

October 9, 1982

Record of Prime Minister Suzuki's Visit to China and Meetings

Citation:

"Record of Prime Minister Suzuki's Visit to China and Meetings", October 9, 1982, Wilson Center Digital Archive, 2004-590, 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 Steven Mercado.
<https://wilson-center-digital-archive.dvincitest.com/document/118851>

Summary:

Japan's Prime Minister meets with Deng Xiaoping, Hu Yaobang, and Zhao Ziyang for a series of meetings. The two sides discuss bilateral political and economic relations, developments in China's economic policies, Sino-Soviet and Sino-American relations, the situation on the Korean peninsula, the status of Hong Kong and Taiwan, the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, the Japanese textbook issue, and other topics.

Credits:

This document was made possible with support from Carnegie Corporation of New York (CCNY)

Original Language:

Japanese

Contents:

Original Scan
Translation - English

Original Scan
秘密指定解除
情報公開室

2-2, 10, 16, 18
2.0 等 訂正印
←

極 秘
無 期 限
50部の内
20号

鈴木総理訪中会談記録

極秘第 69 号

57.10.9
中国課

本調書は、9月26日～10月1日の鈴木総理訪中の際の次の
会談における発言をとりまとめたものである。

- (1) 第1回首脳会談 9月26日
- (2) 第2回首脳会談 9月27日
- (3) 総理・鄧小平会談 9月28日
- (4) 総理・胡耀邦会談 9月28日

(対象外)

極秘

目 次

	頁
I 第1回首脳会談	1
〈2 国間関係〉	
1. 日中関係全般	1
2. 教科書問題、軍国主義復活批判	2
3. 第12回党大会、近代化政策	6
4. 我が国の近代化への協力	7
5. 中国経済情勢	9
6. 民間協力の推進と環境整備	11
7. 渤海湾石油開発	12
8. 既存工場の近代化	13
9. 黄海、南海の石油開発	14
10. 非鉄金属の日中共同開発	15
11. 三江平原	16
12. 日中会館	17
II 第2回首脳会談	18
〈国際情勢〉	
1. 中ソ関係	18
2. 米中関係	24
3. 台湾問題、日台関係	27

4.	日米関係	.....	29
5.	朝鮮問題	.....	30
6.	中東問題	.....	35
7.	結び	.....	37
Ⅲ	総理・鄧小平会談	.....	38
1.	日中関係全般	.....	38
2.	中国内政	.....	42
3.	日中経済関係、中国の経済計画	.....	43
4.	軍国主義復活問題	.....	46
5.	中ソ関係	.....	47
6.	香港問題	.....	49
Ⅳ	総理・胡耀邦会談	.....	52
1.	日中関係全般	.....	52
2.	昼食会での懇談	.....	55

以下は複製
(対象外)

(对象外)

I 第1回首脳会談(2国間関係)

9月26日(日) 16:45~18:45

1. 〔日中関係全般〕

鈴木総理： 本年は日中国交正常化から丁度10年の節目だが、この10年間、両国政府、両国国民のたゆまない友好協力関係に向けての努力の結果、今日のすばらしい日中関係が確立した。本当に今日では揺るぎない日中の建設的な協力関係がうち立てられた。これは先人の大先輩の方々の御努力のたまものであり、そういう先人の御労苦に深い敬意を表すると同時に、記念すべき年を契機に我々が日中の一層固い緊密な関係をうち立てていきたい。それは、両国民の相互の利益であると同時にアジアの平和と繁栄ひいては世界の平和と繁栄に寄与するものと考えらる。

趙総理： 中日国交正常化10周年を控えて鈴木総理が中国を訪問されたことを改めて歓迎する。5月の訪日の際、朝野をあげて心あたたまる御歓待をいただいたことを感謝する。

まさに鈴木総理が言われたとおり、この10年で我々両国の友好関係は幅広い分野で大きな発展を遂げてきた。これは両国政府、両国人民が共通して努力してきたたま

ものである。中日友好協力関係が今日のように発展したことを喜ぶ。

御承知のとおり、我が国は最近第12回党大会を開催したが、この大会で我が国の独立自主の対外政策を明らかにした。中日両国の平和友好、平等互惠、長期安定の関係を発展させるという中国政府の方針には些かの変更もない。

2. 〔教科書問題・軍国主義復活批判〕

鈴木： 私はこの機に趙総理閣下に教科書問題についての日本の考え方につき率直に話を申し上げておきたい。近時我が国の歴史教科書の一部の記述に関し、貴国及び近隣アジア諸国より厳しい批判を受けたが、日本政府としては、日中共同声明前文に述べられた「過去において日本国が戦争を通じて中国国民に重大な損害を与えたことについての責任を痛感し、深く反省する」の認識は現在も些かも変わっていない。日本政府としては貴国よりの批判には十分耳を傾け政府の責任において是正することとし、官房長官談話及びその説明において明らかにされた措置を誠意を以て実行していく。

すでに文部大臣は、教科書検定審議会に文部大臣の諮問をしている所であり、この問題については是正の措置を

出来るだけ早く講じてまいりたい。

それから貴国には、我が国の一部における軍国主義の復活を懸念する動きがあるようだが、日本国民の圧倒的多数は軍国主義を排し平和をあくまで求めているということを御承知願いたい。我が国は、戦後、戦前の日本の「誤ち」を深く反省し、二度とこのようなことを繰返してはならないという国民の決意の上に立つて平和憲法を制定した。その憲法の前文には、「日本国民は恒久の平和を念願し、平和を愛する諸国民の公正と信義に信頼して我らの安全と生存を維持しようと決意した」旨うたっている。爾来今日まで、平和を国是として、経済大国になることはあつても軍事大国には絶対ならない。そして、日本の軍備については自分の国は自分で守るという必要最小限度の防衛力を整備するとともに非核三原則を堅持する。こういう防衛政策を堅持し、平和国家としての国づくりに今日まで努力してきた。これは国民の圧倒的多数が支持し、そのコンセンサスの上でできているものであり、今後ともこの国是は不変・不動のものであるということに理解を得たい。仮に一部に批判を受ける動きがあつてもそれが日本の政策を間違つた方向にもつていくような力にはなり得ないということ

をはつきり申し上げて理解を得たい。日本は、そのような平和憲法の下で平和的な立場で世界の平和と安定に貢献していくということだから、軍事的面でアジア及び世界の平和・安定に寄与はできない。しかし、日本はある程度の経済力・技術力は有るので、これを通じ途上国、第三世界の国々の民生の安定、産業、経済の振興のため国情に応じた協力をしていく。そういう面で国際的役割と責任を果たしていきたい。

先ほど私が申し上げた非核三原則とは「核を作らず、持たず、持ち込ませず」というもので、これは唯一の被爆国であり広島、長崎の惨禍を繰返してはならないとの願望から出ている原則である。

趙総理： 鈴木総理は、教科書問題をとり上げられたが、この問題は確かに今まで順調に発展してきた両国関係に大きな波紋を投げた。今日この問題はすでに一段落したことを喜びをもつて見ている。よつて我々はこうして良好な雰囲気の中で鈴木総理の訪中を迎えることができた。また、教科書問題を解決するため鈴木総理が払った努力を評価する。

中日両国は、一衣帯水の隣人であり、両国間には2千余年にわたる友好関係の歴史がある。訪日した際、私

は、中日両国は関係を発展させる上で「天の時、地の利、人の和」があると言った。今、鈴木総理がふれたように、両国関係の発展は両国人民の共通の願いと根本的利益に一致するのみならず、アジア・太平洋地域の平和と安定にも有利である。中日両国の友好関係が今日のようなレベルにまで発展するには幾度も曲折を経ており、容易なものではなかつた。だからこそ我々は、それをより一層大切にし精力を傾け、それを育くみ、両国の友好関係と両国人民の友情を擁護し発展させるため、たゆまず新しい努力をすることが必要である。

過去において、日本の軍国主義者が引起した侵略戦争によつて、中日両国人民に大きな損害を与え、彼らに精神的に忘れ難い傷を残した。この間の不愉快な歴史は、中日友好の長い河においては短い一時期にすぎない。しかしその教訓は深い。我々は、このような歴史を繰返してはならないと思う。我々は、中日関係を処理するにあたり、前向きでなくてはならない。しかし、これは歴史の教訓を忘れてよいということの意味せず、かつて気ままに歴史の改ざんに利用されたりすることはなおさら許されない。中国政府は貴国と友好関係を発展させることを切に希望しており、このような関係が些かでも損な

われることを望まない。

この前東京を訪問した際、鈴木総理には中日関係の発展は国際関係の波風の影響を受けるべきではないと言ったが、これに一点補足したい。中日関係の発展はまた、様々な障害をも排除しなくてはならない。鈴木総理が中日共同声明の精神を守ることを重ねて表明したことと、その責任において教科書問題を確実に是正するという内容の談話を高く評価したい。

中国政府及び私自身、両国の友好関係を擁護し発展させるため貴国政府及び鈴木総理とともに努力したい。

3. [第12回党大会、近代化政策]

鈴木総理： 5月に趙総理にお目にかかつてから数カ月を経過しているが、この間貴国では第12回党大会を立派に成功させた。これは世界の人々が大きな関心をもつて注目していたが、この大会で強力な指導体制が確立したこと、この体制の下に、「四つの現代化」政策を国是として強力に推進するという決定を満場一致で採択したこと、この政策で2000年までに農工業総生産額を4倍に拡大するという壮大な目標を確立され、その目標に向かい党、政府、国民が一体で取組んでいかれることを示された。この点について高く評価すると同時にその成功を

日本としても願っている。

趙総理： 鈴木総理は、第12回党大会について述べられたが、この度の大会の開催は我が国がすでに政治的に長期的安定の時代に入ったことを示し、今、実行している現代化路線そして対外開放政策を含む一連の政策がこれからも連続性を保つことを更に保証したことを示すものである。今度の大会では我が国の未来、今世紀末までに経済建設はどういう目標を目指すかにつき主な方針と政策を打出した。これら方針と政策は、大会を開催するため一時的に考えたものではなく、長期的に綿密に研究・検討した結果である。従って今度の第12回党大会の開催は、中国がこれから現代化建設を全面的に切り開くという新しい歴史的時期に入ったことを示すものである。

4. [我が国の近代化への協力]

鈴木総理： 貴国の現代化政策の目標達成を日本が心から期待するということは、その成功を通じ貴国と日本が相互に裨益するところ大だからである。また、それによつてアジアの経済また国民生活の安定に向上することになるわけである。貴国は多くの天然資源を有しており、人的資源も多い。日本は技術があり、ある程度の経済力

も保有している。この日中両国が貴国の壮大な経済建設に関し協力関係であるということはとりもなおさずアジア全体の経済の成功を導き出すゆえんでもある。

他方、我が国としては過去10年の協力を優るとも劣らない協力をしてまいりたい。そしてそういうことをすることにより、貴国の発展にプラスになる協力ができるかについても具体的に協議し、そこから具体性のある結論を見出して協力していきたい。

趙 総理： 5月に訪日した時提出した「平和友好、平等互惠、長期安定」という三原則にのつとり両国の経済関係を発展させていくとの初歩的構想を示したところ、鈴木総理の積極的同意をいただいた。我々は、完全に鈴木総理の言葉に賛成する。今日の新しい情勢の下に中日両国が経済技術協力をさらに発展させていくことは広々として前途を有するものであり、双方にとり有利である。

鈴木総理： お話しのように日中両国は経済的分野ではとくに相互補完の関係にある。長所を伸ばし、短所を補い合い、協力し合っていけば立派な成果が期待できるとの意見に対し全面的な賛意を表す。両国の長所・短所を出し合い協力し合うことが両方の国民の利益になることについては私も全く同感である。

趙総理： 今、我が国には、新しい変化が経済情勢に起こつており、今後20年における目標・青写真がある。他方、今の世界情勢もまた不景気なものである。こういう情勢の下において我々中日両国が各々自己の長所を伸ばし、互いの長所をとり短所を補つていくことが互いに必要であり、互いに有利である。従つて、経済技術協力をさらに発展させることはとくに重要な意義を持つと同時に幅広い内容を有する。

5. 〈中国経済情勢〉

趙総理： 我が国の経済情勢は、今見れば次第に好転しつつあり、私たちは、農村では農民の労働意欲を引起こす生産責任制の政策を実行して以来農村の情勢は素晴らしい。収穫は良く今年もまた豊年である。中国国内の消費財の生産にも大きな変化が生じている。長年来消費財が欠乏していた情勢に大変化が生じており、街を歩いてデパートに入つてみれば分る。この面では、中国にとり50年代以来最も良い時期と言える。また、ここでとくに説明したいのは、このような好成績は、重工業を犠牲にしてあげたものではない。昨年の第4四半期以来重工業生産は回復しつつある。今年に入り、重工業生産の増加率は、軽工業のそれを上回っている。鈴木総理も御承知の

とおり、80年までに中国は数年間続けて財政の大赤字を出した。今年は財政支出を大幅に圧縮し財政の基本的均衡を求めた。この財政収支の基本的均衡は今年において実行できる見込みである。これらのことはいずれも中国の経済情勢には顕著な好転があつたことを証明しており、また、今まで3年間の調整を経て我々の経済は、すでに、これから重点的経済建設を始める条件をもち始めた。我々の重点建設とは、エネルギー開発、交通運輸施設の整備、及び非鉄金属を含むその他資源の開発である。

また我々が80年(後から78年と訂正)以来外国から導入した大型プラント設備もこれから建設を回復してよい情勢にある。今から今後20年にわたつて、今世紀末まで、我々の重点建設は年を追つて日を追つて、計画どおり着実に規模を大きくしていくだろう。

もう一方で、今から20年の間にとくに今から10年間に、我々の現存する企業に対しても次第に計画的に大規模にその技術改造を進めていきたい。中国の現存企業は、管理が遅れ技法が遅れているだけでなく、設備も遅れている。この方面でも我々は多くの設備、原材料、先進的技術が欲しい。

6. 〈民間協力の推進と環境整備〉

鈴木総理： お話しにあつたように、中国はこれから先、経済の生産、流通、消費、分配の各分野で大きな進展を見るわけであるし、重工業、軽工業から零細企業にわたる多種多様な企業が動いていかねばならないことを考えると、今までのようなただ政府間の借款とか技術協力とかだけでなく、より幅広い民間の経済界の提携協力ということが新しい時代には求められる。明日、会談後に今年度の650億の円借が調印されるのは、喜ばしいことであり、今後も日本政府として出来るだけ協力していきたいと考えるが、政府間の借款には自ら限度がある。なにせ、貴国の経済は大きく発展しようとするわけだから政府間協力だけでまかないきれぬわけではなくまた、日本だけで役に立つというわけでもない。従つて開放経済政策をとると決めたということだから他の先進工業国からも資金・技術を導入し、相まつて協力していくことが望ましい。その他民間の協力がより大きなウェイトをもちねばならないと思う。その意味で先日土光氏からも意見が出たと思うが投資・合併等をやり易くする環境・条件を整備することが必要と思う。投資保護協定とか租税条約の締結その他国内法令の整備とかが望まれるのでは

極秘

ないかということ率直に申し上げたい。

趙総理： 鈴木総理は、中日間の経済・技術協力の幾つかの問題につき言及された。中日両国の経済協力関係を促進するため投資保護協定、租税条約は大変必要なものと思う。そのため中日双方は多くの仕事をしてきたが、まだこれから合意すべき幾らかの問題がある。このため今後とも努力すべきと思う。

それから、鈴木総理が租税条約、投資保護協定などにつき提案、意見を出されたが、日本の企業が投資・合併をし易くするための環境整備には大変賛成であり、努力を続けてきた。しかし、完全に成功するまでには時間が必要である。中国はかつて長年閉鎖的な環境にあつたから、今すぐ進めるのには経験が乏しい。日本の方にも中国のことを信頼していただき、中国と契約さえ結べば、中国は、この契約を厳守することを申し上げたい。中国にとって契約は法律的效果を有するものであり、この点安心してほしい。

7. 〈渤海湾石油開発〉

鈴木総理： 渤海湾の石油・天然ガスの探鉱は非常な成功を収め進行中と聞いている。これを貴国では探鉱のスピードを早めて、出来れば9本位の井戸を掘りたい、その

極秘

ためにはこれまでの2.1億の探鉱資金は不足であり、これを4億ふやし6.1億程度にしたいとの提案があるが私もこれに対して賛成である。来月こちらから代表団がきて、日本の石油公団等と日中石油開発ともども具体的相談をされると伺っている。私は、是非実現するよう出来るだけの協力をしたいと考えている。

趙総理： 渤海湾の石油・天然ガスの探鉱のスピードを上げることにつき、5日この問題を提案したが、その後鈴木総理の協力をいただき、双方の石油会社も積極的に検討し、確実・実行可能な案をねっているところである。私の知る限り、探鉱の進展は順調でありこれは我々両国間の経済協力において比較的大きな項目である。今後とも双方は努力して探鉱のスピードを上げ早く開発可能とするよう努力していきたい。

8. 〔既存工場の近代化〕

鈴木総理： 先ほども趙総理の話の中に出ていたが現在ある工場の設備の近代化・更新ということは現実的政策としていいアプローチと思う。日本の通産省は81年度に16工場について診断を貴国の方々と一緒にやった。その結果が非常に良いということで82年度は倍にするという計画がある。これも早急に実行に移すべきと考える。そ

の裏付けとして輸銀のバンクローンを活用するという
ことである。こういう分野では、民間企業の協力という
ことが非常に必要と考える。

趙総理： 既存工場の技術改造について私も鈴木総理の意
見に賛成であり民間の協力を大いに進めていきたい。今
までの16の企業に対する企業診断は成果を上げた。今後
より拡大していくべきである。また最近、我々両国は82
年度政府円借款にも合意いたし、中日間の長期貿易取極
も合意した。これを喜んでいる。

9. 〔黄海、南海の石油開発〕

鈴木総理： 渤海湾の石油につき触れたこの機会に、黄海・
南海の石油開発の探鉱につき日本からも応札している
わけだが、いずれ明春には決定されることと聞いている
が、日本の企業の熱意をくんでいただき、過去の実績等
も勘案し格別の配慮をお願いしたい。

趙総理： 南海・黄海の石油開発の国際入札問題について
の鈴木総理の考え方を承つて石油部には既に伝えてあ
る。石油部では、日本側の意見を考慮するよう注意を促
した。5日に私が申し上げたとおり、両国間の友好協力
関係に鑑み、この問題に対し前向き(向前看)の態度で対
処し、条件が同じなら勿論日本の会社に配慮したいと思

う。この考えには今日まで変わりはない。

10. 〔非鉄金属の日中共同開発〕

趙総理： この際1つの問題を提起し、鈴木総理に考慮を願いたい。今、答える必要はなく、帰つて検討してほしい。中国は比較的豊富な非鉄金属の鉱石を有する国であるが、今、現在はこの資源開発は不十分なものである。この種資源の開発は、勿論中国現代化に非常に有意義なものであり、また、貴国にとつても必要である。この種資源は、殆ど西北、西南にあり、開発するには一般には期間が長く、投入資金が大であり、必要な電気も多い。非鉄金属開発には大量の電気を消耗する。しかし、北西、西南には大量の水力資源がある。エネルギーの共同開発のほかに中日間の長期安定的な関係を発展させる上で中国にとつても日本にとつても、必要な非鉄金属を共同で開発する可能性があるかどうかという問題を提起したい。今、我々両国間にはエネルギー共同開発につきこれまで成果のある協力を行つてきたし、長期に亘る計画をもっている。これから非鉄金属の共同開発について双方がこの協力を一緒に考えたらどうかと思う。これは小さな事業ではなく、非鉄金属を開発するには、往々水力・電力の開発を伴うものであり、すぐに返事をいた

だくのではなく1つの考え方として提起し考慮していただきたい。

鈴木総理： 非鉄金属開発については、現在、政府ベースで安慶銅山の開発調査を進めていると聞いている。この非鉄金属は、世界的にも不足している。ある国では、これは軍事上不可欠であるとの関係から備蓄もしていると聞く。この開発については、政府間だけでなく、様々な対応が可能なわけだから今後十分に研究させていただきたい。

11 〔三江平原〕

鈴木総理： 趙総理の御意向を伺っておきたいのは農業関係の分野である。いま三江平原開発のテストを日本も技術協力として進めているが、これは貴国として今後の食糧増産、農業振興には有効なプロジェクトのように思うが、しかし、貴国には全体としての今後の長期計画には優先順位があるかとも思うがどういう優先順位でとり上げるか伺いたい。それによつて日本としてどういう協力ができるか検討していきたい。

趙総理： 私の知る限り貴国からも各方面の方々が来て農業部とすでに接触したと聞く。三江平原開発について中国政府としては積極的である。また、このプロジェクト

極秘

につき日本との協力にも興味を有している。具体的な問題は、中日双方の担当部門の討議に任せたい。田沢農水大臣訪中の際に農業部長と接触し協議した。その際、双方とも興味を示し合った。

12 〔日中会館〕

鈴木総理：日本として締めくくりの意味あいから話したいのは、貴国との間において今後一層あらゆる分野で協力関係を強化発展させるためには、各レベルでの相互理解が大事と考える。その視点から留学生とかミッションとか大いに交流することが重要である。日本にもたくさん留学生とかがいるが、そういう方々の受入れ、日本での活動の拠点として「日中会館」の建設ということをして国交正常化十周年記念事業として実現したという機運が盛り上っている。私としてもこれはいい記念事業なので政府としても是非促進したいと考えているので御理解を得たい。

趙総理：そういう鈴木総理の提案に呼応する。その成功のために促進したいと思う。

II 第2回首脳会談(国際情勢)

9月27日 9:30~11:45

1. [中ソ関係]

鈴木総理： 先般の第12回党大会で胡耀邦総書記が対ソ関係について発言しているが、ソ連側が態度を改善する色々な改善措置を実際にとるならば中ソの関係を改善する用意があるとの趣旨を述べておられる。その問題について先づ伺いたい。

中国の対ソ政策に変更があるのかどうか。实际的措置をとるならと述べておられるが实际的措置とはどういうことか。またソ連がそうした措置をとる可能性があるのか。ソ連が応じるのか、さらに総括的な貴国の対ソ認識等について伺いたい。

趙総理： 国際情勢全般に対する中国側の考え方については5月に東京で説明したところだが、それ以後の国際情勢には根本的変化はないと思っている。東京での会談で双方は当面の国際情勢が揺れ動き緊張し、厳しいものとの認識で一致した。私の訪日以後、イスラエルのレバノン侵入、レバノン人民、パレスチナ人民の殺りく問題が生じた。東京で古い問題は1つも解決しないのに、新しい衝突が絶えず発生していると語り合ったが、以後の事

態の発展は、このことをますます証明している。

中国政府は、今でも依然、国際情勢が緊張し、揺れ動いている根本的原因は超大国の覇権争奪であり、その基本的体制はやはりソ連が攻勢、米が守勢であり世界の平和と安定を脅かしている主たる脅威はソ連覇権主義であると認識している。

覇権主義に反対し、世界平和を擁護するため、第三世界諸国と団結し米国を含む世界の国々と連合し共にソ連覇権主義抑制にあたるという基本的方針は変っていない。

鈴木総理は中ソ関係に言及されたが、この点についてはすでに胡耀邦総書記が第12回党大会で中国の立場を明らかにしている。中国の基本的立場は、

- (1) 全世界で覇権主義を推し進めるというソ連の政策はまだ変っていない。よってソ連覇権主義に反対する我々の立場は少しも変わらない。
- (2) 平和共存5原則の基礎の上で、正常な国家間関係を維持発展させることは、また、中国の一貫した立場である。
- (3) 今までに、ソ連当局は一再ならず中ソ関係を改善したいと表明し、我々も言葉より行動をみなくてはなら

