July 29, 1972 Record of the Third Meeting between Takeiri Yoshikatsu and Zhou Enlai

Citation:

"Record of the Third Meeting between Takeiri Yoshikatsu and Zhou Enlai", July 29, 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://wilson-center.drivingcreative.com/document/118835

Summary:

During a conversation with Takeiri, Zhou Enlai reviewed the main points of their opinions from the first and second rounds of dialogue.

Credits:

This document was made possible with support from MacArthur Foundation

Original Language:

Japanese

Contents:

Original Scan Transcript - Japanese Translation - English

34.

	77290 19:30~21:30
	1927 0 1/22 1
	从个人· 图会读 (为3回)
	コーンファームをないかアグラング
0	かなけは、遅いところ、電でなをありかとうございま
	した。あのニュースは、竹入先生がいつて
	いたように、自民家のない似まり、蒋介石が、
	やったのではないかと思ます。あの中には、
	国ないうう集かり国地域しとまり。
	一方なるとは、1日かではしいということからいくのり
	かす 原さんのでをでは、東京和国は、北海
	レイシャはヒーリかりましたかめるようとと
	んとものうとどうくから矢口りでかめる。
La Carte Car	彼が玄ういとに依ると、田中市相、大利相
	の方え方は変っていまいということです。
	0 / 5 6 0 12 6 12 6 12 6 12 6 12 6 12 6 12 6
	んのは安心をいなしました。
	4 MIA to Eller
	先生は英面目です。私なちのはたし会では、
9	九年は風間になったからいといろことでした。
A Control of the Cont	いろいろをいんかんということ
\triangle	いつも、物草は最悪とはア及りません。
O	物事に変化がありますから。
)	東年のニュースをキャッケーのは早いです。
T-STATE OF STATE OF S	新華社と芸園園信と電送の関係をつくつ
<u> </u>	

75

てもよいとたえています。そうすると、何ろの二 ユースか、すぐ入ってきます。 先生かいかれ るようれ、るんるニュースがありますから、・・・ ム・日本のマスコミは、とくにも己事のスクープを人 かりますから不らるをを記事が生てきます。 国民が速歌(ます。 しかし、見方か銀えられまずわ、錯鏡え 起しますか・・・ 成党かってして安愛はる凡潮が起りま 世治のを指揮する英からいえば、やはりそういう 面がありますね。この面からいえば、就前からないれば、自由によってきました。 自田か多すぎるようです。 Δ 句切か多すぎると、その及面かいつてしまいま すね、つまり、思想の起伏がははしまつ つきたのでしよう。 同時に人間で来の個値観が、把サルく しなってきました。モラルかもしいてきまし 万. これを、又、31も(めようとすると、及み

か起ります。これからの日本の放育は大へんで大いまってきました。

- の先生方に社会活動が影野が広いと思うのですか、よくおというのでしょう。
- △ 光水程、適確ではありませんか、心動しています。 青年かり自己の使命風、義務展がうすしなったように思います。 一つは、アベリカのお頭政策の影響であり、一つは育放、全済成長政策がよるのです。 自由のいすったんか変優です。 こういう臭いいこの中でれた対応するところは大です。 即性が相に事情するところは大です。 即性が相に事情をよるた際に熱いです。 むれをどう改善するか、 芸術等になます。
- の 切中さんとには、国際問題を解决しから 国内に限を向けるのでしょう。 達今の使の 公约からいっても、内政問題が误出で ていますね。 これは、国民の専門告でしょう。 野売かえるいうので促進的分段割りを果ち せば、新しい思素が出てきます。そこまで には利的の努力が必要でしょう。
- △ とうだと思います。 全りうまくいまますというできの役割りかるくなります。

コクヨ ケイー10・

38

间中有	剂	大争と	一加は、多	アネる上	いほう
OY F	といます				

分かならの方式では、田中市相、大平外和が たか中する場合は、共同声明的、共同宣言を 発表して才かよいと思います。

る同意です。

の見い付いたというは、こういう問題です。 上し、田中、大平面的か、これよりに以い また、もつと少くしてもよいと思う協会は 参究の支持は可能です。 の そのつぎは簡単です。

