

July 27, 1972
**Record of the First Meeting between Takeiri
Yoshikatsu and Zhou Enlai**

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Summary:

Zhou Enlai met with Takeiri Yoshikatsu and he mentioned the international status of Taiwan while claiming that "the realization of relations between Japan and China is the desire of all citizens."

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- Translation - English

秘印

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秘密指定解除
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1972

7月27日 16.00 ~ 19.00

竹入 周会談 (才一回)

○は 周

△は 竹入

○ 交わりは浅いから 中日両国人民の願望も表していることを嬉しく思い 重大な任務をもち来られたので 早く直接お目にかかって話したいなと思っていました。田中首相は野党や議連の中日友好運動をおおげな評価しているのですね。貴方ごとの努力の道をつくったと見ていいのですね。田中首相は自民党内で話してもいいから あらゆる方面に関心を与えて (心を配って) 話していると思う。竹入先生の見方として 日本の政治界にこの雰囲気をもたらしたいとか出来てほしいか？

△ 松村先生をはじめ 古井先生等が長い間日中友好を積み重ねてきたことを評価していることに間違いはないと思います。私も象を建て石壇の石の一つであり 足業に思っています。

○ 田中首相も二の平は十分考之に入っている日中

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国交を実現することは全人民の願望だと思ふ大平外相も日本人民の初向を認識している。それは20年来野党と党の一部の先生方にもあつたことではないと思ひます。公明党は大平外相の盡力を認めました。竹入先生が右翼に刺した大平はその証拠です。竹入先生に慰問の意を表します。長い経験から真にそれを上手くやっていたのか、そうでないかは区別をしています。杉内閣の成立したその日から田中首相は外交面で激務の中に平和を求めた主張をしています。それは正しいと評価します。私は直に9日の宴会で田中首相の発言を歓迎いたしました。

△ 周总理の友好意に感謝しています

- 中国の生まれ23年になりますか、そのうち時に中国の答へたのは2回あります。第一回は鳩山内閣の時、高崎先生をバンドン合衆に派遣したときです。その時直接高崎先生にその行動を歓迎する旨伝へました。鳩山内閣は日ソ問題に努力していたので力が入りませんでした。田中首相は日中問題に力を入れた日中国交回復は大事業だと思っています。私もそれに答へなければなりません。田中首相の日中国交回復を願う気持ちの向違ひないと思ひます。

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二宮先生に田中さんへの伝言を頼みまじた。
委員長も快有知でしよう

△ 23日に二宮が帰国。田中通産大臣と私と
二宮の三人で24日に会い、向意なく伝ま
じた

○ 有かじごさいまじた。委員長副委員長が大度協
力をしています。

△ 二宮への周総理の伝言が、田中首相に勇氣を
承るい起させたとおもいます

○ 田中の大平で必要だと思ひます。

△ 周総理の伝言が決意させたと要因であると思ひ
ます。

○ 戦後27年、新中国が生まれて23年に成りまじた
海一つへたてた二つの国が今迄の現象を続
けよことは生まるいと思ひます。廖先生に話した
ことは私も目を通じまじた。今日、補足が可
ありまじるか。

△ 廖先生に申しあげた以上の補足は有まじせん
公明堂は日中復交三原則を掲げ強いつい
をじて来まじた。

田中首相、大平外相に会って二の折生活に持って
来るとは、大分様になりました

○ それはおかしいと思います。大平外相は先生の
五項目をかかげ、それを中国が支持したことです。
他意は殆ど合いで決めました。公明堂は主尊的
に五項目をかかげました。敬服しています。帰りに
あの報告会でも、五項目の主尊的であったと、誰
も文句が云いませんでした。公明堂の政権と
と、たやう。こちらは何も云わなくても済むでしょう。
激励電報だけ打てばいいでしょう。いや、それは
今日的ではありません。現在、自民党の政権と
と、ています。しかし、大平外相が見うかいます。公明
では、田中首相の云ったこと（野党と日中交渉の別）
は一理あります。

この総裁選挙の争いのときに、福田で止まると自分の
総理になったやう。北京に行くと言っていた。
70年代の福田は、60年代の佐藤ではなかったと云
いました。従って田中首相の云うことに福田は
反対する訳にはいかない。二人の大臣も入閣し
ました。ここに田中首相の才能が生きていた。入閣し
なくても就任式をやり、13日迄に解決出来ると云った
12日に解決しました。大平を生かす首相の日本
で初めて生かす。丁度破りました。これは日本の利
しい事です。公明堂は大衆運動の中に
平民運動をやっているわけですから、二つで首を
とって、プラスですね。経済的に困難を突破

お厚、苦にみに堪へねばならぬでしよう。
 今迄の経済発展の早過ぎたのでしよう。

△ 田中首相の歩んで来た人生が大きく影響してはいます
 田中首相は佐野政治に決別したいという決意を
 もっています。今迄の保守党の政治と決別したい
 という決意をもちています。この決意の実行は
 何かと何かは、このことなのです。

○ 先ず第一に困難を突破する決意が大切です。
 第二に党内の反対をとり去らなくてはなりません
 第三に野党と人民の支持を得なくてはなりません。
 野党の立場は、田中首相の正統派は
 支持し、間違へば反対するといふことなのです。

△ 野党は日中問題では協力するものが当然です。

○ 共産党も表面では反対を言わないが裏から破
 かいおでしよう。云々難いけれども内心では
 早く日中問題の早急な解決を望んでいると考へて
 しよう。この間、田中首相と大平外相は8月31日
 9月1日にハワイでニクソンと会って来たことを
 発表しました。竹入先生はこのことは重要な
 一環であるといふことを私は詳細に記しています。
 私たちは、文章の中に題目の概要であるといふ
 表現を記しています。一方はちかひますか
 意味は同じです。これは公明堂全体の問題