ないと表明したから、この問題につき双方は接触を必要としている。

ここで、鈴木総理に申し上げるが、ソ連が来月4日か5日にイリチョフ外務次官を北京に派遣してきて両国関係問題につき意見交換を行うこととなっている。もし、ソ連当局が、中国との関係を改善するとの誠意を本当に有するなら、我が国の安全への脅威を除くため实际的措置をとるべきである。

鈴木総理も御存知のとおりソ連は中ソ国境に大軍を駐屯させ、モンゴルにも軍をおいている。また越のカンボディア侵略を支持し、アフガンを侵略している。これらはいずれも中国の安全にとって脅威となっている。

もし、ソ連が本当に中国との関係改善に対する誠意を有し、我が国の安全への脅威を除くため段取りをとって、両国国家関係が改善させるなら、それは勿論我々の希望するところであり、双方の利益になることである。

しかし、中ソ間には重大な相違が存在し、その実現は全く容易でない。従って、このような中ソ関係改善のための接触はマラソンのような長く続くものになると思う。

この機会に申し上げるが、中国の外交政策は、一貫し

極秘

て原則のある独立自主のものである。中国は、自らの政策を打出す場合、中国自身の利益だけでなく世界戦略の大局をも考慮する。中国の対外政策は決して一時期、一事件により軽々しく変わるものではない。また、先般の党大会で、中国は決して如何なる大国にも従属するようなことはしないとの原則的立場を重ねて表明した。我々は、米国とつき合う場合にソ連カードをもて遊ぶようなことをせず、ソ連とつき合う場合にも米国カードをもて遊ぶようなことはしない。他の国が中国カードをもて遊ぶことも絶対に許さない、要するに中国の外交の基本政策は、

- (1) 覇権主義に反対し、世界平和を擁護すること、
- (2) 平和共存五原則の基礎の上で世界諸国との正常な国家間関係を擁護し発展させること、

である。

鈴木総理： 貴国の一貫した外交方針につき力強いお話しがあつたが、対ソ政策についても、胡総書記の言っていることは、私は、従来の方針を堅持していかれることを表明したものであると理解する。とくに、私の見るところ、ソ連のとつている色々な行動、例えば中ソ国境或いはモンゴルにおけるソ連軍のほり付け、越への支援、ア

フガンへの侵攻、こうした行動は、単に中国を対象として行っているものではなく、やはり一方の強力な勢力である米国のことを考慮したソ連の世界戦略上の措置であり行動であり、従つてにわかにソ連がこのような措置を改善するとはみていない(趙総理はこれに対し大きくうなずいた。)そういう意味で中ソ間で今後話合いが行われても、現状を大きく改善することは困難であると私は考える。

趙総理：(周囲の外交部出席者に対し)国境交渉はどれ位やつたのか。

呉学謙副部長： 9～10年続いた。イリチョフ次官はよく北京に来る。

黄華部長： 国境交渉はずつとイリチョフが担当している。

趙総理： 鈴木総理の見方については、我々も共通の見方をしている。中国政府は従来より、ソ連の越での行動とアフガン侵攻は、ソ連の全世界で覇権を称える政策の一構成部分であると言つていたが、ソ連がこういう政策を変える兆候はどこにも見られない。

鈴木総理： ソ連がアフガン侵攻をしたり、越を支援したり、軍事基地を設けたりしているが、これはソ連にとり

極秘

大きな負担になっていると思う。今日、ソ連の経済は、農業政策でも失敗を繰り返し、工鉱業生産も落ちこみ軍事費に多大の資源を配分している関係から国民生活を大きく切下げざるを得ないということでソ連経済は困難に直面していると思う。また、ソ連の衛星国である東欧圏諸国も国際収支面からも、経済・貿易全体からみても危機的状況にある。従つて、ソ連に対する西側の経済措置が非常に重要な意味あいを持つ。西側の対ソ経済政策の問題でヴェルサイユ・サミットの際も話合われたが、これが完全に意見の一致をみない内に、パイプラインの問題で米国と西欧諸国との間で不一致を生じた。現在、これが西側陣営の中でやつかいな問題となっている。しかし、私が見るところ、新しい対ソ信用供与についての大枠の合意ができれば、パイプラインの問題についても徐々に話合いがついていくものと思う。日本もサハリンの石油・天然ガス開発問題でソ連と合弁で日本企業がやっているが、6～7年前からやっているものであり、パイプライン問題は、欧州だけでなく、日本も関係があるので、米国に再考を求めている。しかし、新しい対ソ信用供与につき西側の大枠の合意さえできれば問題は自ら解決されていくものと思う。

極秘

趙総理： 最近、ニクソン元大統領、ついでサッチャー英首相が訪れ、みなこの問題を話した。また、私に中国政府がどうみているかとの見解を求められた。その時私は、ニクソンに中国はソ連の勢力を増強することになる如何なる措置にも賛成しないと答えた。さらに、米国は自らの仲間に許さないことについては、率先して、自分がそういうことをしないことが必要である。レーガンが登場し、穀物禁輸措置を解除したが、それで西側諸国にはソ連にパイプラインを売つてはいけないと言うのでは西側の人々もおもしろくないのでしようと述べておいた。

2. 〔米中関係〕

鈴木総理： 長い間の懸案であつた対台湾武器売却問題につき、中間的な妥協の解決とは思ふが、とにかく米中間で話合いがつき一応米中間の厳しい意見の対立がおさまつたと受け取めている。米中が大局から判断し話合いで困難な問題を処理しようとの建設的姿勢をとられたことを高く評価している。しかし、その間根本的解決にはなつていないということで、今後、いろいろ考えがあると思うが、この点について伺いたい。

趙総理： 米中関係をめぐる変化は5月に話合いを行つて

極秘

以来の新しい変化である。5月当時は、米中関係は微妙な段階にあった。この問題は、最終的には、中米双方が一応合意したが、これは中米両国関係上に横たわる重大な障害を取除くため歩み出した重要な一步であり喜びに値する。しかし、今般の中米共同コミュニケは、まだこの問題解決のための始まりであり、解決が終ったわけではない。問題の鍵は、米政府が共同コミュニケの中で明確に承諾した義務を履行すること、つまり、台湾に対する武器供与を逐次減少させ最後には完全に停止することである。中国側としては、米国がこのコミュニケを確実に履行し、厳粛かつ切実な責任ある態度を示してくれることを望んでいる。

中米コミュニケの発表後、世界の各方面から反響があった。圧倒的大多数は、これを歓迎するものであり、また、米のマスコミも全体的に反応はよいものであった。しかし米国にも親台勢力が一部にいて、このコミュニケが発表されると騒ぎ始めたが、これも不思議なことではない。注意に値するのは、米国の極く少数の政府筋も談話の中で中米コミュニケを歪曲していることである。例えば、ある人は、米国が対台湾武器売却問題を解決する前提条件は、中国が台湾問題を平和的に解決することで

極秘

あると言っている。しかしこれは中米コミュニケの精神だけでなく文字にも反するものであり、共同コミュニケを歪曲した解釈である。中国が台湾問題の平和的解決のために払う努力と米国の対台湾武器売却問題とは性質が異なる。まさに中国は、この点を堅持しているからこそ米国と粘り強い交渉を続けた。その結果として、両者を分離した結果を生み出した。中国は、今までも度重ねて表明してきたとおり、台湾問題の平和的解決のため努力するがこれは全く中国の内政問題であり、如何なる外部からの干渉も許さない。こういう問題ではいかなる国にもコミットはできない。米国の一部政府筋は、中米コミュニケは台湾関係法に服従しなければならないとの意見を述べているが、これはより一層の歪曲である。しかし、このことは、米国の台湾関係法が存在する限り中米関係の上に立ちこめる暗い影が完全に取除き得ないということを立証している。その存在は、これからも中米関係の発展にとり暗い影になる。勿論これを一時に解決するのは容易でない。しかし、中国は、台湾関係法を如何に運用していくかにつき米国大統領の権限は相当大きなものと考えている。

総じて言えば、中国は米国との関係発展を重要視して

極秘

いる。中米関係は、ソ連の覇権主義・拡張政策への共同対処という共通の利益を有しているだけではない。それだけでなく、中米2つの大国が多くの分野での友好関係を発展させていくことは、中米両国の利益であり、世界の平和と安定にもプラスとなる。まさにそのために、我々は、米国との交渉において、合意達成、関係後退回避のため大きな努力をした。我々は、我が国の主権を維持するとの基本原則を守りながら、その原則の下に米国との関係にも十分配慮し、その中で、中国の柔軟な態度を示した。従って、現在、中国側としては、米側も中米関係を重要視し、発表した共同コミュニケの中で明確に承諾した内容を確実に履行することを望んでいる。双方はコミュニケの具体的履行の問題については、今後とも接触を保つことに合意している。

鈴木総理： 世界の平和安定と繁栄につき最も重要な意味をもつ米中関係につき方針を伺った。対台湾武器売却問題の処理についても原則を守りつつ大局的立場に立ち粘り強く折衝したとの苦心を伺い私も敬意を払いたい。

3. 〈台湾問題、日台関係〉

趙総理： この機会に台湾問題について触れたい。台湾当局は、中国の打出した台湾問題平和的解決の主張に抵抗

し、国際的孤立の境遇からぬけ出すために、数年来、西側諸国で活動を強めている。台湾は実務的關係を進めていると言っているが各種の方式で「2つの中国」を作り出そうとしている。そうして我々とこれらの国々との正常な友好關係を破壊しようとしている。オランダが台湾に潜水艦を売渡すことにより、中蘭關係の格下げをもたらしたのはその1例である。中国政府としては、西側諸国が台湾の活動に警戒心を高めるよう希望している。

日台關係も中日關係における重要な原則的問題である。中日双方が中日共同声明、台湾に関する合意を厳守し問題を適切に処理すれば中日關係にとり不利なことを回避し得る。また、日本政府もこの点に留意しているものと思う。この日中国交正常化10周年という大きな意義を持つ節目にあたり、~~国交正常化の際の共同声明、日~~

~~中平和友好条約の原則そしてその間締結された実務協定等の精神をふり返り、これを確認したいという気持である。~~日台關係についても、共同声明並びに平和友好条約の原則で明らかに両国が合意し確認し、そして今日まで実践してきたところである。日台關係は、いろいろの人的交流、経済的交流等で、その後、量的には増えている面はある。種々の考え方をもち者も一部にはあるが、

鈴木総理:

極秘

日中関係における日台の関係は質的には日中国交正常化の共同声明、平和友好条約締結の原則に基づくものであり不動の原則である。これを私は、この10周年の節目に再び確認すると同時に、人的・物的交流については、中国側におかれても現実の問題として理解願いたい。

4. 〈日米関係〉

鈴木総理： 日米関係については東京でも申したとおり、日米の関係は日本外交の基軸である。昨日も申したように日本は平和国家として戦後の国造り再建に努力してきたし、自衛のため最小限の防衛力を持つが軍事大国にはならないとの国民的合意に基づく方針を堅持している。そういう関係から、独力で防衛できない外部からの侵略がある場合は日米安保条約で補完するとの日米安保体制を堅持している。そういう意味で、日米は政治的にも経済的にもまた、自由と民主主義という価値観を共有しているということからも切っても切れない関係にある。

この日米安保条約体制は、従って、アジアの平和と安定、また一部の潜在的脅威に対しても一つの抑止力になることであり、アジアの平和と安定のため非常に重要な意義を有している。日米のそういう緊密な関係について

極秘

は、一方での日中の揺るぎない友好協力関係と全く両立できる、また両立させることがアジアと世界の平和と繁栄に貢献するものとする。

趙総理： 鈴木総理が今述べた日米間の安保条約を含む緊密な関係については理解する。中日間が長期安定的友好協力関係を樹立することは日米間の友好関係に影響しない。

私も鈴木総理の意見に賛成であり両立できるものとする。

5. 〈朝鮮問題〉

鈴木総理： 先日、金日成主席、北朝鮮、朝鮮民主主義人民共和国の主席が訪中された。日本としては、朝鮮半島の平和と安定はアジアの平和・安定に大きな影響を持っていると考えている。従って、南北の関係が力の対決でなしに話し合いにより平和的統一がなされることが一番望ましいと考えている。貴国はこの問題についてどのように考えるか。また、しばしば、先般も趙総理は北からの南進はあり得ないとおっしゃったが、その点についても御所見を伺いたい。

趙総理： 金日成主席の訪中は、中国と朝鮮との友好関係を促進・強化するためであり、また、中国の近年来の変化

極秘

と金主席が自ら見たかつたためである。訪中の機に双方は、各々の国内状況を紹介し、また国際情勢について意見交換を行つた。

中国と朝鮮との関係はずつと良いものであり、双方とも両国関係の発展に満足している。金日成主席は、中国の当面の方針、政策、また、第12回党大会に対し支持の態度を示した。我が方も、金日成主席が朝鮮統一のため出した平和的自主統一の構想を断固支持し米国が南鮮から軍を引揚げるべきであるとの合理的主張への支持を重ねて表明した。

私は、依る所があり鈴木総理に申し上げるが、朝鮮が最も関心を有しているのは彼らの国内建設であり、彼らは、自国の国内経済の発展、国民人民生活の向上に力を入れている。彼らは、また国内経済建設のため二つの壮大な建設計画を出した。一つは、沿岸地域を開発して農業生産を発展させることであり、いま一つは、朝鮮自らの長所を伸ばして国内の非鉄金属を開発することである。また彼らは、南北双方の軍事的対立にとりもたらされた負担を減らしたいと思つており、南北間の緊張を緩和させたいと思つている。また、彼らは、米国が態度を変えて、この目的の達成を妨害しないよう望んでいる。

極秘

彼らは、決して戦争を望んでおらず、南進の意図を有していない。彼らの平和を望む意思は信頼できる。

私の考えでは、南鮮の全斗煥が事を挑発しない限り朝鮮半島の安定は続けられるものと思う。この問題と関連して、米国は北朝鮮と接触しないとの態度を変えるべきだと申し上げたい。米国がもし今までの態度を変えれば朝鮮半島での安定した情勢、発展にとり有利であり、そうすれば朝鮮も条理に叶った条件を出すと思う。我々は米国に提案し勧めたいこともあるが、米国は聞き入れないようだ。もしこの問題で鈴木総理、日本政府が米側に何か働きかけが出来れば望ましい。

鈴木総理： この問題については、基本的にこう考える。

今、南北の間は一応米軍の駐留も含めて軍事力が均衡を保持しており、その均衡の上に朝鮮半島の平和が維持されていると認識している。この均衡は、北も南もこれを維持するため相当無理をしている。民生の向上に向けられ、経済発展に向かうべき資源を軍備の方に投入していた所に非常に無理があるのではないかと思う。このような愚かな行為はやめるべきである。均衡を保持しながら軍事力を低い水準に引下げていく話合いが南北間で先ず行われるべきと思う。

極秘

もう一つ、北がソ連に対し軍港等の施設を利用させるとかは米国を刺激するから、やめるべきと思う。南と北が力の対決、対峙というこの関係を話し合いにより平和的統一、共存に向けるためには、米国と貴国が各々に働きかけて、そういう環境と条件をつくり出すことが必要である。日本もそういうことには出来るだけの協力をいたしたい。

趙総理： 朝鮮民主主義人民共和国は独立自主の国であり、また、今まで何回も表明したとおり、ソ連に対しても独立した立場をとっている。中国の知る限り、ソ連は、朝鮮に対し大して大きな影響力を有していない。鈴木総理は、朝鮮の軍港をソ連が利用すると言及されたが我々が知る限りそういう事実はないと思う。この問題は米国にとり敏感な問題であるだけでなく、我々も見れば関心を寄せないわけにはいられない。

鈴木総理： 経済協力の問題につき一つ触れたい。韓国から日本に対し経済協力の要請がある。これに対しては軍備の増強等に日本からの経済協力が利用されるということは絶対に認めるわけにはいかない。日本は武器輸出を禁じている。武器禁輸三原則というのがあり、武器を輸出せず、技術を提供せず、との平和国家としての立場

極秘

がある。経済協力についてもそれが軍事力の強化に向けられるような経済協力は行わないとの基本的方針を堅持している。日本は韓国のみならず、いずれの国に対しても経済協力は経済発展、民生の向上に役立つものでなくてはならず、そういうことを通じ世界の平和と安定に貢献していく方針である。

韓国に対してもこの経済協力は安全保障を強化させるという協力はできないということを明確にしており、韓国からいろいろ具体的要請を聞いて検討している所である。

趙総理： 貴国は北との経済上の往来はあるか。

鈴木総理： 民間の貿易・通商という面で存在する。ただ一両年経済状態が不振であるという状況からして過去の累積債務の消化、金利支払いというものも約束通り返済がなされておらず、新しい通商・貿易のパイプが細くなっていることも事実である。

趙総理： 中国としては、日本が朝鮮民主主義人民共和国との経済往来・協力を発展させることを希望する。

鈴木総理： 北朝鮮は世界経済の不況の影響を受けて相当な経済困難であり、財政も苦しいようだが、金日成主席訪中の機に経済協力とか技術協力とかの援助供与に

極秘

つき具体的前進はあつたのか。

趙総理： 具体的問題には触れなかつた。ただ、中期間の長期貿易協定が本年期限切れなので新しい長期貿易協定に調印した。これもほぼ今までのレベルを維持したもので今までと同じく、石油・コークスを提供する。私が、去年12月に訪朝した際も、今度も朝鮮側は国内の経済情勢は良いもので中国側に新しい特別な要求は出さないと云つた。調印した中期貿易協定も金日成主席訪中にあたり調印したのではなく訪中の少し前に調印したものである。全体的に、貿易、協力を含む交流は今までのレベルを維持したもので減りも増えもしていない。

6. 〈中東問題〉

鈴木総理： 世界情勢が極めて激動の様相を呈しているのは中東情勢が流動的ということにも大きな原因がある。日本にとつても中東は湾岸諸国との関係もあり、石油の一番大きな供給地帯としての関係もあり、中東の情勢については我々も憂慮しており、平和的解決ができることを念願している。また、国連安保理事国の一員としても中東の和平については貴国代表とも連絡をとりつつ十分努力している。

先般のレバノン、ベイルートでの無辜の住民の大量虐

極秘

殺というようなことは人道的見地からも断じて許せない残虐行為であり、我が国もこれを非難し、西ベイルートから直ちにイスラエル軍の撤退を要求している。我が国は、中東の恒久的和平実現のためには、イスラエルの生存権を認める代わりにパレスチナ人民の民族自決権、独立した国家を建設することを認めることが絶対必要と考えており、この考え方は米国に対しても機会ある毎に訴えている。

趙総理： 中東問題につき鈴木総理の述べた主張と態度を賞賛する。イスラエルのレバノンに対する野蛮な侵入とレバノン、パレスチナの一般大衆を残虐に殺りくしパレスチナ解放機構の努力をせん滅し、パレスチナ正義の事業を消滅させようとした。それによりパレスチナ民族解放勢力は挫折を被つたが、イスラエルの企みは絶対実現できない。

我々は中東問題の核心はパレスチナ問題と考える。イスラエルが1967年に占領したアラブ諸国の土地から撤退しない限り、また、パレスチナ人民に民族自決権を与えない限り中東問題は永遠に解決できない。この問題解決の鍵は、米国がイスラエルに対峙している政策を変えることにある。米国がイスラエルを支持し、容認する

極秘

政策を放棄してこそイスラエルがその侵略、拡張の政策を変えることができる。イスラエルの侵略を支持・容認する政策を変えない限り、米とアラブ諸国人民との対立も解消できないし、ソ連がこの機に乗じ外に手を出し拡張政策をそこで進める機会をなくすことができない。今、アラブの大部分の国々は、条理に叶った基礎の上でこの問題を解決したいとの態度を示しており、これが絶好の機会と思う。問題の鍵は、米国がイスラエルに圧力をかけることである。

最近、モロッコのフェズで開かれたアラブ諸国会議で打出した中東問題解決案は、全面的・合理的な案であり、アラブ諸国の団結を示すだけでなく、現実的かつ実行可能なものであり、国際社会の重視をうけるべきものである。鈴木総理はじめ日本政府が自らの影響力を行使して、西側とくに米国を促して、このフェズ会議での主張と提案を支持するようにしていただきたい。

7. 〈結び〉

鈴木総理： 2日間の会談は実りあるものであり、多くの問題について意見の一致をみたことを嬉しく思う。

趙総理： 鈴木総理の評価に完全に同意する。

Ⅲ 鈴木、鄧小平会談

9月28日 10:05～11:35

1. 〈日中関係全般〉

鄧主任：鈴木総理が国交正常化十周年の記念すべき年に訪中されたことは大変意義深い。というのは国交正常化は、両国人民が記念する事柄だからである。残念なことは、私が国交正常化当時、当事者ではなかったことだ。当時、田中総理、大平外相の2人の方が指導的役割を果たされた。また、鈴木総理と桜内外務大臣も、当時、党内において大きな貢献をなされた。私は、中日平和友好条約の調印に際しては当事者であった。

中日国交正常化に関しては、当時の総理であった田中氏、外相の大平氏に感謝したい。また鈴木総理は当時総務会長として、また、桜内大臣は政調会長として貢献された。感謝する。更に、中日友好に努力された藤山、岡崎、古井等各氏にも感謝している。この面で努力された方はまだまだ多く、数え切れない。鈴木総理御帰国後、田中氏、逝去された大平氏の夫人に我々の挨拶と感謝の気持ちをお伝え下さい。また藤山、岡崎、古井の各氏にも我々のねんごろな祝意と心からの挨拶をお伝え下さい。我々はこれらの方々に感謝している。(王・効賢日本処長

極秘

がメモを入れて)当時官房長官として大活躍された二階堂氏にも我々の感謝の気持ちを伝えて下さい。

鈴木総理: 暖いお言葉を、先輩各位に必ずお伝えする。皆さだめしよろこぶことであろう。

鄧主任: また、1978年の中日平和友好条約の締結に当たられた福田氏及び園田氏にも、我々の挨拶を送って下さい。

鈴木総理: 承知した。よく伝えます。

私は、当時、日中平和友好条約締結のため鄧主任が大変尽力されたことを深く感謝している。また、鄧主任が調印のため東京に来られた時に、日本国民が熱狂的な歓迎の意を表したことを、今なおはっきり記憶している。

今回中国を訪問して、一昨日、昨日と二度にわたり趙総理と日中関係及び国際情勢について隔意のない意見交換を行った。予定時間をオーバーするというほどの中味の濃い充実した意見交換ができたことを大変よろこんでいる。

趙総理とはカンクン及び5月に東京で会っているので今回3回目だが、旧知のような感じがする。中国「老朋友」ということばがあるが、正にそういう親近感を趙総理に持った。

極秘

趙総理は経済問題の専門家だが、国際問題等広範な問題についても高い識見をもっておられる。また暖かい人からである。このような立派な総理を中国が選んだことを、日本の立場からもよろこんでいる。今後も、どんな難しい問題についても趙総理と親しく直接お話することにより、円満に解決できると期待している。

鄧主任： ここ数年ひとつの重要なことをやってきた(注：新旧交代、若手抜擢の問題)。我々の世代は、健康はまずまずだが、やはり何と言っても世を去る年令に達している。したがって我々に比べればより若くて健康な人達に第一線で働いてもらう必要が大きい。胡耀邦、趙紫陽にはもつともつと多くの仕事をしてもらっている。後しばらくして鈴木総理は胡耀邦総書記にお会いになる。御二人がすぐ友達になることと信じている。

