

**July 28, 1972**  
**Record of the Second Meeting between Takeiri  
Yoshikatsu and Zhou Enlai**

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**Summary:**

During a conversation with Takeiri, Zhou Enlai questioned the news from Tokyo Shimbun which emphasized that the state of war between Japan and China had ended. In addition, he mentioned the international status of Taiwan and the Vietnam War.

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Japanese

**Contents:**

Original Scan  
Transcript - Japanese  
Translation - English

7月28日 (1900 ~ 20.45)

○ 竹入 周金彦 才二回

○ 昨日のニースも調べてみた。自民党日中協の  
話ではなく。東京新聞の記事で、東京新  
聞の記事は変わっています。テーマも変わっています。

田中首相が訪中する場合は戦争状態も  
終結することに重きを置いていふ。

田中首相が訪中する場合は両政府は  
次の様な共同宣言を出す。

① 日中両国間の戦争状態も終結。

② 平和、友好、善隣の関係を回復する。

そして、そのあとに(東京新聞の記事を読み  
上げ)

東京新聞の報道のよさに、中口を承認しない  
のなら、田中首相は何に、中口之素のついで  
しよう。竹入先生は、東京で草案の作成もや  
ってはいけな、と云ったが、東京でやれば  
長びくと思います。

△ 日本新聞は往々にして、的を得ない記事と  
書くことがあります。私と田中首相、大平  
外相の話しかうめて、この記事については  
二人の考えではないと思います。

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また、この考えは、どこにももうしてはいない  
 知っているのは二人の他、若しくは  
 二階皇官房長官だけです。恐らく三木も  
 このことは知らぬ筈です。外務省も事件  
 以来、統制は行き届いていない筈です。  
 外相も厳しく統制していると思わず、  
 外務省からでも、ないと思います。

- 田中首相が中口之来て、戦争終結だけでは  
 コッケーです。岸やカヤが飛はいたもの  
 ではないでしょうか。

今のニュースは、ソ連と比較しているから、史的  
 な事実を曲げている。(読売新聞 27日付  
 の記事を読み上げろ)

- △ 読売新聞の方から、まじですね、私の申し上げ  
 た二人の考えは、要のことはありません。

- そんなふうには、すこしも思っておりません。  
 田中首相の先方も信頼したという事は  
 決心があったという事でしょう。

- △ 私もそう了解しています。

- 若し東京新聞の報道で行けば、時間も無  
 くなり、  
 先生が昨日、好事度多と云われまいか

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時間の浪費になり、どんな邪険か入るかも知れません。今の消息の生所は別としても一部の人の間に蒋介石の平が気になっているのではないのでしょうか。

△ 大平外相と意見交換をした、外相の判断としては首相の訪中に、口交樹立の段階で間違はなく、台湾は出て行くだろうと言っている。台湾の農日公館から売りに出されている平は、新南に早く生くことは好くないと心配している。

○ 新南に今出たね、華僑の反対は値にないと思います。

△ 華僑の気持は判らないでもありませんが、政府は黙殺しています。

○ 解答しない方が良いでしょう。  
若し台湾が言えあげない場合はいからでしようか。

△ 農日公館を言えあげて、貿易全社を残す部を言っています。

首相の訪中に、外交関係の樹立、大使交換をした場合、日台間の口交は断たれます。それで昨日、周総理が云われた

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平和な好学的に入っていく考えに替うは  
ありません。細い問題は残ります。大筋の問題は、時間をおいてはいいかなと思います。

- そです。尖閣列島の問題にも基本的必要はありません。竹入先生も関心か無かったでしょう。私も無かった。石油の問題で、丁史学者の問題に。日本でも井上清土人の熱心です。この問題は重く見なければなりません。

平和と原則に則って、12交回復することになれば問題になります。新聞で書くことは横やりを入れたことになりますね。

台湾問題は以上で、日米関係に入りましょう。

アメリカとしては、自分はまだ12交回復していないのだ。日本に待ってもらいたいという考えがあるでしょう。

△ ああと思います。

- アメリカにはアメリカの事情があり、日本には日本の事情があります。中米共同声明で、そのことにふかえています。米は20数年間、中日を封じ込めて来ましたが

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わが国は台湾を放棄しています。占領しているのは米です。陳儀という人を派遣して接收しました。責任を負うのは米でわが国ではありません。しかし、そういう状態であるにも拘らず、米が一つの中口を認めました。台湾海峡の両側の中口人は、キレンジャーの創造的言葉で、私も思いつきませんでした。その次に台湾は中口領土の一部であり、台湾問題の解決は中口自身の力であり、米は異議がない前提をハッキリしています。次に、中口が平和的に解放することと希望が書いてあります。