10-11-10

と、日本人民の要求です。日中問題は排他的な
ものではありません。これは、ニクソンにもキッシンジャー
にも云いました。これは日米間に水を土すものでは
ありません。キッシンジャーにも云ったことがあります
キッシンジャーは、東京から北京へ来ました。キッシン
ジャーは、田中通産大臣に最後に会いました。
最初に佐藤、次に福田、そして野田の昏土人。
そして田中さん。これは面白いことです。最後の
田中さんだったことについて、良い字配でした。
キッシンジャーは、日中友好に反対するかと云った。
反対しないと答えました。そうゆつとこころに手を
つけたことは、田中首相のいい段取りです。
竹入委員長を中国へ寄したあとで、ハルビンへ
行くことはいいことだと思います。

ざつとぼろんに問題点をは、まりさせたかと思ひ
ます。

△ 私も田中首相、大平外相の話をは、ざつとぼろん
に云いました。

○ これはいい方法だと思います。正しい方法だと思ひ
ます。

△ 私も周総理にかけた史や、字配はいいです。

○ この史は、先生を信賴しています。公明堂の立場

と、田中首相の話と方針とを区別しています。公の意は口内問題もあり、自民黨と主張も違います。しかし、今の段階では公の意の意見を押しつけることは出来ないので、竹入先生の判断に依り、田中首相、大平外相の意見を云って下すことは有かたいと思っております。

△ 今はそれはない

○ 口交回復後も、口交かや否かはなすまいことあるが、政府向のみならず、民間のこともある。先ず第一に、田中首相、大平外相の云っているように、中日両口内に口交を樹立、大使の交換、相互に承認し合う。第二に、遅く（やむを得ず）早い方がよい。私達としては23年待たない、差をつけるまいか。田中首相としては早い方がよいと思っております。

△ 好む慶多といふことがありますが、口交を回復し外交関係を樹立することは、早ければ早い方がよいと思っております。

○ それは総選挙に対しても有利でしょう。今回の任期は来年まであるので、野党は来年まで続けたいといふので、

△ 任期は来年一杯までありますから、口内問題

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生じた場合 解散して国民の信を向うのは常識
です。田中首相はそれより日中の大可成と
云っています。日中問題の発取の方向 外に
分ります。

○ 中日人民の親善は前より生じてあります。
大平外相の予想では 蒋介石の大使館をひたし
げようとしていると見ています。竹入英生はその
意見をどう思っていますか 頼りになりますか

△ 頼りになります

○ 台湾のその持参ニースから入っているのの親善を
見てくれは判りません。互にす、人達のいのちで
しよう。親善団体を送った。台湾の代表団の
来たのっていますね。岸力中の14ヶ条の声明を
出していますね。田中首相は 自民党日中正常化
協議会で 10ヶ条を出した。岸は 14ヶ条を出し
ました。岸力中は、二つの中国を作ろうとして
います。表向きには 互にす来ませんね。
大事なことは来らないか。おまわすではうね
岸はそういう人です。

△ 岸はそういう人です。吉田のあとを岸が受け
ついで来ました。日中外交回復の来本は
岸はダメになるでしょう

01-1-333

○ 依るお岸の方の慮慮ですか。

△ そのように思います。

○ 依るは最後にしてせりふを残したね
 安保も岸ですか。 日本^の台湾への配慮は
 経済と居留民ですか。 今の統計で
 日本^の婦人の中口人と結婚したのは64人と
 言われています。 口交回復は、里帰りの事
 でしょう。 口交回復は、再び帰る事
 に配慮があります。 そうした方は、解放戦争に
 力をつくした方々です。 医者とか看護婦の
 中口人と結婚し、それらは彼等に感謝して
 います。 中口の子供が居り、日本^に両親が居る
 その双方の希望を抱いての事でしょう。

戦況は解決済みです。 全部帰らせました
 高崎先生、松村先生、遠藤三浦先生の努力
 でした。 台湾への経済関係は日本の投資
 でしょう。

△ 戦後の投資と政府借款と年向8億ドルの
 貿易関係です。

○ 日本は輸入より輸出が多く、これは日本にとって
 大きな問題になっていますね。 中口は何も言
 っていないから、日中貿易も日本の輸出が
 多くなっています。

△ これはすいません

- い、之、日本の技術が高い。習う必要があります。これは友好商社より大手商社との関係と語ることに成ります。日本の輸出を少なくすることで（今迄より）ふ之々と思ひます。古井先生に対して公に云わなうか。その臭は問題ありません。安心して下さいと云っておきました。戦後と戦前はちがひます。戦前は口交はなうか。友好的往来はとどまらなうか。これはアメリカとちがうところでは。岸もこれをとどまらなうか。これは出来ません。人民の友好です。

△ 感謝しています。

- お互いの問題です。貿易と友好の結びつきが深いのです。日本と中国は戦後27年ですが、秦の時代から2,000年もの友好があり、この27年は一瞬の様なものです。田中首相は日中両口に平和五原則に基づいて口交を結ぼうとしています。全く賛成です。平和条約も可能ですが、平和友好条約にしたいと思ひます。この中に平和五原則を入れれば良いと思ひます。武力ではなく話し合いによって解決するといふふうにすれば良いと思ひます。アメリカもソ連もこれは反対出来ません。

