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February 7, 1979
Meeting of Former Prime Minister Tanaka and Vice Premier Deng (Summary Record)

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Summary:

Deng and Tanaka discuss Korea, Vietnam, Cambodia, and ASEAN, among other subjects.

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Ⅲ 田中元総理－鄧副総理会談（要録）

鄧副総理は7日午後4時から1時間15分にわたり田中元総理と会談したところ、会談の主要点以下のとおり。

（出席者 先方： 鄧副総理、方毅副総理、黄華外交部長他、当方： 二階堂衆院議員、三宅アジア局次長、[redacted]通訳））

1. 田中元総理への訪中招待

冒頭、鄧副総理より、自分は再び旧い友人に会いに来た。先般の田中元総理に対する訪中招待は依然有効であり近い将来に是非来てもらいたい、と述べ、田中元総理がこれを了承した。

2. 日・米・中関係

(1) 鄧副総理より米中関係の発展は両国人民の願いを反映するものであり、これは自然な発展であり時代の要求である。自分の訪米の途次日本に立寄ることにつきとやかく言う人がいることは承知していると述べた。

(2) これに対し田中元総理より、自分はかね

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を是非やつてもらいたいと思う。自分はＡＳＥＡＮ首脳に対しては常に中国の外交は平和志向であると説明しているが見解如何。

(2) これに対し鄧副総理はファン・バン・ドン越首相がＡＳＥＡＮを訪問して実行しない保証を言つて歩き、これをその当時信じた人も一部あつたが、自分はそのようなまねをしなかつた。その後越はカンボディアに介入し、ＡＳＥＡＮは越の真の姿を知るに至つた。ファン・バン・ドンは魂を売り渡すようなことを言つた。自分（鄧）のＡＳＥＡＮ諸国訪問は、理想的成果はあげなかつたが、ASEAN各国は、中国は本当の事を言うと信じてくれたと思うので一応の成果があつたと信ずる。

(3) 田中元総理より貴副総理の言つたことは大筋において理解した。ＡＳＥＡＮ諸国の気持は中国が日・米、日・中という友好関係を基盤にＡＳＥＡＮ各国の現体制を脅かすことはしないで欲しいということであり、特にタイにおいて共産党に特別の支援をしないで欲し

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たせる。この対話は今後も反復を繰り返しながら平和的解決には時間がかかろう。

(2) 鄧副総理より、自分は米国で南朝鮮からの米軍撤退はアジアの安全に悪影響を与えるものでなく対話促進に役立ち米国が和平問題につきイニシアティブをとり得ると述べたが、米国はこれには一理ありと考えているようではあるにしても、具体的には全く自分の意見に回答しなかつた、と述べた。

田中元総理は中国側の説明を理解するとしつつ、朝鮮半島における平和維持の必要性を強調した。

これに対し鄧副総理は朝鮮半島で紛争が起きるはずはない。北については自分達がよく知つているし、他方南については日本が良く知つているのでこのような意見交換は有益であると述べた。

5. インドシナ問題

(1) 鄧副総理より、越のカンボジア侵略について、何もしなくて良いのだろうか、と質問し

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たのに対し、田中元総理は、日本はアジアの平和を望んでいる。戦争のエスカレーションの悪循環を断ち切る必要がある。国連に期待していたが何もできなかつたことは残念である。平和のため今後も日・米・中でいろいろ討議することが有益であると答えた。

(2) 更に鄧副総理は、我々はキューバから教訓を学んだ。今やその経験を総括すべきである。米国はザイールで多少の制裁を行つたがそこからキューバを追い出しただけである。仏は積極的行動に出、中国も武器を出した。その結果、中・仏が悪口を一部から言われている。米国も同じく悪口を言われるような立場なら良かつた。イランでもソ連が手を出しているが米国が効果的措置をとつているとはいえない。国連の決議は道義的な意味はあるがこれだけに頼つていては駄目である。

「東方のキューバ」に対し適当な実際行動をとる必要があり、限度のある制裁を加える必要がある。この制裁は厳重であり、あるいは北から何らかの反応がある

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かもしれない。ある程度の危険もあることを予想しておく必要がある。侵略に対し懲罰を加えなければだめであり、何もしないと連鎖反応が起こる。日本政府は中国と越双方に対し自制を訴えていることは良く理解出来るが、果たして越が自制してカンボディアより軍隊を引き揚げるであろうか？だから何らかの危険をおかしてもやるべきである。自分達はそれ程大きな危険とはみていない。それは我々の行動は節度のあるものであるからである。米政府も日本と大体同じ内容の自制を訴えた。アメリカの政治家の中には、必要な行動に出ることは有益であると考える方もおられた。結局、この問題に対する中国の態度は次の3点に要約できる。

(イ)中国は言つたことは必ず実行する。(ロ)中国は深く思いをめぐらし熟慮した上での行動をとる。(ハ)中国は無謀なことはしない。

この問題は中国が独自の立場で処理する。

率直に言つて米・西欧側はキューバに弱腰すぎた。中国はそう非難してきた。今我々の頭の上に「東方のキューバ」がのしかかつて来たのに何もしない訳にはいかない。越を通ずるソ連の勢力の増大によつて日本が受けるところの脅威は、これにより中国が受ける脅威より小さいとは言

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ない。それは、日本にとつても生命線を脅かすことにもなり重大である。（マラッカ海峡の石油供給ルートのこと）。イランの問題は、サウディ・アラビアにも影響を与えつつあると米国は見ているが、それは米国が信用できないので新たなバックを求めているからである。かつて、パキスタンのブットはソ連に反対してきたが、その後期、米国が信用できなくなつてソ連に傾いていつた、と述べた。

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III. Meeting of Former Prime Minister Tanaka and Vice Premier Deng (Summary Record)

Following are the main points of Vice Premier Deng's meeting with Former Prime Minister Tanaka, which took place on the 7th, from four p.m., for an hour and fifteen minutes.