昨日云ったように、ニクソンにも平和的解決を求めると云ってあります。

台湾の米軍はベトナム戦争の終結は<sup>次</sup>速く引きあげ、現在、ベトナム戦争の規模が少なくなっている。ベトナム戦争の終結は完全に撤退し、台湾から完全に引き上げ、これは秘密です。先の方のみに云った共同声明ではハッキリしていません。極東状況の緩和することに従って引きあげ、というふうにしてあります。

中米共同声明はベトナムと結びついている。私たちは自分の事を考え、ではなく、ベトナムの事を考えねばなりません。ベトナムでは血が流れています。

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台湾の問題は分装している血は流れて  
おりません。台湾は中国の内部の問題です。  
ベトナムより先に台湾を解決するのはベト  
ナムの足下に帰らないことです。このことは  
ニクソンとキッシンジャーと懇談をし、状況緩  
和の責任を負うといいました。

しかし、米軍がベトナムで戦争をやっている  
だから、ベトナムを支持します。ニクソンは  
我々の意見が公正であることを認めました。

米を批難してもニクソンは何も云わないと  
言いました。これは米の希望は名指しで  
余り不器用に使わなくてくれということでした。

ソ連は米を批判しません。ソ連は自  
分の争いを考えています。中国は鼻息をきか  
う関心があります。インドネシアについては  
余り関心を示しません。

私たちはインドネシアの主権はインドネシア三  
のものであることをしています。

パリ-全議かうまく行かなくて戦争が続く  
から、ベトナムを支持するとニクソンにはハッキリ  
言っています。どちらも中三角を代表して  
話をしてほしいという争いはアメリカの要求です。

私は米の態度は良いと思います。中三角に  
代わってものを云うのは良くありません。

日中問題は中米問題と別問題です。日本は  
インドネシア戦争に加担していません。

同情し、反対しています。その争いの中に得を

したとすれば、それは独占資本です。例之は  
船舶、造船、武器輸送の部だけでしよう。  
日本の政府は、直接公けに参加しなかつた  
日本は拘束されません。

台湾についても元々、中口に通じてあつた  
です。日中と中米は事情が違います。  
米は敵視し、日中両方は、20数年間従軍の  
とだえませんでした。

日本人は3万人全部通し戦犯も通しました。  
友好的態度で置いて来ました。友好、貿易、  
貿易は、かつて大臣だった松村武光が主  
いらした道です。このことは日本が良に思つて  
います。

米にはそれはありません。文化交流はもと  
あります。昨年のシンボーン外交は一時どんで  
なしたかの回復しました。頭で外交を  
ニラソンのや、たのは、この回復をもたらした  
のは、シンボーンです。この球は重要で、

外交部ではカナダ等と争う必要はないと案外  
ありました。米も希望にしていたかの状況  
から来熟であると述べておりました。

文相席から来熟とはとくに是うな理由であ  
るとし、日本に~~参居~~王曉云さんに  
電話で伝えました。そして米の卓球チームと  
新聞記者の方か中国に参りました。

米中の米、かけんな、たのは卓球団でした  
4月に訪中し、キリンジャーは7月でした。



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よいか。逆得をしなければなりません。

何れにしても、軍事計画のようには出来ません。ソ連でも戦争終結と口交樹立を一緒にしました。日ソの事例があります。頭ごしは米からはじめてやりました。ソ連もやりました。口交樹立と平和条約。日中両口は先にやろうではなく、（それか） 彼等々のあとを追ってのようです。米に逆得させようか出来ようでしょう。

△ 米の若干もんくを言うだろうとは外相が云っていた。しかし大平外相の決意はニクソンに会ってから決めようではなくて、会う前に決めていく。そして米を逆得すると云っていた。

~~また~~

~~★~~

△ ベトナム戦争終結後、台湾の米軍の引退あげめというのを二人に伝えることもよいでしょう。

○ 二人には、云って良いと思います。しかし、二人の米に、ま、~~な~~なないように云って下さい。

（預）

これをまくと、米以上にヤクエんも信賴しているという事になります。

ヤクエん以外に、三木、荒山さんにも云っていません。伝えているのは、お二人から日米関係

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歩日 沖淵に B52 が飛来した時

△

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ですね。若し都合がつかう日中関係とは別として、首相に申し上げると良いと思います。日中首相は貿易、文化の交流をしようとしていることを互いに認め、北朝鮮との交流は日本のために良いことです。南北統一を促進し、交流することはいいのだと思います。それをお勧めしてあげて下さい。