鄧主任： (第12回党大会においては)みなさんお気付のとおり、中日関係を最初にもつてきた。中日関係について言いたいこと、また言ったことは多いが、一言で言えば「中日両国及び人民が子子孫孫にわたり友好であり続ける」ということだ。今次党大会は、この中日両国及び人民の間における子子孫孫にわたる友好が、中国にとって、これから長期にわたる国策であるということを確認

極秘

認した。今次大会は、次の大会までの5年間のものだが、この国策は5年間だけのものではない。子子孫孫とは、5年、10年、20年、50年程度のことではない。

鈴木総理：鄧主任の言われるとおりだ。私は、今次訪中に際し、日本国民及び新聞報道機関に対し、この10年間に日中間で積み重ねた強固な友好の基盤の上に、80年代更には21世紀に向かって両国間の協力を発展させねばならない。すなわち豊かな交流を通じて揺ぎない友好を確立するという気持で訪中し、中国の指導者と話し合い、また、日中間のそういった友好協力関係を確認しあいたいと述べた。したがって、今の鄧主任の発言に全く同感である。

鄧主任：我々の以上のような日中関係について提起の仕方は、過去10年来の実践に基づいて提起している。中国は第三世界の一員であり、第三世界との連合及び協力を協調している。しかし、他の地域との関係については、我々は中日間の協力関係を第一位においている。これは、両国人民の願望に沿うだけでなく、その利益にも合致している。しかも、ここ10年来の我々にとって比較的大きな関係、すなわち、中日、中米、中ソの関係において、中日関係の発展はやはりよいものだ。もちろん、あ

らゆる問題について、我々の見方が完全にいつしよということではない。これは正常なことだ。教科書問題のたぐいの問題は、これからも起るだろう。この問題は双方の努力で解決した。今後も問題が起つたら、相互了解の精神の下でひき続き解決していこう。

鈴木総理： 鄧主任の言われたとおりである。日中関係におけるハネムーンの時代は終り、相互信頼の上に立つた成熟の時代に入っている。今後は、政治面でも、経済面でも、また、広範な分野で、日中間の交流・提携が進んでいく。その中ではどうしても小さな意見の相違や利害の対立といったさざ波が起るのは当然である。しかし、鄧主任の言われたとうり、両国が相互信頼の基礎の上に立つて話し合いで解決するならば、解決できないものはないであろう。共存共栄の関係を結んでいくことが両国国民の利益であり、また、それによつてアジア、世界の平和と繁栄に貢献できると考える。

2. 〈中国内政〉

鄧主任： ここ数年来、中国の政局が安定しているかどうか、現在とつている政策はよいが今後も続けられるかどうか、といったことが議論されている。国家指導者の老令化を解決しより若い世代をして第一線で仕事をさせ

る、といった問題で、第12回党大会は、更に解決を進めた。しかし、この問題については、今後も更に引続き解決を図っていくべきものである。新しい中央委員会のメンバーは、60%以上が60歳以下である。しかし、今後は、更に彼らの比率を増し、また、40歳台、50歳台の人をも中央委員に選出すべきである。

鈴木総理：先般の第12回党大会の成功を心からお祝いする(鄧主任:ありがとう。)。特に組織・体制を強化し、人事の若返りを断行し、「四つの現代化」を満場一致で決定し、官民一体で目標に向かって努力するという体制が確立したことを、我が国としても心から慶祝している。

鄧主任：第12回党大会においては、みなさんもお気付きになったと思うが、1978年の三中全会以来決定し、実施してきた政策を確認した。対外政策についても、今大会は、實際上ここ数年来制定し実行してきた政策を重ねて述べるものであつた。もちろん、小さな、提起の仕方における変化はある。

3. 〈日中経済関係、中国の経済計画〉

鄧主任：中日関係の発展は比較的よいものがある。しかし、そういうことは、全く問題がないということではな

い。我々が中日関係の発展状況に完全に満足しているということでもない。たとえば経済協力面では、我々はもっと多くのことをやりたいと希望している。そのための領域はひろびろとしている。中日双方が長所をとり短所を補うべき分野は多すぎるぐらいだ。中国は資源を有し、日本は技術を有する。その両国が協力すれば大変なものだ。我々は中日経済協力ということを経済的・政治的観点から考えており、また、この協力は単に政府間の協力だけでは足りないのであって、民間協力も必要である。

鈴木総理： 同感である。中国が2千年までに工農生産を4倍にする壮大な計画を発表し、これを四つの現代化政策の中で達成されようとしている。その達成には、多くの難しい問題があろう。日本としては、できる限りのことは全面的に協力したい。また、中国の理解と協力が必要だが、政府間の円借、経協、技協だけでは、中国の大きな建設という目標から言えば限界がある。どうしても民間ベースの経協、技協、経営管理、投資、合弁、工場近代化等の面の協力も必要である。私は、土光、稲山両氏にも言っているが、今後は是非とも日中民間レベルの経済提携・交流を強化することをお願いしたい。また、趙総理にもお願いしたいが、租税条約、投資保護協定等投

資技術協力ができ易い環境条件をできる限り早く整備していただきたい。

鄧主任： 工農生産を4倍にするという考えは、かつて自分が大平総理と話し合っている中で形を成してきたものである。(周囲に年月を確かめた後)あれは、79年12月に大平氏と話をしたときのことだったが、大平氏が「四つの現代化」というがそれはどういうことを指すのかとたずねられた。ところが当時は、「四つの現代化」に努力するとは言っても何を具体的目標とするかというような具体的なものはなかった。私は、大平氏の質問は非常に重要な問題提起と思つてしばらく考えた。そして、今世紀末に国民平均所得1千米ドル/人という考え方を示した。現在の水準は250米ドルである。ただし、1千米ドルと言つても、世界の平均と比すればまだ低いもので、その時点でもまだ中国は「小康」の水準である。その後経済統計や計算によりこの目標は可能ということになった。ただ、現在は目標を更に若干低く下げて800米ドルとしている。というのは、20世紀末の人口は現在の10億ではなく12億だからである。今次党大会では、十分にこの問題を検討した上で、この戦略方針を肯定した。したがって、大平氏が我々をしてこの問題を考える

ようにしてくれたことについて感謝している。

4. 〈軍国主義復活問題〉

鄧主任： 中日関係に関し、政治問題で、鈴木総理、日本政府及び今後の政府が軍国主義傾向について留意されることを希望する。我々は、日本政府がそういう傾向があるなどとは疑っていない。というのは日本憲法は、明確な規定をもっているからだ。しかし、大多数ではないが、確かに軍国主義復活を考える人々がいる。数年前のあの三島由起夫の件は、決して彼個人の問題ではなく、一つの傾向を反映しており、ある政治の動行を示している。

我々が残念なのは、古い政治家が満州国記念碑とやらをやらかそうということだ。あれは、一体どういうことなのか。

鈴木総理： ただ今、日本において軍国主義的傾向が高まっているのではないかと懸念の表明があつた。いい機会なので、この際率直に申し上げておきたい。日本国民は、戦前あのような行き方を深く反省し、近隣諸国に多大の損害を与えたことを申し訳なく、責任を痛感し、反省している。日本国民も大変な犠牲を余儀なくされた。

我が国は、過去の誤ちを二度と繰り返してはならない

極秘

という考えから憲法を制定し、防衛に必要な最小限度の防衛力は保有するが近隣諸国に脅威を与えるような軍事力は保有しない。また、経済大国にはなつても軍事大国にはならないという固い決意を表明した。従つて、国民の圧倒的大多数は、憲法の本質に立つて、経済・技術で世界に協力することにより世界の平和に貢献するという方向で進んでいる。私は、日本国の責任者として、断じて軍国主義の復活はありえないし、絶対にそうならないということを明確に述べておく。

(さらに、会談の最後に、再度、鈴木総理より、日本軍国主義復活についての中国側懸念については、その復活は断じてありえない旨、また、日本が国民のコンセンサスに立つて平和国家の道を歩む決意である旨理解してほしいと述べた。)

5. 〈中ソ関係〉

鄧主任： 皆さんは中ソ関係に関心をお持ちなのでお話しするが、はつきり言つて、中ソ関係には劇的な変化は何もない(同席の黄華、呉学謙が笑う)。我々の一貫して堅持している立場は、中ソ関係をグローバル・ストラテジーの角度から考えることということだ。中ソ関係における問題の核心すなわち両国関係で取り去るべき障害は、ソ

連の覇権主義ということである。換言すれば、中ソ関係とは、単に中ソ国境問題のみに留まらないのであって、世界全域をとり上げることはさておき、中国の近隣地域だけをとつてもカンボディア、アフガニスタンにおける赤裸々なソ連の覇権主義の行為がある。中ソ間においても、国境地帯の数平方キロ等々の紛争ではなく、ソ連が国境沿いに180万の軍隊を駐屯させ、またICBMの1/3をソ連東部に配置しているという状況がある。ICBMは、日本、米国にも向けられているが、中国にとつても直接の危険だ。

我々が赤ちやん、小学生の時には、先生・教科書が、中国の地図は「桑の葉」の格好をしていると教えたものだ。今や違う。外モンゴルのところがえぐられている。これにともない、中国の教科書の内容も変わった。

外モンゴルについては、蔣介石が結んだ条約によるものだ。勿論我々は、この条約を改定しようという気持はない。しかし、ソ連が外モンゴルに軍隊を駐屯させるといふことは、やはり正義にかなうものではない。

中ソは、話しをするという点については、やはり話をする。国家関係において全く接触しないということもいけない。しかし、中ソ関係を正常化するためには、ソ連

は、必ず何かをやらねばならない。たとえば、中ソ国境、外モンゴルにいる100万の軍隊を撤退するとか、アフガニスタンあるいはカンボディアで何らかの措置を講じることにより、その覇権主義政策を少しは緩めるといふことを示すべきである。

しかし、ソ連がそういうことを実行するかどうか。

鈴木総理： 鄧主任から直接中ソ関係について話をうかがったことを感謝する。

6. 〈香港問題〉

鈴木総理： この機会に、鄧主任に一件うかがいたい。英国のサッチャー首相が中国訪問前に日本を訪問し、私に対し、中国首脳とは香港問題を話したいと述べた。その時私は、その問題については鄧小平主任に会って、直接話そうようアドバイスしたという経緯がある。鄧主任は、「サ」首相と会われ、香港問題についても話し合われたそうだが、どういう考え方を示されたのか。

鄧主任： 我々は、「サ」に対し、1997年には必ず香港の主権を回収する、これは、討議の対象とはなりえない、ということを確認に述べた。しかし、如何に回収し、またその後、香港の社会、政治、制度などをどうするかという問題は、討議する。また、現在から1997年までの

極秘

15年の過渡期においては、現状に変化は生じない。また、これも「サ」に明確に述べたが、1997年に主権回収後、香港の社会制度を変えるつもりはなく、香港の自由港また国際金融センターとしての地位も維持する。更には法律についても現行の法律を適用することもできる。我々としては、15年後の政策をどうするかについて、英国の考え方を聴取したいと希望している。中英双方は、直ちに事務レベルで、この問題を協議することを開始することに合意した。我々は、また「サ」に対して、この協議の時間は1年とするのが最も望ましく、どんなに長くても2年以上となつてはならない旨明確に述べた。そして、遅くても2年後には、1997年に香港の主権を回収することを発表するとも述べた。

これに対し「サ」は、香港の主権を回収することを現在公表しないよう要求越したので、我々は、これに同意した。

鈴木総理： よく分つた。香港問題は、我々にも深い関係があるので、大きな関心がある。話を伺つて参考となつた。また、伺つたことは外部にはふせておきたい。

鄧主任： 日本の企業関係者に伝えていただきたい。1997年の主権回収後も、日本、米国、英国等の企業や金融業

極秘

の利益を損うような気持は毛頭ない、ということだ。

鈴木総理： ありがとう。

IV 鈴木・胡耀邦会談

9月28日

1. 〈日中関係全般〉

胡総書記：熱烈に歓迎する。総理と知り合えてうれしい。

鈴木総理、桜内大臣は、10年前、田中、大平、二階堂各氏らとともに正常化のために大きな貢献をしたので特に歓迎する。

鈴木総理：79年5月以来2度目の訪中であるが、前回は鄧小平副総理に会い、大連、上海、桂林等の視察を行った。

胡総書記：鄧主任、趙総理が既に話したので、自分として特に話したいことはない。ただ1つ、政府・指導者・人民の持っている次の考え方を重ねて繰り返したい。中国と日本は極東の2つの大きな民族であり、世界での大きな民族でもある。平和協力は合則二利、離則両傷でありさらに言えば世界、そして両国の子子孫孫まで幸福をもたらす。従ってこの10年間の政府・民間の友好的往来の意義は世界的なもうであり、中日両国の範囲、現代という時間を越えるものである。子子孫孫友好的につき合うには少しの困難、少しの波風もないというわけではない。思い返せば、10年前の国交正常化の時、国内の一部の同

極秘

志は反対し、日本の国旗を見るだけで反発した。それから10年、我々はずっと党、幹部に報復主義はいけない、人民大衆にも将来中国が強大になつても覇権を称えな
いと、指導してきた。日本との友好を願う立場から、日
本の広範な国民が、一部の人の短見に左右されて軍国主
義をやらないよう教育することを希望する。日中のため
だけでなく世界のためにもすすめたい。

鈴木総理：10年前、故周総理の「小異を残し、大同を求め
る」という高い立場からの指導により正常化が実現し
たが、その後の友好と信頼、協力関係をふり返るとすば
らしい発展を遂げた。2千年の歴史の中で今日ほどすば
らしい揺ぎない成熟した関係は未だかつてなかったの
ではないかと思う。この基礎の上に、21世紀に向けて日
中友好を発展させることは我々の使命であり、アジアひ
いては世界の平和につながる大事業と考える。そうした
気持ちを込めて第12回党大会の成功に祝意を表す。閣下が
総書記という最高の地位を得、新指導体制が力強く発足
したことを高く評価している。同大会の政治報告では、日
中関係の発展は両国民の相互の利益のみならずアジア
ひいては世界の平和に寄与するとして、これが重視され
ているのを知り力強く感じている。その報告の中で「日

極秘

本の一部に軍国主義復活の企てがある」との懸念が表明されている。しかし、日本国民の圧倒的多数は、再び過去の誤ちを繰り返さず、軍事大国にはならず平和国家建設に全力をあげており、これは国民の総意であり、軍国主義復活は断じてないことを申し上げておきたい。

胡総書記：日本国民の主流を固く信じている。吉田茂元首相の「激動の百年史」を読んだことがある。その中で日本民族は多くの優秀な性質をもち、科学技術を有する民族だが、その歴史の中で政権担当者が誤ちを犯したこともあるが、日本国民はこれに賛成しなかつたことが分つた。中、日いずれも長所と短所がある。日本はすぐれた技術が、中国は資源があり、日中協力は広々とした前途を有する。

鈴木総理：今後の日中関係は、いろいろな困難があつてもそれを乗り越えて友好関係を発展させるべきである。政府間の接触は順調で、民間の交流は盛んであるが、この際最高指導者の胡閣下にぜひ日本に来ていただき自分の目で日本の実情、日本国民の考え方を汲み取つていただきたいと考え、日本政府を代表して正式に閣下の訪日を招請したい。

胡総書記：好意に感謝する。日本の実情を見、学びたいと

極秘

本当に思う。

2. 〈昼食会での懇談〉

(1) (鹿取大使の記者ブリーフ)

鈴木総理：昨日帰国留学生の方々と会ったところ、中国の社会の各分野で活躍されていることを知り、非常にたのしく思った。それにつけても今度日本に日中会館が建設されることとなったが、何とか立派なものにして日中友好の証しとしたい。

胡総書記：それは大変結構なことだ。ところで、日本の酪農の状況はいかがですか。

鈴木総理：今や日本は牛乳、バター、粉乳は自給自足できる。ところで中国は長い海岸線を持つており、もつと漁場を開発できないものか。日本では栽培漁業が盛んである。

胡総書記：中国でも現在のところ車エビ、なまこを養殖している。

鈴木総理：今や非鉄金属は世界的に不足しており、価格もあがっている。中国には非鉄金属資源があり、また、その開発に必要な水力資源もあるので、その開発には多額な資金を必要とするが、非鉄金属の開発については両国が協力してゆきたい。

極秘

胡総書記：総理のお考えに同感である。ただ、この協力は20年、30年先のものであり、我々の子孫のためのものでしょう。中国にある資源の共同開発には、平等互恵の原則さえ守られれば賛成であり、施設の一部を日本から導入し、生産物は双方協議して両国で我々の子孫のためにこれを使用することが可能である。

以下22次夏以降計10頁
(対象外)

秘密指定解除
情報公開室

極秘

(対象外)

(対象外)

(対象外)

(対象外)

(対象外)

極秘

(対象外)

極秘

(対象外)

(対象外)

(対象外)

(対象外)

Record of Prime Minister Suzuki's Visit to China and Meetings

Secret No. 69
October 9, 1982
China Division

This record is a summary of the remarks made at the following meetings on the occasion of Prime Minister Suzuki's visit to China of 26 September - 1 October.

- (1) First Summit Meeting, September 26
- (2) Second Summit Meeting, September 27
- (3) Meeting Between the Prime Minister and Deng Xiaoping, September 28
- (4) Meeting Between the Prime Minister and Hu Yaobang, September 28

(Exempted)

Contents

I. First Summit Meeting ...1

(Bilateral Relationship)

1. Overview of Japan-China Relationship ...1
2. Criticism over Textbook Issue, Revival of Militarism ... 2
3. Twelfth National Party Congress, Modernization Policy ...6
4. Our Country's Cooperation on Modernization ...7
5. China's Economic Situation ...9
6. Promotion of Public Cooperation and Improvement of the Environment ...11
7. Bohai Bay Oil Development ...12
8. Modernization of Existing Factories ...13
9. Oil Development in the Yellow Sea, South China Sea ...14
10. Japan-China Joint Development of Non-Ferrous Metals ...15
11. Sanjiang Plain ...16
12. Japan-China Friendship Center ...17

II. Second Summit Meeting ...18

(International Situation)

1. Sino-Soviet Relations...18
2. US-China Relations...24
3. Taiwan Issue, Japan-Taiwan Relations...27
4. Japan-US Relations ...29
5. Korea Issue ...30
6. Middle East Issue ...35
7. Conclusion ...37

III. Meeting Between Prime Minister and Deng Xiaoping ...38

1. Overview of Japan-China Relations ...38
2. China's Domestic Politics ...42
3. Japan-China Economic Relations, China's Economic Plan ...43
4. Revival of Militarism Issue ...46
5. Sino-Soviet Relations ...47
6. Hong Kong Issue ...49

IV. Meeting Between Prime Minister and Hu Yaobang ...52

1. Japan-China Relations ...52
2. Conversation at Lunch Meeting ...55

[TN: A handwritten note between parentheses reads: "The rest of this page and the following one are exempted." The next page is blank, except for handwritten note between parentheses: "Exempted"]

I. First Summit Meeting (Bilateral Relationship)

September 26 (Sunday), 16:45 - 18:45

1. Overview of Japan-China Relationship

Prime Minister Suzuki: This year is a milestone, exactly 10 years since the normalization of relations between Japan and China. In these 10 years, as a result of the untiring efforts of the governments and people of both countries for relations of friendship and cooperation, we have established today's wonderful relationship between Japan and China. Truly, today there has been built an unwavering, constructive, and cooperative relationship between Japan and China. This is the fruit of the great predecessors who came before us. I express deep respect to the hard work of those who came before us and, at the same time, I would like us to take this memorable year as an opportunity for us to build a firmer and closer relationship. That, I think, would be to the mutual benefit of the people of our two countries and, at the same time, would contribute to the peace and prosperity of Asia and, further, to the world's peace and prosperity.

Premier Zhao: With the 10th anniversary of the normalization of relations between China and Japan close at hand, Prime Minister Suzuki, I welcome you once again on visiting China. I am grateful for enjoying at the time of my visit to Japan in May the entire nation's warm hospitality.

Truly, as you said, the relations of friendship between our two countries in these past 10 years have achieved great development in a wide range of fields. This is the fruit of the efforts made in common by the governments and people of both countries. I am pleased that the relations of friendship and cooperation between China and Japan have developed to where they are today.

As you know, our country recently held its 12th National Party Congress. At this Congress, we made clear our country's independent foreign policy. There has been not the least change in the Chinese government's policy of developing relations of peace and friendship, equality and mutual benefit, and long-term stability between China and Japan.

2. Criticism of Text Book Issue, Revival of Militarism

Prime Minister Suzuki: I would like to take this opportunity to speak frankly to Your Excellency, Premier Zhao, on Japan's thinking in regard to the textbook issue. Recently, we received sharp criticism from your country and various Asian neighbors over some of the wording in our country's history textbooks. The Government of Japan's recognition, stated in the preamble to the Japan-China Joint Communiqué - "The Japanese side is keenly conscious of the responsibility for the serious damage that Japan caused in the past to the Chinese people through war, and deeply reproaches itself." - has not changed in the least. The Government of Japan, fully listening to the criticism from your country, correcting in the matter of the government's responsibility, has sincerely implemented measures made clear in the Chief Cabinet Secretary statement and its explanations.

The Education Minister, with the Textbook Approval Council already advising him, would like to take as soon as possible corrective measures in regard to this issue.

Since then there seems to be concern in your country about a revival of militarism among some in our country, but I would like you to understand that the overwhelming majority of the Japanese people reject militarism and are consistently seeking peace. Our country, after the war, reflected deeply on the "error" of prewar Japan and, on the basis of the people's determination never again to repeat such a thing, established its Peace Constitution. In the preamble to that constitution is the declaration: "We, the Japanese people, desire peace for all time [...] have determined to preserve our security and existence, trusting in the justice and faith of the peace-loving peoples of the world." From that time until today, we have made peace our nation's policy, and we will absolutely not become a military power, even if become an economic power. Now, regarding Japan's defense buildup, our country, along with maintaining the minimum defensive capability necessary for its own defense, adheres to its Three Non-Nuclear Principles. Adhering to such a defense policy, we have made efforts to this day to build our country as a peaceful country. I would like you to understand that the absolute majority of the Japanese people support this and that, on this basis of that consensus, this national policy now and in the future will be immutable. I would like you to understand that, even if there were to be criticism from some, that could not become a force to take Japan's policy in a mistaken direction. Japan, contributing to the peace and stability of the world from the peaceful position of such a Peace Constitution, cannot contribute militarily to the peace and stability of Asia and the world. However, because Japan has a certain degree of economic and technological strength, we are cooperating through this strength, according to the national situation, to promote civil welfare stability, industry, and the economy in developing countries and the Third World. In such aspects, our country would like to play an international role and fulfill its responsibilities.

The Three Non-Nuclear Principles that I just mentioned are "not possessing, not producing and not permitting the introduction of nuclear weapons." As the only country ever to have suffered atomic bombings, our principle comes from the wish never to repeat the horrors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Premier Zhao: Prime Minister Suzuki, you have brought up the textbook issue, which has certainly greatly disturbed the bilateral relationship, which had been developing without a hitch until now. I am happy to see that, today, this problem has already settled down. Consequently, we have thus been able to welcome your visit to China in a good atmosphere. Also, we appreciate the efforts that you have made to revolve the textbook issue.

China and Japan are neighbors separated only by a narrow strip of water. Between our two countries is a history of more than two thousand years of friendly relations.

