

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

Citation:

"Record of the First Meeting between Takeiri Yoshikatsu and Zhou Enlai", July 27, 1972, Wilson Center Digital Archive, 2001-298, Act on Access to Information Held by Administrative Organs. Also available at the Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. Obtained by Yutaka Kanda and translated by Ryo C. Kato. https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/118833

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."

Credits:

This document was made possible with support from MacArthur Foundation

Original Language:

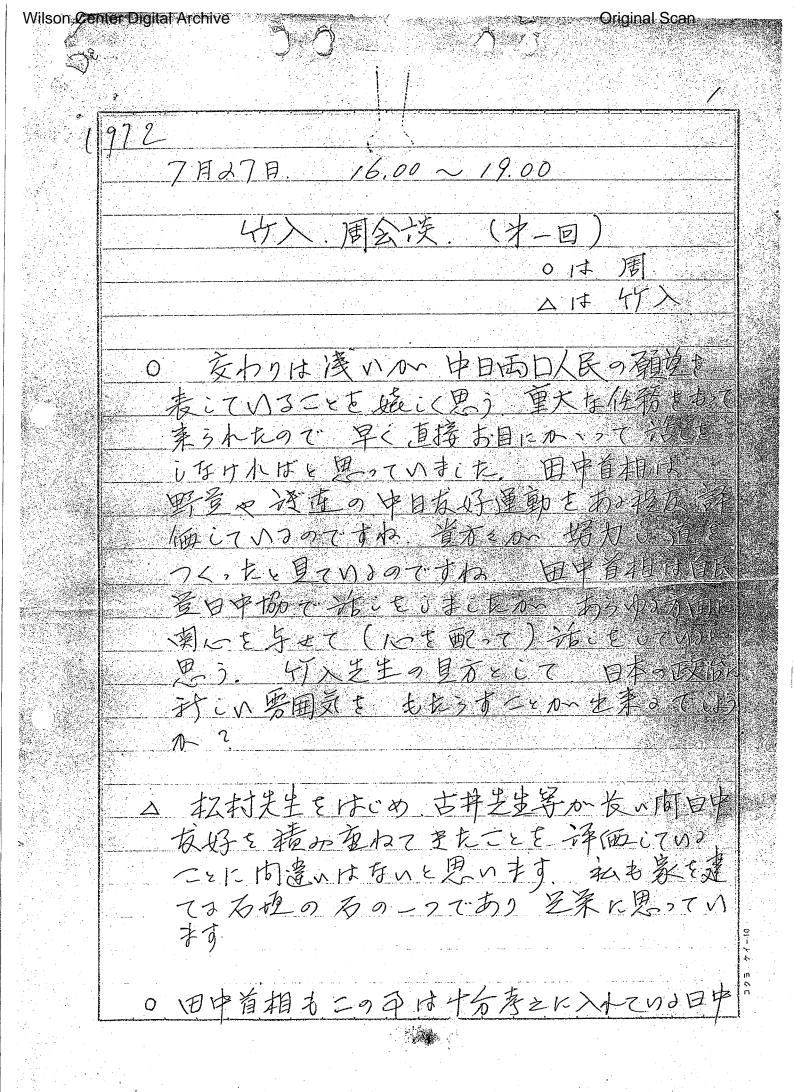
Japanese

Contents:

Original Scan Transcript - Japanese Translation - English



秘密指定解除 情報公開室



国交を実理打てとは全人民の顧望だと思う大平外相も日本人民の物向を認識している。
それは20年来 野童 子童の一部の生生方にも
君ってとではないと思います。 公明宣は大生な
書力をされました。 ケンモ生か 若望に刺れたみはそのを終です。 ケンと生か 若望に刺れたる たっています。 女子寒寒から、真に必れをしています。 大切内の成立したその日から、田中首相は外交面で 激動の中に平和されめた。 おは正いと評価じます。 私は正いと評価じます。 私は直に9月の夏公で田中首相の発言を
歓迎したしました。

