

August 10, 1978

Cable No. 1608, Ambassador Sato to the Foreign Minister, 'Treaty of Peace and Friendship between Japan and China Negotiations (2nd Ministerial Meeting)'

Citation:

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Summary:

Japanese and Chinese discuss the relationship between the two countries and express interest in a continued partnership.

Original Language:

Japanese

Contents:

Original Scan
Transcript - Japanese
Translation - English

外 務 省

W密指定解除 情報公開室

注意

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電信写

反は権に理解をもつている。日本については率直に言えば日本軍国主義の再現に対してはやはり不安をもつている。そのため中国は、一再ならず日本の友人のみな様に反は権条項を含む条約の締結は、日本に対する印象を改めるために有利であるといつてきた。これは実際に則した言い方であるとともに、日本に対する友好的立場から申し上げている。

- (3) 貴大臣は日本国民の見方についても触れられた。閣下は共同声明発出以来反は 権は国民の中に定していると言われた。われわれは閣下のこの言い方は、反は権の 原則が広く日本国民によりよう設されていることを表わすと考える。われわれは共同 声明の基礎の上に条約を早期締結することは両国民の願望 利益に合致すると考えて いる。しかし日本の一部がこれに反対していることも知つている。世界中どこでも良 いこと、正しいことが一部の人に反対されるのは不思議ではない。しかしこれに反対す るのはひとにぎりの人でしかない。正直にいつて彼らは、条約の締結にではなく中日 友好、国交正常化そのものに反対している。彼らは両国民の意思を代表していない。 もし日本の為政者がこれらの人を代表するなら国民多数の意思に反することとなる。 一にぎりの人にくつすることは多くの人をうら切ることとなる。
- (4) 外相閣下が就任以来一かんして条約の締結に積極的態度をとつてきたことはよく知つている。閣下は午前中再び条約締結への情熱を表明された。中国側は閣下のこの努力を称さんする。サトウ・韓念リュウ間では既に14回の会談を行ない、一定の進展を見せ、反は権については新しい案を出し、双方の意見は段々と接近している。ここに私は外相閣下及び友人のみな様に、双方の会談を一挙に妥結にもつていくため8月7日の日本側案文に原則的に同意する。すなわち反は権条項第1文を「この条

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Original Scan

注

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約は、第三国との関係に関する各締約国の立場に影響を及ぼすものではない。」との 案文である。これは中国の条約締結のための今―度の努力の表われである。条文の具 体的表現については、細かい問題点が残つているかも知れないが、これらは解決しに くい問題ではない。これらのし事は、サトウ・韓念リュウの間でやらせることとした い。外相閣下の同意があれば外相閣下と一しよにサトウ・韓念リュウ会談の成こうを いのりたい。

- 2. コウ部長が所要によるとして10分間の休けいを提案越し、約15分の休けいの 後、大臣より次のように述べた。
- (1) 私は過去20数年間日中問題で一かんして行動をとつてきた、日中議員連盟が 条件に追随するのはアジアにおける日本のこ立化を招くと述べた。これについては党 **見委にふせられ強い反対を受けた。はしなくも外務大臣就任の時、日中友好条約の締 詰は、私でなければえいきゆうにできないと感じた。国内における外務大臣としての** -かんした行動はよく御存知のとおりである。就任以来各国に行き行動をしてきた。 片の間いかなる所でも中国のたすけとなり、反は権闘争によいように行動してきた。 **冷回非常な無理をおして訪中を行なつた。もしこの時期に条約交渉が成こうしなけれ** ば日中関係は今後相当期間停滞し、ASEANの国々は日本及び中国と提けいし、平 和とはん栄にこうけんすることはできなくなる。そういう理由から、今次訪中に当つ ては私の生がいと運命をかけて訪中した。日本の政治家として生命をかけて参つた。 これは日本の政治家として貴国をあいし、より以上に日本をあいし、アジアをあいし かつ戦争の反省より出た私の願いである。私は先ほど貴大臣の発言が妥締の方向に

秘密指定解除

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大きく動いたことに深くおれいする。大臣閣下、韓念リュウ閣下が真に日本、中国、 アジアの未来のために決断されたことを高く評価する。私は、もしこの条約が妥結す るなら日本国民に対し、私の口から私の責任において、この妥結に至ったの は、中国の友人、中国の人民が日本に対する友情を示し、真にアジアの平和のた もに決断したからであることを日本の友人に対して率直に伝えるつもりである。 ここに先ほどの大臣閣下の提案に賛意を表し、韓・サトウ間で案文のツメを とを希望する。