△ 米が朝鮮に対し、日中口交回復後、どうなるかを心配しているようです。

○ この問題（日中口交回復後の日米会談）の解決は、日中両口人民のみに有利でなく、世界の人民に有利です。

中米会談では平和的な原則に則り、米が中口の意見に賛成した。中米両口は以上の平和な原則に則り、問題を平和的に解決する。

第一に共同声明として五箇にわたって書いてあります。

~~中米~~ 中米西口関係の正常化は中米両口のみでなく、世界の平和にとって有利である。

そう言う、中日関係も同じである。中米共同声明で米を納得すれば良いと思います。

今の部分は米の起草です。米の云々をとり、やっているという、納得したうで

でしょう。

新案を先生に云いました。文献の共通点は  
米の起原はもうです。私は動詞を現在形  
から未来形にしました。

日中間では未来形はいらないばかりでな  
ら共通点のみにして、喰いちがう点は書かない  
方がよい。長くせず 短かくいたうどうで  
しょう。一致点が現れてきます。

小畠を残して大同を求めの行方です。バン  
ドン会議の精神です。

それでは食事でも致しまして。

「この頃、東京の各新聞は、

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[1972]

July 28th 19:00~20:45

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

Zhou: I checked the news from yesterday, and it was not the Liberal Democratic Party Japan-China Society, but an article in the Tokyo Shimbun. The article in the Tokyo Shimbun is different. The theme is different, too.

It places emphasis on ending the state of war if Prime Minister Tanaka [Kakuei] is to visit China.

If Prime Minister Tanaka visits China, our governments will make the following joint declaration. (1) The state of war between Japan and China has ended. (2) Relations based on peace, friendship, and neighborly conduct will be restored. And finally...(reads out the article from the Tokyo Shimbun)

If Prime Minister Tanaka will not recognize China, as the reporting in the Tokyo Shimbun suggests, then why is he coming to China? You have said that the creation of a draft cannot be done in Tokyo, but I believe that doing so in Tokyo would prolong things.

Takeiri: Japanese news often writes articles that are not pertinent. Based on the conversation I had with Prime Minister Tanaka and Foreign Minister Ohira [Masayoshi], this article does not seem to reflect the two's thoughts.

Furthermore, our thoughts have not been leaked anywhere. The only people, other than the two who may know of this, is Chief Cabinet Secretary Nikaido [Susumu]. Presumably, Miki [Takeo] does not know of this. Since the incident, the regulations should be under good control in the Foreign Ministry.

Zhou: It would be ridiculous for Prime Minister Tanaka to come to China just to end the state of war. Could this be Kishi [Nobusuke] and Kaya's [Okinori] doing?

The news these days is making comparisons to the Soviets, but this is bending the truth of history. (Reads an article published in the Yomiuri Shimbun on the 27th.)

Takeiri: The Yomiuri Shimbun is better. Prime Minister Tanaka and Foreign Minister Ohira's ideas that I mentioned will not change.

Zhou: I do not think at all that they will. The fact that they trusted you indicates their determination.

Takeiri: I believe so, as well.

Zhou: If we were to follow an arrangement such as the one laid out in the Tokyo Shimbun, then we would be wasting time.

Yesterday, you mentioned that light is usually followed by shadows, but it would be a waste of time and we do not know what kind of roadblocks lay ahead. Leaving this recent article aside for a moment, is there a segment of people that are worried about Jiang Jieshi [Chiang Kai-shek]?

Takeiri: I exchanged opinions with Foreign Minister Ohira. The Foreign Minister's decision is to have the Prime Minister visit China. It is certain that at the point where diplomatic relations are established, Taiwan would be out. He said that he is worried that the papers would start writing about the Taiwanese Embassy in Japan being put up for sale.

Zhou: Yes, it was mentioned in the newspapers. The opposition of overseas Chinese would be nothing to worry about.

Takeiri: It is not the case that I do not understand how the overseas Chinese feel, but the government is ignoring this issue.

Zhou: It is best that they do not take up the issue.

What if Taiwan does not leave?

Takeiri: They appear to be making plans to leave the embassy and leave a trade company in place. Once the Prime Minister visits China to establish diplomatic relations, and once ambassadors are exchanged, diplomatic relations between Japan and Taiwan would be lost. Then there is no change to what Premier Zhou mentioned yesterday about entering into a peace and friendship treaty. There will be some small problems that remain, but for the large issues we cannot waste time.