3.「又又方は、中日両国の国交の様寸立が、両国人民の長期にわたる預望にも合致し世界各国人民の利益にも合致することを声明する。」

中国の協会は文法上「声明する」が先に出てきます。日本法に飜訳すると「声明する」が後になります。これは検討しましました。

この一項は、中本共同声明から受け継いたといす、双方が共同にうたった中人疾です。

今の一句も中来芸同声明の中で、キワンルや一か得なかっているといろです。(中国の活力 云をのかなりとアメリカか受け入れたいろまいれて) そいで書いたのですが、私なち両国か先に実行に移しました。 日本は、兌湾、陽陽が納島を放棄しました。 私なちは日本の地方の女の島を日本が

コクヨ ケイー10

	回復することで支持、要す。これは、田中首相
	が五学則い基いて発表しなことがありますね。
	마르크 (1985년 - 1985년 - 1 1985년 - 1985년
Δ	世界の人達の中で、これに及対する人はいない
	7183.
O	反対できません。
	5、「双方は、中日両国のどちらの個とアジア
	太平洋地域で覇权を水めず、いつれの側
	も他のかかなる国、あるいは、国家集団か、
	こうした覇权をうちたてようとすることに及対
	するということを声明する。」
	これも、中米共同声明の才分異ですか、まりは
	意味のあることだと思います。
	これは、田中首相か、こういうことをいうのは、
	早すぎるというなら相交できます。中米
	両国か一致してとのことですから役らも反
	対できないでしよう。日中両国の接近トア
	メリカは反対できるいか、どこかの国に反対
	か、出るのは、やむを得ません。
۵	知はこの英についての表現について、相談す
	るとのことは、まことにありかたいと思います。
	しかし、これを受入れられるか、どうか、田中首
Earth-Section Average Control of the	旭、大平外相いたします。

- つまり、対象印を無平明にするということです。 私たちが協力して、他が頻松を求めるなら 共同して、及対しようということです。
- △ こういう風に表現しても、また、ゆるめても ソ連は高圧をかけれてくるのでしよう。
- の 彼らか、ハイら両圧を加えても、私なちは、 準備をしていますから手の出しようかでないで しよう。100万の軍隊をおおい派遣してあ ります。
- △ 周総理の中のあるご理解あるお中し出は、
 国中首相に伝えます。
- 0 国中先生には無選ばいいたくありません。 の 国中先生には無選ばいいたくありません。

- の例えば、この中で、どこかの一句、新秋の定い 方がきっすぎるのなら、京い方を表えていいと、 入れなくてもいい。い生末、平和友好条約に 入れてもよいと思います。 そうしないと、干和 友好条的に書くものかなくをります。
- △ 和たちか、いちばんい配していた気勢領 土の固趣、日台条約の問題を大っんご配慮いただいて、まことにありかとうこざい
- Aルシャルを住人。日下年のわか党の共同 声明には、降介石グループ。といういい方をしました。
- 0 あるいは、蒋介石の大使館、領事館といってもよいですね。
- □ 日本政をとしては、台湾と回交をつづけてき 大事実があります。前段に台湾という 支薬がありますから、ここも、台湾の大使館 という区にしてもらえると鏡を構ですか、そ の全地がありますか。 かずれたしても、こ の気、田中首相、大平外相に方える、全地を 残してしましいと思います。
- ONNE BNZJ.