When I visited Japan, I said, "Opportunities of time vouchsafed by Heaven are not equal to advantages of situation afforded by the Earth, and advantages of situation afforded by the Earth are not equal to the union arising from the accord of Men." [TN: a saying of Mencius] Now, as you mentioned, the development of relations between our two countries accords not only with the common wish and fundamental interests of the people of our two countries but is also beneficial to the peace and stability of the Asia-Pacific region. The friendly relations between China and Japan have gone through many twists and turn to develop to the level where there are today. It was no easy thing. It is for that very reason, then, that it is necessary for us without tiring to make new efforts to cherish all the more and devote our energies to those relations, to develop them, and to protect and develop those friendly relations between our two countries and the feeling of friendship between our two peoples.

In the past, Japan inflicted great damage on the peoples of China and Japan by the war of aggression that the Japanese militarists caused, leaving behind wounds difficult to forget. The unpleasant history during this time is nothing more than a short period in the long river of friendship between China and Japan. However, that lesson is deep. I think that we must never repeat such history. In handling relations between China and Japan, we must be forward-looking. However, this does not mean that it is alright to forget the lessons of history, and their being used to willfully falsify history is even more unforgivable. The Chinese government earnestly desires to develop friendly relations with your country and does not wish for even a little harm to come to such relations.

On my previous visit to Tokyo, I said to you that the development of relations between China and Japan should not be effected by the wind and waves of international relations. I would like to make an additional point. Relations between China and Japan still have to overcome various obstacles. I wish to highly appreciate your having repeatedly spoken of protecting the spirit of the Sino-Japanese Joint Statement and for the statement about taking responsibility to make sure to correct the textbook issue. The Chinese government and I, myself, would like to work with your country's government and with you to protect and develop the friendly relations between our two countries.

3. 12th National Party Congress, Modernization Policy

Prime Minister Suzuki: Premier Zhao, several months have passed since I saw you in May. Since that time, your country has made a great success of the 12th National Party Congress. People of the world were paying attention to it with great interest: to the establishment at this congress of a powerful leadership system; to the unanimous adoption of the resolution to strongly promote under this system the policy of the "Four Modernizations" as the fixed line of national policy; and to the establishment by means of this policy of the grand goal of quadrupling the total production value of agriculture and industry by the year 2000 and the working together of the Party, government, and people toward that goal. I highly appraise these points and, at the same time, Japan hopes for their successful realization.

Premier Zhao: Prime Minister Suzuki, you spoke of the 12th National Party Congress. Holding this congress showed that our country has already entered in a political sense a period of long-term stability. The modernization line and the series of policies, including that of opening to the outside world, which we are now implementing, are an expression of a further guarantee of continuity going forward. At this recent congress, we set forth major lines and policies on the future goals in economic construction until the end of this century for which we are aiming. These lines and policies are not things considered for a moment in order to hold the congress; they are the result of close study and examination over a long period. Accordingly, the holding of the recent 12th National Party Congress is an expression of China's entering henceforth a new historical era of fully opening a new path of modernization and construction.

4. Our Country's Cooperation on Modernization

Prime Minister Suzuki: Japan sincerely hopes for your country's to achieve the goals of its modernization policy because your country and Japan will derive much mutual benefit from that success. In addition, that would lead to an increase in the stability of Asia's economies and people's lives. Your country has many natural resources. Your human resources are also plentiful. Japan has technology and a certain degree of economic strength. Our two countries being in a cooperative relationship on your country's grand economic construction is, in other words, a way to guide all of Asia's economic success.

On the other hand, our country would like to engage in cooperation in no way inferior to that of the past 10 years. Also, in so doing, we would like to consult on whether we could engage in cooperation that would be a plus for your country's development and, from there, arrive at concrete conclusions and cooperate.

Premier Zhao: When I stated the elementary idea of developing economic relations between our two countries on the basis of the three principles of "peace and friendship, equality and mutual benefit, and long-term stability" at the time of my visit to Japan in May, I had your positive agreement. We completely agree with your words. China and Japan's further developing economic and technical cooperation under today's new situation, has broad prospects and is beneficial to both sides.

Prime Minister Suzuki: As you say, Japan and China are in a mutually complementary relationship, particularly in the economic field. I express my complete agreement on the view that we can expect great results if we foster our strengths, make up for our shortcomings, and cooperate with one another. I, too, completely agree regarding the pooling of our countries strengths and weaknesses benefiting the people of our two countries.

Premier Zhao: Now, in our country, new changes are taking place in the economic situation. We have goals and blueprints for the next 20 years. On the other hand, the situation in the world today is still one of economic recession. In such a situation, it is mutually necessary for our two countries to foster its own strengths, draw on each other's strengths, and make up for our weaknesses. It would be to our mutual benefit. Accordingly, further developing economic and technological cooperation has a particularly important significance and, at the same time, it has a wide range of content.

5. China's Economic Situation

Premier Zhao: Our country's economic situation, seen at present, is gradually changing for the better. Since we have implemented in the agricultural villages the policy of the production responsibility system to raise the willingness of villagers to work, the situation in the agricultural villages has been wonderful. Harvests have been good, and this year will also be a bumper year. Great change has also arisen in China's domestic production of consumer goods. A great change has arisen in the situation of a longstanding lack of consumer goods. If you walk around town and enter a department store, you will understand. In this aspect, one can say that this is the best period for China since the 1950s. Also, what I particularly wish to explain is that such good results have not come at the expense of heavy industry. Heavy industry has been recovering since the fourth quarter of last year. This year, the rate of increase for heavy industry has surpassed that of light industry. As you know, China until the 1980s continuously ran large deficits for several years. This year, we broadly reduced fiscal expenditures and aimed for a basic balance. The outlook is that we will be able this year to achieve a basic balance in these financial expenditures. All this proves that China's economic situation has had a remarkable turn for the better. Our economy, through the three years of adjustment to date, has

already started to have the conditions to start from this point onward key economic construction. Our key economic construction is energy development, the development of transportation facilities, and the development of other resources, including non-ferrous metals.

Also, we are in a good situation of returning to construction in the large-scale plant and equipment introduced since 1980 (later corrected to 1978). For the next 20 years from now, until the end of the century, our key construction will probably be growing day by day, year by year, steadily growing in scale according to plan.

On the other hand, for the next 20 years from now, particularly for the next 10 years, I would like to advance that technical transformation gradually, in a planned way, and on a large scale in regard to our existing enterprises as well. China's existing enterprises are not only behind in management and techniques, but in equipment as well. In these aspects, too, we want a great deal of equipment, raw materials, and advanced technology.

6. Promotion of Private Cooperation and Improvement of the Environment

Prime Minister Suzuki: As you said, from this point forward China will be seeing great progress in various fields -- production, consumption, and allocation - and various enterprises of every kind, from heavy industry and light industry to small businesses, will have to be moving. Considering this, what is sought in this new era is not only such ways as intergovernmental loans or technical cooperation, but a broader partnership and cooperation of private economic circles. Tomorrow, after the meeting, it will be a pleasure to sign this year's loan for 65 billion yen. I would like, as the representative of the Government of Japan, to continue to cooperate as much as possible, but there are limits, naturally, to intergovernmental loans. In any event, because your country's economy is soon to grow greatly, it is not the case that everything can be provided by cooperation between governments alone, nor is it the case that Japan alone is enough. Accordingly, because China has decided to adopt an open economic policy, it would be desirable to introduce capital and technology from other advanced industrial countries as well and, with that combined strength, to cooperate. Other than that, I think that private-sector cooperation must have a greater weight. In that sense, I think it necessary, and the opinion was put forth the other day by Mr. Doko, to providing the environmental conditions to facilitate investments and joint ventures. I wish to suggest, frankly, that preparing such items as an investment protection agreement, a tax treaty, and other domestic laws and regulations would be desirable.

Premier Zhao: You have mentioned some issues in economic and technological cooperation between China and Japan. I think that an investment protection agreement and a tax treaty are really necessary to promote relations of economic cooperation between China and Japan. Both the Chinese and Japanese sides have done a great deal of work for that, but there are still some issues on which we should agree from this point onward. I think that we should work from now onward for this.

Thus, you have put forth proposals and views on such matters as a tax treaty and an investment protection agreement. I have been very much in agreement on improving the environment to facilitate Japanese corporate investment and joint ventures and have continued working for it. However, time is needed until we succeed completely. China for many years was in a closed environment, so we have little experience in immediately moving ahead. I would like the Japanese side to trust China. I would like to say that, so long as you sign a contract with China, China will strictly observe it. For China, a contract has a legal effect. I would like you to rest assured on this point.

7. Oil Development in Bohai Bay

Prime Minister Suzuki: I hear that the prospecting for oil and natural gas in Bohai Bay is going very well. I would like to speed up the exploration in your country and, if possible, dig 9 wells. The 210 million in funding to date is insufficient. There is a proposal to increase this by 400 million to 610 million, and I also approve of it. I hear that a delegation from our side will be put together next month and that the Japan National Oil Corporation and others will have detailed consultations with the Japan China Oil Development Corporation [JCOD]. I would like to do everything possible to make this happen.

Premier Zhao: We put forth a proposal on the 5th regarding speeding up the prospecting for oil and natural gas in Bohai Bay. After that, with your cooperation, oil companies on both sides have been actively considering it and are now working out a reliable and feasible plan. As far as I know, the exploration has been going smoothly. This is a relatively major item in the economic cooperation between our two countries. Going forward, I would like both sides to work to speed up exploration and quickly make development possible.

8. Modernization of Existing Factories

Prime Minister Suzuki: You mentioned it earlier, but I think that the modernization and renovation of existing factories is a realistic policy. Japan's Ministry of International Trade and Industry [MITI] in FY1981 conducted with your country a diagnosis on factories. Those results were very good, and there is a plan to double it in FY1982. I think that we should move quickly to implement this as well. As support, we will use a bank loan from the Export-Import Bank of Japan. In such a field as this, I think that the cooperation of private enterprises is really necessary.

Premier Zhao: I agree with you on the technical transformation of existing factories and would like to greatly promote private-sector cooperation. You brought up the corporate diagnosis of the 16 enterprises done to date. Going forward, they should be expanded. Also, recently, our two countries agreed on FY1982 government yen loans and also agreed on the Sino-Japanese Long-Term Trade Agreement. I am pleased with this.

9. Oil Development in Yellow Sea, South China Sea

Prime Minister Suzuki: With mention made on Bohai Bay's oil, I hear regarding prospecting for oil development in the Yellow Sea and South China Sea that there is also bidding from Japan but that decisions will be made next spring. I would like the enthusiasm of Japan's companies to be taken into consideration and ask that past performance also be considered and that they be given special consideration.

Premier Zhao: We have heard your thinking regarding the international bidding issue for oil development in the South China Sea and Yellow Sea and have already informed the Ministry of Petroleum Industry. We have called on the Ministry of Petroleum Industry to give consideration to the Japanese side's view. On the 5th, as I said, in light of the friendly and cooperative relations between our two countries, I would like to handle this issue with a forward-looking (xiangqian kan) attitude and, if the conditions are the same, I would like to give consideration, of course, to Japanese companies. There has been no change to date in this thinking.

10. Japan-China Joint Development of Non-Ferrous Metals

Premier Zhao: Prime Minister Suzuki, I would like to raise at this time an issue and ask for your consideration. You need not answer now. I would like you to return to Japan and consider it. China is a country with a relative abundance of non-ferrous ores but, at present, development of these resources is insufficient. The development of these

resources is, of course, highly significant for China's modernization. It is important for your country as well. These resources are almost all in the Northwest and Northeast. In general, their development takes a long time, with a great deal of funds invested and much electricity required. Large quantities of electricity are consumed in the development of non-ferrous metals. However, in the Northwest and Southwest are abundant hydropower resources. I would like to raise the issue of whether or not there exists the possibility to develop non-ferrous metals, necessary for both China and Japan, other than for the joint development of energy, in order to develop long-term and stable relations between China and Japan. At present, our two countries have carried out fruitful cooperation on the joint development of energy and have long-term plans. I wonder how it would be if both sides were to consider together this cooperation in regard to the joint development henceforth of non-ferrous metals. This is no small undertaking. The developing of non-ferrous metals is often accompanied by the development of hydroelectricity. I am not asking for an immediate answer, but I raise this issue and would like you to consider it.

Prime Minister Suzuki: Regarding the development of non-ferrous metals, I hear that a development survey is being conducted on a government basis of the Anqing Copper Mine. There are not enough of these non-ferrous metals in the world. I hear that, in a certain country, they are being stockpiled as they are militarily indispensable. Regarding their development, let us study this fully going forward, not only between governments but also in various possible ways.

11. Sanjiang Plain

Prime Minister Suzuki: Premier Zhao, I would like to hear your ideas related to agriculture. Japan, too, is now proceeding with the testing of the Sanjiang Plain's development as technical cooperation. It is considered an effective project for future increased food production in your country and for agricultural promotion. However, I wonder whether China has priorities in its overall future long-term planning and would like to ask what would be those priorities. On that basis, I would like to examine what kind of cooperation Japan can do.

Premier Zhao: So far as I know, I hear that persons from various fields have come from your country and have already been in contact with the Ministry of Agriculture. The Chinese government is positive on the development of the Sanjiang Plain. Also, we are interested in cooperation with Japan on this project. I would like to leave discussion on the specific issues to the responsible departments. At the time of Agriculture Minister Tazawa's visit to China, he met and had consultations with the Chinese minister of agriculture. Both sides expressed interest at that time.

12. Japan-China Friendship Center

Prime Minister Suzuki: Speaking for Japan, what I would like to say in sum is that I think mutual understanding at every level is important for further strengthening and developing cooperative relations henceforth with your country. From that viewpoint, engaging in exchanges to a large degree of exchange students, missions, and the like is important. There are many exchange students and the like in Japan. There is increasing momentum from having realized - as a project for the 10th anniversary of the normalization of relations - the construction of the "Japan-China Friendship Center" to welcome these persons and as a base for their activities in Japan. I also think that, because this is a good commemorative project, the government would definitely like to promote it, and I ask for your understanding.

Premier Zhao: I agree with your proposal, Prime Minister Suzuki. I would like to promote it for success.

II. Second Summit Meeting (International Situation)

September 27, 9:30 - 11:45

1. Sino-Soviet Relations

Prime Minister Suzuki: Secretary General Hu Yaobang spoke at the recent 12th National Party Congress regarding relations with the Soviet Union. He said something to the effect that, if the Soviet side improved its attitude and really adopted various improvement measures, then he was prepared to improve relations between China and the Soviet Union. I would like to start by asking about this issue.

Is there a change in China's Soviet policy? He has spoken of what would happen if practical measures were taken, but what are practical measures? Also, is it possible that the Soviet Union would take such measures? Will the Soviet Union respond? I would like to ask regarding your country's overall recognition of the Soviet Union.

Premier Zhao: I explained in Tokyo in May regarding the Chinese side's thinking on the overall international situation. I do not think that the international situation has basically changed since then. In our Tokyo meeting, we agreed in the recognition that the present international situation was unstable, tense, and difficult. After my visit to Japan, there arose the issues of Israel's invasion of Lebanon and the massacre of Lebanese and Palestinians. In Tokyo, we discussed with each other how, even though not one of the previous issues had been resolved, new clashes were occurring without cease. The developments of the situation since then proves this more and more. The Chinese government recognizes that, even now, the basic cause for the tense and unstable international situation is the struggle for hegemony between the superpowers. Its basic structure, after all, is one of Soviet offense and US defense. The main threat to world peace and stability is Soviet hegemony.

In order to oppose hegemony and defend world peace, there has been no change in our basic policy of uniting with the countries of the Third World and joining together with countries of the world, including the United States, to restrain Soviet hegemony.

You touched on China's relations with the Soviet Union, but General Secretary Hu Yaobang has already made China's position clear at the 12th National Party Congress. China's basic position is as follows:

(1) The Soviet Union's policy of pushing ahead with hegemony around the world has still not changed. Thus, our policy of opposing Soviet hegemony has not changed even a little.

(2) Maintaining and developing normal state-to-state relations on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence is also the consistent position of China.

(3) To date, the Soviet authorities have repeatedly expressed their desire to improve Sino-Soviet relations. We have said that one must look at actions, not words, and so it is necessary for both sides to come into contact on this issue. I will say to here that it has been decided that, on the 4th or 5th of next month, the Soviet Union will send Deputy Foreign Minister Ilichev to Beijing and that there will be an exchange of views on bilateral relations. If the Soviet authorities truly have the sincerity to improve relations with China, then they should take practical measures to remove the threat to our country's security.

As you know, the Soviet Union stations a large army on the Sino-Soviet border and has put an army in Mongolia as well. The Soviet Union also supports Vietnam's

invasion of Cambodia and has invaded Afghanistan. All of this is a threat to China's security.

If the Soviet Union truly has the sincerity to improve relations with China and takes steps to remove the threat to our country's security, and if bilateral relations are improved, then that is what we hope for, of course, and it would be in the interests of both sides.

However, there are great differences between China and the Soviet Union, so achieving that would not be easy at all. Accordingly, I think that contacts for such an improvement in relations between China and the Soviet Union would be long and continuing, like a marathon.

I will take this opportunity to say that China's diplomatic policy is a consistent one of principled independence. When China sets forth its own policy, it does so not for its own interests alone but in consideration of the overall situation of global strategy as well. China's foreign policy is certainly not one that lightly changes in a moment or over an incident. Also, at the recent National Party Congress, there was repeatedly expressed the principled position that China will never be subordinate to any big power. When associating with the United States, we will not play the Soviet card. Nor will we play the US card when associating with the Soviet Union. We will absolutely not tolerate other countries playing the China card. In short, Chinese diplomacy's basic policies are:

(1) opposition to hegemony and defense of world peace

(2) the maintaining and development of normal state-to-state relations with the world's countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence.

Prime Minister Suzuki: You spoke forcefully on your country's consistent diplomatic policy. Regarding Soviet policy, too, my understanding is General Secretary Hu said that he would adhere to the conventional policy. In particular, as I see it, the various actions that the Soviet Union takes, such as putting the Soviet military on the Sino-Soviet border or in Mongolia, aiding Vietnam, and invading Afghanistan, are not simply undertaken with China as the target. They are, after all, the measures and actions of a Soviet global strategy that takes into consideration a powerful force: the United States. Accordingly, it does not mean that the Soviet Union will all of a sudden improve such measures. (Premier Zhao nodded vigorously in response). I think that, in that sense, it will be difficult to improve the situation much, even with discussions taking place from this point forward between China and the Soviet Union.

Premier Zhao: (to Foreign Ministry participants around him) How long have you done border negotiations?

Vice Minister Wu Xueqian: They have gone on for 9 or 10 years. Deputy Foreign Minister Ilichev often comes to Beijing.

Minister Huang Hua: Ilichev has been in charge of the border negotiations the whole time.

Premier Zhao: Our view, too, is similar to yours. The Chinese government has to date been saying that the Soviet Union's aid to Vietnam and invasion of Afghanistan are components of its policy of global hegemony, and nowhere are there to be seen signs that the Soviet Union will change such a policy.

Prime Minister Suzuki: The Soviet Union has been invading Afghanistan, aiding

Vietnam, and building military bases, but I think that all this has become a great burden for the Soviet Union. Today, the Soviet economy has repeated failures in agricultural policy, production drops in mining and manufacturing, and the allocation of a great deal of resources to military spending. From this, I think that the people's standard of living will have to be greatly cut, so the Soviet economic is faced with difficulties. Also the countries of the Eastern Europe Bloc countries, the Soviet Union's satellite countries, whether seen from the aspect of the international balance of payments or the economy and trade on the whole, are in a state of crisis. Accordingly, the West's economic measures against the Soviet Union have a very important meaning. The issue of the West's economic policy against the Soviet Union was discussed at the Versailles Summit. Before a complete consensus was reached, disagreement arose between the United States and West European countries over the pipeline issue. At present, this is a troublesome issue in the Western camp. However, as I see it, I think that if a general agreement is reached on granting new credits to the Soviet Union, then discussions will gradually follow on the pipeline issue. As for Japan, on the issue of developing oil and natural gas in Sakhalin, Japanese enterprises are doing it in joint venture with the Soviet Union. They have been doing this for the past 6 or 7 years. The pipeline issue does not involves only Europe. Japan, as it is also involved, is asking the United States to reconsider. However, if the West can simply come to a general consensus on the granting of new credits to the Soviet Union, then I think that the problem is going to solve itself.

Premier Zhao: Recently, first former President Nixon, then Prime Minister Thatcher visited, and everyone talked about this issue. Also, I was asked how the Chinese government was viewing it. I answered Nixon then that China would not approve of any measure that would strengthen Soviet power. In addition, concerning what actions the United States would find unacceptable in its partners, Washington needs to take the lead and not do such things itself. When Reagan came on the scene, he lifted the grain embargo, then told the Western countries that they must not sell pipeline to the Soviet Union, so people in the West complained.

2. US-China Relations

Prime Minister Suzuki: Concerning the issue of arms sales to Taiwan, I think that it is a temporary compromise solution but, in any case, I take it that the United States and China are talking to one another and that the severe difference in views has subsided for the time being. I highly appreciate the United States and China for having been able to take a constructive posture of seeking to handle the issue in assessing the overall situation and talking with one another. However, in the meantime, with no basic resolution of the issue, I think that there is various thinking about it. I would like to ask you about this point.

Premier Zhao: Changes in China-US relations are new changes since the talks in May. At that time, in May, China-US relations were in a delicate stage. The Chinese and US sides in the end reached an agreement for the time being on this issue. This is an important step taken to remove a major obstacle lying athwart the China-US bilateral relationship, and it is worthy of satisfaction. However, the recent China-US Joint Communique is only a beginning for the resolution of this issue. It does not mean that it has been resolved. The key to this issue will be the US government's observing the obligations to which it clearly committed in the Joint Communique. In short, it is to gradually reduce the arms supplied to Taiwan and, in the end, to halt them completely. The Chinese side hopes that the United States faithfully observes this Communique and shows a solemn, sincere, and responsible attitude.

Following the announcement of the China-US Communique, there were reactions from all over the world. The absolute majority welcomed it. In addition, the reaction of the US mass media by and large was favorable. However, in the United States as well there are some pro-Taiwan forces and, no surprise, when this Communique was announced they began clamoring against it. Worth noting is that a very small number

of government sources were distorting the Communiqué during the talks. For example, a certain person was saying that the United States would resolve the issue of arms sales to Taiwan. However, this is against not only the spirit but the letter of the China-US Communiqué. It is a distorted interpretation of the Joint Communiqué. The efforts that China makes for a peaceful resolution of the Taiwan issue is of a different quality than the issue of US arms sales to Taiwan. It is precisely because China is adhering to this point that it has been tenaciously continuing negotiations with the United States. The result is that it gave rise to a result that separated both parties. As we have announced repeatedly to this day, China's efforts for a peaceful resolution of the Taiwan issue is entirely China's domestic affair, and China will not accept any external interference. We cannot make a commitment to any country on such an issue. Some US government sources have stated the view that the China-US Communiqué would have to be subordinate to the Taiwan Relations Act, but this is even more of a distortion. However, this proves that, so long as the Taiwan Relations Act exists, it will be impossible to completely remove the dark cloud over the China-US relationship. Its existence will be a dark influence on the development of China-US relations from now on as well. Of course, it will not be easy to resolve this at once. However, China thinks that the US president's authority in how to handle the Taiwan Relations Act is considerable.