△ 用能理の特好意比感新i7小步重

○中国か生来で23年に歩りますか、参り時に中国かられたのは2回あります。 中国かられたのは2回あります。 オーロ目は過山内阁の時、宮崎豊生をバントン会社に派道したときです。その時道は ち崎、芝生にその行動を歓迎する首位之まれた。 地山内阁はロソロ題に努力していたので、 カルンりませんでした。田中首相は日中内 題に力も入れ日中国交回復は大事業だとしています。私達も、それに答さまければ歩り ません。田中首相の日中国交回復を願う 気持か、同意いないと思います。

- 二宮芝生に田中さんへの伝言を預かまさた 委員長も特存力でひょう
- 4.23日ドニ宮が帰国ら、田中通産大臣と私と 二宮の三人で24日ド会い 同選い歩く伝之よ こた
- の有かとうごかいました。季量发制等量度の大変協力をこています。
- 五二島への周辺埋の公言か、田中首相に勇気を ふるい起土せたと思います
- O 冈国加大平で仅要於2月以走方。
- △)町の理の公言が決意とせた要因であると思い すす。
- の戦後27年、計中国か生来で23年に至りません 海ーコへだでたニフの国か分だの理点を続 けっていは生来をいと思います。原生生に治され たことは私も目む通しました。今日、補足が呼ば ありませんか
- A 廖生に申じ上げた以上の補足は有ません)。 公明登は日中復風交三皇即を掲げ強いすい そこて来ました。

田中首相,大平外相比会了一二9籽生活、下桥。下 季のことは大分をみました

O それはみまかないと思います。大みを可は送生かり 五項目をかげ、それを中国か支持になことです。 他受け俗に合いで決めまさた、公明量は主導的 上五項目至如、中主法敬服了八寸寸、肾是正 みらの報告会でも、五項目の主導的であったな強性 も文句が云之ませんでした、公明章が政权を とったすうこちらは何も云かをくても消むでします。 激励更報だけ打てばい、でしよう。 in in in it 今日的ではありません、現在自民党が成权と と、ています。 シャン、大きな要化の見られます。要要 では田中首相の云、たこと(野童と自中港での数 は一理あります。

この総裁選挙の争いのときに、福田で生き自分の 览理 K 年, 左午, 北京 K 5 个 () 元, 下 以 3. 70年代の福田は60年代の先行ではないになって いまさた、従って田中首相の云うことに補国は 反対する訳にはいかない二人の大臣も入園し まこた。こ、に田中首相の干能加生でいる、入園で なくても就任民主やの 13日でに解决事業を成功 12日に解決しました 大学を生まい首相か日本 で初めて生れ、厂史を破りまさた、これは目中の計 ひい きどうです 公明登は大家運動の中に 平民運動をやっているわけですかこれで賞えい といてもプラスですね、発情的に困難を皇破

- △. 田中首相の告人で車に人生か大きく影響でではあ 田中首相は佐捷政治に決別にたいという決意を もっています。今近の保守量の政治と決別によい というに意まも、ています。しかし、決意の差分数 るかどうかはこれからのことです。
- の 生ずオード、国難を受破する投意の大平です。 オニド、量内の反対をとり去うを(では登りません) オニド、野童と人民の支持の得かをでは登り ません、野童の多場は、田中首相か正らは歴 支持し、肉違へばる対すのということですか。
- ム 野堂は日中問題では協力すのかる気です
- の 生産宣も 表面では反対生ままりから、裏生う酸、かりでしょう。 この間 田中首相に大平が相は 8月3月9月1日に ハワイで ニケンンと全って来ることを表しました。 ケス生生は このことは 室要な一環であるといったことを 私は辞価 こています。 私でちは、文章の中に 題目の /文要であるという 表現をしていますか かっかけます ですけ 同いです。 それは 公明 登全体の 問題