のである。」

- A 旅大の感謝をします。 お礼の中しようもありませ
- の 当然だと思います。私なちかで学げているのはる異ですか、国中首相の方で、他のものも入れないというのでしたら、さし合うてよいと思います。この共同声明の文にはも一日米安保、佐藤ニケツン共同声明の『台湾 (独立) 日は年約を入れず、野けています。 あなれか 妻られた以上 成功させない きょうして 国文が 国(後)かれば (過ぎをことれなります。これは、政院的り、支っているのでは、下は、これでのどい 国にありているでしまう。 ディアのどい 国にありているでしまう。 ディアのどい 国にありているでしまう。 ディアのどい 国にありているでしまう。 ディアのどい 国にありているでしまう。
 - なっているではう。・・・・
 日中国之間優は、人民のなる場で政治が法

日大巨頭かっくったものですか、今ほどう

△ これで、すべての要素が満たされました。 ありかでとうございました。

- のお礼の「可愛ではなく、情勢を衰えるためれ、 労力しなくてはなりません。」とからの主場 との中が相の努力とか、矛盾しないようれなり ました。 内政では、一致しない長がある しては名色でしよる。 ムケ入では、中国へ おれてになった時(何か気まづいは・退伏) 学があったでしよう。 それが以・夏まくより ました。
- ロ ないへん、こ配後で頂き風油いなします。 圏信で見からける変を国中方和、大手計翻 かなすする現めは何とないと確信される。 します、一大をとびているたける終ます。
- の 欧洲しております。これは大事筆ですから一人の人間や一号のこのではありまたん。人民の大事事です。これで、先起の分別来られなことれ、宛かないよういなりました。

具体的尚是到著于公文心心思心是前,

- のより入先生のご意見い程成しますが、厚別いりいりの目をかるければ、日中行初が自ら来られるけるかですらして方がよいと思います。東京でうある。するとすると表となるかとなっている。ままん
- ③これも、竹入先生のご意見ですか、財製

4,2

はタロのであかよいと思います。/週間はないし 元的、下旬かよいと思います。国産的も、5周 年、10图学在分别"T加"了中的专图的的现象。大事至227间次,他的第14分次 行ることに子ります 田中方初の地方访問いお答いてはます。 9月下旬がまず町のは、少し地はずらとしか えられないことはありません。そのはまりから かばん複ましいとかえられますかいそのは物で をしてはそらないという意味ではありません。 ③田中省相、大平外相の站中が定差的時 期のウレなら若囚発表する丈章的なりない と見いまれ (日本の田中分初と大平外相が、中国を 元为内有3。国務这周要来给配置加险 以自称处L 招待了了。)

れを称処し、招待する。) う方中のは基別へついては、夕月の下旬といろようれ 大きかれ書いた方がよいと思います。

田中宿村のかまられる以上できるでけける を割して、よいたをしていた思います。 ニケソンより時間を多くしないと思います。 というのは、国文の様子ですから。

△ 行利のでか中のは期の表例の方法は、どのよう

の み月16日の孫さんかり市国します。それまでなき まれば、孫さんい行気えて下るい。 それ以降谷かは、行さんい云っててきい。 とて入先生からでも後末莽ですし、太平針相を ろでも結構です

の安全から北京直行は可能です。 安全ヤーで一次を飛行さや、た方ので 良いと思います。ナビゲーダー(航空上) と電信士を与えい版道します。 ニケソンの協合、浅野飛行をやりまじ た、キャンンイヤー自身の大変をの飛 行技で、や、て来ました。

A. 公表》主ita

公表しまかったりを関すしまかったでしよう。 CIAのキャッケリなかも、そのれませんのの とりませんでした。 スランチウェル ときも 口降のい ニュースはもれませんでした。 大きの野で記るもつかめませんでした。 実践しましたか その収要はありませんでした。 安哉しましたか その収要はありませんでした。 安哉しまったとは、学孩しまくても良いとは、これまったでは、学孩しなくても良いとは、これまったでした。

<u>50</u>

① の中方机、大学外机が、東られる場合、随行は (可名でしかみいません。

配信装置、電像装置し持ってきてかまいません。 ニクソンの協会は飛行機の中でもりました。

の 省和、外和の治力中の協会は、日本の記名も治 中で希望するでしょう。 首相に 決のてもらい。仏教 どの社にするかは、そちらで送んで下さい。 こちらで 祝谷宇します。 新聞 习のおでも均一 さっくります。 宇宙中健は、セツーがありますが ら 援助していと思います。

