

**July 29, 1972**  
**Record of the Third Meeting between Takeiri  
Yoshikatsu and Zhou Enlai**

**Citation:**

"Record of the Third Meeting between Takeiri Yoshikatsu and Zhou Enlai", July 29, 1972, Wilson Center Digital Archive, 2001-298, Act on Access to Information Held by Administrative Organs. Also available at the Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. Obtained by Yutaka Kanda and translated by Ryo C. Kato. <https://wilson-center-digital-archive.dvincitest.com/document/118835>

**Summary:**

During a conversation with Takeiri, Zhou Enlai reviewed the main points of their opinions from the first and second rounds of dialogue.

**Credits:**

This document was made possible with support from MacArthur Foundation

**Original Language:**

Japanese

**Contents:**

- Original Scan
- Transcript - Japanese
- Translation - English

7月29日 19:30~21:30

竹入・国会談 (第3回)

○ 昨日は、遠いところ、電話をありがたうございました。あのニュースは、竹入先生がいつていたように、自民党の右派より、蒋介石が、やったのではないかと思います。あの中には、国府という言葉が何回も出てきます。国府の説得が難しいということが書いてあります。廖さんの話では、東京新聞はサンケイ新聞と何か関係があるようです。私達の方も、岸さんから知らせがあり、彼が言うことに依ると、田中首相、大平外相の考え方は変っていないということです。

△ これは安心をいたしました。

○ 先生は真面目です。私達の話し合では、いろいろ予想した方がよいということでした。

△ いつれ、物事は最善とは限りません。

○ 物事に、変化がありますから。  
東京のニュースをキャッチするのは早いです。  
新華社と共同通信と電送の関係をつく

ともよいと考えています。そうすると、向うのニュースが、すぐ入ってきます。先生がいわれるように、色んなニュースが取りまわすから……

△ 日本のマスコミは、とくに記事のスクープを以て加りますから不正確な記事が出てきます。国民が迷惑します。

○ しかし、見方が鍛えられますね。錯覚も起りますか……

△ 感覚が又ヒして無責任な風潮が起ります。

○ 世論を指導する莫からいえば、やはりそういう面がありますね。この面からいえば、執前から比べると、自由になってきました。

△ 自由が多すぎるようです。

○ 自由が多すぎると、その反面がいつてしましますね。つまり、思想の起伏が激しくなってきたのでしよう。

△ 同時に、人間本来の価値観が、把みにくくなってきました。モラルが乱れてきました。これを、又、引き止めようとする、反対

が起ります。これからの日本の教育は大いに重大になってきました。

○ 先生方は社会活動の視野が広いと思うのですが、よく把握するのでしょう。

△ これ程適確ではありませんが心配しています。青年が自己の使命感、義務感がうすくなったように思います。一つは、アメリカの占領政策の影響であり、一つは高度経済成長政策によるものです。自国の中遠くもあるが、結局は日本を指導する政治の責任です。こういう真の田中首相に期待するところは大きいです。田中首相は本来、教育に熱心です。これをどう改革するか、期待しています。

○ 田中さんとしては、国際問題を解決してから国内の眼を向けるのでしょう。選挙の彼の公約からいっても、内政問題が決まっていまふね。これは、国民の期待でしょう。野党がそういう面を促進的役割を果たせば、新しい要素が出てきます。そこまでには相当の努力が必要でしょう。

△ そうですね。余りうまくいいますと野党の役割が少なくなります。

○ 出立の賛れについて、後の者がそれとやるので(は)。

△ 田中首相に期待するのは、刻苦勉励にて進  
程になったことです。今太閤といわれています  
国民の期待が空しいです。

○ 田中さんは佐々木さんと同じ県の出身ですか。

△ 首相は新潟県で、佐々木さんは宮城県です。

○ 同じ東北です。ズラズラ年が入っていますか。

△ 首相はズラズラ年ではありません。  
首相とこちらへ来る前に話しましたが、今、人  
気がよいことを自分は知っているが、自分は、こ  
の人氣に慢心しないように、自戒にしているとい  
っていました。