J23 71-10

と、日で人民の写本です。日中内起は排他的な ものでけありません。これは日半月に水を上すものでは ありません。キャンシデヤーにもまいたことかあります そっいがでーは。 なるかがななりまました。キャンシ ギャーは田中温差大臣に最后に会いました。 最初に伝行、少に移田、そこて野らの皆とんり。 そこて田中よん。これは田白いことです。最后か 田中まんだったことについて良い安配でりた。 キャンンゲヤーは日中な好に石計すりかとまいたり 交計しないと答とました。そうゆりところに変を つけたことは田中首相のいに段取りです。 ザン番員長を中国いましたあしている。 オースを見長を中国いましたあしている。 オースを見長を中国いましたあしている。 オースを見長を中国いましたあしている。 オースを見長を中国いましたあしている。

どっくばら人」に切題矣とは,きり主せたいと思い すす

- A. 私も田中首相、大平外相の话でもごっては多ん ド云のました
- Oや水はハ、方はだと思います。正心の方法だと思います。
- A 私も周旋理にかけいたや。安配はいません)
 - 0 二9单は、光生も信頼さています。公司量多多場

し、田中首相の治をする之成とを区別iています。 公分登は 口内内魁もあり、自民至と主波もちかい ハます、i和i、今9程管では公少号の意見を 押につけることは出来ないでいよう、ケスと生の 判断に依って、田中首相、大平外相の意見をなって下さることは有かたいと思っています。

△ 今はそれいかありません

の 口交回後落も、口家かやうかは、まうまのことも あるか、 政谷同のみまうす。 民間のこともあり すず、 生ずオード、 田中首相, 大平新規の。

六、700 大场 中国国国国际 D交换

大便,支换,相至比强势心合う。

- サニド産(やるよ)早の方の良の秘書にといては23事符、たかう差につゆうまいからいと思います。
- △好多處多にということかあります。「日交も国際に 外交関係を封立すってとは、早けんば早いす か良いと思います。
- 0 光水は発量に対しても、前利でしょう。今回の 1年期は集争まであるのでしょう。野童は事事 まで続けたくないというのでしょう。

△ 任期は車車一杯までありますの、科内内のが此

生にため合解散にて口民に信を内うのは最識 ですか、田中首相はそれより日中の大平だと 云,てN才支、日中国题《移取》和多名人的 かります

- 0、中口人民の顔望は歩めう生してあります 大年外相 97 想では 握力るか大便能を以来上 ザようとizyaを見ていますかい 4丁入芝生はその 多見をどう思いますか、弱りになりますか
- ム 動りになります
- の台湾からもその特をニュースか入っているのの実を 見テケトば判りません! 石計するをあいって ひょう 親姜田件も迷、たり、台湾のが代表団の 事むりにていますね、岸力やか1年中の声明を 出にていますね、田中首相は自民登日中正常代報で会で、10分季を出したう年は1年季を出し まこた 岸かりはニッタ中国を作るうとして います、麦もきにはる対土来ませんね 大きいことは出事ないかいのきまわまではから 海はそうゆう人ですか
- △ 岸はそうゆう人です。吉田のあとも岸か受け ついで事ましたか、日中口支回復か、主事人は 海はダメになるでレよう

- ○、佐をより岸の方が食後ですか、 △ そのように思います。
- 「後年は一届后にすてぜりみも残らまになね。 安保も幸ですね、日本のは、今の問題への配をは、 現前と居民でする。 かの放けですると 日本の帰人か中日人と右橋らたのは 6代と これれています。 日交回後にたう 里帰りかます。 でいよう 日交回後はよう 里帰りかます。 でいよう 日交回後はようは 解水鮮争に 力をつく土かた方とです。 医者とみる彼場の 中日人とお婚じ、 知太ちは 殺等に 慰謝して います。 中日に子色のみり、日本に問題からは
 - その双方に希望を抱いての39ではう。 戦犯は解決済みです。全部帰るせまた。 方式生生、招村出生、東兵三中生生の増加 では、台湾との発育関係は13年の投資。 ではよう
- △ 戦後の投資と政府借款と軍内8億十169 貿易国保です。
- の日本は職入り輸出か多く、これは日午にとって 大きな切りになっていますね中日は何も云 っていませんか日中電易も日午の輸出かり 多くなっています。