安定で保証します。 芝生方は何四年2013から

⑦ 帰ってから信果が割ったらかいつ果人で育む に言っててきい、あまりとかしくされることはまいを思い ます。何はは、

机气气飞了水雾水ある。

赞成了3×加、(8项目、3项目)

よ、会にからすりできますなか、では構です。

大年之い人名文できい。東京安全の、塩人事へ所は外文機関ではまれ、受書祭場の年事れです。外務初と西式い安統を取りあるということはまずいと思います。 る名、内、ア・江、の父人はあるかから間かれて外初も、公文、ましいを向なくしているすか、公文、いはからをいて、しまい

コクヨ ケイー10

やいは、泥なからいるいる間かれます。4分を生かっ 内でんと連分をとるのもよろしいではうし、内意い。 大平文人们直接、省立人长之长(2)人法横门。深了 人证的中旬的写过话。面中首柳的过去 会見するなられならも、大へくうれいと思います。 大事到公言以为的证、强/人的云江了世的。

え方為に先生のことを行みました。 毛を落め、先生 公药工限1200米方。110中方机、大平外机以类型人 古·亿文下已4.

日中国之田塚は大事堂でありますが一根ツの 人であっても、それをは実する人かありますから、 気をつけてているい。蔣介石も特務聴を回事の 入れているではう、片大人を見のようなどをからまるか るかはうからうな気をつけてできいる

(林彪 問題的四周後理為電話別號)

何から何まで事当いありかとうしざいよりな。

- 当然のことです。和なるのうなは、これです此人 ど代ることができました。 ては、おえ気で
- なお、子田にかれる会話の内容は、かて 寛容でありますので、田中市棚、大平外和以 孔は、完定や災流を守って下むい。

Q A

50

私ならの才も当然秘念を守ります。
私なちの才も当然被流を守ります。 すべて行入先生を信頼して中しあげなことです。
#####################################
△ 田中海棚、大平外棚に、このことを守止だす。 (まんとういめりかとうごかいみした。 国外廻しお之気で、また、奏ります。
(まんとういわりがとうこかいみした。
国体理しお之気で、また、参ります。
學學 물살하는 보는 사람들은 그리고 있는 것이 되었다. 그는 것은 그는 그는 것이 없는 것이 없었다.
VX L
경영화 (1982) - 1985 - 1985 - 1985 - 1985 - 1985 - 1985 - 1985 - 1985 - 1985 - 1985 - 1985 - 1985 - 1985 - 1985 - 경영화 (1985) - 1985 - 1985 - 1985 - 1985 - 1985 - 1985 - 1985 - 1985 - 1985 - 1985 - 1985 - 1985 - 1985 - 1985 -

[1972]

July 29th 19:30~21:30

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

Zhou: Thank you for telephone call late last night. I believe that news was as you said. I believe Jiang Jieshi [Chiang Kai-shek] did it at the behest of the right-wing in the LDP. The word 'Nationalist Government' appeared numerous times. It said that it would be difficult to convince the Nationalist Government. According to Mr. Liao [Chengzhi], it seems that the Tokyo Shimbun has some sort of relationship with the Sankei Shimbun. We heard from Mr. Xiao that it seems that Prime Minister Tanaka [Kakuei] and Foreign Minister Ohira [Masayoshi] have not changed their mind.

Takeiri: I am glad to hear that.

Zhou: You are serious. We can expect much to come from our conversation.

Takeiri: We cannot always count on things to have the best outcome, however.

Zhou: Things do change after all.

Tokyo is very quick to catch the news. I think it would be good for Xinhua and Kyodo to link transmissions. This way the other's news will arrive immediately. As you said, there are various news everyday...

Takeiri: Japanese media always wants to scoop the news, so inaccurate articles come out. It is a bother for the citizens.

Zhou: However, it trains your perception. Although, it could cause misapprehension.....