○ 経済が今日まで発展し、國際的に利ま  
したが、現在の満足にはいけません。思  
い、困難と突破はなくてはなりません。

先生が帰る迄に、私達の話しを具体化  
したいと思ひます。

今回の第1回、第2回は意見の交換でした。  
いま、私達の意見の交換をいいたいと思ひます。

3A

田中首相、大平外相は、考えの上で後述  
つと思います。

私たちの考えでは、田中首相、大平外相が  
訪中する場合は、共同声明が、共同宣言を  
院表した方がいいと思います。

△ 同意です。

○ 思い付いたところは、こういう問題です。  
もし、田中、大平両氏が、これより決山、  
また、もっと少くしてもいいと思う場合は  
意見の交換は可能です。

## 1. 戦争終結の問題

私たちとしては、こういう表現でいきたいと思いた  
すが、どうでしょうか。

「中華人民共和国と日本国との間の戦争状態  
は、この声明が公表される日に終了する。」  
ここでいう、この日というのは、共同声明または共  
同宣言が発表された日のことです。

△ これは共同声明の中に入れるのが可収。

○ そうです。こういう表現でいくと、これが終了する  
のですから、みんな安心します。

2. 国交の問題です。こういう表現でいきたいと思  
います。…… どうでしょうか。

「日本政府は、中華人民共和国政府が提  
出した中日国交回復の三原則を十分に理  
解し、中華人民共和国政府が、中国を代表す  
る唯一の合法政府であることを承認する。

これに基づき両国政府は、外交関係を樹  
立し、大使を交換する。」

竹入先生の見解ですと、田中首相に困難はあ  
りませんか。

△ 私の見解ですが、困難はないだろうと思ひます。  
これは、田中首相の従来からのいひ方ですから。

○ そのつぎは簡単です。

3. 「双方は、中日兩國の國交の樹立が、兩國人民の長期にわたる願望にも合致し、世界各国人民の利益にも合致することを声明する。」

中国の場合には文法上「声明する」が先に出てきます。日本語に翻訳すると「声明する」が後になります。これは検討しましよう。

この一項は、中米共同声明から受け継いだものです。双方が共同に決めた才傑です。

4. 「双方は、主権と領土保全の相互尊重、相互不可侵、内政不干渉の相互不干渉、平等互惠、平和共存の五原則に基づいて、中日兩國の関係を処理することに同意する。

中日兩國間の紛争は五原則に基づき、平和的交渉し合いを通じて解決し、武力や武力による威嚇に訴えない。」

今の一句も中米共同声明の中で、キフンソヤ一が得意がっているところでは、(中国の平和共存の五原則をアメリカが受け入れたという意味で) ここで書いたのですから、私たち兩國が先に実行に移しましよう。

日本は、台湾、澎湖、湖島を放棄しました。私たちは、日本の北方の4つの島を日本が



回復することを支持します。これは、田中首相が五原則に基づいて発表したことがありますね。

△ 世界の人達の中で、これに反対する人はいないでしょう。

○ 反対できません。

5. 「双方は、中日両国のどちらの側もアジア太平洋地域で覇権を求めず、いずれの側も他のいかなる国あるいは国家集団が、こうした覇権をうちたてようとするに反対するということを声明する。」

これも、中米共同声明の矛先ですが、これは意味のあることだと思います。

これは、田中首相がこういうことをいうのは、早すぎるというなら相談できます。中米両国が一致してそのことですから彼らも反対できないでしょう。日中両国の接近にアメリカは反対できないが、どこかの国に反対が出るのは、やむを得ません。

△ 私はこの点についての表現について、相談するとのことは、まことにありがたいと思います。しかし、これを受入れられるか、どうか、田中首相、大平外相に話します。

- つまり、旗印を鮮明にするということです。  
私たちが協力して、他が覇権を求めるなら  
共同して、反対しようということです。
- △ こういう風に表現しても、また、ゆえに、  
ソ連は高圧を加えてくるのでしよう。
- 彼らが、いくら高圧を加えても、私たちは、  
準備をしていますから手の出しようがないで  
しよう。100万の軍隊を北方に派遣してあ  
ります。
- △ 国総理の中のあるご理解あるお申し出は、  
田中首相に伝えます。
- 田中先生には無理はいいたくありません。  
それで「つき」にいたします。