前途に光明は満ちております。日中両国が本当に
平和友好になれば極度に渦巻く世界的問題
の解決になります

田中首相は日中口交正常化の機は熟したと
断定的に云い、自民党日中協ではこれを基
本原則としており、その精神に私たちも同感
です。(二いで王曉云氏が)

「昨日の自民党日中協で初步的な一致を見た
二つの段階があります。その一つは共同声明で
は交回復。その後、平和条約締結です」

○ これですと、基本的に私たちの意見と一致して
います。私は田中首相、大平外相の北京に
来られ、共同宣言を生じ、(共同声明でも良い)
口交を樹立することは、鳩山さんとソ連もそ
のやり方でした。平和友好条約を結ぶ
たいと思います。そうすると全世界が安心
する。そうした方が良く思います。
北京に来て、そうした共同宣言の無いと無意
味になります。

三つの問題があります。田中首相大平外相
に安心してもらいたいと思います。

① 日米安保条約には及んません

日中口交回復の出来たら、中口への安保の効力
は無くなります

② 1969年の佐藤ニクソン共同声明にも及んません
共同宣言の発表を以て平和友好条約で

いけます。あとは法律家にかかせれば良い
政治的信義の大事です。

③ 日蒋条約の問題

田中首相は就任に際し夜々中口の政府の主張
張っている復交三原則を理解していると云って
いますか。これは尊重するといふ意味ではいい

△ そうです。

○ そうゆいの方で直接ぶつかれないといふ考の方
を以ていっているのですか。

△ 共同声明の出来外交関係の樹立はたゞ今
尚かつ日台条約は無効になります

○ そこで具体的な問題の一つあります。
田中首相は中華人民共和国は正統と云っているか
これは合法といふ意味になりますか。

△ そうです。

○ 中口では合法の反対は非法、不法といふ事ですが
蒋政府は不法です。昨年は口直に復帰し
ました。政府は追いついて来た中華人民
共和国は口際的にも合法になったのです。
田中内閣の法律家たちは何の正統といふ
言葉の意味をもたせていっているのではないで(は)い

01-1-100

△ ないと思います。田中首相は大平外相、三木
 さんと協定いたしました。その中には復交三原則
 は含まれています。黙示として含まれています。
 田中首相の決意としてです。しかし現状では
 明らかな云えない平措が国内にあるという事
 です。唯二で改めて講了解を得たいことは
 日台条約は本来不法不当という立場を以
 ば日本国内に混乱をおこします。この案の
 講理解を頂きたい

○ この正統という事は申口では偏安に対する
 言葉です。(二で申口の古代からの歴史に
 於ける正統偏安の言葉の意味が歴史的に成
 べらねた)
 名詞の問題であるが解決生れます。
 合法という一方にて頂けませんか

△ そのように改めよう話したいと思います。
 ご面倒をおかけます

○ 先生が云われたことはお帰りにやうに
 検討してご返事をいたします。
 この才三の問題は検討しておきます。一、二は
 簡単です。

もう一つの問題は台湾や申口の領土の
 一部という事は中米共同声明でもそれを認
 めておられますか。日本にどんな問題がありますか

0-14 EN 2/2

△ 問題は無いと思います

- これは蒋介石も含め中口は一つだと認めていますし、台湾の中口の一つの者だと認めています。台湾を者と呼んでいきますよ。台湾の省長、コウキョウジュという人です。

△ 中米共同声明に於ける台湾の領土の表現について申すやみなものと云ふのか、いかがでしょうか。

- そうです。日本の立場とは違うでしょう。アメリカは口交正常化を延ばしたいという気持ちがあります。選挙の問題があります。マカバソは直ちに中口を承認すると云っていますから、彼等の論争に介入したくありません。客観的に中口は一つであり、台湾は中口の一つの者だといふことは、中口人同志には論争はありません。

△ 確認をいたしたい。田中首相の訪中の共同声明の場合

- ① 中華人民共和国は唯一合法政府
- ② 台湾が中口の領土の一部であることを明確にする必要がありますか。

- その実を考えての最中ですが、もう少し考之させておきたい。田中首相は中口の主張の

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三原則を理解してのよと含蓄を持たせたい
 方をしている。今日は意見の交換です。
 毛主席に報告し、夏内で討議します。
 毛主席は賠償請求権を放棄するといっています。
 賠償を求めれば、日本人民に負担がかかります。
 そのことは、中国人民の身をもって知っています。
 清の時代には、2億5千万両、日本に賠償
 しました。清朝はこれを利用して税を重く
 しました。これを全部払ったかどうかわかりません。
 8口連軍の賠償は4億~5億両でした。
 4億ドル位で、今では大した額ではありませんが、
 負担を人民にかけることは良くない。
 賠償の請求権を放棄するといつても、断言
 に書いても良いと思います。

△、お礼の言葉もありません。

○ 当然のことです。20数年來の両国人民の
 友好によって、口交の実現するのですから、
 私たちは、これから次の交代を考へなくては
 なりません。

私たちは、決してむづかしいことは云いません。
 早く口交を樹立する為、早く来られた方が
 良いと思います。

竹入委員長は9月中旬の良いついでです
 から、私達は歓迎します。
 日米会議のあとになりますから、これは肉題

ありません。出来たら 9月が良いと思ひます
 若し大平外相の口述を生かすならば下旬か
 よういのですか。それか出来なければ中旬と
 いふことになりますか。その時は時間の短く
 なります。4~5日になりますか。