Takeiri: It will numb the senses and create a tendency for irresponsibility.

Zhou: With regard to its role in guiding the public opinion, I suppose it could have that sort of affect. However, compared to before the war, the press has become more free.

Takeiri: It seems that there is too much freedom.

Zhou: I suppose that if there is too much freedom, it goes too far. It must mean that the fluctuations in opinions are getting more severe.

Takeiri: At the same time people are losing the sense of value essential to humans. Morals are being disheveled. If we attempt to straighten things out, there will be pushback. Education will be extremely important for Japan.

Zhou: I believe that you have a wide perspective and grasp of social movements.

Takeiri: My grasp is not very precise, but I am worried about the situation. I believe young people's sense of duty and responsibility is thinning. I believe one reason for it is the effects of America's occupation policy. Another reason for this is the policy of high economic growth. There is certainly the aspect of self-delusion, but ultimately

this is the responsibility of the politics that leads Japan. With regard to this concern, I believe we can place a lot of hope in Prime Minister Tanaka. Prime Minister Tanaka has been enthusiastic proponent of education. I am hopeful to see how he will reform education.

Zhou: I believe that Mr. Tanaka will deal with international issues, and then look to domestic issues. Judging by his election promises, there seems to be a lot of domestic issues. I am sure that the citizens expect something in this regard. I believe if the opposition party played a supportive role with regard to domestic issues, this could present a new factor. This would require considerable amount of effort.

Takeiri: I think so. If things go too well there would be no need for the opposition party.

Zhou: They will call it 'surpassing the master,' and someone who from behind will do it

Takeiri: Prime Minister Tanaka worked diligently to become Prime Minister. He is currently called the Imataiko [Translator's note—this was a name used for Toyotomi Hideyoshi, who rose to become the preeminent Japanese warlord in the late 16th century despite his peasant background. Likewise, Tanaka rose to Prime Minister despite never going to college]. The citizens' expectations are high.

Zhou: Is Mr. Tanaka from the same prefecture as Mr. Sasaki.

Takeiri: The Prime Minister is from Niigata prefecture and Mr. Sasaki is from Miyagi prefecture.

Zhou: They are both from the Northeast. Do they have the 'zu-zu' dialect.

Takeiri: The Prime Minister does not have the 'zu-zu' dialect.

I spoke with the Prime Minister before I arrived, and he knows that he is popular. However, he said that he will be self-admonishing so that his popularity does not make him conceited.

Zhou: The economy has developed and become international, however, we cannot be satisfied with the current state. We have to break through the difficulties.

By the time you leave, I want the topics we discussed to take shape.

The first and second rounds of dialogue have been exchanges of opinions. I want to review the main points of our opinions. Prime Minister Tanaka and Foreign Minister Ohira will be extremely effective.

It is our thinking that we should release a joint statement or joint declaration when Prime Minister Tanaka and Prime Minister Ohira visits China.

Takeiri: I agree.

Zhou: The points I can think of are the following. If Mr. Tanaka and Mr. Ohira wish to add or lessen the points, we are open for discussion.

1. Regarding the conclusion of the war:

We want to phrase it in the following manner. What do you think?

"The state of war between the People's Republic of China and Japan is concluded on the day that this statement is announced"

Here, 'this day' is to mean the day on which the joint statement or joint declaration is announced.

Takeiri: This will be included in the joint statement?

Zhou: Yes. If we used such an expression, this would be concluded, and everyone would feel at ease.

2. Regarding the issue of diplomatic relations, we want to use the following wording...What do you think?

"The Japanese Government, in acknowledgement of the Three Principles for the Reestablishment of Sino-Japanese relations as submitted by the Government of the People's Republic of China, recognizes the Government of the People's Republic of China as the sole legal government that represents China. On this basis, both countries will establish diplomatic relations and exchange ambassadors."

Mr. Takeiri, in your opinion would this be problematic of Prime Minister Tanaka?

Takeiri: This is my opinion, but I do not think that this would be a problem. After all, this is the way that Prime Minister Tanaka has been phrasing the issue.

