

**March 24, 1984**

**Cable from Ambassador Katori to the Foreign  
Minister, 'Prime Minister Visit to China (Summit  
Meeting - International Affairs)'**

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**Summary:**

Nakasone and Zhao Ziyang review Chinese and Japanese views on the Soviet Union's military build up and the Cambodian issue.

**Credits:**

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Japanese

**Contents:**

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## 注意

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## 電信写

かなる地域においても新たに核兵器を配備することを停止し、既にある核兵器の削減を行うべきであると思う。もしも、アジア地域における米ソの軍備競争の激化によりいつそうの緊張と動乱がもたらされることがあれば、これは、アジアの各国にとつて決してプラスになることではない。

(3) 中国は今でも中国の安全に対する主たるきよういはソ連から来るものと考えており、従つて、中ソ協議において3大障害の解消をけん持してきた。この中には、アジアにおけるソ連の中きよ離ミサイル配置に対する反対も含まれている。今、アジアでの中きよ離核ミサイル問題について、米ソとともに3カ国の会談を行うことに中国は応ずる気はない。アジアの問題は、他の地域とちがつて2つの核超大国による軍拡競争にあり、米ソ両国がそつ先して大はばに核兵器を削減して初めてアジアひいては世界の緊張がかん和出来るものと思う。以上の理由から中国としては、米ソのジュネーヴ交渉が中断されたことを非常に残念に思う。米ソ両国が核兵器の配置をやめ交渉のテーブルについて真げんに核兵器の削減を討論することを要求するものである。

(4) 中国は、核軍縮に関し、「3つの停止とひとつの協議」を提案している。すなわち、米ソが核兵器の実験、改良、生産を停止し、核兵器とそのとう載手段を50パーセント削減し、その後、全ての核兵器国の参加する代表性のある国際会議で削減交渉を行うというものである。この提案では、もつとも多くの核兵器を有する米ソ両国がそつ先して削減を表明し、他の核兵器保有国にも核軍縮に参加する責任を持たせることになり、公平かつ合理的な提案である。従つて、軍縮問題でもつとも重要なことは、全ての国が政治的・道義的圧力を行使し、核兵器を削減させることにあり、これにより、初めて国際的緊張のかん和が実現出来ることになる。

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## 電信写

ナカソネ総理：

よく理解した。日本の防衛政策、SS-20の問題及びカンボディア問題については外相より発言することとしたい。(日本の防衛政策については、別途電報)

安倍外務大臣：

(1) (日本の防衛政策について言及ののち) この中であつてうれうべきは、ソ連の極東における軍備の強化であり、ミンスクに加えノボロシクを極東に配備し、日本固有の領土たる北方4島に強大な軍事基地を設け、さらには、SS-20の増強を急いでいる。自分(安倍大臣)が昨年ゴガクケン外交部長と協議を行つた際108基であつたSS-20が現在では135基となり、これをさらに144基に進めようとしているのは間違いのない事実である。SS-20の具体的強化は日中にとつて関心事であり、極東の平和と安全確保のため今後の展開と情勢の変化を絶えず日中間で互に情報交換しあつて、この核戦力を削減するための努力をつづけていきたいと考えている。

(2) カンボディア問題については、日本は中国と基本的に同じ考えであり、中国と同じくASEANの外交政策を支持し三派連合政府を支持している。またグイエトナムが一日も早く「カ」から撤退することを望んでおり、撤退しない限り対越経済協力は行わないという原則をけん持している。「カ」における三派勢力の拡大は、「カ」の自主独立にとつて非常によろこばしい。日本は三派勢力を支持しており、今回、シアヌークを日本に招くこととした(5月30日に訪日する)。以上のような基本的な考え方でASEANとの協力を進めてまいりたい。

チョウ総理：

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電信写

(1) (日本の防衛問題に言及ののち) いまのソ連の極東における軍備増強を重視しており、日中が情報交換を行うことに賛成する。

(2) 「カ」問題について、日中双方の立場は一致している。また、日本がシアヌークを5月30日に日本に招くことに称賛の意を表明する。 (了)

SECRET

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To: The Foreign Minister From: Ambassador Katori

Prime Minister Visit to China (Summit Meeting - International Affairs)

Number 1326 Secret Top Urgent Q36RA

Wire 1322, Separate Wire 4

Premier Zhao:

(1) Regarding international affairs, there will be a foreign ministerial discussion, so I will only raise some key points. There is no change in our belief that for the foreseeable future, international affairs will be marked by tension and the persistent existence of the threat of war. However, our view of the struggle between the two superpowers has changed slightly. The strategies of the two super powers during the 1970s can be characterized by the Soviet Union being on the offensive, and the United States being on the defensive. The primary threat of war was from the Soviet Union. This analysis was based on the circumstances at that time. However, in the past few years circumstances have changed slightly. There are times when the Soviet Union and the U.S. are both attacking and at times they are both on the defensive. There is a state of strategic stalemate.