Generally speaking, China attaches great importance to the development of relations with the United States. The China-US relationship is not only one of having the common interest of jointly dealing with the Soviet Union's policy of hegemony and expansion. It is not only that. For China and the United States - two great powers -- developing friendly relations in many fields is in the interests of both countries. It is also a plus for global peace and stability. Truly, we have put a great amount of effort in negotiations with the United States to reach agreements and avoid setbacks in the relationship. While safeguarding the basic principle of maintaining our country's sovereignty, China under that principle has given full consideration to relations with the United States and, in that, expressed China's flexible attitude. Accordingly, at present, the Chinese side hopes that the US side also attaches importance to the China-US relationship and faithfully observe that to which it clearly committed in the announced Joint Communiqué. Both sides have agreed to keep in contact regarding the issue of the Communiqué's detailed implementation.

Prime Minister Suzuki: I have heard about policy on US-China relations, which are of the greatest importance for global peace, stability, and prosperity. Concerning your handling of the issue of arms sales to Taiwan, too, I would like to express my respect on hearing of the pains taken to tenaciously negotiate, based on the overall situation, while safeguarding your principles.

3. Taiwan Issue, Japan-Taiwan Relations

Premier Zhao: I would like to take this opportunity to touch on the issue of Taiwan. The Taiwan authorities resist the position that China has set forth on the peaceful resolution of the Taiwan issue. In order to escape from their situation of international isolation, for the past several years they have been increasing their activities in Western countries. Taiwan says that is it advancing working relations, but it has been seeking to create "Two Chinas" in various ways. In so doing, Taiwan has been trying to destroy the normal and friendly relations between us and those countries. One example is the Netherlands selling submarines to Taiwan, which brought about a downgrading of relations between China and the Netherlands. The Chinese government hopes that Western countries will heighten their vigilance against Taiwan's activities.

Relations between Japan and Taiwan, too, are an important issue of principle in the China-Japan relationship. If the Chinese and Japanese sides strictly observe the Sino-Japanese Joint Statement and agreements concerning Taiwan and handle the issue appropriately, we can avoid disadvantage in the China-Japan relationship. Also, I

think that the Japanese government, too, is taking notice of this.

Prime Minister Suzuki: Regarding relations between Japan and Taiwan as well, Japan and China have agreed and confirmed the principles of the Joint Communiqué and the Treaty of Peace and Friendship and have been putting them into practice to this day. Relations between Japan and Taiwan are those of personal exchanges, economic exchanges, and such. Since then, they have been aspects in which they have been quantitatively growing. There are some people with various ways of thinking, but relations between Japan and China are qualitatively based on the principles of the Joint Communiqué for the normalization of relations between Japan and China and the Treaty of Peace and Friendship. I confirm this again on this 10th anniversary milestone and, at the same time, in regard to personal and material exchanges, ask for the Chinese side's understanding of it as a real issue.

4. Japan-US Relations

Prime Minister Suzuki: As I said in Tokyo in regard to relations between Japan and the United States, the Japan-US relationship is the axis of Japanese diplomacy. As I said to you yesterday as well, Japan has made efforts for its postwar reconstruction as a peaceful country and adheres firmly to the policy, based on a national consensus, of having the minimum defensive capability for its own defense but not becoming a military power. Therefore, in the event of an external invasion against which we cannot defend ourselves, we firmly hold to the Japan-US security system maintained within the Japan-US Security Treaty. In that sense, Japan and the United States, sharing political and economic values, as well as liberal and democratic ones, are in an inseparable relationship. This Japan-US Security Treaty system, then, serves as a deterrent force for Asian peace and stability as well as against some potential threats, and it has a very important significance for Asian peace and stability. In regard to such close relations between Japan and the United States, I think that they can be compatible with the unwavering relations of friendship and cooperation between Japan and China on the one hand and, also, that making them compatible contributes to the peace and prosperity of Asia and the world.

Premier Zhao: Prime Minister Suzuki, I understand what you have said just now regarding the close relations between Japan and the United States, including the security treaty. Establishing long-term and stable relations of friendship and cooperation between China and Japan will not effect the friendly relations between Japan and the United States.

I agree with your view and think it compatible.

5. Korea Issue

Prime Minister Suzuki: Recently, President Kim Il Sung of North Korea, the president of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea [DPRK], visited China. Japan, for its part, considers the peace and stability of the Korean peninsula as having a great influence on the peace and stability of Asia. Accordingly, what we consider most desirable would be peaceful unification achieved not by a relationship of confrontation between North and South Korea but by talks. How does your country consider this issue? Also, frequently, and recently as well, you said that a southward advance from North Korea is not possible. I would like to hear your view on that point.

Premier Zhao: President Kim Il Sung's visit to China was for promoting and strengthening the friendly relations between China and the DPRK. It was also because President Kim wished to see the changes that have taken place in recent years in China. Both sides took the opportunity of the visit to China to introduce each other's domestic situation and to engage in an exchange of views on the international

situation.

The relationship between China and the DPRK has always been a good one. Both sides are satisfied with the development of bilateral relations. President Kim Il Sung expressed a supportive attitude regarding China's present direction, policies, and 12th National Party Congress. Our side, too, resolutely supported the concept for peaceful reunification that President Kim Il Sung put forth for the reunification of Korea. We also repeatedly expressed support for his reasonable position that the United States should withdraw its military from South Korea.

There are grounds for this, but I will tell you that what most interests the DPRK is domestic construction. They are putting effort into the development of their own country's domestic economy and improving the people's livelihood. They have put forth two grand construction projects for domestic economic construction. One is the development of coastal areas and developing agricultural production. The other is to develop DPRK strength in developing domestic non-ferrous metals. I also think that they wish to reduce the burden on both the North and South brought on by their military confrontation and reduce the tensions between the North and South. Also, they hope for the United States to change its attitude and not obstruct their achieving these goals. They by no means want war and have no intention of a southward advance. Their desire for peace is credible.

To my way of thinking, so long as South Korea's Chun Doo-hwan does not provoke things, I think that the stability of the Korean Peninsula can continue. In connection with this issue, I would like to say that the United States should change its position of not having contacts with North Korea. I think that if the United States changed the position it has had to date, it would be advantageous to a stable state of affairs on the Korean Peninsula and to development. If that happened, I think that the DPRK would put forth reasonable conditions. We would like to make proposals and recommendations to the United States, but the United States seems not to listen. It would be desirable if you and the Japanese government could make some approach to the US side.

Prime Minister Suzuki: Regarding this issue, here is basically what I think. My perception is that there is a balance of military force between the South and the North, including, for the present, the US troops stationed there, and that peace on the Korean Peninsula has been maintained due to that balance. Both the North and the South are considerably straining to maintain this balance. In improving the people's livelihood, I think it very unreasonable to throw resources into military buildup that should go into economic development. Such foolishness should be stopped. I think that talks should take place between the South and the North to reduce military power to a low level while keeping the balance. Also, I think that, because the North's letting the Soviet Union use its naval ports and other facilities provokes the United States, it should stop it. In order to turn this relationship of the South and the North, which is one of confrontation and opposition of forces, to peaceful unification and coexistence through talks, it is necessary that the United States and your country each exerts influence and create such an environment and conditions. Japan, too, would like to cooperate as much as possible on such a matter.

Premier Zhao: The DPRK is an independent country and, as we have said many times to date, it takes an independent position in regard to the Soviet Union as well. As far as China knows, the Soviet Union does not have a great deal of influence over the DPRK. You mentioned the Soviet Union using DPRK naval ports but I think, as far as we know, that is not true. This issue is not a sensitive one for the United States alone. If we saw that, we could not help but be concerned.

Prime Minister Suzuki: I would like to touch on the issue of economic cooperation. There is a request to Japan from the Republic of Korea [ROK] for economic aid. In

regard to this, it is absolutely unacceptable that economic cooperation from Japan be used for such purposes as military buildup. Japan prohibits arms exports. We have the Three Principles on Arms Exports. Our position as a peaceful country is that we do not export arms or provide weapons technologies. Concerning economic cooperation, we hold firmly to the basic policy that we do not engage in economic cooperation that would be directed toward the strengthening of military power. Japan's policy, not only for the ROK but for every country, is that economic cooperation must be useful for developing the economy and improving the people's livelihood, thereby contributing to global peace and stability.

In regard to the ROK as well, we have made it clear that economic cooperation cannot strengthen security. We have received various concrete requests from the ROK and are now examining them.

Premier Zhao: Does your country have economic dealings with the North?

Prime Minister Suzuki: There is private-sector trade and commerce. Due to sluggish economic conditions in the past year or two, however, past debt has not been assimilated and interest has not been repaid as promised. It is a fact that the pipeline for new trade and commerce has been narrowing.

Premier Zhao: China hopes that Japan develops economic dealings and cooperation with the DPRK.

Prime Minister Suzuki: North Korea is in considerable economic difficulty, affected by the global economic recession, and its finances also seem to be suffering, but was there concrete movement forward on economic cooperation or the providing of aid for economic cooperation, technical cooperation or such when President Kim Il Sung visited China?

Premier Zhao: We did not touch on specific issues. However, the intermediate long-term trade agreement ends this year, so we signed a new long-term trade agreement. This one nearly maintains the level existing until now and, as until now, we will provide oil and coke. When I visited the DPRK in December last year and this time, too, the DPRK side said that the domestic economic situation was good and that they would make no new or particular request of the Chinese side. Even the signed intermediate trade agreement was not signed during President Kim Il Sung's visit to China but a little before then. On the whole, exchanges, including trade and cooperation, are maintained at their level to date. We have neither decreased or increased them.

6. Middle East Issue

Prime Minister Suzuki: That the state of affairs in the world is showing such turbulence is due in large part to the fluidity of the situation in the Middle East. For Japan, in the Middle East there are relations with the Gulf countries and our relations with the largest oil-supplying area. We, too, are concerned about the situation in the Middle East and sincerely hope for its peaceful resolution. Also, in regard to peace in the Middle East, we are making every effort in making contact with representatives of your country as a member of the United Nations Security Council. Such things as the large-scale massacre of innocent people in Lebanon, in Beirut, are absolutely unforgivable acts from a humanitarian viewpoint. Our country, too, condemns them and call for the immediate withdrawal of Israeli forces from west Beirut. Our country thinks it absolutely necessary, in exchange for recognizing Israel's right to exist, to recognize the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to the establishment of an independent state. We are taking every opportunity to make an appeal for this to the United States as well.

Premier Zhao: I praise your stated position and attitude on the Middle East issue. Israel, in their barbaric invasion of Lebanon, in cruelly massacring Lebanese and Palestinian civilians, attempted to wipe out the efforts of the Palestinian Liberation Organization [PLO] and to destroy completely the Palestinians' righteous cause. Palestinian forces of national liberation thereby suffered a setback, but Israel's scheme absolutely cannot be realized.

We think that the core of the Middle East issue is the Palestinian issue. So long as Israel does not withdraw from the territories of Arab countries occupied in 1967 and so long as the Palestinian people are not granted the right of national self-determination, it will be forever impossible to resolve the Middle East issue. The key to resolving this issue lies in changing the policy that the United States has adopted toward Israel. It is the United States abandoning its policy of supporting and accepting Israel that would make possible Israel changing its policies of invasion and expansion. So long as Washington does not change its policy of supporting and accepting Israel's invasion, it will not be possible to resolve the conflict between the United States and the Arab countries, nor will it be possible to eliminate the opportunities for the Soviet Union to take advantage of the situation and attempt to pursue there a policy of expansion. Most of the Arab countries now have expressed the position of wishing to resolve the issue on a reasonable basis. I think that this is a golden opportunity. The key to this issue lies in the United States putting pressure on Israel.

The proposal for a resolution of the Middle East issue, set forth recently at the conference of Arab countries in Fez, Morocco, is an entirely reasonable proposal. It not only expresses the unity of the Arab countries, but it is something realistic, practicable, and which should receive the serious consideration of international society. I would like you and others in the Japanese government to exercise your influence and urge the West, particularly the United States, to support the position and proposal put forth at the Fez Conference.

7. Conclusion

Prime Minister Suzuki: The past two days of talks have been fruitful. I am happy that we reached consensus on many issues.

Premier Zhao: I completely agree with your assessment.

III. Meeting between Suzuki, Deng Xiaoping

September 28, 10:05 - 11:35

1. Overview of Japan-China Relations

Senior Leader Deng: Prime Minister Suzuki, it is very significant that you have visited China in this monumental year, the 10th anniversary of the normalization of relations. That is to say, the normalization of relations is something for the people of our two countries to commemorate. It is regrettable that I was not one of those involved at the time in the normalization of relations. At that time, two men -- Prime Minister Tanaka and Foreign Minister Ohira -- played leading roles. Prime Minister Suzuki and Foreign Minister Sakurauchi also at that time made great contributions within the party. I was involved at the time of the signing of the China-Japan Treaty of Peace and Friendship.

I would like to thank then Prime Minister Tanaka and Foreign Minister Ohira on

normalization of relations between China and Japan. Both you, as chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party [LDP] General Council, and Foreign Minister Sakurauchi, as chairman of the LDP Policy Research Council, contributed. Thank you. Furthermore, I also thank those who made efforts for friendship between China and Japan, including Mr. Fujiyama, Mr. Okazaki, and Mr. Furui. There are many more persons than we can count who made efforts in this area. After you return home, please give our regards and appreciation to Mr. Tanaka and the widow of Mr. Ohira. Also, please convey our cordial good wishes and sincere greetings to Mr. Fujiyama, Mr. Okazaki, and Mr. Furui. We thank these gentlemen. (Wang Xiaoxian, director, Japanese Affairs Division, writes a memo.) Please convey my gratitude as well to Mr. Nikaido, who played a very active role at that time as chief cabinet secretary.

Prime Minister Suzuki: I will certainly convey your kind words to each of my seniors. Everyone, without a doubt, will be happy to hear it.

Senior Leader Deng: Also, please convey our greeting to Mr. Fukuda and Mr. Sonoda, who were involved in the concluding of the 1978 China-Japan Treaty of Peace and Friendship.

Prime Minister Suzuki: I understand. I will make sure to tell them.

I am deeply grateful, Senior Leader Deng, for your great efforts made at that time for the conclusion of the Treaty of Peace and Friendship between Japan and China. Also, I still clearly remember how the Japanese people expressed their enthusiastic welcome when you came to Japan for the signing. On my visit to China this time, the day before yesterday and yesterday I engaged in a frank exchange of views with Premier Zhao on the Japan-China relationship and the international situation. I am very happy that we were able to have such substantial and fruitful exchanges of views that we went over the planned time.

I met Premier Zhao at Cancun and in Tokyo in May, so this was my third time, but I feel as though I have known him for a long time. In China there is the term "old friend." Truly, I have come to have this feeling of closeness to Premier Zhao.

Premier Zhao is an expert on economic issues, but he also has great insight as well on international and other issues. He also has a warm personality. From Japan's position, too, I am happy that China has chosen such an exemplary premier. From now on, I hope, in speaking closely and directly with Premier Zhao, to be able to smoothly solve difficult issues, no matter what kind they are.

Senior Leader Deng: We have done some important things in the past few years (note: reference to the issues of new cadres succeeding old ones and choosing young officials). Our generation is in fair health but, after all, we have reached the age of departing this world. Accordingly, there is a great need to have persons who are young and healthy compared to us work on the front line. I am having Hu Yaobang and Zhao Ziyang do more and more of the work. You will meet General Secretary Hu Yaobang a little later. I believe that you two will soon become friends.

[TN: line through page, possibly indicating remarks of Prime Minister Suzuki cut]

Senior Leader Deng: As you are all aware, this is the first time we brought up relations between China and Japan (at the 12th National Party Congress). What I would like to say regarding the China-Japan relationship, which I have also said many times before, is that "relations between China and Japan and between the Chinese and Japanese people will continue to be friendly for generations to come." This latest National Party Congress confirmed that this friendship between China and Japan and between the Chinese and Japanese people is now our long-term national policy. There

are five years between this National Party Congress and the next one, but this national policy is not one for only five years. For generations to come is not a period of 5, 10, 20 or 50 years.

Prime Minister Suzuki: It is as you say, Senior Leader Deng. On this visit to China, I have said to the Japanese people and press that, on the basis of the strong friendship built up between Japan and China these past 10 years, we must develop cooperation between our two countries in the 1980s and in heading toward the 21st century. That is, I said that I am visiting China with the feeling of building unwavering friendship through plentiful exchanges and would like to talk with Chinese leaders and confirm with them those relations of friendship and cooperation between Japan and China. Accordingly, I completely agree with what you have just now said.

Senior Leader Deng: The way of bringing forward a proposition on the China-Japan relationship, as we just did, is bringing it forward on the basis of the practice of the past 10 years. China is a member of the Third World and is emphasizing concert and cooperation with the Third World. However, in relations with other regions, we are putting cooperative relations between China and Japan first. This is not only in line with the desires of both people; it is also in accord with their interests. Moreover, in the relatively major relations for us in the past 10 years, that is, relations between China and Japan, China and the United States, and China and the Soviet Union, have been, those between China and Japan have been, as expected, good ones. Of course, our views are not the same on each and every issue. This is normal. Issues like the textbook issue are probably going to happen in the future as well. This issue was solved by the efforts made on both sides. When issues occur in the future, let us continue to solve them in a spirit of mutual understanding.

Prime Minister Suzuki: It is as you said, Senior Leader Deng. The honeymoon period in the Japan-China relationship has ended, and we have entered a mature era based on mutual trust. In the future, exchange and partnership will proceed in both politically and economically, across a broad range of fields. Among them, surely, there will occur ripples - small differences in opinion and conflicts of interest - and this would be natural. However, as you said, if our two countries resolve them by talking to one another on the basis of mutual trust, there will be nothing that we cannot resolve. I believe that forming a relationship of coexistence and co-prosperity is in the interests of the people of both countries and can contribute to the peace and prosperity of Asia and the world.

2. China's Domestic Politics

Senior Leader Deng: There have been discussions these past few years on whether or not China's political situation is stable or not and, although the policies that we have now adopted are good, whether or not they could be continued in the future. The 12th National Party Congress has further pushed forward a resolution of such issues, resolving that of the aging of national leaders and having the younger generations work on the front line. However, we will have to continue to devise solutions for this issue. Over 60 percent of the new Central Committee is under the age of 60. However, in the future we should further increase their proportion and elect persons in their 40s and 50s to the Central Committee.

Prime Minister Suzuki: I sincerely congratulate you on the success of the recent 12th National Party Congress. (Senior Leader Deng: Thank you.) Japan also sincerely congratulates China for establishing a system of the government and the people together working towards its goals, in particular strengthening the organization and system, decisively carrying out the rejuvenation of personnel, and unanimously agreeing on the Four Modernizations.

Senior Leader Deng: At the 12th National Party Congress, and I think that everyone is

aware of this, we confirmed the policies agreed upon and implemented since the Third Plenary Session in 1978. Concerning foreign policy as well, the current National Party Congress repeatedly stated the policy that we established and implemented these past few years. Of course, there are small changes in the way of instituting them.

3. Japan-China Economic Relations, China's Economic Plans

Senior Leader Deng: The development of China-Japan relations is relatively good. However, it is not that they are entirely without issues. Nor is it that we are completely satisfied with the state of development in China-Japan relations. For example, in the area of economic cooperation, I hope that we do more. The field for that is wide. Those in which China and Japan should draw on each other's strengths and make up for their shortcomings seem almost too many. China has resources; Japan has technology. If our two countries cooperated, it would be tremendous. It is not enough for us to think of economic cooperation between China and Japan from a political angle, nor is it enough that this cooperation be only intergovernmental cooperation. Private-sector cooperation is also necessary.

Prime Minister Suzuki: I agree. China has announced a grand plan for quadrupling agricultural production by the year 2000 and said that it will be achieved within the policy of the Four Modernizations. I believe that there will be many difficult problems in achieving that. Japan would like to the extent possible to cooperate completely. Also, China's understanding and cooperation are necessary but, speaking in terms of the goal of China's great construction, there are limits to intergovernmental yen credits, economic cooperation, and technical cooperation alone. Cooperation is surely necessary on a private-sector basis in such areas as economic cooperation, technical cooperation, business management, business administration, investment, joint ventures, and factory modernization. I have already spoken of this with Mr. Doko and Mr. Inayama, but I would like to ask by all means for the strengthening going forward of private-sector economic cooperation and exchange between Japan and China. Also, I would like to ask of Premier Zhao as well the improvement as quickly as possible of the environmental conditions, such as a tax treaty and an investment protection agreement, that facilitate investment and technical cooperation.

Senior Leader Deng: The thought of quadrupling agricultural production is something that took shape when I was talking before with Prime Minister Ohira. (After confirming the date with those around him) That was when I spoke with Mr. Ohira in December 1979. He asked me what was the meaning of the Four Modernizations. At the time, although we were speaking of making efforts for the Four Modernizations, it was not specific in terms of what were the specific goals. Reflecting on it, I thought that Mr. Ohira's question raised a very important issue. I then expressed the thought of a national average income of 1,000 US dollars by the end of the century. The present level is 250 US dollars. However, even 1,000 US dollars is low in comparison to the global average. Even at that time, it was at the level of a comparatively good living standard in China. Later, according to economic statistics and calculations, this goal became possible. That we have now lowered the goal slightly to 800 US dollars is simply because the population at the end of the 20th century will be 1.2 billion, not today's one billion people. At this National Party Congress, we confirmed this strategic policy after having fully considered this issue. Accordingly, I am thankful to Mr. Ohira for making us think about this issue.

4. Revival of Militarism Issue

Senior Leader Deng: Concerning the China-Japan relationship, in regard to political issues, I hope Prime Minister Suzuki, that you, the Japanese government, and future governments pay attention to the inclination toward militarism. We do not suspect the Japanese government of having such an inclination. That is to say, it is because

Japan's constitution has clear provisions. However, and this is not the overwhelming majority, there are persons who are thinking of a revival of militarism. That Yukio Mishima incident of a few years ago was definitely not about him alone. It reflects an inclination and expresses action of a certain politics.

What we regret is old politicians trying to put up a monument to Manchukuo and the like. What in the world is that?

Prime Minister Suzuki: There has just now been an expression of concern over whether or not the inclination toward militarism is growing in Japan. This is a good opportunity, so I would like at this time to speak frankly about it. The Japanese people, reflecting deeply on Japan's prewar course, and with no excuse for the tremendous damage it caused to neighboring countries, keenly feel their responsibility and reflect on it. The Japanese people, too, were made to suffer greatly.

Our country established our Constitution in thinking that we must not repeat the mistakes of the past. We have a defensive capability, the minimum necessary for defense, but we do not have a military capability that would threaten neighboring countries. Also, we have expressed our firm determination that, even in becoming an economic power, we will not become a military power. Accordingly, the overwhelming majority of the Japanese people, based on the spirit of the Constitution, is advancing in the direction of contributing to world peace through economic and technical cooperation with the world. As a person responsible for Japan, I clearly say that a revival of militarism is by no means possible and absolutely will not happen.

(Further, at the end of the meeting, Prime Minister Suzuki again said in regard to the Chinese side's concern over a revival of Japanese militarism that he wished them to understand that such a revival was by no means possible and that Japan, on the basis of the Japanese people's consensus, was determined to walk the path of a peaceful country.)