○ 例えば、この中で、どこかの一句、霸権の言い方がきつすぎるのなら、言い方を緩えていいと入れなくてもいい。昨来、平和友好条約に入れてもよいと思います。そうしないと、平和友好条約に書くものがなくなります。

△ 私たちが、いちはん心配していた台湾の領土の問題、日台条約の問題を大々心配慮いたたいて、まことにありがとうございます



△ 蒋介石のグループがあるかも知れません。昨年のわが党の共同声明には、蒋介石グループという言い方をしました。

○ あるいは、蒋介石の大使館、領事館といつてもよいですね。

△ 日本政府としては、台湾と國交をつづけてきた事実があります。前段に台湾という言葉がありますから、ここも、台湾の大使館という風にしてもらえると結構ですが、その余地がありますか。いずれにしても、この点、田中首相、大平外相に考える余地を残してほしいと思います。

○ いいと思います。

のである。」

△ 最大の感謝をします。お礼の申はうもありま  
人。

○ 当然だと思えます。私たちが挙げているの  
は、莫ですか、田中首相の方で、他のもの  
も入れたいというのでしたら、話し合つてお  
いと思えます。この共同声明の文にしても  
日米安保、佐藤ニクソン共同声明の「台湾  
条項」日台条約を入れず避けています。  
あなたが来られた以上成功させたい。そう  
して、国交が回復されれば過ぎたことにな  
ります。これは、政治的に言っているで、法  
律は当てになりません。第二次世界大戦の  
中に、いろいろな法律がありました。あなた  
方も、それでどの国にあつていよう。し  
よの頭は硬直で、新しい政治の赴くこ  
ろが判らななつています。ヤルタ協定も  
は、大巨頭がつつたものですが、今はどう  
なつていよう。-----  
日中国交回復は、人民の願望に政治が結  
びついていよう。

△ これで、すべての懸案が満たされました。  
ありがとうございます。

○ お礼の問題ではなく、情勢を憂えるために、努力しなくてはなりません。公明堂の立場と田中首相の努力とが、矛盾しないようになりました。内政では、一致しない点があることは当然でしょう。竹入さんは、中國へお出でになった時、何か気まづい心理状態があったでしょう。それが必要になりました。

△ はいへん、ご配慮を頂き感謝いたします。国総理のご好意を田中首相、大平外相が反対する理由は何もないと確信いたします。責任を以て正確に伝えます。

○ 感謝しております。これは、大事業ですから一人の人間や、一党の力ではありません。人民の大事業です。これで、先生の今回来られたこと、報かたないようになりました。

具体的問題の若干答えたいと思います。

① 竹入先生のご意見の賛成は、原則的に問題がなければ、田中首相が自ら来られる時の訂正の方がいいと思います。東京で論議すると秘密が洩れるかも知れません。

② これも、竹入先生のご意見ですが、時期

01-11-15

は9月の下旬がいいと思います。1週間位でし  
たら、下旬がいいと思います。國慶節も、5周  
年、10周年なら別ですが、今、中日兩國の  
問題は、大事なことですので、他の事は二次  
的のことに存じます。

田中首相の地方訪問にお供いたします。

9月下旬が来るければ、少し延ばすことも考  
えられないことはありません。その時期がい  
ちばん望ましいと存じますが、その時期で  
存してほらないという意味ではありません。

③ 田中首相、大平外相の訪中が定まるは  
期の少し前、吾国を長する文章を刊行  
したいと思います。

(日本の田中首相と大平外相が、中国を  
訪問する。國務院周恩来総理がこ  
れを歓迎し、招請する。)

訪中の時期については、9月の下旬というように  
大まかに書いた方がよいと思います。

田中首相が来られる以上できるだけ時間を  
割いて、お供をしたいと思います。

ニクソンより時間を多くしたいと思います。  
というのは、國交の樹立ですから。……

△ 首相の訪中の時期の表明の方法は、どのよ  
うにしたらよいか。

○ 8月16日の孫さんが帰国します。それまでいき  
まれば、孫さんへ伝えて下さい。  
それ以降ならば、青さんへ伝えて下さい。  
竹入先生からでも結構です。大平外相か  
らでも結構です