△ 9月下旬では口慶節への影響がありますか

○ 支つかありません。

○ 飛行機直行は良い考の方だと思ひます。
 今夜、日航と全日空の舞劇団を運んで
 くれます。中口の飛行士を派遣し試験
 飛行をさせたいと思ひます。安全のために、
 日本の領空を生かす案内します。
 北京から山東省の上空を通過して東京に
 帰れば良いと思ひます。

△ 今夜の日航の操縦士は田中首相の準備
 を生かすはなりませんか

○ 田中首相の試験飛行も可能です

△ 田中首相のときは又東京の案内にいた
 りたい。

○ 試験飛行をして平和友好条約を喜

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あげの先に実行します。航空漁業協定を
 作りましよう。通商と航海はやいこいかに
 実際は今でもやっています。日本の船が
 中口の港に着いています。在野の中で中口
 には日本の方が一番おいでになっています。
 田中首相、大平外相が云っているように日中
 友好の願望はもどることから生まれます。

△ 戦争終結宣言を どのおに お考えてしよか

○ 先生のお帰りに なるを 検討します
 草案を作っておくことも必要でしょう。
 日中協の話の二案の 確実であれば
 準備を しているのではないでしょうか
 竹入先生のお帰りに 内閣の決定すれば 草案
 準備に 信頼 出来る人を 案にする 否かは
 田中首相に 任せます。

△ 田中首相の 決断が 早いと その準備に
 に 直接 来ること あり得るかも 知れません。
 日本は マスコミ 公署で 草案の 秘密に 出来
 か どうか 判りません。 実際も 秘密を 守ら
 ない 場合が あります。

○ その 案は キンダガーも 云って いました。
 キンダガーは 本ホワイトハウスに ナグラーフ
 を 作っています。

△ 私の生案までに中国の友好意を示していただければ 田中首相、大平外相が直接来日の方か口内もうまくいくと思います

○ その考えは正しいと思います。先生は申すのであろう。アメリカが中国との間に秘密でやったのは、アメリカに困難があるからです。日本に頭ごじのお詫言に行かして

△ ニクソンの訪中を批難するのは的外れです

○ 佐藤は自信が強かったが最後に自信が無くなったまうです。田中首相の対中政策が明らかになっていいますから、アメリカの果てい、はのことはないでしよう。

△ 二人の決意としてはアメリカの考之方をまいて決断することはなぬと思います。若くあてもアメリカの要求をはねつけると思います。

○ 記者会見から独立性がうかびます。記者に云ふやう本物でしょう。日本の経済のこ、迄発展したことから独立の大事です

台湾に対しては台湾を解放します。生案の文平和的に努力したいと思つて

アメリカも知っています 竹入先生から
田中首相、大平外相に伝えて下さい
蒋介石の攻めてくれば別ですが
機が熟すれば自然に解決します 安保
日米共同声明に影響はしません 中口に
関する部分は効力を失ってしまいます
日中間も口交回復の友好条約を締結し
てアジアの平和のみならず、在米の平和
に貢献しましょう。

中米共同声明にあおりに中口は覇権を
求めません。このことは中口と日本が実行
すると思います。二つの大口は覇権を争うそ
わないとは云い切れません。これを私たち
実行し、在米にのみ、影響を与えましょう。

△ 周総理の云うように、中口は超大口にならな
い可を信じます。中口の平和対象であること
を信じます

○ 何回も中口之事で内達ったことは批判して
下さい。次の在米のことを防止することの
必要であり、友人の助けも必要です
永遠に助け合ひましょう
貴方にも、もう一度戦争の起るという可
日中にも、在米にも不利だと思いで
しょう

△ 私は今回の訪中について 公明党として本来の立場を離れて 訪中しました。

○ 今は公明党の党の立場ではなく友人として来ているのです。 公明党を支持している。 田中首相の伝言をもって来ているのです。 矛盾していないと思います。 内政については 公明党が田中首相と一緒にやるのではないでしょう。

私たちのこの世代で口交を回復させ 友好を回復させておけば 次の世代に ~~友好~~ 有効 だと思います。

アメリカも頭こしでやったのだから 日本が先に進むことは 非難 生まないのではないでしょう。

△ 大口主義は出て来ると 생각합니다。

○ 矛盾はそこにあります。

△ このころの政治の面で 野党が自民党に反対して来た時代を終らせなくてはならない。 反対の意の反対です。 このころは意見を持たなくてはならないと思う。 そして野党の結束を固めなければなりません。 種々の問題が大衆運動にならなければなりません。 田中内閣が転換したのだから 野党も変らなくてはなりません。

1972

July 27th 16:00~19:00

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

Zhou

Takeiri

Zhou: Although relations are still shallow, I am pleased that the mutual wishes of both the Chinese and Japanese peoples are being represented. Because you have arrived shouldering such an important duty, I felt that I must see you as soon as possible. I see that Prime Minister Tanaka [Kakuei] has to some degree appreciated the opposition party and the All-Party Parliamentary Group's promotion of friendly relations between China and Japan. I surmise that he understands the amount of effort that you gentlemen have put in. When Prime Minister Tanaka spoke at the Liberal Democratic Party's Japan-China Society, it seemed that he spoke while paying attention to many different factors. In your opinion, Mr. Takeiri, can this bring a new feeling to Japanese politics?

Takeiri: I believe it is correct that Prime Minister Tanaka appreciates the long-term efforts of Mr. Matsumura [Kenzo] and Mr. Furui [Yoshimi] and others for the promotion of Japanese-Chinese friendship. I too am honored to be one stone in the foundation for a new house.

