

August 10, 1978

Cable No. 1606, Ambassador Sato to the Foreign Minister, 'Treaty of Peace and Friendship between Japan and China Negotiations (1st Ministerial Meeting) (Part 1 of 2)'

Citation:

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Summary:

A discussion on Japanese and Chinese diplomacy as well as the issue of hegemony.

Original Language:

Japanese

Contents:

Original Scan Transcript - Japanese Translation - English

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情報公所許

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本電の主管変更その他につい 問合せ係(TEL 2172) に連絡

電信写

総番号 (AT)R057246 5641 78年 Я 10日 01時 国 78年 08月 10日 03時 22分 本

外務大臣

臨時代理大使 総領事 代理

日中平和友好条約交渉 (第一回大臣会談)

第1606号(2の1) 極秘 大至急

(限定配布)

ソノダ外務大臣及びコウ華外交部長との第1回会談は、9日午前9時半より12時 20分まで(途中10時37分より30分休けい)、人民大会どうの間において行わ れたところ、その概要次のとおり。なお、出席者は、日本側大臣、大使、高島外務審 議官、アジア局長、条約局長、ドウノワキ公使、タジマ中国課長、サトウ秘書官、🜆

事務官(通訳)、トウゴウ首席事務官(休けい後以降)、中国側は、コウ華外務部 **長、韓念リュウ副部長、フコウ駐日大使、チンペイ・アジア局長、王ギョウウン・ア**・ シア局次長、高建中ぎ典局副局長、チンイ良条約局副局長、テイミン日本処長、王効。 ケン日本副処長(通訳)、ジョトン信同副処長。

1. 冒頭コウ部長より、昨やはよく休まれましたかとの質問があり、ソノダ大臣より~ よく休み身体の調子は良いと述べたところ、同部長は、長期の準備をされえん路を 挟られたのでおつかれであろうと述べた後会談に入り、先す同部長より次の発言があ った。

私は中国政府を代表して、ソノダ外務大臣閣下及び御一行の御来訪を心からかん迎

参北北保

次総経国資漁 経国資

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する。1972年9月29日中日両国政府が共同声明を発表して以来間もなく6年に なる。この間両国の関係は各方面において良好な発展を見た。両国人民の理解と友情 は、大きく増進した。これは両国の今後の発展によい基礎となつた。共同声明に記さ れている重要な任務の1つは平和友好条約の締結であり、これからわれわれはその任 務を全うせねばならない。双方が最初に交渉を始めてから既に3年以上過ぎた。最近 サトウ大使と韓念りュウ副部長をそれぞれ団長とする両国交渉団の間の会談により条 約の関係条項について一定の進展があつた。外相閣下がこの度訪中され条約締結のた め一層の努力を行いたいとの熱情を持たれ成果を得たいとの信念をもつておられるこ とを評価するものである。

これまでの段階の会談により、双方は相互理解を深め多くの問題について意見の一 敗を見た。双方は共同声明の原則を維持し、条約の早期締結をいのると述べている。 重要な反は権問題については中日双方はは権を求めず、如何なる国または国の集団に よるは権を求める試みにも反対するとの点で意見は一致している。反は権条項の表現 については、双方とも提案を出しており、突込んで検討を行つた。交渉のしよう点は **冷でも反は権条項にある。これは表現の問題ではなく、共同声明の原則を守り、日中** 平和友好条約の締結にふみ切り、両国間の関係を良くするか否かの実質問題であると わが方はくり返し指摘して来た。

中日両国間には2000年にわたる交流の歴史があり、われわれの遺かんとする時 関もあつたが、大部分は友好を主とする交流であり、日中両国が世々代々友好的につ きあうのは両国共通の願いである。B中両国はともにアジア・太平洋地域にあり、当 面の国際情勢において重要な問題に直面している。われわれは世界の全局から問題を

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注意

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見つめるべきであり、政治的に高い見地からものを考えれば、反は権条項を含め交渉 の諸問題は解決し難い問題ではない。

