS, WHERE, DURING RECENT MEETINGS WITH FONOFF TO DISCUSS NPT, NOLY "HAWKS" HAVE SPOKEN AND THEY HAVE CLAMORED AGAINST RATIFICATION.

FOLLOWING SUCCESSFUL NEGOTIATIONS WITH IAEA, ARGUMENTATION BY "HAWKS" HAS SHIFTED FROM EQUAL TREATMENT BY IAEA TO USUALLY EMOTIONAL ARGUMENT THAT JAPAN'S NATIONAL SECURITY WOULD BE JEOPARDIZED BY EARLY RATIFICATION OF NPT (FORECLOSING NUCLEAR OPTION). PATTERN OF OPPOSITION TO NPT PREVAILED IN THREE OF FIVE LDP COUNCILS CONCERNED: FOREIGN AFFAIRS RESEARCH COUNCIL (HEADED BY KITAZAWA, WHO STRONGLY OPPOSED NPT PERSONALLY BUT HAS NEVERTHELESS TRIED TO SEEK BALANCE AND CONSENSUS IN MEETINGS WITH FONOFF); FOREIGN AFFAIRS DIV (SAKAMOTO) WHERE FORMER HEAD SDF GENDA HAS MADE IMPRESSIVE AND RATIONAL ARGUMENTS AGAINST RATIFICATION BASED ON CONCEIVABLE FUTURE THREAT TO NATIONAL SECURITY; AND SECURITY RESEARCH COUNCIL (ARITA).

3. DESPITE PRESS REPORTS FEB 20 THAT MIKI, IN MEETING WITH KITAZAWA, HAS GIVEN UP ON NPT RATIFICATION THIS SESSION, KAZUHARA SAID FOLLOWING THAT MEETING MIKI INSTRUCTED MIYAZAWA TO PREPARE NEW THEISIS TO CAMPAIGN FOR RATIFICATION. TO COUNTER "THREAT TO NATIONAL SECURITY" ARGUMENT, FONOFF WILL SHIFT FROM FORMER EMPHASIS ON NPT AS A UN MATTER TO BE CONSIDERED APART FROM NATIONAL SECURITY TO DISCUSSION OF ISSUE AS ESSENTIAL FACET OF NATIONAL SECURITY. NEW POSITION PAPERS WILL BE PREPARED THIS WEEK TO USE IN CONFERENCE WITH LDP COUNCILS POSSIBLY LATE NEXT WEEK AND SUBSEQUENTLY WITH

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PARTY GENERALLY. FONOFF HOPES TO OUTMANEUVER OPPONENTS, WHO HAVE BEEN ABLE TO KEEP DISCUSSION CONFINED TO COUNCILS. BY, IN EFFECT, GOING PUBLIC. COUNTING ON SUPPORT OF PRO-NPT MEDIA, SUPPORT BY MAJORITY IN LDP, AND IN DSP AND KOMEITO, DECISION ON RATIFICATION ON NATIONAL SECURITY BASIS WILL BE FORCED ON SENIOR LDP OFFICIALS (NAKASONE, NAKAO, SHINA, ETC.) IN FULL PUBLIC DISCUSSION.

4. ALTHOUGH BILL FOR RATIFICATION SHOULD NORMALLY BE DELIVERED TO DIET BY MARCH 14, FONOFF TIMETABLE NOW CALLS FOR MONTH-LONG CAMPAIGN AND SPECIAL PRESENTATION TO DIET AS URGENT MATTER EARLY IN APRIL. SAFEGUARDS AGREEMENT, WHICH FONOFF HOPES TO INITIAL IN VIENNA NEXT WEEK, WOULD BE SENT TO DIET WITH NPT RATIFICATION BILL AS REFERENCE DOCUMENT FOR STUDY, NOT FOR SIMULTANEOUS RATIFICATION. KAZUHARA EXPLAINED THAT ATTEMPT FOR SIMULTANEOUS RATIFICATION COULD DOOM NPT RATIFICATION SINCE OPPONENTS COULD EASILY

BOG DOWN DEBATE IN DIET ON DETAILS OF SAFEGUARDS AND PREVENT MOVEMENT ON NPT BILL. (KAZUHARA CAUTIONED THAT THIS STRATEGY MUST BE KEPT ABSOLUTELY SECRET FOR PRESENT.)

5. STRESSING PERSONAL NATURE OF QUESTION, KAZUHARA THEN ASKED IF USG INTENDED TO TAKE ANY ACTION REGARDING JAPAN'S RATIFICATION OF NPT. RECALLING PAST INDICATIONS OF HIGH-LEVEL USG INTEREST IN EARLY JAPANESE RATIFICATION, HE SAID THAT LDP OPPONENTS ARE, NEVERTHELESS, EFFECTIVELY USING ARGUMENT THAT USG HAS SHOWN NO RECENT CONCERN WHETHER JAPAN RATIFIES OR NOT AND INDEED THE US IS "PROLIFERATING", FOR EXAMPLE, BY SUPPLYING ISREAL NUCLEAR TECHNOLOGY. KAZUHARA NOTED THAT MANY COUNTRIES, ESPECIALLY EUROPEANS, AUSTRALIA, CANADA, US, ETC, WERE VERY INTERESTED IN JAPAN'S PROCEEDING WITH RATIFICATION, AND HE THOUGHT THAT AT RIGHT MOMENT INTERNATIONAL "EXPRESSION OF INTEREST", AS OPPOSED TO PRESSURE, WOULD BE SIGNIFICANT CONTRIBUTION TO GOJ CAMPAIGN WITHIN LDP TO PROCEED. AS WE ARE WELL AWARE, HE SAID, "PRESSURE" WOULD BE COUNTERPRODUCTIVE AND PROVIDE AMMUNITION ESPECIALLY TO JSP AND JCP TO PUBLICLY OPPOSE RATIFICATION OF NPT AS ELEMENT OF US STRATEGY OF MAINTAINING US-JAPAN SECURITY TREATY AND PRESERVING MONOPOLY OF NUCLEAR POWER.

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COMMENTING AGAIN THAT HE SPOKE ONLY PERSONALLY, HE SAID HE THOUGHT REQUEST FOR APPOINTMENT BY US AMBASSADOR WITH EITHER PM MIKI OR FOMIN MIYAZAWA TO INQUIRE ABOUT PROGRESS ON RATIFICATION PROBABLY NEXT WEEK COULD HAVE IMPORTANT EFFECT. SIMILAR "INQUIRIES" BY OTHER KEY GOVERNMENTS WOULD ALSO, ALTHOUGH TO MUCH LESSER EXTENT, PROBABLY HELP.

6. COMMENT: KAZUHARA'S DETAILED ANALYSIS PROVIDES BACKGROUND FOR STRONG PITCH MADE BY UN BUREAU DEP DIRGEN NODA IN REFTEL C.
HODGSON

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