④ 東京から北京直行は可能です。  
安全モードで試験飛行をやった方が  
良いと思います。ナビゲーター(航空士)  
と通信士を東京に派遣します。  
ニクソンの場合、試験飛行をやりまし  
た。キリンジャー自身の大型機の飛  
行機でやって来ました。

△ 公表しましたか

○ 公表しなかった。意図もしなかった  
でしょう。CIAのキリンジャーの方も  
知りません。判りませんでした。  
キリンジャーの پاکستانから来た  
とまもりに際的にニュースはもれまじ  
りませんでした。北京の駐在記者もつかめ  
ませんでした。キリンジャーは最初  
来たときは緊張しました。その必要は  
ありませんでした。田中首相に中口  
に来るとまもりは緊張しなくても良いと伝  
えて下さい。

⑤ 田中首相、大平外相が、来られる場合は随行は  
何名でもかまいません。

電信装置、無線装置も持ってきてかまいません。  
ニクソンの場合は、飛行機の中でセツマシ。

⑥ 首相、外相の訪米の場合は、日本の記者も訪  
中を希望するでしょう。首相に決ってもらい、(人数)  
どの社にするかは、そちらで選んで下さい。

こちらで招待します。新聞司の方でセツマ  
をつくりませう。宇宙中継は、セツマがあまりか  
ら援助したいと思えます。

安全を保証します。先般方は何回も来られているから  
判っているでしょう。

⑦ 帰ってから結果が判つたら、かいつまんで肖氏  
に言つて下さい。あまりくわしく伝えることはまいた  
まいた、例えは、

相談をする必要がある。

賛成するとか、(8項目、3項目)

お会しから相談するとか、で結構です。

大平さんに伝えて下さい。東京駐在の、連絡事  
所は、外交機関では、私、覚書貿易の年事扱です。

外務省と正式に連絡を取りあうということはない  
と思えます。孫肖、許、江の夫人は  
充分頼りにありますし、信頼できます。

記者から聞かれて、外相も正式な交渉を開始し  
たいと云つていますが、正式にはやりません(下)



やはり、記者からいろいろ聞かれます。竹入先生が  
 尚志人と連絡をとるのもよろしいでしょうし、内閣で、  
 大平外相が直接、尚志人と話にも結構です。孫志  
 人はお月中旬に帰国します。田中首相が彼らと  
 会見するから私共も、大々うれしいと思えます。  
 大事な伝言があれば、孫一人に云って下さい。

毛主席に先生のことと伝えました。毛主席も、先生  
 に敬服しています。田中首相、大平外相はよく  
 お伝え下さい。

日中国交回復は大事事ではありますが、一握りの  
 人であっても、それを妨害する人がおられるから、  
 気をつけて下さい。蒋介石も特務班と同事に  
 入っているでしょう。竹入先生のお話をよく聞か  
 るでしょうから、充分気をつけて下さい。

(林彪 問題についての国総理発言は別紙)

- △ 何から何まで 本当にありがとうございます。
- 当然のことです。私たちの話はいずれ強  
 と終ることが出来ます。  
 では、お元気で
- なお、予備にわたる会議の内容は、すべて  
 重要でありますので、田中首相、大平外相以  
 外は、完全に秘密を守って下さい。

014588

52

私たちの方も当然秘密を守ります。  
すべて竹入先生を信頼して申しあげることです。

△ 田中首相、大平外相に、このことを申し上げます。  
ほんとうにありがとうございます。  
岡谷理もおえ気で、また、参ります。

以上

















XX

XX

XXXXXXXXXX

XX

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

XXX

[1972]

July 29th 19:30~21:30

Takeiri [Yoshikatsu]-Zhou [Enlai] Dialogue (Third Round)

Zhou: Thank you for telephone call late last night. I believe that news was as you said. I believe Jiang Jieshi [Chiang Kai-shek] did it at the behest of the right-wing in the LDP. The word 'Nationalist Government' appeared numerous times. It said that it would be difficult to convince the Nationalist Government. According to Mr. Liao [Chengzhi], it seems that the Tokyo Shimbun has some sort of relationship with the Sankei Shimbun. We heard from Mr. Xiao that it seems that Prime Minister Tanaka [Kakuei] and Foreign Minister Ohira [Masayoshi] have not changed their mind.