ソノダ外相は中国のふるい友人であり人望の高い政治家であり、条約の早期締結に 熱心な方であり、外相自らの訪中により交渉は今や新しい段階に入つたと言える。われわれは、ソノダ外相訪中が交渉を推進し、早期締結に寄与するものとなることを期待している。中日共同声明の原則を守り、大同を求め小異を残すという精しんで交渉しさえすれば、乗り越えられない障害はないと信ずる。われわれは、ソノダ外相閣下及び日本の友人のみな様といつしよに両国人民から与えられた重任をまつとうするため努力したい。

私の発言はこれで終りだが、今後の会談をどのように進めるかについての御意見を うかがいたい。

2. そこでソノダ大臣より次のとおり発言された。

ただ今はコウ華外相閣下よりてい重な御あいさつをいただき、また私の訪中を突然申入れたにもかかわらず短期間にじん速に諸準備を整えて下さりあたたかいかん理をいただいたことをちゆう心より感謝する。韓念リュウ副部長とサトウ大使は既に14回にわたる会談を行い、特に韓副部長は病いを犯して重大な任務のため真けんな努力をされて来たことにけい意を表する。両国交渉団の過去14回の会談を私も真面目に見つめて来たが、相互の理解を深めることに意義があつたと思う。この条約の早期締結は日中両国のみならずアジアのはん栄のために意義があると思う。私はこれまでの交渉の成果を高く評価し、満足している。日本国民も、また、サトウ・韓念リュウ会談の進展について極めてよろこんでいると申上げたい。

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そこで、この会談について率直に申上げれば、双方の間には相互理解と信頼がまだ じゆう分ではないと思う。すなわち、日本側の提案に対して中国側はソ連にくつぶく しているとか圧力を受けていると言い、中国側の提案に対しては日本側は何かこう束 を受けるのではないかという感じをもつような情況である。私の今次訪中は交渉が行 きづまつたからではなく、交渉は円かつに進んでいるが、早く妥結した方がよいと考 え、私が来訪し直接話合いを行うならば、それはサトウ・韓念リュウ会談も順調に進 ませ得るのに役立つと考えて訪中したものであるということを理解いただきたい。

更に会談を進めるに当り、私は率直にかけ値なく有りのままに話し合いたいという ことを申し上げたい。私はいやな思いをしても構わないので貴方もどうぞ何でも言っ ていただきたいし、私の方もおはら立ちのことを申し上げるかも知れない。お互いに 率直に話合えば、サトウ・韓念リュウ会談もスムースに行くと思うので、率直に発言 することをお許しいただきたい。

先ず、本日の会談においては、国際情勢、アジア情勢、日本の外交方針、日中関係について詳細にお話するのが本筋であるが、正直に申上げてお互いに交渉の早期妥結を念願している以上、これらについてダラダラと話すわけには行かない。従って、交渉を円かつに進めるということを念頭において、関係のある問題について話を進めて行きたい。

3. これに対しコウ華部長より、次の通り発言があつた。

ただ今、ソノダ大臣より中国側に感謝する旨の御発言があつたことに対し御れい申 上げる。中国側は当然なすべきことをなしているに過ぎない。さて、日中平和友好条 約締結問題は、当面両国人民と世界の人民が注目している問題であり、ソノダ外相訪

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中の主要な問題である。そこでわれわれは精力を集中して先ず反は権条項について話を進めたい。その後に国際情勢や日中両国間の問題についてよろこんで詳細に話合いたいと思う。当面の国際情勢の下における双方の外交政策や双方の立場等については既にサトウ・韓念リュウ会談において双方がそれぞれくり返し表明して来た。双方の間には共通点もあり、異る点もあるが、これは極めて自然なことである。また、これは条約の早期締結を見るために障害となるものではない。