コクヨ ケイ・10

ムーナルオルキセん

ス、之、日中の技術が高い、習う反要があります。これからな好的社より大手的社との関係をおぶことになります。日中の輸出をするすることではなく今年より、ふこりと思います。 古事を主に対こて公に云わないかっての実は、問題ありません、安心こて下さいと云ってあまました。 教后と戦がはないはないとなった。 なんでした、どれはアメリカとちかうところです。 ならいないとなってとは出来ませんでした。 人民のな好です。

△ 感謝さています

お豆いの問題です。電易とお好の話のつきれい。 1年かのです。日午と中口は戦行。27年です か春の時代から2000年ものな好かあり この27年は一路のようをものです。 田中お扣は日中西口に平和五分別に基いて 日交を結ぼうとしています。全く電成です。 平和学的も可能ですが、平和友好争的に したいと思います。この中に平和上記しました。 ルは、思いと思います。 ごり中に平和上記しました。 によって、解決すっというるうにすればまいと、 思います。アメリカもソ連もそれは石社生業。

労金に是明は満ちてあります。日中的か中当に 多和 な好になれば 超年に渦巻(単年的問題 の解決になります 田中首相は白中口交正常代の技は就はたと 断定的に云い、自民至日中協ではそれも基 で多りとじている、その精神に私たりも同感 です(こで王睦云氏が) ニュの段取りかあります。その一つは共同意明で 口交回復、その后、平初争的稀珠です」 の、これですと、芝の的に私はより意見と一致して 小井方、社は田中首相,大平外相加以北東に 華多小、 共同宣言至生亡。(共同声明で主覆的 D支を樹立することは、過山土んとソ連もで のや方でした。平和な好美的と結び たいと思います。そうすると全も界が安め するじそうじた方が良いと思います。 北京に来てやうにた芸同宣言の悪いと世 はに与ります 三つの同題のあります、田中首相大彩相 に安心でもらいたいと思います D. 日米安保争的にはる本ません 口中口交回復加生来走了中口之の安保。劲力 は近くをります ② 1969年の任義ニタンンを同声明にもふれません 生同宣言の発表とれて 承和友好会的で

いけます。 あとは 法律家にまみせれば意め 正式的的信義 か大平です。

③ 日蒋奎约9 时题

田中首相は放任いてから変を中口の政務の主張している後交三軍則を理解していると云でいる。次交三軍則を理解していると云でいますか、これは専軍するという意味でしたか

△ そうです。

- の そうゆういっかで、直接ふれたくないという方きが もこているのですね。
- ム芸同声明が生来引受財星が樹堂は花巻瞬間のからから争的は極致になります。
- の そこで、退命的問題か一つあります。 田中首相は中華人民生物日は正然と云っている。 これは合法とかう意味になりまする。

△ そうです。

の中口では合性。反対は非性、不怯というですか 蒋政新は不怯です。10年年は口道上復早し まこたり存は追い生土れまごた中華人民 芝和日は日澤的にも合性しまったのです。 田中内内教の技律家たちは何み正改という 云季に意味をもたせているのではないではか

安小上思小主方、田中首相は大平外相。 てんと、協定立ました、その中には復奏三量 は含まれています。野末とこて含まれています 田中信和の沃養といってず、いかは理状では 明多和公立至公司情如国内公南的各的通 です、単こで改めては了解を得たいことは 田台室时は中華不堪不多という多式を配 ば日中国内に混ましてあるじます。この集の 1寺理解を頂きたい

この正弦ということは中口では偏安に対する 云葉です。(こ、で中口の古代もうの厂東区をかり、正を編安の云葉の意味が厂東的によ べるみた

名证的助动的解决出来对 合法というハケトレて頂けますが

そのように交めるよう治にたいと思います ご面倒をかけます

生生かるわれたでとはお帰りになるた 推讨してごるのものなじます。この中三の問題は推讨しておきますー、二は

筒単です.