- (2) なお貴大臣の見解につき簡単に付言したい。まず極めて率直にわが日本に対して率直な注意を友人としていただいたことを心からうれしく思う。ソ連のきよういについては、全く同意する。日本に対する東南アシアの疑念、不安、残念ながら、これもよく私の反省するところである。先般のASEAN外相会議でも特にこの点に留意してきた。今後も中国に対しても東南アシアに対しても、中国及び東南アシアのはん栄の中に日本の進路を求めていくことを誠意と実行により示していただきたい。日本軍国主義が再現しないことを今後の実行によつて示していきたい。
- (3) 日本の中に一部の反対者がいることは事実である。しかし日本の世論調査で、無条件で条約を妥結させるというのは30%近くしかいない。残りの、いわばしん重派の人々は、日中友好がアシアの基礎であることはよく知つているが、これらの人々は日中条約の帰結が真に両国の発展とアシアの平和のためなのか、それともソ連に対する中国の戦略の一かんに日本が引きずり込まれるかという点に不安をいだいている。この友好条約の締結により、この不安は一そうされるであろう。両国が純すいに手をにぎりこれを、た東南アシア諸国も純すいに足なみをそろえる時本当に反は権に対

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- 3. ついで大臣より、サトウ・韓念りュウ会談において双方が努力されることを願う 旨発言があり、大使より時間については明日何時でも都合のよい時にしたいと述べ、 コウ部長はこれを了承した。
- 4. 更に大使より、本件は極めて重大なことであるので、サトウ・韓会談で案文を合意するまで外部には出さないこととしたい旨述べ、コウ部長は、サトウ・韓交渉で一 なが得られるまで外部に発表しないことに同意した。
- 5. 最後にコウ部長より、ただ今の貴大臣の発言をうかがい、貴大臣が中国と同じようにこの会談を完成させる熱情をいだいていることを感じた。これは日本政府と日本人民の願望を反えいしていると考える、両国人民の願いを正しく反えいしてこそ3年半の交渉を終結させ、両国人民の願いに沿えるものと信ずる旨発言があり会談を了し

(了)

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Number: (TA) R057275 5644

Primary: Asian Affairs Bureau Director-General

Sent: China, August 10, 1978, 03:30 Received: MOFA, August 10, 1978, 05:57

To: The Foreign Minister From: Ambassador Sato

Treaty of Peace and Friendship between Japan and China Negotiations (2nd Ministerial Meeting)
No. 1608 Secret Top Urgent
(Limited Distribution)

The second meeting took place on the 9th, from 4:20 until 5:20 pm (with a break of 15 minutes). Following is a record of it. (Participants were the same as in the 1st meeting, following the break.)

- 1. At the start, Minister Huang Hua said: Following your statement this morning, Minister, I would like to state the Chinese side's attitude. He then said the following:
- (1) The hegemony article of the treaty of peace and friendship, first of all, is binding on the Chinese and Japanese sides. The Chinese and Japanese sides have declared that they will not seek hegemony. That is the way it is, not only now but in the future, even if the economy develops. This attitude of China has become well known among the peoples of Asia and the world. Writing this into the treaty is an expression of China's determination not to seek hegemony.
- (2) In Your Excellency the Foreign Minister's statement this morning, there was a reference to the attitude of the Southeast Asian countries. Certainly, the Southeast Asian countries are interested in the treaty negotiations and desire the treaty's conclusion. Their welcoming the treaty's conclusion is because of the real threat of Soviet socialist imperialism and, next, because they have doubts about Japan arising from historical circumstances. The Southeast Asian countries, the same as China, suffered imperialist invasion and losses. That is why they are wary of the Soviet Union and understand China's opposition to hegemonism. Regarding Japan, frankly speaking, they are naturally uneasy about a reappearance of Japanese militarism. That is why China has repeatedly said to all the Japanese friends that the conclusion of the treaty, including the anti-hegemony clause, is beneficial to Japan for improving its image. What we are saying conforms to reality, and we are saying it to Japan from a friendly position.
- (3) Minister, you also touched on the viewpoint of the Japanese people. Your Excellency also spoke of opposition to hegemony taking root among the people since the issuing of the Joint Statement. We think that what Your Excellence is saying is that the principle of opposition to hegemony has been nurtured and observed broadly by the Japanese people. We consider the early conclusion of the treaty on the basis of the Joint Statement to be in conformity with the desires and interests of the peoples of the two countries. However, we also know that some in Japan oppose it. It is no wonder that, anywhere in the world, there are some opposed to what is good and right. However, it is only a handful of people who are opposed to this. Honestly speaking, they are not opposed to the conclusion of the treaty; it is Sino-Japanese friendship and the normalization of relations that they oppose. They do not represent the will of the peoples of the two countries. If Japan's statesmen represent these persons, then they will be in opposition to the will of the majority of the people. Yielding to a handful of persons would be betraying a large number of people.