Zhou: I believe that Prime Minister Tanaka surely understands that the realization of relations between Japan and China is the desire of all citizens. Foreign Minister Ohira [Masayoshi] has also recognized the Japanese people's attitudes.

This is something that the esteemed members of the majority and minority party fully understand. The Komeito [Komei Party] has put in great efforts. Mr. Takeiri's stabbing at the hands of right-wing elements is proof of this. I express my condolences to Mr. Takeiri. Judging from my own experiences, I differentiate between those who truly wish to do good and those who do not. I highly praise Prime Minister Tanaka for having emphasized peace despite diplomatic agitation since the establishment of his new cabinet. I welcomed Prime Minister Tanaka's address during the reception held on the 9th.

Takeiri: I am thankful for Premier Zhou's kind courtesy.

Zhou: It has been 23 years since the establishment of [the People's Republic of] China [in 1949]; in similar times China has responded on two occasions.

The first was during the Hatoyama [Ichiro] Government [1954-1956], when Mr. Takasaki [Tatsunosuke] was sent to the Bandung Conference. I was able to directly relate to Mr. Takasaki how I welcomed such actions. Because the Hatoyama Government was putting its effort into Japan-Soviet issues, however, there was not too much effort placed in Japan-China affairs. Prime Minister Tanaka, on the other hand, is putting effort into Japan-China issues and believes that reestablishing diplomatic relations between Japan and China is important. We too have to reciprocate. I truly believe in Prime Minister Tanaka's thoughts on the reestablishment of diplomatic relations between Japan and China...

I requested for Mr. Ninomiya [Bunzo] to relay my thoughts to Mr. Tanaka. I believe the Chairman is cognizant of this.

Takeiri: Ninomiya returned to Japan on the 23rd. The Minister of International Trade and Industry [MITI] Tanaka [Kakuei], Ninomiya, and myself met on the 24th. The message was relayed without fail.

Zhou: Thank you very much, Chairman and Vice-Chairman for your cooperation.

Takeiri: I believed that Prime Minister Tanaka's courage has been reinvigorated by Ninomiya's delivery of Premier Zhou's message.

Zhou: I believe that sincerity is important and necessary.

Takeiri: I believe Premier Zhou's message was the primary factor for his final decision.

Zhou: It is 27 years since the war [between China and Japan], and 23 years since the establishment of New China. I believe that our two countries cannot continue the circumstances that have lasted until now. I have looked through your discussion with Liao Chengzhi. Is there anything you would like to add today?

Takeiri: We have nothing to add to the discussion we held with Mr. Liao. The Komeito has strongly adhered to the Three Principles for the Restoration of Diplomatic Relations between Japan and China.

We are quite conflicted about bringing such a discussion to Prime Minister Tanaka and Foreign Minister Ohira.

Zhou: We believe this will not be a problem. The important thing is that you have raised the five items and that China has supported this. The other parties have decided after discussion. The Komeito has taken a leadership position in raising the five issues. We greatly admire this. Even during the reporters meeting after returning home, no one could raise an issue about the leadership of the five issues. If the Komeito were to form the government, we would not have to say anything. We would only have to send a telegram of congratulations. However, that is not the case now. In reality, the Liberal Democratic Party is in power. However, we see great changes to come. There is some truth to what Prime Minister Tanaka has said about the opposition party and the Japan-China Friendship Parliamentarians' Union.

During the presidential elections, even Fukuda [Takeo] has said that if he were to become Prime Minister, he would go to Beijing.

It is said that Fukuda of the 1970s is not Sato [Eisaku] of the 1960s. Therefore, Fukuda will be unable to oppose what Prime Minister Tanaka has said. The two ministers have also joined the cabinet. Here in lies Prime Minister Tanaka's skills. He said that even if they do not join the cabinet, he will resolve the matter by the 13th and hold the inauguration ceremony. The issue was resolved on the 12th. He disrupted history by becoming the first Japanese prime minister to not have graduated from college. This is the start of a new Japan. I believe that the Komeito's conducting of a democratic movement within the popular movement will be beneficial. This will entail having to face economic difficulties head-on and enduring difficulties. Economic development up to now has been too fast.

Takeiri: The life that Prime Minister Tanaka has lived is a great influence upon this. Prime Minister Tanaka has decided to differentiate himself from the Sato Government. He has decided to differentiate himself from the politics of the conservative party that had prevailed until now.

Zhou: Of foremost importance is the decision to face hardship head-on.

Second, opposition from within the party must be dealt with. Third, the support of the opposition party and citizens must be secured. Is the position of the opposition party that they will support Prime Minister Tanaka if he is correct and oppose him if he is incorrect?

Takeiri: It is a matter of fact that the opposition party will cooperate on Japan-China issues.

Zhou: The [Japanese] Communist Party cannot oppose this outwardly, so they will likely do so from behind the scenes. It is difficult for them to say, but they likely are hoping that [Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei] Gromyko comes to Japan. In this regard, Prime Minister Tanaka and Foreign Minister Ohira have announced that they will go to Hawaii to meet [US President Richard] Nixon on the 31st of August and 1st of September. I appreciate that Mr. Takeiri has called this an important first step.

We have expressed that it is necessary to include titles within the text. It is a different way of putting things but the meaning is the same. This is an issue for the whole of the Komeito and the wish of the Japanese people. Japan-China issues are not an exclusive thing. We have expressed the same to Nixon and [Henry] Kissinger. This will not dilute Japan-US relations. We have heard from Kissinger as well. Kissinger came to Beijing from Tokyo. Kissinger had met with the Minister for International Trade and Industry, Tanaka. First with Sato, then Fukuda, then with everyone from the opposition party, and finally with Mr. Tanaka. This is very interesting. That the meeting with Mr. Tanaka was the final meeting was reassuring. When asked if he would oppose friendly relations between Japan and China, Kissinger answered that he would not. Prime Minister Tanaka's involvement in the matter was fine example good planning on his part.