5. Sino-Soviet Relations

Senior Leader Deng: Everyone here is interested in the Sino-Soviet relationship, so I will talk about it. Let me be clear, though: there is no dramatic change in Sino-Soviet relations (Huang Hua and Wu Xueqian, present, laugh). Our position, to which we have always adhered, is that we consider Sino-Soviet relations from the perspective of global strategy. The heart of the matter in relations between China and the Soviet Union, that is the obstacle to the bilateral relationship that should be removed, is Soviet hegemony. To put it another way, the Sino-Soviet relationship is not only the issue of the Sino-Soviet border. Setting aside the entire world and taking up only nearby areas, there are acts of naked Soviet hegemony in Cambodia and Afghanistan. Between China and the Soviet Union, too, the situation is not one of a conflict over a few square kilometers on the border. The situation is one of the Soviet Union stationing 1.8 million troops along the border and one of their deploying one third of their ICBMs in the Soviet Far East. ICBMs are pointed at Japan and the United States as well, but they are also a direct threat to China. When we were babies, when we were in elementary school, the teachers and textbooks told us that the map of China was in the shape of a mulberry leaf. It is different now. With Outer Mongolia's place cut out, the content of China's textbooks has also changed.

Concerning Outer Mongolia, it has to do with the treaty that Chiang Kai-shek concluded. Of course, we are not thinking to seek this treaty's revision. However, it is not right for the Soviet Union to station troops in Outer Mongolia.

China and the Soviet Union are, of course, having talks about having talks. It would not do to completely not be in contact in state-to-state relations. However, the Soviet

Union must do something in order to normalize Sino-Soviet relations. For example, by withdrawing one million troops from the Sino-Soviet border and Outer Mongolia or by taking some measure in Afghanistan or Cambodia, the Soviet Union should show at least a little relaxation in their policy of hegemony.

However, the question is whether or not the Soviet Union will implement such measures.

Prime Minister Suzuki: I thank you, Senior Leader Deng, for directly talking to me about Sino-Soviet relations.

6. Hong Kong Issue

Prime Minister Suzuki: I would like to take this opportunity to ask you about something. Britain's Prime Minister Thatcher visited Japan before her visit to China and told me that she wished to talk with China's leaders about the Hong Kong issue. What happened is that I advised her, when meeting you, to speak directly concerning this issue. When you met Prime Minister Thatcher, you two talked about the Hong Kong issue, but what thoughts did you express?

Senior Leader Deng: I clearly told Thatcher that we would definitely resume sovereignty over Hong Kong and that this could not be a subject of discussion. However, the issue of what to do about Hong Kong's society, politics, and system, that we could discuss. Also, there would be no change in present conditions in the transition period of 15 years between now and 1997. In addition, I clearly told Thatcher that we did not intend to change Hong Kong's social system after the resumption of sovereignty and that we would maintain Hong Kong as a free port and as a center for international finance. Furthermore, concerning the laws, we could apply the existing ones. We would like to hear Britain's thinking on what to do about policy in the next 15 years. The Chinese and British sides agreed to start consultations on this issue at once at the working level. I clearly told Thatcher that a period of one year for these consultations would be the most desirable and that it would not do to have them any longer than for two years at most. I then said that no more than two years later we would announce the resumption of sovereignty over Hong Kong in 1997.

Thatcher responded to this in requesting that we not make public at present our resuming sovereignty over Hong Kong, so we agreed to this.

Prime Minister Suzuki: I see. We, too, are closely connected to the Hong Kong issue, so it is a matter of great interest to us. Hearing what you said is useful information. Also, I would like to keep what I have heard secret.

Senior Leader Deng: I would like to convey this to Japanese businessmen. Even after the resumption of sovereignty in 1997, we have no intention of harming the corporate or financial interests of Japan, the United States, Britain or others.

Prime Minister Suzuki: Thank you.

IV. Meeting between Suzuki and Hu Yaobang

September 28

1. Overview of Japan-China Relations

General Secretary Hu: I bid you a warm welcome. It is a pleasure to meet you, Prime Minister. Ten years ago, you and Foreign Minister Sakurauchi, along with Mr. Tanaka, Mr. Ohira, and Mr. Nikaido, made great contributions to normalization, so I particularly welcome you.

Prime Minister Suzuki: I have visited twice since May 1979. The previous time, I met Vice Premier Deng Xiaoping and made an inspection tour of such places as Dalian, Shanghai, and Guilin.

General Secretary Hu: Senior Leader Deng and Premier Zhao have already spoken, so there is nothing particular that I would like to say. There is just one thing that I would like to say, which is to repeat again the following thinking that government leaders and the people have. China and Japan are two great peoples of the Far East and the world. Peaceful cooperation is in the interest of both sides, and it would be to the detriment of both sides not to engage in it. It also brings well-being to the world and to generations to come in our two countries. Accordingly, the last 10 years of friendly government and private-sector ties are of global significance and surpass both the scope of China and Japan and the present. It is not that there are not a few problems or troubles in getting along well together for generations to come. Thinking back, at the time of the normalization of relations 10 years ago, some comrades in China were opposed to it and would be offended merely at the sight of Japan's flag. In the 10 years since then, we have in all that time instructed the Party and cadres that revanchism is wrong and given the masses guidance that China will not seek hegemony even after becoming powerful. From the position of wishing for friendship with Japan, I hope that you give instruction so that the broad masses of the Japanese people are not influenced by the narrow views of some people and do not engage in militarism. I would like to propose this not only for Japan and China but for the world.

Prime Minister Suzuki: Ten years ago, we realized normalization by following the guidance from a high position of the late Zhou Enlai to "seek common ground while putting aside differences." Looking back on the friendship and relations of trust and cooperation since then, we have achieved great development. I think that, in 2,000 years of history, we may never have had so wonderful, unwavering, and mature a relationship as we have now. I think that developing Japan-China friendship for the 21st century on this basis is our mission and that it is a great undertaking that will lead to peace in Asia and, further, the world. With such a feeling, I congratulate you on the success of the 12th National Party Congress. I highly appreciate Your Excellency's having obtained the top post of general secretary and having strongly started a new leadership system. In the political report of the National Party Congress was language that the development of the relationship between Japan and China is not only in the mutual interest of our two peoples but that it contributes to the peace of Asia and, further, the world. Knowing that this has been emphasized, I feel strongly about it. In that report is expressed the concern that "in some parts of Japan, there are attempts to revive militarism." However, I would like to say to you that the overwhelming majority of the Japanese people are doing everything that they can to build a peaceful country that will not repeat the mistakes of the past and will not become a military power. This is the consensus of the people. There will be no revival of militarism.

General Secretary Hu: I firmly believe in the mainstream of the Japanese people. I have read former Prime Minister Shigeru Yoshida's *Gekido no Hyakunenshi* [TN: "A Turbulent History of 100 Years," published in 1978]. I understood in reading it that the Japanese people have many excellent qualities, that they are a people possessing science and technology, that although political leaders in that history did make mistakes, the Japanese people did not agree with them. Both China and Japan have strong points and shortcomings. Japan has excellent technology, China has natural resources, and Japan-China cooperation has broad prospects.□

Prime Minister Suzuki: Even if there are various difficulties hereafter in the

Japan-China relationship, we should overcome them and develop friendly relations. Contacts between our governments are going well and exchanges between our peoples are flourishing. At this time I would like to have Your Excellency come to Japan, see Japan with your own eyes, and understand the thinking of the Japanese people. Representing the Government of Japan, I would like to formally invite Your Excellency to visit Japan.

General Secretary Hu: Thank you for your kind invitation. I really would like to see and learn how things are in Japan.

2. Conversation at Lunch Meeting

(1) Ambassador Katori's Press Briefing

Prime Minister Suzuki: Yesterday, in meeting some Chinese exchange students who had returned from Japan, I learned of their activities in various fields of China's society and thought that their prospects were very promising. Along with that, we decided this time to build the Japan-China Friendship Center. I would like to make it a splendid token of friendship between Japan and China.

General Secretary Hu: That would be great. By the way, how is the Japanese dairy industry doing?

Prime Minister Suzuki: Japan is now self-sufficient in milk, butter, and powdered milk. By the way, China has a long coastline. Could you not develop more fisheries? In Japan, fish farming is thriving.

General Secretary Hu: In China, too, we are raising kuruma prawn and sea cucumbers.

Prime Minister Suzuki: Non-ferrous metals are in short supply now, and prices are rising. China has both non-ferrous metal resources and the hydropower resources necessary for their development. Therefore, although their development requires a large amount of funds, both our countries would like to cooperate for the development of non-ferrous metals.

General Secretary Hu: I agree with your thinking. However, this cooperation is probably 20 or 30 years from now and will be for our offspring. I am for joint development of the resources in China if the principle of equality and mutual benefit is observed. Introducing from Japan some of the equipment and, with discussion on both sides, using the output for the offspring of our two countries would be possible.

[TN: A handwritten note between parentheses reads: "The rest of this page and the following 10 pages are exempted." Each of the following 10 pages is blank, except for classification and declassification marks, and a handwritten "exempted" between parentheses.]

Record of Prime Minister Suzuki's Visit to China and Meetings

Secret No. 69
October 9, 1982

China Division

This record is a summary of the remarks made at the following meetings on the occasion of Prime Minister Suzuki's visit to China of 26 September - 1 October.

- (1) First Summit Meeting, September 26
- (2) Second Summit Meeting, September 27
- (3) Meeting Between the Prime Minister and Deng Xiaoping, September 28
- (4) Meeting Between the Prime Minister and Hu Yaobang, September 28

(Exempted)

Contents

I. First Summit Meeting ...1

(Bilateral Relationship)

1. Overview of Japan-China Relationship ...1
2. Criticism over Textbook Issue, Revival of Militarism ... 2
3. Twelfth National Party Congress, Modernization Policy ...6
4. Our Country's Cooperation on Modernization ...7
5. China's Economic Situation ...9
6. Promotion of Public Cooperation and Improvement of the Environment ...11
7. Bohai Bay Oil Development ...12
8. Modernization of Existing Factories ...13
9. Oil Development in the Yellow Sea, South China Sea ...14
10. Japan-China Joint Development of Non-Ferrous Metals ...15
11. Sanjiang Plain ...16
12. Japan-China Friendship Center ...17

II. Second Summit Meeting ...18

(International Situation)

1. Sino-Soviet Relations...18
2. US-China Relations...24
3. Taiwan Issue, Japan-Taiwan Relations...27
4. Japan-US Relations ...29
5. Korea Issue ...30
6. Middle East Issue ...35
7. Conclusion ...37

III. Meeting Between Prime Minister and Deng Xiaoping ...38

1. Overview of Japan-China Relations ...38
2. China's Domestic Politics ...42
3. Japan-China Economic Relations, China's Economic Plan ...43

4. Revival of Militarism Issue ...46
5. Sino-Soviet Relations ...47
6. Hong Kong Issue ...49

IV. Meeting Between Prime Minister and Hu Yaobang ...52

1. Japan-China Relations ...52
2. Conversation at Lunch Meeting ...55

[TN: A handwritten note between parentheses reads: "The rest of this page and the following one are exempted." The next page is blank, except for handwritten note between parentheses: "Exempted"]

I. First Summit Meeting (Bilateral Relationship)

September 26 (Sunday), 16:45 - 18:45

1. Overview of Japan-China Relationship

Prime Minister Suzuki: This year is a milestone, exactly 10 years since the normalization of relations between Japan and China. In these 10 years, as a result of the untiring efforts of the governments and people of both countries for relations of friendship and cooperation, we have established today's wonderful relationship between Japan and China. Truly, today there has been built an unwavering, constructive, and cooperative relationship between Japan and China. This is the fruit of the great predecessors who came before us. I express deep respect to the hard work of those who came before us and, at the same time, I would like us to take this memorable year as an opportunity for us to build a firmer and closer relationship. That, I think, would be to the mutual benefit of the people of our two countries and, at the same time, would contribute to the peace and prosperity of Asia and, further, to the world's peace and prosperity.

Premier Zhao: With the 10th anniversary of the normalization of relations between China and Japan close at hand, Prime Minister Suzuki, I welcome you once again on visiting China. I am grateful for enjoying at the time of my visit to Japan in May the entire nation's warm hospitality.

Truly, as you said, the relations of friendship between our two countries in these past 10 years have achieved great development in a wide range of fields. This is the fruit of the efforts made in common by the governments and people of both countries. I am pleased that the relations of friendship and cooperation between China and Japan have developed to where they are today.

As you know, our country recently held its 12th National Party Congress. At this Congress, we made clear our country's independent foreign policy. There has been not the least change in the Chinese government's policy of developing relations of peace and friendship, equality and mutual benefit, and long-term stability between China and Japan.

2. Criticism of Text Book Issue, Revival of Militarism

Prime Minister Suzuki: I would like to take this opportunity to speak frankly to Your

Excellency, Premier Zhao, on Japan's thinking in regard to the textbook issue. Recently, we received sharp criticism from your country and various Asian neighbors over some of the wording in our country's history textbooks. The Government of Japan's recognition, stated in the preamble to the Japan-China Joint Communiqué - "The Japanese side is keenly conscious of the responsibility for the serious damage that Japan caused in the past to the Chinese people through war, and deeply reproaches itself." - has not changed in the least. The Government of Japan, fully listening to the criticism from your country, correcting in the matter of the government's responsibility, has sincerely implemented measures made clear in the Chief Cabinet Secretary statement and its explanations.

The Education Minister, with the Textbook Approval Council already advising him, would like to take as soon as possible corrective measures in regard to this issue.

Since then there seems to be concern in your country about a revival of militarism among some in our country, but I would like you to understand that the overwhelming majority of the Japanese people reject militarism and are consistently seeking peace. Our country, after the war, reflected deeply on the "error" of prewar Japan and, on the basis of the people's determination never again to repeat such a thing, established its Peace Constitution. In the preamble to that constitution is the declaration: "We, the Japanese people, desire peace for all time [...] have determined to preserve our security and existence, trusting in the justice and faith of the peace-loving peoples of the world." From that time until today, we have made peace our nation's policy, and we will absolutely not become a military power, even if become an economic power. Now, regarding Japan's defense buildup, our country, along with maintaining the minimum defensive capability necessary for its own defense, adheres to its Three Non-Nuclear Principles. Adhering to such a defense policy, we have made efforts to this day to build our country as a peaceful country. I would like you to understand that the absolute majority of the Japanese people support this and that, on this basis of that consensus, this national policy now and in the future will be immutable. I would like you to understand that, even if there were to be criticism from some, that could not become a force to take Japan's police in a mistaken direction. Japan, contributing to the peace and stability of the world from the peaceful position of such a Peace Constitution, cannot contribute militarily to the peace and stability of Asia and the world. However, because Japan has a certain degree of economic and technological strength, we are cooperating through this strength, according to the national situation, to promote civil welfare stability, industry, and the economy in developing countries and the Third World. In such aspects, our country would like to play an international role and fulfill its responsibilities.

The Three Non-Nuclear Principles that I just mentioned are "not possessing, not producing and not permitting the introduction of nuclear weapons." As the only country ever to have suffered atomic bombings, our principle comes from the wish never to repeat the horrors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Premier Zhao: Prime Minister Suzuki, you have brought up the textbook issue, which has certainly greatly disturbed the bilateral relationship, which had been developing without a hitch until now. I am happy to see that, today, this problem has already settled down. Consequently, we have thus been able to welcome your visit to China in a good atmosphere. Also, we appreciate the efforts that you have made to revolve the textbook issue.

China and Japan are neighbors separated only by a narrow strip of water. Between our two countries is a history of more than two thousand years of friendly relations. When I visited Japan, I said, "Opportunities of time vouchsafed by Heaven are not equal to advantages of situation afforded by the Earth, and advantages of situation afforded by the Earth are not equal to the union arising from the accord of Men." [TN: a saying of Mencius] Now, as you mentioned, the development of relations between

our two countries accords not only with the common wish and fundamental interests of the people of our two countries but is also beneficial to the peace and stability of the Asia-Pacific region. The friendly relations between China and Japan have gone through many twists and turn to develop to the level where there are today. It was no easy thing. It is for that very reason, then, that it is necessary for us without tiring to make new efforts to cherish all the more and devote our energies to those relations, to develop them, and to protect and develop those friendly relations between our two countries and the feeling of friendship between our two peoples.

In the past, Japan inflicted great damage on the peoples of China and Japan by the war of aggression that the Japanese militarists caused, leaving behind wounds difficult to forget. The unpleasant history during this time is nothing more than a short period in the long river of friendship between China and Japan. However, that lesson is deep. I think that we must never repeat such history. In handling relations between China and Japan, we must be forward-looking. However, this does not mean that it is alright to forget the lessons of history, and their being used to willfully falsify history is even more unforgivable. The Chinese government earnestly desires to develop friendly relations with your country and does not wish for even a little harm to come to such relations.

On my previous visit to Tokyo, I said to you that the development of relations between China and Japan should not be effected by the wind and waves of international relations. I would like to make an additional point. Relations between China and Japan still have to overcome various obstacles. I wish to highly appreciate your having repeatedly spoken of protecting the spirit of the Sino-Japanese Joint Statement and for the statement about taking responsibility to make sure to correct the textbook issue. The Chinese government and I, myself, would like to work with your country's government and with you to protect and develop the friendly relations between our two countries.

3. 12th National Party Congress, Modernization Policy

Prime Minister Suzuki: Premier Zhao, several months have passed since I saw you in May. Since that time, your country has made a great success of the 12th National Party Congress. People of the world were paying attention to it with great interest: to the establishment at this congress of a powerful leadership system; to the unanimous adoption of the resolution to strongly promote under this system the policy of the "Four Modernizations" as the fixed line of national policy; and to the establishment by means of this policy of the grand goal of quadrupling the total production value of agriculture and industry by the year 2000 and the working together of the Party, government, and people toward that goal. I highly appraise these points and, at the same time, Japan hopes for their successful realization.

Premier Zhao: Prime Minister Suzuki, you spoke of the 12th National Party Congress. Holding this congress showed that our country has already entered in a political sense a period of long-term stability. The modernization line and the series of policies, including that of opening to the outside world, which we are now implementing, are an expression of a further guarantee of continuity going forward. At this recent congress, we set forth major lines and policies on the future goals in economic construction until the end of this century for which we are aiming. These lines and policies are not things considered for a moment in order to hold the congress; they are the result of close study and examination over a long period. Accordingly, the holding of the recent 12th National Party Congress is an expression of China's entering henceforth a new historical era of fully opening a new path of modernization and construction.

4. Our Country's Cooperation on Modernization

Prime Minister Suzuki: Japan sincerely hopes for your country's to achieve the goals of its modernization policy because your country and Japan will derive much mutual benefit from that success. In addition, that would lead to an increase in the stability of Asia's economies and people's lives. Your country has many natural resources. Your human resources are also plentiful. Japan has technology and a certain degree of economic strength. Our two countries being in a cooperative relationship on your country's grand economic construction is, in other words, a way to guide all of Asia's economic success.

On the other hand, our country would like to engage in cooperation in no way inferior to that of the past 10 years. Also, in so doing, we would like to consult on whether we could engage in cooperation that would be a plus for your country's development and, from there, arrive at concrete conclusions and cooperate.

Premier Zhao: When I stated the elementary idea of developing economic relations between our two countries on the basis of the three principles of "peace and friendship, equality and mutual benefit, and long-term stability" at the time of my visit to Japan in May, I had your positive agreement. We completely agree with your words. China and Japan's further developing economic and technical cooperation under today's new situation, has broad prospects and is beneficial to both sides.

Prime Minister Suzuki: As you say, Japan and China are in a mutually complementary relationship, particularly in the economic field. I express my complete agreement on the view that we can expect great results if we foster our strengths, make up for our shortcomings, and cooperate with one another. I, too, completely agree regarding the pooling of our countries strengths and weaknesses benefiting the people of our two countries.

Premier Zhao: Now, in our country, new changes are taking place in the economic situation. We have goals and blueprints for the next 20 years. On the other hand, the situation in the world today is still one of economic recession. In such a situation, it is mutually necessary for our two countries to foster its own strengths, draw on each other's strengths, and make up for our weaknesses. It would be to our mutual benefit. Accordingly, further developing economic and technological cooperation has a particularly important significance and, at the same time, it has a wide range of content.

5. China's Economic Situation

Premier Zhao: Our country's economic situation, seen at present, is gradually changing for the better. Since we have implemented in the agricultural villages the policy of the production responsibility system to raise the willingness of villagers to work, the situation in the agricultural villages has been wonderful. Harvests have been good, and this year will also be a bumper year. Great change has also arisen in China's domestic production of consumer goods. A great change has arisen in the situation of a longstanding lack of consumer goods. If you walk around town and enter a department store, you will understand. In this aspect, one can say that this is the best period for China since the 1950s. Also, what I particularly wish to explain is that such good results have not come at the expense of heavy industry. Heavy industry has been recovering since the fourth quarter of last year. This year, the rate of increase for heavy industry has surpassed that of light industry. As you know, China until the 1980s continuously ran large deficits for several years. This year, we broadly reduced fiscal expenditures and aimed for a basic balance. The outlook is that we will be able this year to achieve a basic balance in these financial expenditures. All this proves that China's economic situation has had a remarkable turn for the better. Our economy, through the three years of adjustment to date, has already started to have the conditions to start from this point onward key economic construction. Our key economic construction is energy development, the

development of transportation facilities, and the development of other resources, including non-ferrous metals.

Also, we are in a good situation of returning to construction in the large-scale plant and equipment introduced since 1980 (later corrected to 1978). For the next 20 years from now, until the end of the century, our key construction will probably be growing day by day, year by year, steadily growing in scale according to plan.

On the other hand, for the next 20 years from now, particularly for the next 10 years, I would like to advance that technical transformation gradually, in a planned way, and on a large scale in regard to our existing enterprises as well. China's existing enterprises are not only behind in management and techniques, but in equipment as well. In these aspects, too, we want a great deal of equipment, raw materials, and advanced technology.

6. Promotion of Private Cooperation and Improvement of the Environment

Prime Minister Suzuki: As you said, from this point forward China will be seeing great progress in various fields -- production, consumption, and allocation - and various enterprises of every kind, from heavy industry and light industry to small businesses, will have to be moving. Considering this, what is sought in this new era is not only such ways as intergovernmental loans or technical cooperation, but a broader partnership and cooperation of private economic circles. Tomorrow, after the meeting, it will be a pleasure to sign this year's loan for 65 billion yen. I would like, as the representative of the Government of Japan, to continue to cooperate as much as possible, but there are limits, naturally, to intergovernmental loans. In any event, because your country's economy is soon to grow greatly, it is not the case that everything can be provided by cooperation between governments alone, nor is it the case that Japan alone is enough. Accordingly, because China has decided to adopt an open economic policy, it would be desirable to introduce capital and technology from other advanced industrial countries as well and, with that combined strength, to cooperate. Other than that, I think that private-sector cooperation must have a greater weight. In that sense, I think it necessary, and the opinion was put forth the other day by Mr. Doko, to providing the environmental conditions to facilitate investments and joint ventures. I wish to suggest, frankly, that preparing such items as an investment protection agreement, a tax treaty, and other domestic laws and regulations would be desirable.

Premier Zhao: You have mentioned some issues in economic and technological cooperation between China and Japan. I think that an investment protection agreement and a tax treaty are really necessary to promote relations of economic cooperation between China and Japan. Both the Chinese and Japanese sides have done a great deal of work for that, but there are still some issues on which we should agree from this point onward. I think that we should work from now onward for this.

Thus, you have put forth proposals and views on such matters as a tax treaty and an investment protection agreement. I have been very much in agreement on improving the environment to facilitate Japanese corporate investment and joint ventures and have continued working for it. However, time is needed until we succeed completely. China for many years was in a closed environment, so we have little experience in immediately moving ahead. I would like the Japanese side to trust China. I would like to say that, so long as you sign a contract with China, China will strictly observe it. For China, a contract has a legal effect. I would like you to rest assured on this point.