Takeiri: I am glad to hear that.

Zhou: You are serious. We can expect much to come from our conversation.

Takeiri: We cannot always count on things to have the best outcome, however.

Zhou: Things do change after all.

Tokyo is very quick to catch the news. I think it would be good for Xinhua and Kyodo to link transmissions. This way the other's news will arrive immediately. As you said, there are various news everyday...

Takeiri: Japanese media always wants to scoop the news, so inaccurate articles come out. It is a bother for the citizens.

Zhou: However, it trains your perception. Although, it could cause misapprehension.....

Takeiri: It will numb the senses and create a tendency for irresponsibility.

Zhou: With regard to its role in guiding the public opinion, I suppose it could have that sort of affect. However, compared to before the war, the press has become more free.

Takeiri: It seems that there is too much freedom.

Zhou: I suppose that if there is too much freedom, it goes too far. It must mean that the fluctuations in opinions are getting more severe.

Takeiri: At the same time people are losing the sense of value essential to humans. Morals are being disheveled. If we attempt to straighten things out, there will be pushback. Education will be extremely important for Japan.

Zhou: I believe that you have a wide perspective and grasp of social movements.

Takeiri: My grasp is not very precise, but I am worried about the situation. I believe young people's sense of duty and responsibility is thinning. I believe one reason for it is the effects of America's occupation policy. Another reason for this is the policy of high economic growth. There is certainly the aspect of self-delusion, but ultimately

this is the responsibility of the politics that leads Japan. With regard to this concern, I believe we can place a lot of hope in Prime Minister Tanaka. Prime Minister Tanaka has been enthusiastic proponent of education. I am hopeful to see how he will reform education.

Zhou: I believe that Mr. Tanaka will deal with international issues, and then look to domestic issues. Judging by his election promises, there seems to be a lot of domestic issues. I am sure that the citizens expect something in this regard. I believe if the opposition party played a supportive role with regard to domestic issues, this could present a new factor. This would require considerable amount of effort.

Takeiri: I think so. If things go too well there would be no need for the opposition party.

Zhou: They will call it 'surpassing the master,' and someone who from behind will do it.

Takeiri: Prime Minister Tanaka worked diligently to become Prime Minister. He is currently called the Imataiko [Translator's note—this was a name used for Toyotomi Hideyoshi, who rose to become the preeminent Japanese warlord in the late 16th century despite his peasant background. Likewise, Tanaka rose to Prime Minister despite never going to college]. The citizens' expectations are high.

Zhou: Is Mr. Tanaka from the same prefecture as Mr. Sasaki.

Takeiri: The Prime Minister is from Niigata prefecture and Mr. Sasaki is from Miyagi prefecture.

Zhou: They are both from the Northeast. Do they have the 'zu-zu' dialect.

Takeiri: The Prime Minister does not have the 'zu-zu' dialect.

I spoke with the Prime Minister before I arrived, and he knows that he is popular. However, he said that he will be self-admonishing so that his popularity does not make him conceited.

Zhou: The economy has developed and become international, however, we cannot be satisfied with the current state. We have to break through the difficulties.

By the time you leave, I want the topics we discussed to take shape.

The first and second rounds of dialogue have been exchanges of opinions. I want to review the main points of our opinions. Prime Minister Tanaka and Foreign Minister Ohira will be extremely effective.

It is our thinking that we should release a joint statement or joint declaration when Prime Minister Tanaka and Prime Minister Ohira visits China.

Takeiri: I agree.

Zhou: The points I can think of are the following. If Mr. Tanaka and Mr. Ohira wish to add or lessen the points, we are open for discussion.

1. Regarding the conclusion of the war:

We want to phrase it in the following manner. What do you think?

“The state of war between the People’s Republic of China and Japan is concluded on the day that this statement is announced”

Here, ‘this day’ is to mean the day on which the joint statement or joint declaration is announced.

Takeiri: This will be included in the joint statement?

Zhou: Yes. If we used such an expression, this would be concluded, and everyone would feel at ease.