Zhou: The following portion should be easy.

3. "Both countries declare that the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Japan is in line with the long-term wishes of the two countries' peoples, and that it will also benefit the peoples of every nation."

In Chinese grammar, 'To Declare" comes at the beginning. However, when translated into Japanese "To Declare" comes at the end. Let us consider this topic.

This is part is taken from the China-US Joint Statement. It is the first point made by both parties.

4. "Both countries agree to handle relations between China and Japan on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence: mutual respect for sovereignty and the preservation of territorial integrity; mutual non-aggression; mutual non-interference in internal matters; and equality and reciprocity. In accordance with the Five Principles, disputes between China and Japan will be resolved peacefully and without the use of force or the threat of force."

The previous passage was also used in the China-US Joint Statement, and is something [Henry] Kissinger was proud of. (This is to mean America recognized China's Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence.) We first wrote it with the Americans, but let us put it into practice first.

Japan has abandoned Taiwan and Penghu Island. We will support Japan in retrieving the Four Northern Islands [the Northern Territories or the Southern Kurils]. Prime

Minister Tanaka has spoken about this on the basis of the Five Principles.

Takeiri: I do not believe that there are people in this world that would be opposed.

Zhou: One would be unable to oppose it.

6. "Both countries declare that neither China nor Japan seeks hegemony in the Asia-Pacific region and that we are opposed to any other country or group of countries that seeks attain hegemony in such a way."

This is the second point made in the China-US Joint Statement. I think this point is very meaningful.

If Prime Minister Tanaka believes that it is too early to raise such a thing, we can dicuss the matter. This is something that China and the US both agree on, so I imagine that the US cannot be opposed. America cannot oppose closer relations between Japan and China, but, inevitably, there will be some country that comes out in opposition.

Takeiri: I am very thankful that you offered to discuss the wording of this point. However, I will speak with Prime Minister Tanaka and Foreign Minister Ohira about accepting this wording.

Zhou: I mean to clarify our standpoints. It means that if another country seeks hegemony, we will jointly cooperate to oppose them.

Takeiri: Even if we keep the wording as is, or weaken the wording, the Soviet Union will apply pressure.

Zhou: No matter how much pressure they may apply, we are prepared so that they have no way of interfering. We have deployed one million troops in the north.

Takeiri: I will convey to Prime Minister Tanaka of Premier Zhou's understanding.

- 7. Both countries agree to conclude a peace and friendship treaty, based on the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, after the establishment of diplomatic relations between our countries."
- 8. "For the sake of friendship between the peoples of China and Japan, the Government of the People's Republic of China abandons its right to seek war reparations from the Nation of Japan."
- 9. "Prior to the conclusion of a peace and friendship treaty, the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of Japan will conclude, as necessity dictates, such agreements in the fields of commerce, navigation, aviation, weather, post, fishing, and science and technology in order to develop economic and cultural relations, and to expand the exchange of people."

It is too late to begin with a peace and friendship treaty. The difference with the US with regard to this point is that such a relationship of peace and friendship already exists between our countries. The fishing agreement between China and Japan is functioning better than the agreement with the Soviet Union. Can you hear the telephone conversations well? Mr. Miike is the Minister of Posts and Telecommunications, and he is part of the Fukuda faction, is he not? Mr. Miike said

that a satellite relay would be necessary if Prime Minister Tanaka is to visit. Prime Minister Tanaka responded that China will prepare something and that there is no need to rush. Is this what he said?

We are currently considering the previous eight points. Please let us know if anything else comes to mind form the Japan side.

Takeiri: The points I conveyed to Premier Zhou through Mr. Liao [Chengzhi] are included. Therefore, I do not believe that there will be anything else from the Japanese Government.

I give my thanks for your kind and lenient understanding.

Zhou: We do not need to include a statement saying that the wording may be changed; for instance, the wording of the section on hegemony is thought to be too strong. I think it would be fine to include it in the peace and friendship treaty. If we do not do so, we will not have anything to include in the peace and friendship treaty.