もう一つの内型は台湾やは中口の領土の 一部ということは中半芸同声明でもそれを認 めておりますかい白でにどんな内匙かありまする

口間匙はないと思います

- の一小は蒋介石も含め中口は一つだと認めて いますらら考か中口の一つの首だと認めて います、台湾を省と呼んでいますよ 台湾の省发コウギョク浴という人です。
- ム中半芝同声明に於ける台湾の領土の表現に ついてゆるやかなものと云之のかいかかでは うか
- の そうです。日中の多場とは違うでしょう。アタカは日交正常化を延さないという気持かあります。 選挙の問題かあります。マクガバソは直参に中口を承認すると云っていますか、彼等の海 中口を承認すると云っていますか、彼等の海 争に分入したくありません。 考しかに中口は 一つであり、台湾は中口の一つの首だしい ことは、中口人同志には海争はありません
- △ 確認をいたしたい、田中首相の防中の空間 声明の協合。
 - ①中華人民马和口は唯一合性政方
 - ②台湾か中口の鉛上の一部であってとも明確にする火要かありますか
- の その実を考えている最中ですが、もう士に孝之 エセスもういたい、田中首相は中口の主版の

/5 三争则专理解(ていると含蓄も持たせたるい 方もしている今日は意見の交換です 天主席に執告、夏内で対議します。 天主席は賠償請求权は放棄するといってのます。 路道を求めれば自ず人民に直担かるります そのことは中口人民か身ももって大かっています 清の時代には2億54万両日本に暗貨 ひました。清朝はこれを利用して起き重く しましたこれを全部払ったかどうの、そのまりません 8口近軍の時度は4億~5億雨ではた 子質ドル位で今では大きな過ではありませんが <u>る担</u>を人民にかけることは良くなり 時間の清水权を放棄するとのう可能時期 に書いても良いと思います ム、お子にの云葉もありません るどのことです。20数年来の西口人民の友好によって口支が実現するのですから おおちはこれから次の支代を考之年(では すれたちは注けてもづからいてとは云いません 早く口至を打きする。早く乗られた方かり 良いと思います 4丁入委員長は9月中か良いということです。 か報達は散逸します。日本会性のあとになりますかいこれは問題

1-6

ありません。 生またう 9月か良いと思います。若に大平外相か 口重に生まけんば下旬かようこいですか。 それか出来をければ中旬ということにちりますか。 その時は時間が渡く なります。 4~5日にちりますか

△ 9月下旬では口塵節への影響があかますか

- 0 エンラーショウナせん
- の飛行校直行は良い孝之方だと思います。 今成、日航と全日空か、舞御軍を運んで とれます、中日かう飛行士を派遣し議職 飛行をさせたいと、思います、安全のためにこ 日本の領空を生たう案内にます。 北草から山等着の上空を通ってお子に 以帯ルば良いと思います。
- A、今戻の日航の接続土は田中首相の準備 そになければなりませんか
- の田中前相の試験飛行も可能です
- △田中首相のときは又与多数単内iでいた できたい。
- Q 滋験飛行をひて平和友好争的を書き

10 S FA - 10

あげる方に塞行さましまう一般を漫業協定をフくりましょう通常と麻曲はやいこじいかの室は今でもやっているのですりですりかりをしまいています。世界の中で中日には日本の方の一番あいでにすっています。日中首相大平が相か云っているように日中な好の難望はもどってとか生まませんし

ム戦争終売量言もどのおにおきさでします。

- の 岩生がお帰かに まるご接対します。 草睾を作っておくことも仅要でしまう。 日中協の治のニュースが確実であれば、 準備をしているのではないでしょうか 竹入芝生が帰って内阁が決定すれば草糸 準備に信程 半年の人を参にする。 石和は 田中首担に手かせます。
- A 田中首相の深断か早いとその準備をして、直接来のこともあり得かもちかれませんの本は2久2ミ公暑で草菜の一を窓に出来。
 かどうかりません。佐康もお客と守らなり、おります
 - の その英はキルンゲャーも立っていました。 スァンンゲャーは キワイトハウスにナグルーフ。 も1下、ています