(2) We fully recognize that the Japanese Government is very concerned about the increased deployment of SS-20s in the Asian region by the Soviets. The Chinese Government is also very concerned. Like the Japanese Government, the Chinese Government opposes the Soviet Union's deployment of intermediate-range ballistic missile in the Asian region. Additionally, we do not want to see the U.S. and Soviets escalate their competition over the deployment of intermediate-range ballistic missiles in Asia. We believe that the U.S. and Soviets should cease the proliferation of nuclear arms, not only in Asia, but also anywhere else in the world. Furthermore, they should pursue a policy of nuclear disarmament. If U.S.-Soviet arms race were to intensify and cause more tension and agitation, this would not be a positive development for Asian countries.

(3) We believe that the Soviet Union presents a threat to China. Therefore, we have strived to overcome the 3 great obstacles through Sino-Soviet discussions. Included in this discussion is our opposition to Soviet deployment of intermediate-range missiles in Asia. Currently, China has no intention to hold trilateral talks with the U.S and Soviet Union over intermediate-range missiles in Asia. Unlike other regions, Asian affairs are defined by an arms race between two nuclear superpowers. Tensions can only be decreased in the Asian region through speedy and widespread nuclear disarmament conducted by the U.S. and Soviet Union. Therefore, China finds it very disappointing that the Geneva negotiations between the U.S. and Soviets have been suspended. It should be demanded that the U.S. and Soviets cease the deployment of nuclear weapons and for them to return to the table to seriously discuss nuclear disarmament.

(4) Regarding nuclear disarmament, China proposes "Three Halts and One Negotiation." That is to say, that the U.S. and Soviets should halt nuclear arms testing, improvement, and production; decrease nuclear arms and its delivery systems by 5%; and finally participation in an international conference made up of all nuclear weapons states to negotiate arms reduction. This proposal is fair and rational

because it makes the U.S. and Soviets, as the states with the most nuclear arms, take the initiative for arms reduction, and places responsibility on other nuclear-armed states to participate as well. Therefore, the most important aspect of arms reduction is for all countries to exercise political and moral pressure to force the reduction of nuclear arms. Doing so will allow for the realization of international relaxation of tensions.

Prime Minister Nakasone:

We fully understand. I would like the foreign minister to speak about Japan's defense policy, the SS-20 issue, and Cambodia issue. (Japanese security policy on Separate Wire)

Foreign Minister Abe:

(1) (Japanese security policy on separate attachment) The Soviet Union's military build-up in the Far East is very regrettable. They have deployed Novorossiysk in addition to Minsk, established a powerful military base on Japanese territory, that is the four northern islands, and furthermore are busily augmenting their force of SS-20s. The 108 SS-20s that existed when I (Cabinet Minister Abe) spoke with Wu Xueqian has increased to 135. It is a definite fact that the Soviets are planning on increasing this number to 144 SS-20s. The tangible increase of SS-20s is a concern for Japan and China. For the sake of ensuring the peace and security of the Far East, I hope that Japan and China can continue to mutually exchange information on new developments and conditions, as well as to endeavor to reduce nuclear arms.

(2) Regarding the Cambodia issue, Japan is basically of the same mind as China. Like China, Japan supports the coalition government and the foreign policy of ASEAN. Furthermore, we hope for Vietnam to withdraw from Cambodia as soon as possible. We are of the principle that as long as Vietnam does not withdraw, we will not engage in economic cooperation with Vietnam. The increasing strength of the coalition government is a welcome development as it will contribute to their independence. Japan supports the coalition government, and we will be inviting [Prince Norodom] Sihanouk to Japan (he will visit Japan on May 30). We are pursuing cooperation with ASEAN along the above basic points.

Premier Zhao:

(1) (Japanese security policy on separate attachment) We find Soviet military expansion to be a serious issue. We agree that Japan and China should share information.

(2) Regarding the Cambodia issue, Japan and Chinese standpoints are aligned. Furthermore, we express praise for inviting Sihanouk to Japan on May 30. (End)