- 4. よつて、ソノダ大臣より、ただ今の責部長のお話をきいて私の考えを修正したい、 、先ず、は権の問題を話すことで差支えない、しかし、自分はそれに付随する問題に ついても話をしたい。では何れから先に発言するかと述べたところ、コウ部長は、先 に日本側の発言をうかがいたいと述べたので、ソノダ大臣より次のとおり発言された
- (1) それではお許しを得て発言をしたい。日米関係はサトウ大使が既に中国側に述べてあるとおりであるが、米国は日中条約について成功をいのると述べた旨外部には発表してある。しかし、実際の内容をそのまま言うと、カーター大統領、ヴァンス長官ともに日中条約を積極的にやつてほしいということであつた。その理由は貴外相の方がよく御存知だと思う。その1つは、米国は貴国と国交正常化を早くやりたいと思っているが、国内にしん重論があり、日中が出来れば米国の国内与論を説得する上にも有利な条件が出来ると考えている。その2つ目は、ソ連に対する考慮があることははつきり言える。これは、日中が条約を締結するのは米中の正常化と目的は異るが、考え方は同じということである。
- (2) 次にソ連に対しわれわれが如何に対処しているかを申し上げておきたい。ソ連

秘密指定解除情報公開室

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の政府及び新聞は日中条約についてしばしばこう議や非難の強いことを言つているの は御存知のとおり。これを貴国はソ連のきよう迫と言つている。このようなきよう迫 の如き言動がある度に私が如何なる態度を発表してきたかは貴国も知つていると思う 。ソ連はそのうち私の名前も出して来た。しかし私はその後ますます日中条約の早期 締結のために努力して来た。

- (3) 先般ウイエトナムから外務次官が訪日した。私は冒頭に越が自主独立の線から はずれないという前提に立つて援助を与える旨明らかにした。自主独立でなくなつた 時には援助を止めるつもりである。なおカンボデイアにはなるべく経済援助を行ない たい旨伝えてある。まだ具体的な相談はしていないが、サトウ大使がカンボデイアを 訪問する時に具体的な相談をしたいと述べてある。
- (4) なお先般の先進国首のう会議の際、英国の外相から中国に武器を供給しても日本は困らないかという話もあつた。自分がこのように種々と話をするのは貴国に対する好意からであると受け取つてもらつては困る。これは私個人のは権への闘争の問題である。私が申し上げたいのは反は権闘争を行なうのはもち論であるが、これは地域を限らないということである。ソ連とは権の問題について言えば、貴国とソ連の間の問題、日本とソ連の間の問題は異なるということである。私が説明したいのは、われっれも反は権闘争を現実には作つているが、貴国のやり方と日本のやり方とは異なるということである。
- (5) もう1つは、外交の基本方針は、貴国と日本との間には若干の差がある。日本 の憲法 9条は、同 9条があるから日本外交がこう束されているというのではなく、同 条こそ反は権の最高の表現である。それこそ人類最初の平和外交に徹した表われで

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ある。つまり、は権とは権をもつて争えば、争つたもの双方が亡びるという考え方に 立つている。

(6) 1972年共同声明が発出された時には権という言ばが出て来たが、なじみの 少ない言ばであつた。日本にむかしからある言ばは「王道」「は道」というものであ り、かつてソン文は最後に日本を離れる前に「力をもつて国を動かすをは道といい、 人心をもつて国を動かすを王道という」との言ばがあるが、日本の友人よ王道をすて てハ道に走ることなかれと述べたが、貴国は共産主義国であるから王道もは道も排す。 ると決定された。これは理解できる。しかし日本の中には王道、は道という言ばがま に残つている。それで当時共同声明が発表された時に新聞は、は権という字を見てさ わいた。しかしその後6年間反は権の概念は日本国民の間に定着しつつある。日本人 は力に頼りおどしをかけることには絶対に反対である。ただ1国をは権国と決めつけ こちらから敵対関係をとることは日本国民が受け入れない政策である。その点がサ トウ大使と韓副部長との会談の話に関連することとなる。ソ連に気がねしているわけ ではなく、日本国民がしゆくふくし、納得するふん囲気の下で締結したい。更に付言 すれば、ソ連が何か言つた場合、ソ連が理不じんであると言えるような条約を作りた マと考えている。