JOB 74-10

- △ 私加生発までに中国の特好意で示していだければ、田中首相、大平外相加直接来了かい口内もうまくいくと思います。
- のその考えは正じいと思います。芝生は中に いるのですみう、アメリカか中国との同に校 宏でやったのはアメリカに困難かあったから です、日本に頭でひのお花びに行ったでいう
- ムニクソンの防中を批難するのは的針れです
- の 佐養は自信が強か、たか最后に自信から近くなったまうです。田中首相の対中政策 か明るかになっていますがアメッカが星を ひ、はのことはないでしむか。
- △ 二人の決意といてはアメッカの考之方をまいて決断することはないと思います。 若こあってもアメッカの要求をはねかける と思います。
- の 記者会見からも、独立技のうか、こます。 記者に云之のなら本物でしょう。 日本の発育の こ、注意をしたことから 独立の大戸です 台湾に対しては台湾も解放します。 出来の艾平和的に努力したいと思います。

コクヨ ケイー10

しょう

アメリカも知っています竹入芝生から 田中首相,大平外相上人公之了下土小 蒋介るが成めてくれば別ですか… 核か然すれば自然に解決します。安保や日半年同声明に界等はしませんと中口に 関す、部分は効力も天、てじまいます。日中旬も日文回復し友好争的も缔结し てアレアの平和のみをうず、左男の平和 に重配しましょう. 中半芝同声的にあるとうに中口は霸权を 水めません。このことは中口と日本が実行すると思います。ニック大口は覇权を更らそ りないとはないかれません。これをもなったちか 室行过 左男にい、男、響を与うましょう 周総理の云うように、中口は超太口にならな いみを信じます。中日かる和日家であること も信じます 何回も中日之事で内違ったことは批判にて下土の次の五代のことを防止することか (工事であり 友人の助けも)工事です 水速に助け合いましょう 世方立ももう一な戦争が走るというるか 日中にも 王男にも不利だしお思いで

コクコ ケイー

- 私は今回の方中について公り置としてなまの 多松を離れて 方中しまじた
- 今は公り至の至の主がではまく友人といて来て いるのです、公的量を支持さている田中首相の 公言をもって車でいるのです。 柔盾していない 6思います、切取トラリでは公明量の田中 首相と一緒になる中はないでしょう。

私たちのこの支代で口交も回復工せる好 を回復主せておけば次の支代に乗場だと 思います

アメリカも聞ごしでやったのだかり自存か先に)住むことは非難生素なのではないでしょうか

- 大口主義は出て来ると思います。
- 矛盾はそこにあります

これからの政治の面で野堂か自民堂に反対 して車を時代を発うせたくてはならない 石村自召自石村です。二个的大意見も 持たなくてはなうないと思う、そして野道 の結束を固めをけんばなりません 種との問題如大きな大原運動にならなければ" ならないと思う、田中内的の転換したのだ。 かう野童も要うなくてはなりませんし

- の。正にければそれを支持に、問意立ばそれを 批判するとれによって好代をが進上せる 以要かありますね、経済の発展の問題か 大き年課題ですね。
 - △ 最大の課題です
 - 0 走界的に問題です欧洲もそうです。
- △ 日本の産業構造の抜本的な資率が仅要で 考シストます。) 新砲理は 10年年、アビアタロスを 日本の食料供給ロトナセスは ならをいと云い 半にた
- のその通りです。購記力もつけなくてはまりません。 んん、タマゴをとっためには、ニットりを沢山街 わちくてはまりません。
- る又公子内題も口民か協力iをけんばをりません。
- ①象からある程度のお金をボめ、企業家も自分の責任にたいてお金を出し、人民 大衆はそれを監視する立ちになるでしょう このこ、三年公客公客と目午の計左翼 の人か云うので中口も活意いています 再軍版はハナませんでは今日はこの

四で発りましょうか、

10 - ナイ - 10

000000000000000000000000000000000000000

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 Minster 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. Tekeiri, 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 form 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 Untied States. Kishi was unable to severe 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 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 as 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 form 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.