I believe it is a good thing that he is going to Hawaii after sending Chairman Takeiri to China.

I hope to frankly clarify the issues.

Takeiri: I too have spoken frankly about Prime Minister Tanaka and Foreign Minister Ohira's discussion.

Zhou: I believe that is a good method. I believe that is the correct method.

Takeiri: I will not act tactically with you either.

Zhou: I have faith in Mr. Takeiri in this regard. I differentiate between the Komeito's position and the position from which Prime Minister Tanaka speaks. The Komeito has domestic concerns, and has a different opinion from that of the Liberal Democratic Party. However, at this stage, the Komeito will be unable to press their views. I am thankful for Mr. Takeiri's decision to share with us Prime Minister Tanaka and Foreign Minister Ohira's thoughts.

Takeiri: That is the only thing that I can do now.

Zhou: There are things that the nation must do even after relations are reestablished, however, it is not limited to relations between states, but includes relations between citizens. As Prime Minister Tanaka and Foreign Minister Ohira have said, we must first establish diplomatic relations between China and Japan, exchange ambassadors, and

mutually recognize each other.

Second, it is better to do so earlier than later. Having waited for three years, we do not mind, but it may be better for Prime Minister Tanaka if this is done earlier.

Takeiri: Light usually follows darkness. It is the sooner the better to reestablish diplomatic relations and establish bilateral relations.

Zhou: It is likely beneficial for the general elections as well. The current term is until next year. Will the opposition party not want for the term to last until next year?

Takeiri: The term lasts until the end of next year. If a new cabinet is established, it is a matter of fact to dissolve Parliament and make an appeal of confidence to the citizens. However, Prime Minister Tanaka has expressed that Japan-China relations is of more importance. Arrangements made for Japan-China issues is indicative of this.

Zhou: I have previously expressed the wishes of the Chinese people.

According to Foreign Minister Ohira's predictions, Jiang Jieshi [Chiang Kai-shek] seems to be preparing to vacate the embassy [of Taiwan in Japan]. What does Mr. Takeiri think about this? Is this a reliable prediction?

Takeiri: Yes, this is reliable.

Zhou: There is similar news coming from Taiwan, however, I cannot make a judgment until I see it. There will likely be people opposed to this. Japan seems to be sending friendship delegations to and receiving delegations from Taiwan. Kishi [Nobusuke] and Kaya [Okinori] had made a fourteen point declaration. After Prime Minister Tanaka made ten points at the Liberal Democratic Party Japan-China Normalization Meeting, Kishi made fourteen points. Kishi and Kaya are trying to create two Chinas. It seems that outward opposition cannot be made.

They cannot do anything substantial, but they are sure to try to disturb things. Kishi is such a person.

Takeiri: Yes, Kishi is such a person. Kishi has succeeded Yoshida [Shigeru], but if reestablishment of Japan-China relations succeeds, Kishi will be ruined.

Zhou: Kishi is more treacherous than Sato.

Takeiri: I believe so.

Zhou: Sato had left a parting threat. The [Japan-US] Security Treaty was Kishi's doing as well. Does Japan take Taiwan into consideration because of the economy, or is it because of the Japanese citizens residing in Taiwan? According to previous statistics, there are 6,000 Japanese wives married to Chinese men [in Mainland China]. If relations were normalized, they would be able to visit their hometowns. If relations are not normalized, there is the concern that they will not be able to return. Those people are the people who gave their all in the war of liberation. We are grateful for those people—the doctors and nurses who married Chinese people. They have children in China and parents in Japan. They are embracing the hopes of both of these sides.

War criminals have been accounted for. They have all been made to return. This was

due to the efforts of Mr. Takasaki, Mr. Matsumura, and Endo Saburo. Economic relations with Taiwan are Japanese investments...

Takeiri: Postwar investments and government loans make up a yearly \$800 million trade relationship.

Zhou: Is it not a major problem for Japan that Japan exports more than it imports? China has not said anything, but Japanese exports are increasing for Japan-China trade as well.

Takeiri: Yes, I am sorry for this.

Zhou: On the contrary, Japanese technology is advanced; there is a need to learn from Japan. From henceforth, major trading firms will make ties rather than friendship trading companies. Rather than decreasing Japan's exports, this will likely increase exports, as has been the trend up to now.

I will not publicly say so to Mr. Yoshii, but there is no problem in this regard. I told him to not worry. The postwar and prewar are different eras. In the postwar, there were no diplomatic relations, but friendly correspondences did not stop. This is different from the United States. Kishi was unable to sever this tie either. This is friendship between peoples.

Takeiri: I am thankful for this.

Zhou: This is an issue between our countries. The ties of trade and friendship are deep. It has been 27 years since the war, but relations between Japan and China span 2,000 years back to Qin Dynasty. The previous 27 years is only but a moment.

Prime Minister Tanaka is trying to create diplomatic ties between Japan and China based on the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. I am absolutely in favor of this. A peace treaty is a possibility, but I would like to make this a treaty of peace and friendship. I believe the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence should be included in this. We ought to resolve things through dialogue rather than through the use of force. Neither the Americans nor Soviets can oppose this.

The future overflows with brightness. If peace and friendship are established between Japan and China, this would bring about a conclusion to the problems enveloping the Far East.