Zhou: This is right. There is no need to touch on the Senkaku [Diaoyu] Islands issue. I gather that you did not have interest in the issue either. I also did not have interest in the matter, but historians have made it into an issue in relation to oil. Mr. Inoue Kiyoshi seems to be fired up about the issue as well. It is unnecessary to place too much emphasis on this issue.

Taken within the context of the reestablishment of diplomatic relations following the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, then this is not an issue. The writings in the newspapers are only interruptions butting in.

Let's finish our discussion of the Taiwan issue here and start our discussion on Japan-US relations.

I believe that because the US has not reestablished diplomatic relations with China, they want Japan to have relations with China.

Takeiri: I believe that is correct.

Zhou: The US faces certain circumstances and Japan also faces certain circumstances peculiar to itself.

The China-US Joint Declaration touches on this point. The US has contained China for the past twenty some years.

Japan has abandoned Taiwan. The occupier is the United States. They sent Chen Yi to confiscate the island. It is not Japan who is responsible for this, but it is the US. Regardless of this situation, the US has recognized one China. "Chinese on either side of the Taiwan Strait," this was the creative wording of [Henry] Kissinger; it was something that I would not have thought of. Furthermore, the US has clearly indicated that it has no objections to the notion that Taiwan is a part of Chinese territory and that the Taiwan issue will be resolved by China.

Next, it is written that China hopes for the peaceful liberation of Taiwan.

Like I said yesterday, I have also told [US President Richard] Nixon that I seek a peaceful solution.

US forces in Taiwan will leave once the Vietnam War is over. The scale of the Vietnam War is getting smaller. Once the Vietnam War is over they will withdraw completely, and they will leave Taiwan altogether.

This is a secret. I have only told you about this. This point was not made clear in the Joint Declaration. We established things so that they will withdraw as tension decreases in the Far East.

The China-US Joint Declaration is linked to Vietnam. We had to think about Vietnam instead of thinking about ourselves. There is bloodshed in Vietnam.

The Taiwan issue is divided, but there is no bloodshed. Taiwan is an internal Chinese issue. Solving the Taiwan issue ahead of Vietnam would be a shameful thing to do to our Vietnamese brothers. I discussed this with Nixon and Kissinger and said that I will be responsible for decreasing tensions.

However, because the US is warring in Vietnam, we will support Vietnam. Nixon recognized that our standpoint is just.

Nixon said that he would not say anything if the US was blamed. His only request was that we do not use too many adjectives when we call out the US by name.

The Soviets do not criticize the US. The Soviets are only thinking of themselves. The Middle East is right under their nose and so they have interest in the region, but they do not have much interest in Indochina.

We believe that sovereignty of the Indochina lies with the three Indochinese states [Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia].

I made it clear to Nixon that if the Paris Conference does not progress smoothly and if fighting continues, we will support Vietnam. The US demanded that neither party speaks on behalf of third-party countries.

I believe that this attitude is good. It is not right to speak on behalf of third-party countries.

Japan-China issues are separate issues from China-US issues. Japan is not a participant in the Indochina War. They are sympathetic and so are opposed to the war. If you gained from this situation, then that is monopolistic capitalism, such as shipbuilding, shipping, and transport of weapons.

The Japanese Government is not directly and openly participating so they do not face restrictions.

With regard to Taiwan, as well, things are being returned to China. The realities of Japan-China relations and China-US relations are different.

While the US looked upon China as an enemy, the comings and goings of Japan-China relations were not severed during the past twenty years.

We have returned 30,000 Japanese, including war criminals. We have carried on friendly attitudes. Friendship, memoranda, and trade are paths that the former minister Matsumura [Kenzo] opened up. Japan knows this.

The US does not have this. They have even less of cultural exchanges. Ping-Pong diplomacy lapsed last year, but it has been reestablished. Ping-Pong is the reason that Nixon conducted secret diplomacy to reestablish relations. That ball is very important.

The Foreign Ministry wanted to only invite countries such as Canada. The US also wanted to join, but they believed that the circumstances were not right.

Chairman Mao [Zedong] said that circumstances not being 'right' was a weak reason. He phoned Wang Xiaoyu who was in Japan. And so the US table tennis team and newspaper reporters came to China.

The catalyst for US-Chinese relations was the table tennis team. They came in April, and Kissinger came in July. On the other hand, in terms of cultural and science exchange, Japan had been active in fields such as exchange of Go, shipping, fishing, and trade.

Japan is the largest trading partner of China. Last year it was at one billion dollars.