(ここでコウ華部長は、会談も1時間以上経つたので休けいにしたいと述べたので、 ソノダ大臣よりこれに同意され休けいに入つた。)

(了)

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Number: (TA) R057246 5641

Primary: Asian Affairs Bureau Director-General

Sent: China, August 10, 1978, 01:40 Received: MOFA, August 10, 1978, 03:22

To: The Foreign Minister From: Ambassador Sato

Treaty of Peace and Friendship between Japan and China Negotiations (1st Ministerial Meeting)

No. 1606 (Part 1 of 2) Secret Top Urgent (Limited Distribution)

The first meeting between Foreign Minister Sonoda and Foreign Minister Huang Hua took place, from 9:30 am to 12:20 pm (with a break of 30 minutes from 10:37) on the 9th, in a room of the Great Hall of the People. A summary of its main points follows. In addition, the participants were, on the Japanese side: the Minister, the Ambassador, Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs Takashima, the Asian Affairs Bureau Director-General, the Treaties Bureau Director-General, Consul Donowaki, China Division Director Tajima, Executive Secretary Sato, [name blacked out] (interpreter), and Principal Senior Director Togo (following the break); and on the Chinese side: Foreign Minister Huang Hua, Foreign Vice Minister Han Nianlong, Ambassador to Japan Fu Hao, Asian Affairs Department Director Shen Pei, Asian Affairs Department Deputy Director Wang Xiaoyun, Protocol Department Deputy Director Gao Jianzhong, Treaty Department Deputy Director Shen Weiliang, Japanese Affairs Division Director Ding Min, Japanese Affairs Division Deputy Director Wang Xiaoxian (interpreter), and Japanese Affairs Division Deputy Director Xu Dunxin.

1. At the start, when Foreign Minister Huang asked whether he had had a good rest last night, Foreign Minister Sonoda said that he had had a good rest and felt good. Following Foreign Minister Huang's speaking of Foreign Minister Sonoda's making preparations over a long period of time and coming here from a great distance, the meeting began. First, Foreign Minister Huang made the following statement.

Representing the Chinese Government, I sincerely welcome His Excellency Foreign Minister Sonoda and his party to China. It has been nearly six years since the governments of China and Japan announced the Joint Statement on September 29, 1972. This period has seen the favorable development of relations in every field between the two countries. The understanding and friendship between the two peoples have greatly increased. This has become a good basis for the future development of both countries. An important task written in the Joint Statement is the conclusion of a treaty of peace and friendship, and from this point forward we must carry out that task. Over three years have passed since our two sides first began negotiations. Recently, meetings between negotiation teams of the two countries, led by Ambassador Sato and Vice Minister Han Nianlong, made a certain degree of progress on the relevant treaty clauses. I appraise His Excellency the Foreign Minister for making this visit to China, for having the passion of desiring to carry out further efforts for the conclusion of the treaty, and for having the conviction of desiring to achieve results.

With the meetings until the present phase, both sides have deepened mutual understanding and reached consensus on many issues. Both sides have stated that they support the principles of the Joint Statement and wish for an early conclusion to the treaty. On the important issue of opposition to hegemony, the views of both the

Chinese and Japanese sides are unanimous in not seeking hegemony and in opposing any attempt to seek hegemony by any country or group of countries. Both sides have put forth proposals and plunged into examinations on the language of the anti-hegemony clause. The focus of negotiations remains the anti-hegemony clause. This is not an issue of language. Our side has repeatedly pointed out that it is a real issue of whether or not we protect the principles of the Joint Statement, act decisively to conclude the Treaty of Peace and Friendship between China and Japan, and improve relations between our two countries.

Between China and Japan is a history of exchange extending 2000 years. There was a period that we regret, but it has mostly been one friendly exchange. It is the common wish of both countries that Japan and China from one generation to the next have friendly relations. Both Japan and China are in the Asia-Pacific region and both are facing important issues in the present international situation. We should regard issues from the general situation of the world. If we consider them from a politically high point of view, the issues under negotiation, including the anti-hegemony clause, are not difficult to settle.