(Participants -- Other side: Vice Premier Deng, Vice Premier Fang Yi, Foreign Minister Huang Hua, et alia; our side: House of Representatives Member Nikaido, Asian Affairs Deputy Director-General Miyake, [blacked out] (interpreter))

1. Invitation to Former Prime Minister Tanaka to Visit China

Vice Premier Deng started by saying: I have once again come to visit old friends. The invitation from the last time to Former Prime Minister Tanaka to visit China is still open and I would very much like you to come in the near future. Former Prime Minister Tanaka accepted the invitation.

2. Japan-US-China Relations

(1) Vice Premier Deng said: The development of relations between the United States and China reflects the wishes of the people of both countries. It is a natural development and meets the demand of the times. I know that there are people saying this and that about my stopping by Japan on the way back from my visit to the United States.

(2) In response, Former Prime Minister Tanaka said: I. . . [rest of sentence, on next page, missing]

[page missing]

… [first part of sentence, from previous page, missing], which I would very much like. I have always explained to ASEAN leaders that China's diplomacy is peace-oriented. How do you see things?

(2) In response Vice Premier Deng said: Vietnamese Prime Minister Pham Van Dong had visited ASEAN, going around making pledges that he would not keep. Some persons at that time believed him, but I did not act like that. Vietnam afterwards intervened in Cambodia, and ASEAN came to know how Vietnam really is. What Vietnamese Prime Minister Pham Van Dong said was like he had sold his soul. My own (Deng) ASEAN tour did not yield ideal results, but I think that each ASEAN country believed that China tells the truth, so I believe that some results came of it.

(3) Former Prime Minister Tanaka said: I understand the substance of what the Vice Premier has said. The feeling of the ASEAN countries is that they hope that China, on the basis of friendly relations among Japan, the United States and China, not threaten the present order of each ASEAN country. Particularly, in the case of Thailand, the wish is for China not to give particular support to the Communist Party … [rest of sentence, on following page, missing].

[two pages missing]

While repeating henceforth this dialogue, it will likely take time for a peaceful resolution.

(2) Vice Premier Deng said: I said in the United States that withdrawing the US military from South Korea would not have a bad effect on the security of Asia, that it would serve to promote dialogue, and that the United States would be able to take the initiative in the problem of peace. Even though the United States seemed to find some reason in this, they gave absolutely no concrete response to my opinion.

Former Prime Minister Tanaka, saying that he understood the Chinese side's explanation, stressed the need to maintain peace on the Korean Peninsula.

In response Vice Premier Deng said: It is hardly likely that conflict would occur on the Korean Peninsula. We know the North well and that, on the other hand, Japan knows the South well, so this kind of exchange of opinions is beneficial.

5. Indochina Problem

(1) Vice Premier Deng asked whether it was good to do nothing about Vietnam's invasion of Cambodia. Former Prime Minister Tanaka responded: Japan desires peace in Asia. It is necessary to end the vicious cycle of war's escalation. Having put his hope in the United Nations, it is regrettable that it has been unable to do anything. It would be beneficial for the sake of peace for Japan, the United States, and China henceforth to hold various discussions.

(2) Furthermore, Vice Premier Deng said: We have learned a lesson from Cuba. Now is the time that we should summarize that experience. The United States applied some sanctions in Zaire, which only expelled Cuba from there. France took positive action; China, too, sent arms. The result was that China and France were criticized by some. It would be good if the US position, too, were such as to be criticized as well. In Iran, too, the Soviet Union is meddling, but it cannot be said that the United States has taken effective measures. There is a moral significance to United Nations resolutions, but it is no good to rely only on them.

There is a need to take appropriate real action against the "Cuba of the East," a need to apply limited sanctions. If the sanctions are strict, there may be some reaction from the north. We need to foresee the possibility of some degree of danger. Invasion must be punished. If nothing is done, then there will be a chain reaction. I can well understand Japan's government calling on both China and Vietnam for self-restraint, but is it really likely that Vietnam will restrain itself and pull its troops out of Cambodia? Therefore, even at the risk of some danger, we should act. We ourselves do not foresee that great a danger. That is because our action will be moderate. The US government, too, has called for self-restraint similar to that of Japan's call. Among America's statesmen were those who think it would be useful to proceed with needed action. In the end, China's attitude regarding this problem can be summarized in the following three points:

(a) China always carries out what it said it would do. (b) China takes action after deep thought and mature consideration. (c) China does not do foolish things.

China will handle this problem from its own position. Frankly speaking, the United States and Western Europe have been too weak-kneed on Cuba. China has made this criticism. From this point onward we cannot have the "Cuba of the East" bearing down on us and not do anything. The threat to Japan from the increase in Soviet power through Vietnam cannot be said to be less than that to China. It is serious for Japan as well in also posing a threat to Japan's lifeline (a reference to the oil supply route through the Malacca Strait). The United States sees the problem of Iran also

effecting Saudi Arabia, which because it cannot trust the United States, is seeking a new supporter. In the past, Pakistan's Bhutto opposed the Soviet Union but, in his latter period, he became unable to trust the United States and leaned toward the Soviet Union.