

August 3, 1978

**Cable No. 1512, Ambassador Sato to the Foreign
Minister, 'Treaty of Peace and Friendship between
Japan and China Negotiations (10th Meeting)'**

Citation:

"Cable No. 1512, Ambassador Sato to the Foreign Minister, 'Treaty of Peace and Friendship between Japan and China Negotiations (10th Meeting)'", August 3, 1978, Wilson Center Digital Archive, 2010-367, Act on Access to Information Held by Administrative Organs. Also available at the Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. Contributed by Yutaka Kanda and translated by Stephen Mercado. <https://wilson-center-digital-archive.dvincitest.com/document/220015>

Summary:

Note discusses difficulties between the Japanese and the Chinese negotiating the Treaty of Peace and Friendship.

Original Language:

Japanese

Contents:

Original Scan
Transcript - Japanese
Translation - English

秘密指定解除
情報公開室

極秘

注 意

1. 本電の取扱いは慎重を期せられたい。
2. 本電の主管変更その他については電信一般問合せ係 (TEL 2172) に連絡ありたい。

電 信 写

能な新しい案文は先ほどの大使の発言で日本側の拒絶を受けた。これに対しわれわれは甚だ残念に思わざるを得ない。

(2) われわれはおごそかに次のことを重ねて強調したいと思う。中国側が中日共同声明を守る断固たる決意はゆるぎなきものであり、いささかも動ようすることはない。反は権条項の精しんと実質を弱め、ほねぬきにし、否定し、中日共同声明から後退するいかなる意図 (注: 中国語; 企図) も中国側は全く考慮できない。第三者の圧力を容認し、それに迎合し、ひいてはくつ従するいかなるやり方も、中国側からみれば、それはえいちに欠け、政治的見識がないものである。率直に言うと、日本側が交渉の中で提出した「特定の第三国」とか、「いずれかの第三国」とかは、いずれも共同声明から後退するものであり、いわゆるミヤザワ4条件のやき直しである。ズバリ言えば、ソ連の圧力にくつ服したものである。このような明らかに後退を図る表現には中国側は過去も同意しなかつたし、現在も同意しないし将来も同意できるものではない。

(3) 7月21日から始まった中日交渉は、成果を収めている。われわれ双方とも努力を共にして、収めた成果を大切にすべきである。

(4) 中国側は、中日共同声明を基礎にして、中日平和友好条約を早期締結することは、両国の利益に合致し、両国人民の願いに合致するものであると確信している。中国側は、真心を込めてちゆう心より (中国語: いん切的真せいの) 条約の早期締結を希望する。同時にわれわれは、反は権の原則をも断固としていささかもゆるぐことなく守る。

秘密指定解除
情報公開室

極秘

注 意

1. 本電の取扱いは慎重を期せられたい。
2. 本電の主管変更その他については電信一般問合せ係 (TEL 2172) に連絡ありたい。

電 信 写

(5) 中国側の態度は、一かんして積極的なものである。しかし、これは決して原則を無視して妥結を急ぐことを意味するものではない。要するに、原則問題においては、中国側には妥協の余地はない。

(6) 最後にわれわれは、せい意をもつて日本の友人が中国の意見と、昨日われわれが提出した中国側の案文を今一度真けんに検討されることを希望する。

4. これに対し、本使より、次のとおり述べた。

(1) ただ今の韓副部長のお話しの中には問題点や私の同意出来ない点も含まれているが、これについては明日にも私よりお話する機会があるものと思う。

(2) 韓副部長が述べられたように、われわれは、21日からの会談で双方の努力により収めた成果を大切にすべきであると考える。

(3) われわれがなすべきことは、ここで声を大にして言いあうことではなく、しずかに双方が満足出来る点を誠意をもつてさがし出すことであり、私はそうしたいと考えている。

(4) 本日はこれで会議を終ることとしたい。

5. これに対し、韓副部長は次のとおり述べた。

明日は、貴方から本日の私の発言に対する御発言があるのでしょうか。

反は権問題については、自分の方からこれ以上話すことはあまりないが、私の本日の発言について明日大使の方から回答をいただけるとのことであれば、これに関する意見を明日聞きたいと思う。