Foreign Minister Sonoda is an old friend of China, a highly popular statesman, and someone eager for an early conclusion of the treaty. With the Foreign Minister's personal visit to China, one can say that the negotiations have now entered a new stage. We hope that Foreign Minister Sonoda's visit to China will drive the negotiations and contribute to an early conclusion. I believe that, if we protect the principles of the Sino-Japanese Joint Statement, seeking common ground on major questions while reserving differences on minor ones, then there is no obstacle that we cannot overcome. Together with His Excellency Foreign Minister Sonoda and all the Japanese friends, we would like to work to carry out the important task given us by the peoples of our two countries.

My statement ends here. I would now like to hear your view on how to advance the talks from this point forward.

2. Minister Sonoda then made the following statement:

I am sincerely grateful for the gracious introduction given just now by His Excellency Foreign Minister Huang Hua, as well as for preparations quickly made in a short period of time, despite my sudden request to visit China, and the warm welcome given me. Vice Minister Han Nianlong and Ambassador Sato have already held talks fourteen times. I particularly pay my respects to Vice Minister Han who, while ill, has worked earnestly to carry out this important task. The negotiation teams of the two countries, and I, have seriously looked at the 14 previous meetings. I believe that they have been significant for deepening our mutual understanding. I think that this treaty's early conclusion would be significant for the prosperity not of Japan and China alone, but for Asia. I highly appraise the results of the negotiations so far and am satisfied with them. I wish to say how very pleased are the Japanese people, too, with the progress in the Sato – Han Nianlong meetings.

Now, then, to speak frankly about these meetings, I think that mutual understanding and trust between both sides are still not sufficient. That is to say, the situation is such that the Chinese side says regarding the Japanese side's proposal that it bows to the Soviet Union or is under pressure and the Japanese side feels somehow bound regarding the Chinese side's proposal. My visit to China this time is not because negotiations are deadlocked – they have been advancing smoothly – but because I think it would be better to have an early settlement. I would like you to understand that, if I have come here and am directly engaged in talks, it is with the thought of helping the Sato – Han Nianlong talks advance smoothly. That is why I have come to China.

I further wish to say that, in advancing the talks, I would like to discuss things as they

are, frankly and without exaggeration. I would like you to say anything, because it does not matter whether it is disagreeable to me or not. I, too, may say some things that anger you. If we speak frankly to one another, I think that the Sato – Han Nianlong talks will also go smoothly, so please allow me to speak frankly.

First, in today's meeting, the main point is talking in detail about the international situation, the situation in Asia, Japan's diplomatic policy, and Japan-China relations. However, speaking frankly and with each side sincerely hoping for an early settlement of the negotiations, it will not do for us to talk on and on about them. Accordingly, keeping in mind the smooth advance of the negotiations, I would like to proceed with the talks.

3. In reply, Minister Huang Hua spoke as follows:

I thank Minister Sonoda for his statement of appreciation just now to the Chinese side. The Chinese side has done only what it naturally should do. Now, then, the issue of concluding the Treaty of Peace and Friendship between Japan and China is one to which the peoples of the two countries and the peoples of the world are presently paying attention. It is the main issue for Foreign Minister Sonoda's visit to China. I would like, then, for us to focus our energies and talk first about the anti-hegemony clause. After that, I would be happy to discuss in detail the international situation and the issues between Japan and China. As for the diplomatic policies of both sides and the positions of both sides in the present international situation, both sides have already repeatedly stated them in the Sato – Han Nianlong meetings. Between both sides there are both points in common and differences, which is very natural. Nor is this an obstacle to seeing the treaty's early conclusion.