Prime Minister Tanaka has concluded that the timing is right to normalize Japan-China relations, and so the Liberal Democratic Party Japan-China Society has made this the basic principle. We agree with this way of thinking. (At this point Wang Xiaoyun commented...)

"Two things must be arranged with regard to the two basic agreements reached at yesterday's Liberal Democratic Party Japan-China Society. One of these is the joint declaration on establishment of diplomatic relations, and after this, a peace treaty."

Zhou: This is basically in line with our opinion. I believe that if Prime Minister Tanaka or Foreign Minister Ohira came to Beijing and made a joint declaration (a joint statement would be fine too) to establish diplomatic relations, this would be the same method as Mr. Hatoyama did with the Soviet Union [in 1955]. I want to conclude a peace and friendship treaty. I believe that doing so would bring a peace of mind to the world, and I believe this is good.

If they come to Beijing and if there is no joint declaration, the visit would have no meaning.

There are three problems. I hope that Prime Minister Tanaka and Foreign Minister Ohira would have peace of mind.

(1) It will not touch on the Japan-US Security Treaty

If diplomatic relations between Japan and China are restored, it will take away the effect [of the Japan-US Security Treaty] on the security of China.

(2) It will not touch on the joint statement between Sato and Nixon [of 1969].

Announcing a joint declaration could attain a peace and friendship treaty. The rest could be left to lawmakers. Political fidelity is important.

(3) Regarding the Japan-Jiang Treaty

Prime Minister Tanaka has expressed time after time that he recognizes the Three Principles on the Restoration of Sino-Japanese Diplomatic Relations. Is this to mean that he holds the principles in high esteem?

Takeiri: Yes, this is correct.

Zhou: While you say that, you do not want to directly address this issue. Is this correct?

Takeiri: As soon as a joint statement is made and diplomatic relations are established the Japan-Taiwan Treaty will be nullified.

Zhou: I have one question in this regard. Prime Minister Tanaka has said that the People's Republic of China is legitimate, but is this to denote a legal meaning?

Takeiri: Yes, this is correct.

Zhou: In China the opposite of legal is un-legal, which is to mean illegal. The Jiang government is illegal. We were reinstated to the UN last year [1971]. The Nationalist Government was kicked out. The People's Republic of China has become legally recognized internationally as well. Are the Tanaka cabinet's lawyers trying to convey something by using the word 'legitimate'?

Takeiri: I do not believe so. Prime Minister Tanaka has made an agreement with Foreign Minister Ohira and Mr. Miki [Takeo]. The Three Principles for the Restoration of Diplomatic Relations are included in this agreement. It is implied. This is as Prime Minister Tanaka's determination. However, at the moment, there are domestic circumstances that does not allow for this to be made clear. Something we hope for you to understand is that, if Japan takes the position that the Japan-Taiwan Treaty is no longer legally valid, then there would be confusion domestically. We hope to gain your understanding on this matter.

Zhou: In China, 'legitimate' is a word that deals with pian'an [translator's note—to be content to retain sovereignty over a part of the country] He explained the ancient, historical meaning of legitimate in relation to the historical word pian'an).

This is an issue regarding a noun, so this can be solved.

Would it be possible for the word 'legal' to be used instead?

Takeiri: I would like to convey to them to make such a change. I am sorry for the inconvenience.

Zhou: I would like to consider what you have said and give an answer before you go home.

I will consider that third issue. The first and second issues are easily solved.

Additionally, the China-US Joint Declaration acknowledges that Taiwan is a territory of China. What sort of issue is this for Japan?

Takeiri: I do not believe that there is an issue.

Zhou: Jiang Jieshi also recognizes that China is one and that Taiwan is one of the provinces of China. He calls Taiwan a province.

The governor of Taiwan. A man named Wu Kuo-chen [K.C. Wu].

Takeiri: Can it be said that the expression used in the China-US Joint Declaration regarding Taiwanese territory is loose?

Zhou: Yes. This is different from the standpoint of Japan. America means to prolong the normalization of diplomatic relations. There is the issue with elections. [George] McGovern is saying that he will immediately recognize China, but we do not want to intervene in their controversy. There is no controversy among Chinese peoples that objectively speaking, China is one and Taiwan is a province of China.

Takeiri: I would like to confirm. Is it necessary for Prime Minister Tanaka to clarify in his joint declaration during his China trip that (1) the People's Republic of China is the sole legal government and (2) Taiwan is a territory of China?

Zhou: We are currently considering this point. Please give us a little more time to think. Prime Minister Tanaka has implied that he recognizes the three principles espoused by China. Today is for exchanging opinions.

We will report to Chairman Mao [Zedong], and discuss the issue within the [Chinese Communist] Party.

Chairman Mao has said that he will renounce the right to seek reparations. If we seek reparations, this would place a burden on the Japanese people. This is something that the Chinese people fully understand. During the Qing Dynasty, China paid 250 million taels in reparations to Japan. The Qing Government placed heavy taxes [on the people] as a result. I do not know if they paid the full amount. Somewhere between 400-500 million taels were paid to the Eight-Nation Alliance [Austria-Hungary, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Russia, the United Kingdom and the United States]. If roughly converting to 400 million dollars, this is not a large amount. However, it is not right to place such a burden on the people.

I think it would be alright to include in the joint declaration China's renunciation of its

right to seek reparations.

Takeiri: We are very grateful.

Zhou: It is a matter of course. Diplomatic relations will be restored after twenty some years of friendly relations. We must think about the next generation.

We will not make difficult demands. I believe you should to return to Japan quickly so that diplomatic relations can be restored sooner.