- (4) We know that Your Excellency the Foreign Minister has consistently taken a positive attitude since assuming his position. Your Excellency this morning again expressed enthusiasm for the treaty's conclusion. The Chinese side applauds Your Excellency's efforts on this. Fourteen meetings have already taken place between Sato and Han Nianlong. They have shown a certain progress. The two sides have put forth new drafts on opposition to hegemony, and the views of the two sides have gradually been growing closer. Here, Your Excellency the Foreign Minister and all the Japanese friends, in order to bring the talks of our two sides to a conclusion at a stroke, I agree in principle with the Japanese side's draft of August 7. That is to say, the proposal is to make Sentence 1 of the anti-hegemony article "The present Treaty shall not affect the position of either Contracting Party regarding its relations with third countries." This is again an expression of China's effort to conclude the treaty. Regarding the concrete expression of the provisions, there may be some minor issues remaining, but these are not difficult issues to settle. I would like to have Sato and Han Nianlong do the work on them. With the agreement of Your Excellency the Foreign Minister, together with Your Excellency the Foreign Minister I would like to wish success for the Sato Han Nianlong talks.
- 2. Minister Huang, by reason of necessity, exceeded the proposed break of 10 minutes. After a break of 15 minutes, the Minister spoke as follows:
- (1) I have taken action consistently for the past 20 years on issues between Japan and China. Before the establishment of the Dietmen's League for Japan-China Friendship, I had run in the Japanese magazine Chuo Koron an article calling for ties between Japan and China. I said that unconditionally following the United States would lead to Japan's isolation in Asia. I was therefore brought up before the Liberal Democratic Party's Discipline Committee and strongly criticized. When, unexpectedly, I assumed the post of foreign minister, I felt that concluding a friendship treaty between Japan and China could never be accomplished if not by me. My consistent acts as foreign minister are well known in Japan. Since assuming this post, I have gone to various countries and taken action. During that time, everywhere I have taken action in aid of China and for the good of the struggle against hegemony. I really went to great lengths to make this visit to China. If we do not succeed at this time to conclude the treaty, then relations between Japan and China will hereafter stagnate for a considerable period of time. The ASEAN countries will then be unable to cooperate with Japan and China and contribute to peace and prosperity. For such reasons, I have come to China at this time in staking my purpose in life and destiny. I have come to stake my life as a Japanese politician on it. This desire of mine arises, as a Japanese politician, from loving your country, loving Japan even more, and loving Asia, as well as from reflecting on the war. I offer my profound gratitude for Your Excellency the Minister's recent statement having moved greatly in the direction of a settlement. I highly value Your Excellency the Minister and Your Excellency Han Nianlong for truly making a decision for the future of Japan, China, and Asia. If this treaty is settled, I will directly inform the Japanese people, inform them myself and on my own responsibility, that coming to this settlement is an expression of friendship on the part of the Chinese friends, of the Chinese people towards Japan and that the settlement is truly due to the decision made for the sake of peace in Asia. This is what I intend to convey directly to the Japanese friends. I express here approval for the recent proposal of Your Excellency the Minister and wish to have the draft hammered out between Han and Sato.
- (2) In addition, I would like to say a bit more in regard to your view, Minister. First, quite frankly, I, as a friend, am happy about Japan receiving straightforward admonishments. I completely agree in regard to the Soviet threat. As for Southeast Asia's doubts and unease regarding Japan, regrettably, this is also something on which I have reflected. At the recent ASEAN Foreign Ministers' Meeting, too, I took particular note of this point. Henceforth, too, I would like to express, in good faith and in practice, to China and to Southeast Asia that we will seek Japan's course in the prosperity of China and Southeast Asia. I would like to express in practice henceforth

that Japanese militarism will not appear again.

- (3) It is true that in Japan there are some opponents. However, in Japanese opinion polls, only close to 30 percent are in favor of unconditionally concluding the treaty. The rest, the people of the so-called cautious faction, know well that friendship between Japan and China is Asia's foundation. However, these people worry whether concluding the Japan-China treaty is really for the sake of the development of the two countries and the peace of Asia, or whether Japan will be dragged into China's strategy against the Soviet Union. With the conclusion of this friendship treaty, this unease will probably be swept away. I believe that when our two countries genuinely join hands and the countries of Southeast Asia, seeing this, fall in step, the struggle against hegemony will truly become effective. I firmly believe that the fight against hegemony is not only for the present situation but, extending forever into the future, the struggle against hegemony should be continued from various positions. We do not, caught up in what is before us, make an opponent of one country alone. Such a treaty between Japan and China would become a treaty in name only, not something for all time. On the treaty's conclusion, there will be various problems for Japan as well. Therefore, we will need China's help as well. However, your country, too, has various problems. In that case, I will visit China at any time. Also, I will ask you to come over to Japan from your country. My thinking is to cooperate and handle matters so as not to allow any scorn from another country.
- 3. Following that, the Minister stated that he wished for Sato and Han Nianlong to cooperate in their talks. The Ambassador stated: I would like to set the talks tomorrow for whatever time would be convenient. Minister Huang acknowledged this.
- 4. Further, the ambassador stated that, as this was an extremely important matter, he wished that it not be disclosed to the outside until an agreement was reached on a draft in the Sato-Han talks. Minister Huang agreed not to disclose it to the outside until a consensus was reached in the Sato-Han talks.
- 5. Finally, Minister Huang stated: Having just heard your statement, Minister, I felt that you are as eager as China is to bring these talks to completion. I think that this reflects the aspirations of the Government of Japan and the Japanese people. I believe that concluding three years of negotiations in correctly reflecting the desires of the peoples of the two countries will meet the desires of the peoples of the two countries. With that, he ended the meeting.

(End)