7. Oil Development in Bohai Bay

Prime Minister Suzuki: I hear that the prospecting for oil and natural gas in Bohai Bay

is going very well. I would like to speed up the exploration in your country and, if possible, dig 9 wells. The 210 million in funding to date is insufficient. There is a proposal to increase this by 400 million to 610 million, and I also approve of it. I hear that a delegation from our side will be put together next month and that the Japan National Oil Corporation and others will have detailed consultations with the Japan China Oil Development Corporation [JCOD]. I would like to do everything possible to make this happen.

Premier Zhao: We put forth a proposal on the 5th regarding speeding up the prospecting for oil and natural gas in Bohai Bay. After that, with your cooperation, oil companies on both sides have been actively considering it and are now working out a reliable and feasible plan. As far as I know, the exploration has been going smoothly. This is a relatively major item in the economic cooperation between our two countries. Going forward, I would like both sides to work to speed up exploration and quickly make development possible.

8. Modernization of Existing Factories

Prime Minister Suzuki: You mentioned it earlier, but I think that the modernization and renovation of existing factories is a realistic policy. Japan's Ministry of International Trade and Industry [MITI] in FY1981 conducted with your country a diagnosis on factories. Those results were very good, and there is a plan to double it in FY1982. I think that we should move quickly to implement this as well. As support, we will use a bank loan from the Export-Import Bank of Japan. In such a field as this, I think that the cooperation of private enterprises is really necessary.

Premier Zhao: I agree with you on the technical transformation of existing factories and would like to greatly promote private-sector cooperation. You brought up the corporate diagnosis of the 16 enterprises done to date. Going forward, they should be expanded. Also, recently, our two countries agreed on FY1982 government yen loans and also agreed on the Sino-Japanese Long-Term Trade Agreement. I am pleased with this.

9. Oil Development in Yellow Sea, South China Sea

Prime Minister Suzuki: With mention made on Bohai Bay's oil, I hear regarding prospecting for oil development in the Yellow Sea and South China Sea that there is also bidding from Japan but that decisions will be made next spring. I would like the enthusiasm of Japan's companies to be taken into consideration and ask that past performance also be considered and that they be given special consideration.

Premier Zhao: We have heard your thinking regarding the international bidding issue for oil development in the South China Sea and Yellow Sea and have already informed the Ministry of Petroleum Industry. We have called on the Ministry of Petroleum Industry to give consideration to the Japanese side's view. On the 5th, as I said, in light of the friendly and cooperative relations between our two countries, I would like to handle this issue with a forward-looking (xiangqian kan) attitude and, if the conditions are the same, I would like to give consideration, of course, to Japanese companies. There has been no change to date in this thinking.

10. Japan-China Joint Development of Non-Ferrous Metals

Premier Zhao: Prime Minister Suzuki, I would like to raise at this time an issue and ask for your consideration. You need not answer now. I would like you to return to Japan and consider it. China is a country with a relative abundance of non-ferrous ores but, at present, development of these resources is insufficient. The development of these resources is, of course, highly significant for China's modernization. It is important for

your country as well. These resources are almost all in the Northwest and Northeast. In general, their development takes a long time, with a great deal of funds invested and much electricity required. Large quantities of electricity are consumed in the development of non-ferrous metals. However, in the Northwest and Southwest are abundant hydropower resources. I would like to raise the issue of whether or not there exists the possibility to develop non-ferrous metals, necessary for both China and Japan, other than for the joint development of energy, in order to develop long-term and stable relations between China and Japan. At present, our two countries have carried out fruitful cooperation on the joint development of energy and have long-term plans. I wonder how it would be if both sides were to consider together this cooperation in regard to the joint development henceforth of non-ferrous metals. This is no small undertaking. The developing of non-ferrous metals is often accompanied by the development of hydroelectricity. I am not asking for an immediate answer, but I raise this issue and would like you to consider it.

Prime Minister Suzuki: Regarding the development of non-ferrous metals, I hear that a development survey is being conducted on a government basis of the Anqing Copper Mine. There are not enough of these non-ferrous metals in the world. I hear that, in a certain country, they are being stockpiled as they are militarily indispensable. Regarding their development, let us study this fully going forward, not only between governments but also in various possible ways.

11. Sanjiang Plain

Prime Minister Suzuki: Premier Zhao, I would like to hear your ideas related to agriculture. Japan, too, is now proceeding with the testing of the Sanjiang Plain's development as technical cooperation. It is considered an effective project for future increased food production in your country and for agricultural promotion. However, I wonder whether China has priorities in its overall future long-term planning and would like to ask what would be those priorities. On that basis, I would like to examine what kind of cooperation Japan can do.

Premier Zhao: So far as I know, I hear that persons from various fields have come from your country and have already been in contact with the Ministry of Agriculture. The Chinese government is positive on the development of the Sanjiang Plain. Also, we are interested in cooperation with Japan on this project. I would like to leave discussion on the specific issues to the responsible departments. At the time of Agriculture Minister Tazawa's visit to China, he met and had consultations with the Chinese minister of agriculture. Both sides expressed interest at that time.

12. Japan-China Friendship Center

Prime Minister Suzuki: Speaking for Japan, what I would like to say in sum is that I think mutual understanding at every level is important for further strengthening and developing cooperative relations henceforth with your country. From that viewpoint, engaging in exchanges to a large degree of exchange students, missions, and the like is important. There are many exchange students and the like in Japan. There is increasing momentum from having realized - as a project for the 10th anniversary of the normalization of relations - the construction of the "Japan-China Friendship Center" to welcome these persons and as a base for their activities in Japan. I also think that, because this is a good commemorative project, the government would definitely like to promote it, and I ask for your understanding.

Premier Zhao: I agree with your proposal, Prime Minister Suzuki. I would like to promote it for success.

II. Second Summit Meeting (International Situation)

September 27, 9:30 - 11:45

1. Sino-Soviet Relations

Prime Minister Suzuki: Secretary General Hu Yaobang spoke at the recent 12th National Party Congress regarding relations with the Soviet Union. He said something to the effect that, if the Soviet side improved its attitude and really adopted various improvement measures, then he was prepared to improve relations between China and the Soviet Union. I would like to start by asking about this issue.

Is there a change in China's Soviet policy? He has spoken of what would happen if practical measures were taken, but what are practical measures? Also, is it possible that the Soviet Union would take such measures? Will the Soviet Union respond? I would like to ask regarding your country's overall recognition of the Soviet Union.

Premier Zhao: I explained in Tokyo in May regarding the Chinese side's thinking on the overall international situation. I do not think that the international situation has basically changed since then. In our Tokyo meeting, we agreed in the recognition that the present international situation was unstable, tense, and difficult. After my visit to Japan, there arose the issues of Israel's invasion of Lebanon and the massacre of Lebanese and Palestinians. In Tokyo, we discussed with each other how, even though not one of the previous issues had been resolved, new clashes were occurring without cease. The developments of the situation since then proves this more and more. The Chinese government recognizes that, even now, the basic cause for the tense and unstable international situation is the struggle for hegemony between the superpowers. Its basic structure, after all, is one of Soviet offense and US defense. The main threat to world peace and stability is Soviet hegemony.

In order to oppose hegemony and defend world peace, there has been no change in our basic policy of uniting with the countries of the Third World and joining together with countries of the world, including the United States, to restrain Soviet hegemony.

You touched on China's relations with the Soviet Union, but General Secretary Hu Yaobang has already made China's position clear at the 12th National Party Congress. China's basic position is as follows:

(1) The Soviet Union's policy of pushing ahead with hegemony around the world has still not changed. Thus, our policy of opposing Soviet hegemony has not changed even a little.

(2) Maintaining and developing normal state-to-state relations on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence is also the consistent position of China.

(3) To date, the Soviet authorities have repeatedly expressed their desire to improve Sino-Soviet relations. We have said that one must look at actions, not words, and so it is necessary for both sides to come into contact on this issue. I will say to here that it has been decided that, on the 4th or 5th of next month, the Soviet Union will send Deputy Foreign Minister Ilichev to Beijing and that there will be an exchange of views on bilateral relations. If the Soviet authorities truly have the sincerity to improve relations with China, then they should take practical measures to remove the threat to our country's security.

As you know, the Soviet Union stations a large army on the Sino-Soviet border and has put an army in Mongolia as well. The Soviet Union also supports Vietnam's

invasion of Cambodia and has invaded Afghanistan. All of this is a threat to China's security.

If the Soviet Union truly has the sincerity to improve relations with China and takes steps to remove the threat to our country's security, and if bilateral relations are improved, then that is what we hope for, of course, and it would be in the interests of both sides.

However, there are great differences between China and the Soviet Union, so achieving that would not be easy at all. Accordingly, I think that contacts for such an improvement in relations between China and the Soviet Union would be long and continuing, like a marathon.

I will take this opportunity to say that China's diplomatic policy is a consistent one of principled independence. When China sets forth its own policy, it does so not for its own interests alone but in consideration of the overall situation of global strategy as well. China's foreign policy is certainly not one that lightly changes in a moment or over an incident. Also, at the recent National Party Congress, there was repeatedly expressed the principled position that China will never be subordinate to any big power. When associating with the United States, we will not play the Soviet card. Nor will we play the US card when associating with the Soviet Union. We will absolutely not tolerate other countries playing the China card. In short, Chinese diplomacy's basic policies are:

(1) opposition to hegemony and defense of world peace

(2) the maintaining and development of normal state-to-state relations with the world's countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence.

Prime Minister Suzuki: You spoke forcefully on your country's consistent diplomatic policy. Regarding Soviet policy, too, my understanding is General Secretary Hu said that he would adhere to the conventional policy. In particular, as I see it, the various actions that the Soviet Union takes, such as putting the Soviet military on the Sino-Soviet border or in Mongolia, aiding Vietnam, and invading Afghanistan, are not simply undertaken with China as the target. They are, after all, the measures and actions of a Soviet global strategy that takes into consideration a powerful force: the United States. Accordingly, it does not mean that the Soviet Union will all of a sudden improve such measures. (Premier Zhao nodded vigorously in response). I think that, in that sense, it will be difficult to improve the situation much, even with discussions taking place from this point forward between China and the Soviet Union.

Premier Zhao: (to Foreign Ministry participants around him) How long have you done border negotiations?

Vice Minister Wu Xueqian: They have gone on for 9 or 10 years. Deputy Foreign Minister Ilichev often comes to Beijing.

Minister Huang Hua: Ilichev has been in charge of the border negotiations the whole time.

Premier Zhao: Our view, too, is similar to yours. The Chinese government has to date been saying that the Soviet Union's aid to Vietnam and invasion of Afghanistan are components of its policy of global hegemony, and nowhere are there to be seen signs that the Soviet Union will change such a policy.

Prime Minister Suzuki: The Soviet Union has been invading Afghanistan, aiding

Vietnam, and building military bases, but I think that all this has become a great burden for the Soviet Union. Today, the Soviet economy has repeated failures in agricultural policy, production drops in mining and manufacturing, and the allocation of a great deal of resources to military spending. From this, I think that the people's standard of living will have to be greatly cut, so the Soviet economic is faced with difficulties. Also the countries of the Eastern Europe Bloc countries, the Soviet Union's satellite countries, whether seen from the aspect of the international balance of payments or the economy and trade on the whole, are in a state of crisis. Accordingly, the West's economic measures against the Soviet Union have a very important meaning. The issue of the West's economic policy against the Soviet Union was discussed at the Versailles Summit. Before a complete consensus was reached, disagreement arose between the United States and West European countries over the pipeline issue. At present, this is a troublesome issue in the Western camp. However, as I see it, I think that if a general agreement is reached on granting new credits to the Soviet Union, then discussions will gradually follow on the pipeline issue. As for Japan, on the issue of developing oil and natural gas in Sakhalin, Japanese enterprises are doing it in joint venture with the Soviet Union. They have been doing this for the past 6 or 7 years. The pipeline issue does not involves only Europe. Japan, as it is also involved, is asking the United States to reconsider. However, if the West can simply come to a general consensus on the granting of new credits to the Soviet Union, then I think that the problem is going to solve itself.

Premier Zhao: Recently, first former President Nixon, then Prime Minister Thatcher visited, and everyone talked about this issue. Also, I was asked how the Chinese government was viewing it. I answered Nixon then that China would not approve of any measure that would strengthen Soviet power. In addition, concerning what actions the United States would find unacceptable in its partners, Washington needs to take the lead and not do such things itself. When Reagan came on the scene, he lifted the grain embargo, then told the Western countries that they must not sell pipeline to the Soviet Union, so people in the West complained.

2. US-China Relations

Prime Minister Suzuki: Concerning the issue of arms sales to Taiwan, I think that it is a temporary compromise solution but, in any case, I take it that the United States and China are talking to one another and that the severe difference in views has subsided for the time being. I highly appreciate the United States and China for having been able to take a constructive posture of seeking to handle the issue in assessing the overall situation and talking with one another. However, in the meantime, with no basic resolution of the issue, I think that there is various thinking about it. I would like to ask you about this point.

Premier Zhao: Changes in China-US relations are new changes since the talks in May. At that time, in May, China-US relations were in a delicate stage. The Chinese and US sides in the end reached an agreement for the time being on this issue. This is an important step taken to remove a major obstacle lying athwart the China-US bilateral relationship, and it is worthy of satisfaction. However, the recent China-US Joint Communique is only a beginning for the resolution of this issue. It does not mean that it has been resolved. The key to this issue will be the US government's observing the obligations to which it clearly committed in the Joint Communique. In short, it is to gradually reduce the arms supplied to Taiwan and, in the end, to halt them completely. The Chinese side hopes that the United States faithfully observes this Communique and shows a solemn, sincere, and responsible attitude.

Following the announcement of the China-US Communique, there were reactions from all over the world. The absolute majority welcomed it. In addition, the reaction of the US mass media by and large was favorable. However, in the United States as well there are some pro-Taiwan forces and, no surprise, when this Communique was announced they began clamoring against it. Worth noting is that a very small number

of government sources were distorting the Communiqué during the talks. For example, a certain person was saying that the United States would resolve the issue of arms sales to Taiwan. However, this is against not only the spirit but the letter of the China-US Communiqué. It is a distorted interpretation of the Joint Communiqué. The efforts that China makes for a peaceful resolution of the Taiwan issue is of a different quality than the issue of US arms sales to Taiwan. It is precisely because China is adhering to this point that it has been tenaciously continuing negotiations with the United States. The result is that it gave rise to a result that separated both parties. As we have announced repeatedly to this day, China's efforts for a peaceful resolution of the Taiwan issue is entirely China's domestic affair, and China will not accept any external interference. We cannot make a commitment to any country on such an issue. Some US government sources have stated the view that the China-US Communiqué would have to be subordinate to the Taiwan Relations Act, but this is even more of a distortion. However, this proves that, so long as the Taiwan Relations Act exists, it will be impossible to completely remove the dark cloud over the China-US relationship. Its existence will be a dark influence on the development of China-US relations from now on as well. Of course, it will not be easy to resolve this at once. However, China thinks that the US president's authority in how to handle the Taiwan Relations Act is considerable.

Generally speaking, China attaches great importance to the development of relations with the United States. The China-US relationship is not only one of having the common interest of jointly dealing with the Soviet Union's policy of hegemony and expansion. It is not only that. For China and the United States - two great powers -- developing friendly relations in many fields is in the interests of both countries. It is also a plus for global peace and stability. Truly, we have put a great amount of effort in negotiations with the United States to reach agreements and avoid setbacks in the relationship. While safeguarding the basic principle of maintaining our country's sovereignty, China under that principle has given full consideration to relations with the United States and, in that, expressed China's flexible attitude. Accordingly, at present, the Chinese side hopes that the US side also attaches importance to the China-US relationship and faithfully observe that to which it clearly committed in the announced Joint Communiqué. Both sides have agreed to keep in contact regarding the issue of the Communiqué's detailed implementation.

Prime Minister Suzuki: I have heard about policy on US-China relations, which are of the greatest importance for global peace, stability, and prosperity. Concerning your handling of the issue of arms sales to Taiwan, too, I would like to express my respect on hearing of the pains taken to tenaciously negotiate, based on the overall situation, while safeguarding your principles.

3. Taiwan Issue, Japan-Taiwan Relations

Premier Zhao: I would like to take this opportunity to touch on the issue of Taiwan. The Taiwan authorities resist the position that China has set forth on the peaceful resolution of the Taiwan issue. In order to escape from their situation of international isolation, for the past several years they have been increasing their activities in Western countries. Taiwan says that is it advancing working relations, but it has been seeking to create "Two Chinas" in various ways. In so doing, Taiwan has been trying to destroy the normal and friendly relations between us and those countries. One example is the Netherlands selling submarines to Taiwan, which brought about a downgrading of relations between China and the Netherlands. The Chinese government hopes that Western countries will heighten their vigilance against Taiwan's activities.

Relations between Japan and Taiwan, too, are an important issue of principle in the China-Japan relationship. If the Chinese and Japanese sides strictly observe the Sino-Japanese Joint Statement and agreements concerning Taiwan and handle the issue appropriately, we can avoid disadvantage in the China-Japan relationship. Also, I

think that the Japanese government, too, is taking notice of this.

Prime Minister Suzuki: Regarding relations between Japan and Taiwan as well, Japan and China have agreed and confirmed the principles of the Joint Communiqué and the Treaty of Peace and Friendship and have been putting them into practice to this day. Relations between Japan and Taiwan are those of personal exchanges, economic exchanges, and such. Since then, they have been aspects in which they have been quantitatively growing. There are some people with various ways of thinking, but relations between Japan and China are qualitatively based on the principles of the Joint Communiqué for the normalization of relations between Japan and China and the Treaty of Peace and Friendship. I confirm this again on this 10th anniversary milestone and, at the same time, in regard to personal and material exchanges, ask for the Chinese side's understanding of it as a real issue.

4. Japan-US Relations

Prime Minister Suzuki: As I said in Tokyo in regard to relations between Japan and the United States, the Japan-US relationship is the axis of Japanese diplomacy. As I said to you yesterday as well, Japan has made efforts for its postwar reconstruction as a peaceful country and adheres firmly to the policy, based on a national consensus, of having the minimum defensive capability for its own defense but not becoming a military power. Therefore, in the event of an external invasion against which we cannot defend ourselves, we firmly hold to the Japan-US security system maintained within the Japan-US Security Treaty. In that sense, Japan and the United States, sharing political and economic values, as well as liberal and democratic ones, are in an inseparable relationship. This Japan-US Security Treaty system, then, serves as a deterrent force for Asian peace and stability as well as against some potential threats, and it has a very important significance for Asian peace and stability. In regard to such close relations between Japan and the United States, I think that they can be compatible with the unwavering relations of friendship and cooperation between Japan and China on the one hand and, also, that making them compatible contributes to the peace and prosperity of Asia and the world.

Premier Zhao: Prime Minister Suzuki, I understand what you have said just now regarding the close relations between Japan and the United States, including the security treaty. Establishing long-term and stable relations of friendship and cooperation between China and Japan will not effect the friendly relations between Japan and the United States.

I agree with your view and think it compatible.

5. Korea Issue

Prime Minister Suzuki: Recently, President Kim Il Sung of North Korea, the president of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea [DPRK], visited China. Japan, for its part, considers the peace and stability of the Korean peninsula as having a great influence on the peace and stability of Asia. Accordingly, what we consider most desirable would be peaceful unification achieved not by a relationship of confrontation between North and South Korea but by talks. How does your country consider this issue? Also, frequently, and recently as well, you said that a southward advance from North Korea is not possible. I would like to hear your view on that point.

Premier Zhao: President Kim Il Sung's visit to China was for promoting and strengthening the friendly relations between China and the DPRK. It was also because President Kim wished to see the changes that have taken place in recent years in China. Both sides took the opportunity of the visit to China to introduce each other's domestic situation and to engage in an exchange of views on the international

situation.

The relationship between China and the DPRK has always been a good one. Both sides are satisfied with the development of bilateral relations. President Kim Il Sung expressed a supportive attitude regarding China's present direction, policies, and 12th National Party Congress. Our side, too, resolutely supported the concept for peaceful reunification that President Kim Il Sung put forth for the reunification of Korea. We also repeatedly expressed support for his reasonable position that the United States should withdraw its military from South Korea.

There are grounds for this, but I will tell you that what most interests the DPRK is domestic construction. They are putting effort into the development of their own country's domestic economy and improving the people's livelihood. They have put forth two grand construction projects for domestic economic construction. One is the development of coastal areas and developing agricultural production. The other is to develop DPRK strength in developing domestic non-ferrous metals. I also think that they wish to reduce the burden on both the North and South brought on by their military confrontation and reduce the tensions between the North and South. Also, they hope for the United States to change its attitude and not obstruct their achieving these goals. They by no means want war and have no intention of a southward advance. Their desire for peace is credible.

To my way of thinking, so long as South Korea's Chun Doo-hwan does not provoke things, I think that the stability of the Korean Peninsula can continue. In connection with this issue, I would like to say that the United States should change its position of not having contacts with North Korea. I think that if the United States changed the position it has had to date, it would be advantageous to a stable state of affairs on the Korean Peninsula and to development. If that happened, I think that the DPRK would put forth reasonable conditions. We would like to make proposals and recommendations to the United States, but the United States seems not to listen. It would be desirable if you and the Japanese government could make some approach to the US side.

Prime Minister Suzuki: Regarding this issue, here is basically what I think. My perception is that there is a balance of military force between the South and the North, including, for the present, the US troops stationed there, and that peace on the Korean Peninsula has been maintained due to that balance. Both the North and the South are considerably straining to maintain this balance. In improving the people's livelihood, I think it very unreasonable to throw resources into military buildup that should go into economic development. Such foolishness should be stopped. I think that talks should take place between the South and the North to reduce military power to a low level while keeping the balance. Also, I think that, because the North's letting the Soviet Union use its naval ports and other facilities provokes the United States, it should stop it. In order to turn this relationship of the South and the North, which is one of confrontation and opposition of forces, to peaceful unification and coexistence through talks, it is necessary that the United States and your country each exerts influence and create such an environment and conditions. Japan, too, would like to cooperate as much as possible on such a matter.

Premier Zhao: The DPRK is an independent country and, as we have said many times to date, it takes an independent position in regard to the Soviet Union as well. As far as China knows, the Soviet Union does not have a great deal of influence over the DPRK. You mentioned the Soviet Union using DPRK naval ports but I think, as far as we know, that is not true. This issue is not a sensitive one for the United States alone. If we saw that, we could not help but be concerned.

Prime Minister Suzuki: I would like to touch on the issue of economic cooperation. There is a request to Japan from the Republic of Korea [ROK] for economic aid. In

regard to this, it is absolutely unacceptable that economic cooperation from Japan be used for such purposes as military buildup. Japan prohibits arms exports. We have the Three Principles on Arms Exports. Our position as a peaceful country is that we do not export arms or provide weapons technologies. Concerning economic cooperation, we hold firmly to the basic policy that we do not engage in economic cooperation that would be directed toward the strengthening of military power. Japan's policy, not only for the ROK but for every country, is that economic cooperation must be useful for developing the economy and improving the people's livelihood, thereby contributing to global peace and stability.

In regard to the ROK as well, we have made it clear that economic cooperation cannot strengthen security. We have received various concrete requests from the ROK and are now examining them.

Premier Zhao: Does your country have economic dealings with the North?

Prime Minister Suzuki: There is private-sector trade and commerce. Due to sluggish economic conditions in the past year or two, however, past debt has not been assimilated and interest has not been repaid as promised. It is a fact that the pipeline for new trade and commerce has been narrowing.

Premier Zhao: China hopes that Japan develops economic dealings and cooperation with the DPRK.