Chairman Takeiri has said that the middle of September would be good. We welcome this very much.

This would come after Japan-US talks, but this is not a problem. If possible, I believe that September would be good. If Foreign Minister Ohira were not going to the UN, then the end of the month would be good. However, if this is not possible then it would be the middle of the month, and time would be quite short. Between four to five days.

Takeiri: If it is the end of September, would it have an effect on your National Day?

Zhou: It is not a problem.

Takeiri: I think a direct flight would be a good idea. JAL and ANA will carry a dance troupe as well. We would like to invite pilots from China to conduct a test flight, as well. For the purpose of safety, we will guide them once they leave Japanese airspace.

I believe it would be good if they left Beijing and flew to Tokyo through Shandong Province.

Takeiri: The next JAL pilot has to prepare for Prime Minister Tanaka.

Zhou: A flight test for Prime Minister Tanaka is also possible.

Takeiri: We would like to seek your guidance on the flight from Tokyo for Prime Minister Tanaka as well.

Zhou: Let us conduct the test flight, and do so before the Peace and Friendship Treaty is drafted. Let us create an aviation and fisheries treaty. Commercial and navigation treaties are difficult, but in reality such activities are already being conducted. There are Japanese ships in Chinese harbors. Among the nations in the world, Japan comes to China the most. As Prime Minister Tanaka and Foreign Minister Ohira have said, it is impossible to roll-back the desire for friendship between Japan and China.

Takeiri: What do you think about a declaration to end hostilities?

Zhou: I would like to consider the topic until you go back to Japan.

It is necessary to make a draft. If news about the Japan-China Society is true, would it not be the case that preparations are already being made?

If the cabinet decides to do so after you return to Japan, then I will entrust Prime

Minister Tanaka to decide whether or not to send someone who can be trusted with preparing a draft.

Takeiri: If Prime Minister Tanaka's decision is quickly made, there could be the possibility of him coming without such preparations. Because of the nuisance of the mass media, it is unsure whether such a draft could be made in secrecy. There are cases when even bureaucrats do not keep secrets.

Zhou: Kissinger also commented on that point. Kissinger has made a small group within the White House.

Takeiri: If we are able to receive China's favorable agreement, then it may work better domestically for Prime Minister Tanaka and Foreign Minister Ohira to come directly.

Zhou: I think that idea is correct. You are in China. The reason America conducted relations with China in secret is because the US had certain difficulties as well. They went over Japan's head.

Takeiri: It is off the mark to criticize Nixon's China visit.

Zhou: Sato is confident, but his confidence seems to be on the wane of late. Prime Minister Tanaka's China policy is out in the open, but will America stand in the way in some manner?

Takeiri: I believe that the two will not base their final decision on what the US believes. Even if the US has some demands, I believe those demands will be easily put to rest.

Zhou: I can feel a sense of independence from the press conference as well. It must be true if he is able to tell the press. Independence is important given that the Japanese economy has grown to this extent.

With regard to the Taiwan issue, we will release Taiwan. We hope to endeavor as peacefully as possible.

America knows this as well, but please tell this to Prime Minister Tanaka and Foreign Minister Ohira. It would be a whole other case if Jiang Jieshi attacks, but if the opportunity is right, this issue will solve itself. It will not affect security or the Japan-US Joint Declaration. The point regarding China would lose its effect.

Let Japan and China also reestablish diplomatic relations, and through a friendship treaty, let us contribute not only to peace in Asia, but world peace.

As the China-US Joint Declaration makes clear, China does not seek hegemony. I believe China and Japan will follow through on this. It cannot be said unequivocally that two great powers would not vie for hegemony. Let us realize this goal and effect the world positively.

Takeiri: As you say, I trust that China will not become a superpower. I trust that China is a peaceful nation.

Zhou: Please come to China many times, and criticize [us] where we make mistakes. It is necessary to prevent mistakes in the next generation, and a helping hand from a

friend is also necessary.

Let us help each other for all eternity.

I believe that you also think that another war between our two nations would be mutually disadvantageous for us, as well as to the world.

Takeiri: I have come to China separately from my role as a member of the Komeito.

Zhou: You have come not as a member of the Komeito, but as a friend. You have come bearing a message from Prime Minister Tanaka, who is a supporter of the Komeito. I see no contradiction. Regarding domestic affairs, Prime Minister Tanaka and the Komeito are unlikely to come together.

I believe it will be advantageous to the next generation if our generation reestablishes diplomatic relations and friendship.

Because America did so over the heads of Japan, I do not believe that Japan can be criticized for going ahead.

Takeiri: I believe power politics will make an appearance.

Zhou: The contradiction appears here.

Takeiri: Politically, we must end the age where the opposition party has opposed the Liberal Democratic Party.

They oppose for the sake of opposition. I believe we must actually have an opinion. We must also strengthen connections between opposition parties.

Zhou: Support it if it correct, and criticize it if it is incorrect. It is necessary to make advances in such a manner. The development of the economy is one great challenge.

Takeiri: It is the greatest challenge.

Zhou: It is a problem on a global scale. It is a problem for Europe, as well.

Takeiri: I think that Japan's industrial structure requires drastic reforms. You said last year that the countries of Asia must not be made into the food supplying countries of Japan.

Zhou: Exactly. Purchasing power must be gained. To have eggs, one must keep many chickens.

Takeiri: The public must cooperate with regard to the pollution problem, as well.

Zhou: The nation must raise a certain amount of money, entrepreneurs will also have a responsibility to give money, and the greater public will have the role of monitoring this process.