- 4. Therefore, Minister Sonoda said: Having heard what you just said, Minister, I would like to revise my idea. First, I have no objection to discussing the issue of hegemony. However, I would also like to talk about issues associated with it. When he asked which would speak first, Minister Huang said that he wished to hear the Japanese side's statement first, so Minister Sonoda spoke as follows:
- (1) Well, then, with your permission, I would like to speak. The relationship between Japan and the United States has already been told to the Chinese side by Ambassador Sato. It has been made known to the outside world that the United States has stated its wish for the success of the Japan-China treaty. However, to speak of the actual details as they are, both President Carter and Secretary Vance have said that they wish us actively to conclude the Japan-China treaty. I think, Minister, that you know the reasons for that. One of those reasons is that the United States desires to quickly normalize relations with your country, but there are those in the United States who argue for caution, so the thinking is that the conclusion of a Japan-China treaty will produce beneficial conditions for swaying domestic opinion in the United States. The second reason, it can clearly be said, is consideration regarding the Soviet Union. The objective for concluding the Japan-China treaty differs from normalization between the United States and China, but the thinking is the same.
- (2) Next, I would like to raise the issue of how we deal with the Soviet Union. As you know, the Soviet government and press have often been making protests and strong criticisms regarding the Japan-China treaty. This is what your country calls Soviet intimidation. I think your country also knows what kind of attitude I have shown each time there has been such intimidating behavior. The Soviet Union has mentioned me by name. However, afterwards I have worked more and more for the early conclusion of the Japan-China treaty.
- (3) There was recently a visit to Japan from Vietnam of its foreign vice-minister. I made clear at the start that we would offer aid on the condition that Vietnam not deviate from an independent line. We intend to halt aid when that independent line

disappears. In addition, I conveyed that we would like to give economic aid to the extent possible to Cambodia. There have not been concrete discussions yet, but I told him that we would like to have concrete discussions when Ambassador Sato visits Cambodia.

- (4) Further, at the time of the recent summit of advanced countries, the British foreign minister asked whether providing arms to China would not trouble Japan. I would like you to interpret my talking this way about various things as a sign of my regard for your country, but it would trouble us if you accepted them. This is my personal issue of struggle against hegemony. What I would like to say is that carrying out struggle against hegemony is a matter of course, but it is not limited too a region. Speaking of the issue of the Soviet Union and hegemony, the issue between your country and the Soviet Union differs from that between Japan and the Soviet Union. What I would like to explain is that we are in reality creating struggle against hegemony, but your country's way of doing it is different from that of Japan.
- (5) Another thing is that there is a little difference between your country and Japan in basic diplomatic policy. When it comes to Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution, it is not that Japan's diplomacy is bound by Article 9, which is itself the highest expression of opposition to hegemony. It is itself mankind's first thorough manifestation of peace diplomacy. In short, it is based on the thinking that if one were to fight hegemony with hegemony, then those on both sides who fought would perish.
- (6) When the loint Communique was issued in 1972, the word "hegemony" appeared. but it was an unfamiliar one. From the days of old in Japan, there were the terms "Kingly Way" and "Hegemonic Way." Once, before Sun Yat-sen left Japan for the last time, his words were: "To exert influence over a country by force is the Hegemonic Way. To exert influence over a country by winning the hearts of the people is the Kingly Way." He told his Japanese friends not to abandon the Kingly Way and go down the Hegemonic Way, but your country is a communist one, so you decided to reject both the Kingly Way and the Hegemonic Way. I can understand it. However, the terms Kingly Way and Hegemonic Way still remain in Japan. The press then made a fuss at the time of the Joint Communique's announcement when they saw the word "hegemony." However, in the six years since then, the concept of hegemony has been taking root among the Japanese people. The Japanese are absolutely opposed to relying on force to make threats. Yet the Japanese people cannot accept a policy of branding one country as a hegemon and adopt hostile relations against it. This point relates to the talks in the meetings between Ambassador Sato and Vice Minister Han. It is not a question of a fear of offending the Soviet Union. We are seeking to conclude the treaty in an atmosphere in which the Japanese people offer their blessing and consent. If I may add another word, I would like to create a treaty where, in the event that the Soviet Union said something, one could say that the Soviet Union was unreasonable.

(At this point Minister Huang Hua said that, as the meeting had gone on for over an hour, he wanted to take a break. Minister Sonoda agreed to this, and the break began.)

(End)