Prime Minister Suzuki: North Korea is in considerable economic difficulty, affected by the global economic recession, and its finances also seem to be suffering, but was there concrete movement forward on economic cooperation or the providing of aid for economic cooperation, technical cooperation or such when President Kim Il Sung visited China?

Premier Zhao: We did not touch on specific issues. However, the intermediate long-term trade agreement ends this year, so we signed a new long-term trade agreement. This one nearly maintains the level existing until now and, as until now, we will provide oil and coke. When I visited the DPRK in December last year and this time, too, the DPRK side said that the domestic economic situation was good and that they would make no new or particular request of the Chinese side. Even the signed intermediate trade agreement was not signed during President Kim Il Sung's visit to China but a little before then. On the whole, exchanges, including trade and cooperation, are maintained at their level to date. We have neither decreased or increased them.

6. Middle East Issue

Prime Minister Suzuki: That the state of affairs in the world is showing such turbulence is due in large part to the fluidity of the situation in the Middle East. For Japan, in the Middle East there are relations with the Gulf countries and our relations with the largest oil-supplying area. We, too, are concerned about the situation in the Middle East and sincerely hope for its peaceful resolution. Also, in regard to peace in the Middle East, we are making every effort in making contact with representatives of your country as a member of the United Nations Security Council. Such things as the large-scale massacre of innocent people in Lebanon, in Beirut, are absolutely unforgivable acts from a humanitarian viewpoint. Our country, too, condemns them and call for the immediate withdrawal of Israeli forces from west Beirut. Our country thinks it absolutely necessary, in exchange for recognizing Israel's right to exist, to recognize the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to the establishment of an independent state. We are taking every opportunity to make an appeal for this to the United States as well.

Premier Zhao: I praise your stated position and attitude on the Middle East issue. Israel, in their barbaric invasion of Lebanon, in cruelly massacring Lebanese and Palestinian civilians, attempted to wipe out the efforts of the Palestinian Liberation Organization [PLO] and to destroy completely the Palestinians' righteous cause. Palestinian forces of national liberation thereby suffered a setback, but Israel's scheme absolutely cannot be realized.

We think that the core of the Middle East issue is the Palestinian issue. So long as Israel does not withdraw from the territories of Arab countries occupied in 1967 and so long as the Palestinian people are not granted the right of national self-determination, it will be forever impossible to resolve the Middle East issue. The key to resolving this issue lies in changing the policy that the United States has adopted toward Israel. It is the United States abandoning its policy of supporting and accepting Israel that would make possible Israel changing its policies of invasion and expansion. So long as Washington does not change its policy of supporting and accepting Israel's invasion, it will not be possible to resolve the conflict between the United States and the Arab countries, nor will it be possible to eliminate the opportunities for the Soviet Union to take advantage of the situation and attempt to pursue there a policy of expansion. Most of the Arab countries now have expressed the position of wishing to resolve the issue on a reasonable basis. I think that this is a golden opportunity. The key to this issue lies in the United States putting pressure on Israel.

The proposal for a resolution of the Middle East issue, set forth recently at the conference of Arab countries in Fez, Morocco, is an entirely reasonable proposal. It not only expresses the unity of the Arab countries, but it is something realistic, practicable, and which should receive the serious consideration of international society. I would like you and others in the Japanese government to exercise your influence and urge the West, particularly the United States, to support the position and proposal put forth at the Fez Conference.

7. Conclusion

Prime Minister Suzuki: The past two days of talks have been fruitful. I am happy that we reached consensus on many issues.

Premier Zhao: I completely agree with your assessment.

III. Meeting between Suzuki, Deng Xiaoping

September 28, 10:05 - 11:35

1. Overview of Japan-China Relations

Senior Leader Deng: Prime Minister Suzuki, it is very significant that you have visited China in this monumental year, the 10th anniversary of the normalization of relations. That is to say, the normalization of relations is something for the people of our two countries to commemorate. It is regrettable that I was not one of those involved at the time in the normalization of relations. At that time, two men -- Prime Minister Tanaka and Foreign Minister Ohira -- played leading roles. Prime Minister Suzuki and Foreign Minister Sakurauchi also at that time made great contributions within the party. I was involved at the time of the signing of the China-Japan Treaty of Peace and Friendship.

I would like to thank then Prime Minister Tanaka and Foreign Minister Ohira on

normalization of relations between China and Japan. Both you, as chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party [LDP] General Council, and Foreign Minister Sakurauchi, as chairman of the LDP Policy Research Council, contributed. Thank you. Furthermore, I also thank those who made efforts for friendship between China and Japan, including Mr. Fujiyama, Mr. Okazaki, and Mr. Furui. There are many more persons than we can count who made efforts in this area. After you return home, please give our regards and appreciation to Mr. Tanaka and the widow of Mr. Ohira. Also, please convey our cordial good wishes and sincere greetings to Mr. Fujiyama, Mr. Okazaki, and Mr. Furui. We thank these gentlemen. (Wang Xiaoxian, director, Japanese Affairs Division, writes a memo.) Please convey my gratitude as well to Mr. Nikaido, who played a very active role at that time as chief cabinet secretary.

Prime Minister Suzuki: I will certainly convey your kind words to each of my seniors. Everyone, without a doubt, will be happy to hear it.

Senior Leader Deng: Also, please convey our greeting to Mr. Fukuda and Mr. Sonoda, who were involved in the concluding of the 1978 China-Japan Treaty of Peace and Friendship.

Prime Minister Suzuki: I understand. I will make sure to tell them.

I am deeply grateful, Senior Leader Deng, for your great efforts made at that time for the conclusion of the Treaty of Peace and Friendship between Japan and China. Also, I still clearly remember how the Japanese people expressed their enthusiastic welcome when you came to Japan for the signing. On my visit to China this time, the day before yesterday and yesterday I engaged in a frank exchange of views with Premier Zhao on the Japan-China relationship and the international situation. I am very happy that we were able to have such substantial and fruitful exchanges of views that we went over the planned time.

I met Premier Zhao at Cancun and in Tokyo in May, so this was my third time, but I feel as though I have known him for a long time. In China there is the term "old friend." Truly, I have come to have this feeling of closeness to Premier Zhao.

Premier Zhao is an expert on economic issues, but he also has great insight as well on international and other issues. He also has a warm personality. From Japan's position, too, I am happy that China has chosen such an exemplary premier. From now on, I hope, in speaking closely and directly with Premier Zhao, to be able to smoothly solve difficult issues, no matter what kind they are.

Senior Leader Deng: We have done some important things in the past few years (note: reference to the issues of new cadres succeeding old ones and choosing young officials). Our generation is in fair health but, after all, we have reached the age of departing this world. Accordingly, there is a great need to have persons who are young and healthy compared to us work on the front line. I am having Hu Yaobang and Zhao Ziyang do more and more of the work. You will meet General Secretary Hu Yaobang a little later. I believe that you two will soon become friends.

[TN: line through page, possibly indicating remarks of Prime Minister Suzuki cut]

Senior Leader Deng: As you are all aware, this is the first time we brought up relations between China and Japan (at the 12th National Party Congress). What I would like to say regarding the China-Japan relationship, which I have also said many times before, is that "relations between China and Japan and between the Chinese and Japanese people will continue to be friendly for generations to come." This latest National Party Congress confirmed that this friendship between China and Japan and between the Chinese and Japanese people is now our long-term national policy. There

are five years between this National Party Congress and the next one, but this national policy is not one for only five years. For generations to come is not a period of 5, 10, 20 or 50 years.

Prime Minister Suzuki: It is as you say, Senior Leader Deng. On this visit to China, I have said to the Japanese people and press that, on the basis of the strong friendship built up between Japan and China these past 10 years, we must develop cooperation between our two countries in the 1980s and in heading toward the 21st century. That is, I said that I am visiting China with the feeling of building unwavering friendship through plentiful exchanges and would like to talk with Chinese leaders and confirm with them those relations of friendship and cooperation between Japan and China. Accordingly, I completely agree with what you have just now said.

Senior Leader Deng: The way of bringing forward a proposition on the China-Japan relationship, as we just did, is bringing it forward on the basis of the practice of the past 10 years. China is a member of the Third World and is emphasizing concert and cooperation with the Third World. However, in relations with other regions, we are putting cooperative relations between China and Japan first. This is not only in line with the desires of both people; it is also in accord with their interests. Moreover, in the relatively major relations for us in the past 10 years, that is, relations between China and Japan, China and the United States, and China and the Soviet Union, have been, those between China and Japan have been, as expected, good ones. Of course, our views are not the same on each and every issue. This is normal. Issues like the textbook issue are probably going to happen in the future as well. This issue was solved by the efforts made on both sides. When issues occur in the future, let us continue to solve them in a spirit of mutual understanding.

Prime Minister Suzuki: It is as you said, Senior Leader Deng. The honeymoon period in the Japan-China relationship has ended, and we have entered a mature era based on mutual trust. In the future, exchange and partnership will proceed in both politically and economically, across a broad range of fields. Among them, surely, there will occur ripples - small differences in opinion and conflicts of interest - and this would be natural. However, as you said, if our two countries resolve them by talking to one another on the basis of mutual trust, there will be nothing that we cannot resolve. I believe that forming a relationship of coexistence and co-prosperity is in the interests of the people of both countries and can contribute to the peace and prosperity of Asia and the world.

2. China's Domestic Politics

Senior Leader Deng: There have been discussions these past few years on whether or not China's political situation is stable or not and, although the policies that we have now adopted are good, whether or not they could be continued in the future. The 12th National Party Congress has further pushed forward a resolution of such issues, resolving that of the aging of national leaders and having the younger generations work on the front line. However, we will have to continue to devise solutions for this issue. Over 60 percent of the new Central Committee is under the age of 60. However, in the future we should further increase their proportion and elect persons in their 40s and 50s to the Central Committee.

Prime Minister Suzuki: I sincerely congratulate you on the success of the recent 12th National Party Congress. (Senior Leader Deng: Thank you.) Japan also sincerely congratulates China for establishing a system of the government and the people together working towards its goals, in particular strengthening the organization and system, decisively carrying out the rejuvenation of personnel, and unanimously agreeing on the Four Modernizations.

Senior Leader Deng: At the 12th National Party Congress, and I think that everyone is

aware of this, we confirmed the policies agreed upon and implemented since the Third Plenary Session in 1978. Concerning foreign policy as well, the current National Party Congress repeatedly stated the policy that we established and implemented these past few years. Of course, there are small changes in the way of instituting them.

3. Japan-China Economic Relations, China's Economic Plans

Senior Leader Deng: The development of China-Japan relations is relatively good. However, it is not that they are entirely without issues. Nor is it that we are completely satisfied with the state of development in China-Japan relations. For example, in the area of economic cooperation, I hope that we do more. The field for that is wide. Those in which China and Japan should draw on each other's strengths and make up for their shortcomings seem almost too many. China has resources; Japan has technology. If our two countries cooperated, it would be tremendous. It is not enough for us to think of economic cooperation between China and Japan from a political angle, nor is it enough that this cooperation be only intergovernmental cooperation. Private-sector cooperation is also necessary.

Prime Minister Suzuki: I agree. China has announced a grand plan for quadrupling agricultural production by the year 2000 and said that it will be achieved within the policy of the Four Modernizations. I believe that there will be many difficult problems in achieving that. Japan would like to the extent possible to cooperate completely. Also, China's understanding and cooperation are necessary but, speaking in terms of the goal of China's great construction, there are limits to intergovernmental yen credits, economic cooperation, and technical cooperation alone. Cooperation is surely necessary on a private-sector basis in such areas as economic cooperation, technical cooperation, business management, business administration, investment, joint ventures, and factory modernization. I have already spoken of this with Mr. Doko and Mr. Inayama, but I would like to ask by all means for the strengthening going forward of private-sector economic cooperation and exchange between Japan and China. Also, I would like to ask of Premier Zhao as well the improvement as quickly as possible of the environmental conditions, such as a tax treaty and an investment protection agreement, that facilitate investment and technical cooperation.

Senior Leader Deng: The thought of quadrupling agricultural production is something that took shape when I was talking before with Prime Minister Ohira. (After confirming the date with those around him) That was when I spoke with Mr. Ohira in December 1979. He asked me what was the meaning of the Four Modernizations. At the time, although we were speaking of making efforts for the Four Modernizations, it was not specific in terms of what were the specific goals. Reflecting on it, I thought that Mr. Ohira's question raised a very important issue. I then expressed the thought of a national average income of 1,000 US dollars by the end of the century. The present level is 250 US dollars. However, even 1,000 US dollars is low in comparison to the global average. Even at that time, it was at the level of a comparatively good living standard in China. Later, according to economic statistics and calculations, this goal became possible. That we have now lowered the goal slightly to 800 US dollars is simply because the population at the end of the 20th century will be 1.2 billion, not today's one billion people. At this National Party Congress, we confirmed this strategic policy after having fully considered this issue. Accordingly, I am thankful to Mr. Ohira for making us think about this issue.

4. Revival of Militarism Issue

Senior Leader Deng: Concerning the China-Japan relationship, in regard to political issues, I hope Prime Minister Suzuki, that you, the Japanese government, and future governments pay attention to the inclination toward militarism. We do not suspect the Japanese government of having such an inclination. That is to say, it is because

Japan's constitution has clear provisions. However, and this is not the overwhelming majority, there are persons who are thinking of a revival of militarism. That Yukio Mishima incident of a few years ago was definitely not about him alone. It reflects an inclination and expresses action of a certain politics.

What we regret is old politicians trying to put up a monument to Manchukuo and the like. What in the world is that?

Prime Minister Suzuki: There has just now been an expression of concern over whether or not the inclination toward militarism is growing in Japan. This is a good opportunity, so I would like at this time to speak frankly about it. The Japanese people, reflecting deeply on Japan's prewar course, and with no excuse for the tremendous damage it caused to neighboring countries, keenly feel their responsibility and reflect on it. The Japanese people, too, were made to suffer greatly.

Our country established our Constitution in thinking that we must not repeat the mistakes of the past. We have a defensive capability, the minimum necessary for defense, but we do not have a military capability that would threaten neighboring countries. Also, we have expressed our firm determination that, even in becoming an economic power, we will not become a military power. Accordingly, the overwhelming majority of the Japanese people, based on the spirit of the Constitution, is advancing in the direction of contributing to world peace through economic and technical cooperation with the world. As a person responsible for Japan, I clearly say that a revival of militarism is by no means possible and absolutely will not happen.

(Further, at the end of the meeting, Prime Minister Suzuki again said in regard to the Chinese side's concern over a revival of Japanese militarism that he wished them to understand that such a revival was by no means possible and that Japan, on the basis of the Japanese people's consensus, was determined to walk the path of a peaceful country.)

5. Sino-Soviet Relations

Senior Leader Deng: Everyone here is interested in the Sino-Soviet relationship, so I will talk about it. Let me be clear, though: there is no dramatic change in Sino-Soviet relations (Huang Hua and Wu Xueqian, present, laugh). Our position, to which we have always adhered, is that we consider Sino-Soviet relations from the perspective of global strategy. The heart of the matter in relations between China and the Soviet Union, that is the obstacle to the bilateral relationship that should be removed, is Soviet hegemony. To put it another way, the Sino-Soviet relationship is not only the issue of the Sino-Soviet border. Setting aside the entire world and taking up only nearby areas, there are acts of naked Soviet hegemony in Cambodia and Afghanistan. Between China and the Soviet Union, too, the situation is not one of a conflict over a few square kilometers on the border. The situation is one of the Soviet Union stationing 1.8 million troops along the border and one of their deploying one third of their ICBMs in the Soviet Far East. ICBMs are pointed at Japan and the United States as well, but they are also a direct threat to China. When we were babies, when we were in elementary school, the teachers and textbooks told us that the map of China was in the shape of a mulberry leaf. It is different now. With Outer Mongolia's place cut out, the content of China's textbooks has also changed.

Concerning Outer Mongolia, it has to do with the treaty that Chiang Kai-shek concluded. Of course, we are not thinking to seek this treaty's revision. However, it is not right for the Soviet Union to station troops in Outer Mongolia.

China and the Soviet Union are, of course, having talks about having talks. It would not do to completely not be in contact in state-to-state relations. However, the Soviet

Union must do something in order to normalize Sino-Soviet relations. For example, by withdrawing one million troops from the Sino-Soviet border and Outer Mongolia or by taking some measure in Afghanistan or Cambodia, the Soviet Union should show at least a little relaxation in their policy of hegemony.

However, the question is whether or not the Soviet Union will implement such measures.

Prime Minister Suzuki: I thank you, Senior Leader Deng, for directly talking to me about Sino-Soviet relations.

6. Hong Kong Issue

Prime Minister Suzuki: I would like to take this opportunity to ask you about something. Britain's Prime Minister Thatcher visited Japan before her visit to China and told me that she wished to talk with China's leaders about the Hong Kong issue. What happened is that I advised her, when meeting you, to speak directly concerning this issue. When you met Prime Minister Thatcher, you two talked about the Hong Kong issue, but what thoughts did you express?

Senior Leader Deng: I clearly told Thatcher that we would definitely resume sovereignty over Hong Kong and that this could not be a subject of discussion. However, the issue of what to do about Hong Kong's society, politics, and system, that we could discuss. Also, there would be no change in present conditions in the transition period of 15 years between now and 1997. In addition, I clearly told Thatcher that we did not intend to change Hong Kong's social system after the resumption of sovereignty and that we would maintain Hong Kong as a free port and as a center for international finance. Furthermore, concerning the laws, we could apply the existing ones. We would like to hear Britain's thinking on what to do about policy in the next 15 years. The Chinese and British sides agreed to start consultations on this issue at once at the working level. I clearly told Thatcher that a period of one year for these consultations would be the most desirable and that it would not do to have them any longer than for two years at most. I then said that no more than two years later we would announce the resumption of sovereignty over Hong Kong in 1997.

Thatcher responded to this in requesting that we not make public at present our resuming sovereignty over Hong Kong, so we agreed to this.

Prime Minister Suzuki: I see. We, too, are closely connected to the Hong Kong issue, so it is a matter of great interest to us. Hearing what you said is useful information. Also, I would like to keep what I have heard secret.

Senior Leader Deng: I would like to convey this to Japanese businessmen. Even after the resumption of sovereignty in 1997, we have no intention of harming the corporate or financial interests of Japan, the United States, Britain or others.

Prime Minister Suzuki: Thank you.

IV. Meeting between Suzuki and Hu Yaobang

September 28

1. Overview of Japan-China Relations

General Secretary Hu: I bid you a warm welcome. It is a pleasure to meet you, Prime Minister. Ten years ago, you and Foreign Minister Sakurauchi, along with Mr. Tanaka, Mr. Ohira, and Mr. Nikaido, made great contributions to normalization, so I particularly welcome you.

Prime Minister Suzuki: I have visited twice since May 1979. The previous time, I met Vice Premier Deng Xiaoping and made an inspection tour of such places as Dalian, Shanghai, and Guilin.

General Secretary Hu: Senior Leader Deng and Premier Zhao have already spoken, so there is nothing particular that I would like to say. There is just one thing that I would like to say, which is to repeat again the following thinking that government leaders and the people have. China and Japan are two great peoples of the Far East and the world. Peaceful cooperation is in the interest of both sides, and it would be to the detriment of both sides not to engage in it. It also brings well-being to the world and to generations to come in our two countries. Accordingly, the last 10 years of friendly government and private-sector ties are of global significance and surpass both the scope of China and Japan and the present. It is not that there are not a few problems or troubles in getting along well together for generations to come. Thinking back, at the time of the normalization of relations 10 years ago, some comrades in China were opposed to it and would be offended merely at the sight of Japan's flag. In the 10 years since then, we have in all that time instructed the Party and cadres that revanchism is wrong and given the masses guidance that China will not seek hegemony even after becoming powerful. From the position of wishing for friendship with Japan, I hope that you give instruction so that the broad masses of the Japanese people are not influenced by the narrow views of some people and do not engage in militarism. I would like to propose this not only for Japan and China but for the world.

Prime Minister Suzuki: Ten years ago, we realized normalization by following the guidance from a high position of the late Zhou Enlai to "seek common ground while putting aside differences." Looking back on the friendship and relations of trust and cooperation since then, we have achieved great development. I think that, in 2,000 years of history, we may never have had so wonderful, unwavering, and mature a relationship as we have now. I think that developing Japan-China friendship for the 21st century on this basis is our mission and that it is a great undertaking that will lead to peace in Asia and, further, the world. With such a feeling, I congratulate you on the success of the 12th National Party Congress. I highly appreciate Your Excellency's having obtained the top post of general secretary and having strongly started a new leadership system. In the political report of the National Party Congress was language that the development of the relationship between Japan and China is not only in the mutual interest of our two peoples but that it contributes to the peace of Asia and, further, the world. Knowing that this has been emphasized, I feel strongly about it. In that report is expressed the concern that "in some parts of Japan, there are attempts to revive militarism." However, I would like to say to you that the overwhelming majority of the Japanese people are doing everything that they can to build a peaceful country that will not repeat the mistakes of the past and will not become a military power. This is the consensus of the people. There will be no revival of militarism.

General Secretary Hu: I firmly believe in the mainstream of the Japanese people. I have read former Prime Minister Shigeru Yoshida's *Gekido no Hyakunenshi* [TN: "A Turbulent History of 100 Years," published in 1978]. I understood in reading it that the Japanese people have many excellent qualities, that they are a people possessing science and technology, that although political leaders in that history did make mistakes, the Japanese people did not agree with them. Both China and Japan have strong points and shortcomings. Japan has excellent technology, China has natural resources, and Japan-China cooperation has broad prospects.□

Prime Minister Suzuki: Even if there are various difficulties hereafter in the

Japan-China relationship, we should overcome them and develop friendly relations. Contacts between our governments are going well and exchanges between our peoples are flourishing. At this time I would like to have Your Excellency come to Japan, see Japan with your own eyes, and understand the thinking of the Japanese people. Representing the Government of Japan, I would like to formally invite Your Excellency to visit Japan.

General Secretary Hu: Thank you for your kind invitation. I really would like to see and learn how things are in Japan.

2. Conversation at Lunch Meeting

(1) Ambassador Katori's Press Briefing

Prime Minister Suzuki: Yesterday, in meeting some Chinese exchange students who had returned from Japan, I learned of their activities in various fields of China's society and thought that their prospects were very promising. Along with that, we decided this time to build the Japan-China Friendship Center. I would like to make it a splendid token of friendship between Japan and China.

General Secretary Hu: That would be great. By the way, how is the Japanese dairy industry doing?

Prime Minister Suzuki: Japan is now self-sufficient in milk, butter, and powdered milk. By the way, China has a long coastline. Could you not develop more fisheries? In Japan, fish farming is thriving.

General Secretary Hu: In China, too, we are raising kuruma prawn and sea cucumbers.

Prime Minister Suzuki: Non-ferrous metals are in short supply now, and prices are rising. China has both non-ferrous metal resources and the hydropower resources necessary for their development. Therefore, although their development requires a large amount of funds, both our countries would like to cooperate for the development of non-ferrous metals.

General Secretary Hu: I agree with your thinking. However, this cooperation is probably 20 or 30 years from now and will be for our offspring. I am for joint development of the resources in China if the principle of equality and mutual benefit is observed. Introducing from Japan some of the equipment and, with discussion on both sides, using the output for the offspring of our two countries would be possible.

[TN: A handwritten note between parentheses reads: "The rest of this page and the following 10 pages are exempted." Each of the following 10 pages is blank, except for classification and declassification marks, and a handwritten "exempted" between parentheses.