6. 以上で本日の会談を終了し、次回は明日午後3時半から行うことに合意した。

(丁)

Number: (TA) R055748 5503
Primary: Asian Affairs Bureau Director-General

Sent: China, August 3, 1978, 19:05
Received: MOFA, August 3, 1978, 20:24

To: The Foreign Minister
From: Ambassador Sato

Japan-China Peace Treaty Negotiations (10th Meeting)

No. 1512 Secret Top Urgent
(Limited Distribution)
Re: Outgoing Telegram No. 1502

On the 3rd, from 3:35 to 5:10 pm, the 10th meeting took place over a period of 1 hour and 35 minutes (including a break of 50 minutes from 3:55). A summary of its main points is as follows (place and participants same as at previous meeting):

1. At the start, I said that today was the turn of the Japanese side to host the meeting and, asking that the Japanese side be allowed to go first, spoke as per separate telegram.
2. After my statement, Vice Minister Han proposed taking a break, so both sides took a break for approximately 50 minutes.
3. After the break, Vice Minister spoke as follows:

(1) The new draft that the Chinese side put forth yesterday is one that the Chinese side has put forth with a focus on the overall situation from a political angle based on the Sino-Japanese Joint Statement, after repeated serious and careful examination in taking into consideration to the greatest extent the Japanese side's view. The Chinese has already made its maximum concession. I believed that this draft would be satisfactory to the Japanese side as well, but this sound and practical new draft, full of the Chinese side's sincerity, was rejected by the Japanese side. We cannot but think that this is extremely regrettable.

(2) We would like to solemnly stress the following. The Chinese side's firm determination to observe the Sino-Japanese Joint Statement is unwavering and not vacillating in the least. The Chinese side absolutely cannot consider any attempt (note: in Chinese, qitu) to weaken, water down or reject the spirit or substance of the anti-hegemony clause or to retreat from the Sino-Japanese Joint Statement. As the Chinese side sees it, to accept the pressure of third parties, comply with it or submit to it would be lacking in wisdom and without political insight. Frankly speaking, such phrases that the Japanese side has put forth in negotiations, such as "any specific third country" or "any third country," are all a retreat from the Joint Statement, a rehash of Miyazawa's so-called four conditions. Speaking to the point, it is submitting to Soviet pressure. The Chinese side did not agree to expressions that were such a clear attempt at retreat, does not agree to them now, and will not agree to them in the future.

(3) The negotiations between China and Japan begun from July 21 have obtained results. Our two sides should work together and treat with care the results obtained.

(4) The Chinese side firmly believes that an early conclusion of the China-Japan Treaty of Peace and Friendship, on the basis of the Sino-Japanese Joint Statement, is in conformity with the interests and desires of the peoples of the two countries. The Chinese side ardently and sincerely (note: in Chinese, inqie de zhenxin de) hopes for an early conclusion of the treaty. At the same time, we will observe firmly and without wavering the principle of opposition to hegemony.

(5) The Chinese side's attitude has been a consistent and positive one. However, this definitely does not mean ignoring principle and rushing to a settlement. In short, the Chinese side has no room to compromise on issues of principle.

(6) Lastly, we sincerely hope that our Japanese friends now sincerely examine once more China's view and the draft that the Chinese side presented yesterday.

4. In response, I spoke as follows:

(1) There are problems and points with which I cannot agree in what Vice Minister said just now, but I think that there will be an opportunity for me to talk about this tomorrow.

(2) As Vice Minister Han said, we think that it is important that both sides work together and treat with care the results obtained in the meetings since the 21st.

(3) What we should do here is not talk with raised voices at one another but quietly and sincerely seek out points satisfactory to both sides. This is what I would like to do.

(4) I would like to end today's meeting here.

5. In response, Vice Minister Han said the following:

I wonder whether there will be a statement tomorrow from you regarding what I said today.

I have not much more to say regarding the issue of opposition to hegemony but, if the Ambassador were able to offer a response tomorrow to what I said today, I would like to hear his view of it tomorrow.

6. Thus ended today's meeting. We agreed to hold the next meeting tomorrow from 3:30 pm.

(End)