2. Regarding the issue of diplomatic relations, we want to use the following wording...What do you think?

“The Japanese Government, in acknowledgement of the Three Principles for the Reestablishment of Sino-Japanese relations as submitted by the Government of the People’s Republic of China, recognizes the Government of the People’s Republic of China as the sole legal government that represents China. On this basis, both countries will establish diplomatic relations and exchange ambassadors.”

Mr. Takeiri, in your opinion would this be problematic of Prime Minister Tanaka?

Takeiri: This is my opinion, but I do not think that this would be a problem. After all, this is the way that Prime Minister Tanaka has been phrasing the issue.

Zhou: The following portion should be easy.

3. “Both countries declare that the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Japan is in line with the long-term wishes of the two countries’ peoples, and that it will also benefit the peoples of every nation.”

In Chinese grammar, ‘To Declare’ comes at the beginning. However, when translated into Japanese “To Declare” comes at the end. Let us consider this topic.

This is part is taken from the China-US Joint Statement. It is the first point made by both parties.

4. “Both countries agree to handle relations between China and Japan on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence: mutual respect for sovereignty and the preservation of territorial integrity; mutual non-aggression; mutual non-interference in internal matters; and equality and reciprocity. In accordance with the Five Principles, disputes between China and Japan will be resolved peacefully and without the use of force or the threat of force.”

The previous passage was also used in the China-US Joint Statement, and is something [Henry] Kissinger was proud of. (This is to mean America recognized China’s Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence.) We first wrote it with the Americans, but let us put it into practice first.

Japan has abandoned Taiwan and Penghu Island. We will support Japan in retrieving the Four Northern Islands [the Northern Territories or the Southern Kurils]. Prime

Minister Tanaka has spoken about this on the basis of the Five Principles.

Takeiri: I do not believe that there are people in this world that would be opposed.

Zhou: One would be unable to oppose it.

6. "Both countries declare that neither China nor Japan seeks hegemony in the Asia-Pacific region and that we are opposed to any other country or group of countries that seeks attain hegemony in such a way."

This is the second point made in the China-US Joint Statement. I think this point is very meaningful.

If Prime Minister Tanaka believes that it is too early to raise such a thing, we can discuss the matter. This is something that China and the US both agree on, so I imagine that the US cannot be opposed. America cannot oppose closer relations between Japan and China, but, inevitably, there will be some country that comes out in opposition.

Takeiri: I am very thankful that you offered to discuss the wording of this point. However, I will speak with Prime Minister Tanaka and Foreign Minister Ohira about accepting this wording.

Zhou: I mean to clarify our standpoints. It means that if another country seeks hegemony, we will jointly cooperate to oppose them.

Takeiri: Even if we keep the wording as is, or weaken the wording, the Soviet Union will apply pressure.

Zhou: No matter how much pressure they may apply, we are prepared so that they have no way of interfering. We have deployed one million troops in the north.

Takeiri: I will convey to Prime Minister Tanaka of Premier Zhou's understanding.

7. Both countries agree to conclude a peace and friendship treaty, based on the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, after the establishment of diplomatic relations between our countries."

8. "For the sake of friendship between the peoples of China and Japan, the Government of the People's Republic of China abandons its right to seek war reparations from the Nation of Japan."

9. "Prior to the conclusion of a peace and friendship treaty, the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of Japan will conclude, as necessity dictates, such agreements in the fields of commerce, navigation, aviation, weather, post, fishing, and science and technology in order to develop economic and cultural relations, and to expand the exchange of people."

It is too late to begin with a peace and friendship treaty. The difference with the US with regard to this point is that such a relationship of peace and friendship already exists between our countries. The fishing agreement between China and Japan is functioning better than the agreement with the Soviet Union. Can you hear the telephone conversations well? Mr. Miike is the Minister of Posts and Telecommunications, and he is part of the Fukuda faction, is he not? Mr. Miike said

that a satellite relay would be necessary if Prime Minister Tanaka is to visit. Prime Minister Tanaka responded that China will prepare something and that there is no need to rush. Is this what he said?

We are currently considering the previous eight points. Please let us know if anything else comes to mind from the Japan side.