Japan is in the black. We are not protesting. We would like you to tell the Prime Minister—who was the former Minister of International Trade—and Nakasone [Yasuhiro], the Minister of International Trade and Industry. Trade will develop. The reestablishment of diplomatic relations is the only way that such relations with Japan can be developed. It cannot be the same with the US. The US has security ties with Taiwan. Japan has a peace treaty with Jiang Jieshi, but they do not have a security treaty.

Although the US recognizes that Taiwan is an internal political matter for China, there needs to be a process.

The establishment of relations between Japan and China is different. It is necessary to convince the US in this regard.

If the Prime Minister agrees after you report to him, and if he will seek agreement from the US, China will also talk with the US.

We hope for this to happen after Japan-US discussions and not before. I have said that the reestablishment of Japan-China relations will not affect US-China relations. Kissinger said that he would be in favor of Japan-China friendship. Currently, Japan and China both want to reestablish diplomatic relations, and so the US should not oppose this. The Japan-US Security Treaty or the Sato-Nixon Joint Declaration [of 1969] did not come up during China-US talks.

Therefore, the US will be a roadblock to some extent, and so we must convince them otherwise.

Japan cannot speak like the Tokyo Shimbun either. The Soviet Union also combined the end to hostilities with reestablishing diplomatic relations. The Japan-Soviet precedent exists. The US was the first to pursue diplomacy over the heads of others. I believe we can convince the US, given that we are not creating a new precedent, but

rather following the Soviet precedent of reestablishing diplomatic relations while also entering into a peace treaty.

Takeiri: The Foreign Minister did mention that he believes that the US will have some slight complaints. However, Foreign Minister Ohira said that his decision will be made before and not after meeting with Nixon. He also said that he will convince the US

Takeiri: Is it alright to convey to the two of them that the US will withdraw from Taiwan after the Vietnam War is over?

Zhou: I believe it is alright to tell the two of them. However, please tell them not to ask the US regarding this point. If the they hears this, they may believe that I trust you more than the US

I have not told Mr. Miki or Mr. Fujiyama. I have told you because the Prime Minister and Foreign Minister will need to know this in order to work on Japan-US relations.

Takeiri: I will formally convey Premier Zhou's favorable words. I believe that their decision will not change even after meeting with Nixon. I believe they will deal with the information wisely. When a B-52 landed on Okinawa the other day, Chief Cabinet Secretary Nikaido lodged a firm protest with the US Ambassador [Robert Stephen Ingersoll]. This act is unprecedented for the Japanese Cabinet.

Zhou: We watched this carefully. This is a new factor for the Tanaka cabinet. This is unprecedented.

Takeiri: For the US, Japan and Okinawa are rear bases for the Vietnam War. We have repaired ships and tanks in Japanese bases. They probably believe that such a relationship that allows for the US to use our bases would become difficult as a result of Japan-China relations being reestablished. They also worry about its effect on South Korea and other Southeast Asian countries. However, Prime Minister Tanaka has already made up his mind.

Zhou: Yes, I believe that they are worried. The North and South [of Korea] are trying to reunify. This is a good thing. It is quick. If it is convenient, I think it would be good to convey this to the Prime Minister separately from the topic of Japan-China relations. I have heard that Prime Minister Tanaka is trying to conduct trade and cultural exchange. I believe Japan's exchange with North Korea is a good thing. I believe it is a good thing to press for the reunification of North and South, and it is also a good thing to conduct exchanges. Please recommend this to him.

Takeiri: The US is worried about what would happen to South Korea after Japan-China relations are reestablished.

Zhou: The solution of this problem (Japan-US talks regarding the reestablishment of Japan-China relations) is beneficial not only for the people of Japan and China, but also for the people of the world.

During the China-US talks, the US was in favor of the Chinese standpoint on the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. China and the US will solve problems peacefully in accordance to the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence.

Second, the Joint Declaration is written in five parts.

The normalization of China-US relations is beneficial not only for China and the US,

but also for world peace. If this is the case, it is the same for China and Japan. I believe it would be good to convince the US using the China-US Joint Declaration.

The previous part was from the US draft. What if Japan tries to convince the US by saying that they are doing what the US has said before.

I have told you secrets. The commonality in the documents is the point made in the US draft. I changed the verb from present tense to future tense.

The future tense is unnecessary between Japan and China. We should only leave the common aspects and avoid the inclusion of contradictions. We should keep it shorter than long. Points of convergence should rise up. We should leave small differences behind and seek the bigger agreements. It is the same idea as the Bandung Conference.

Let us have our meal.