Takeiri: The points I conveyed to Premier Zhou through Mr. Liao [Chengzhi] are included. Therefore, I do not believe that there will be anything else from the Japanese Government.

I give my thanks for your kind and lenient understanding.

Zhou: We do not need to include a statement saying that the wording may be changed; for instance, the wording of the section on hegemony is thought to be too strong. I think it would be fine to include it in the peace and friendship treaty. If we do not do so, we will not have anything to include in the peace and friendship treaty.

Takeiri: Thank you very much for your consideration regarding the issue of the Japan-Taiwan Treaty, we were very worried about the Taiwan territory issue.

Zhou: I wonder if we should make a list of our mutual tacit agreements.

We will not include these tacit agreements in the statement or declaration.

Please consult to see if we can agree to do so.

#### List of Tacit Agreements

At this point we have three [tacit agreements], but Prime Minister Tanaka and Prime Minister Ohira may say that they want to add more.

1. "Taiwan is the territory of the People's Republic of China and the liberation of Taiwan is a Chinese domestic matter."

This is an easy sentence.

2. "After the announcement of the joint declaration, Japan will remove its embassy and consulates from Taiwan, and will effectively remove from Japan the Jiang Jieshi group's embassy and consulates."

Takeiri: There may be resistance to the wording, "Jiang Jieshi group." Last year my party used the term "Jiang Jieshi group." (Translator's note: Takeiri suggested using the borrowed English term rather than the Sinic term.)

Zhou: Or we could say Jiang Jieshi's embassy and consulates.

Takeiri: For the Japanese Government, there is the reality that Japan and Taiwan had diplomatic relations for some time. We have previously used the word Taiwan, so would it be possible to say, "the Taiwanese Embassy." In either case, I hope that you allow for Prime Minister Tanaka and Foreign Minister Ohira the latitude to consider the wording.

Zhou: I think that is fine.

3. "After the liberation of Taiwan the assets and firms of Japanese organizations and individuals that existed after the Second World War will be dealt with appropriate consideration."

Takeiri: I give you my greatest thanks. There are not enough thanks that I could give.

Zhou: I think this is a matter of course. These are the three points from our side. However, if Prime Minister Tanaka has anything on his side that he would like to add, I believe it would be fine to discuss the matter. The wording of the joint statement avoids the Japan-US Security Alliance, the "Taiwan Clause" of the Sato-Nixon Joint Statement, and the Japan-Taiwan Treaty. Now that you have come to China, I want for our discussions to be a success, for diplomatic relations to be reestablished, and for all this to be in the past. This is a matter of politics and laws will have no bearing. There were many laws during the Second World War, and you suffered under them did you not? Kishi is thickheaded and he does not know that a new state of politics is coming. The Yalta Agreement was made by the Big Three [The Soviet Union, the United States, and the United Kingdom], but what has come of the Agreement now?.....

The reestablishment of Japan-China relations ties politics with the will of the people.

Takeiri: This takes care of all the pending concerns. Thank you very much.

Zhou: This is not a matter of thankfulness, but rather a matter of taking the effort to change the situation. The Komeito's [Komei Party] standpoint and Prime Minister Tanaka's efforts are no longer contradictory. Certainly there are domestic issues, which the two do not agree on. When Mr. Takeiri came to China, were you not troubled with some thoughts? I believe those worries are unnecessary now.

Takeiri: Thank you so much for your consideration. I am convinced that Prime Minister Tanaka and Foreign Minister Ohira have no reason to oppose your courtesy. I will take personal responsibility to convey the message.

Zhou: Thank you very much. This is a great achievement, and so is not the accomplishment of one person or one party. This is the people's achievement.

I would like touch on some specific issues.

(1) I concur with Mr. Takeiri, however, if there are no fundamental problems, I believe that it would be better to make corrections with Prime Minister Tanaka comes here personally. If discussions are held in Tokyo, I am afraid that word will be leaked out.

(2) This is also Mr. Takeiri's opinion, but we believe that the end of September would be best. If it is for a week, I believe the end of the month would be good. It would be a different case if it were the 5th or 10th anniversary of the National Day, but China-Japan relations are important, so the National Day is of secondary importance.

I will accompany Prime Minister Tanaka's visit to the provinces.

If the end of September is not good, it would not be impossible to hold off for a little longer. That time period would be best, but it is not to say that it is the only



acceptable time.

(3) I hope that the text of the joint announcement can be prepared before Prime Minister Tanaka and Foreign Minister Ohira's visit is confirmed.

(Prime Minister Tanaka and Foreign Minister Ohira of Japan will visit China. Premier Zhou of the State Council is delighted to make this invitation.)

Regarding the timing of the visit, I believe it is best to be general and say, "the end of September."

As long as Prime Minister Tanaka is coming, I hope to take as much time possible to accompany him.

I hope to spend more time with him than I did with [US President Richard] Nixon. After all, we are establishing diplomatic relations....

Takeiri: How shall I convey the timing of the Prime Minister's visit?

Zhou: Sun will return to China on August 16th. Please convey the date to him by then.

If it is after that, please convey the date to Mr. Xiao. You can let him know, or it could be through Foreign Minister Ohira.

(4) A direct flight from Tokyo to Beijing is possible.

To put safety above all else, I think we should have a practice flight. I will send a navigator and a telegraph operator to Tokyo.

We had a practice flight for Nixon, as well. Kissinger came on the president's plane.

Takeiri: Did you publicize this?

Zhou: They did not publicize it or think to do so. The CIA might have caught wind of it, however.

When Kissinger came from Pakistan, the news was not leaked internationally. The press in Beijing also did not catch wind of the visit. Kissinger seemed nervous when he first came, but there was no need. Please tell Prime Minister Tanaka that he has no reason to be nervous when he comes to China.

(5) If Prime Minister Tanaka and Foreign Minister Ohira come to China, how many people will also attend?

We do not mind if telegraph equipment and radio equipment are also brought.

When Nixon came to China, such tasks were completed in his plane.

(6) If Prime Minister Tanaka and Foreign Minister Ohira come to China, I believe Japanese journalists would also want to visit China. Please have the Prime Minister choose and how many journalists from which companies will come. We will provide

the invitations. We will make a press center with the news department. Our center has a satellite relay, so we would like to assist you in this regard.

We would like to guarantee safety. You have come to China many times so I am sure you already know this.

(7) When you return home and the decision has been made, please give a summary to Mr. Xiao. I do not think there is a need to go too much into detail. For instance,

We need to discuss something.

Or, that we agree. (Entry 8, Entry 3)

Or it would also be suitable to tell him that you will consult with him in person.

Please convey this to Mr. Ohira. The communications office in Tokyo is not a diplomatic facility. It is a law office for trade protocols. There will not be direct communications between this office and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Sun, Xiao, Xu, and Jiang should be sufficiently reliable and trustworthy.

I saw that the Foreign Minister replied to a journalist's question saying that he would like to proceed with formal negotiations. However, please do not start anything on an official capacity. If he does, there will be a lot of questions from the press. You discretely contacting Xiao should be sufficient. It will also be fine if Mr. Ohira directly talks with Xiao, as well. Sun will return to China in mid August. If Prime Minister Tanaka is to meet with them, as well, we would be greatly delighted. If there is urgent information to convey, please do so only through Sun.

We have told Chairman Mao [Zedong] about you. The Chairman has expressed his admiration for you. Please give my regards to Prime Minister Tanaka and Foreign Minister Ohira.

The reestablishment of Japan-China relations is immensely important, but as long as there are those who grasp this, there will be those who will act as obstacles. Please careful of this. I am sure that Jiang Jieshi has sent in special operation teams into Japan. There is the possibility of further physical attacks, so please do be very careful.

(Statements of Premier Zhou's on Lin Biao)

Takeiri: Thank you so much for your thorough thoughtfulness.

Zhou: It is a matter of course. I believe we have concluded the topics of our discussion. Please go in good health.

Zhou: Lastly, the three rounds of talks that we have had are of great importance, so, aside from Prime Minister Tanaka and Foreign Minister Ohira, please keep the discussions completely confidential.

Of course, we will also keep it confidential.

I make this request with complete trust in you.

Takeiri: I will convey this to Prime Minister Tanaka and Foreign Minister Ohira.

Thank you so much for your time.

I also hope for your health. I will come again.