Takeiri: Thank you very much for your consideration regarding the issue of the Japan-Taiwan Treaty, we were very worried about the Taiwan territory issue.

Zhou: I wonder if we should make a list of our mutual tacit agreements.

We will not include these tacit agreements in the statement or declaration.

Please consult to see if we can agree to do so.

List of Tacit Agreements

At this point we have three [tacit agreements], but Prime Minister Tanaka and Prime Minister Ohira may say that they want to add more.

1. "Taiwan is the territory of the People's Republic of China and the liberation of Taiwan is a Chinese domestic matter."

This is an easy sentence.

2. "After the announcement of the joint declaration, Japan will remove its embassy and consulates from Taiwan, and will effectively remove from Japan the Jiang Jieshi group's embassy and consulates."

Takeiri: There may be resistance to the wording, "Jiang Jieshi group." Last year my party used the term "Jiang Jieshi group." (Translator's note: Takeiri suggested using the borrowed English term rather than the Sinic term.

Zhou: Or we could say Jiang Jieshi's embassy and consulates.

Takeiri: For the Japanese Government, there is the reality that Japan and Taiwan had diplomatic relations for some time. We have previously used the word Taiwan, so would it be possible to say, "the Taiwanese Embassy." In either case, I hope that you allow for Prime Minister Tanaka and Foreign Minister Ohira the latitude to consider the wording.

Zhou: I think that is fine.

3. "After the liberation of Taiwan the assets and firms of Japanese organizations and individuals that existed after the Second World War will be dealt with appropriate consideration."

Takeiri: I give you my greatest thanks. There are not enough thanks that I could give.

Zhou: I think this is a matter of course. These are the three points from our side. However, if Prime Minister Tanaka has anything on his side that he would like to add, I believe it would be fine to discuss the matter. The wording of the joint statement avoids the Japan-US Security Alliance, the "Taiwan Clause" of the Sato-Nixon Joint Statement, and the Japan-Taiwan Treaty. Now that you have come to China, I want for our discussions to be a success, for diplomatic relations to be reestablished, and for all this to be in the past. This is a matter of politics and laws will have no bearing. There were many laws during the Second World War, and you suffered under them did you not? Kishi is thickheaded and he does not know that a new state of politics is coming. The Yalta Agreement was made by the Big Three [The Soviet Union, the United States, and the United Kingdom], but what has come of the Agreement now?.....

The reestablishment of Japan-China relations ties politics with the will of the people.

Takeiri: This takes care of all the pending concerns. Thank you very much.

Zhou: This is not a matter of thankfulness, but rather a matter of taking the effort to change the situation. The Komeito's [Komei Party] standpoint and Prime Minister Tanaka's efforts are no longer contradictory. Certainly there are domestic issues, which the two do not agree on. When Mr. Takeiri came to China, were you not troubled with some thoughts? I believe those worries are unnecessary now.

Takeiri: Thank you so much for your consideration. I am convinced that Prime Minister Tanaka and Foreign Minister Ohira have no reason to oppose your courtesy. I will take personal responsibility to convey the message.

Zhou: Thank you very much. This is a great achievement, and so is not the accomplishment of one person or one party. This is the people's achievement.

I would like touch on some specific issues.

- (1) I concur with Mr. Takeiri, however, if there are no fundamental problems, I believe that it would be better to make corrections with Prime Minister Tanaka comes here personally. If discussions are held in Tokyo, I am afraid that word will be leaked out.
- (2) This is also Mr. Takeiri's opinion, but we believe that the end of September would be best. If it is for a week, I believe the end of the month would be good. It would be a different case if it were the 5th or 10th anniversary of the National Day, but China-Japan relations are important, so the National Day is of secondary importance.

I will accompany Prime Minister Tanaka's visit to the provinces.

If the end of September is not good, it would not be impossible to hold off for a little longer. That time period would be best, but it is not to say that it is the only

acceptable time.

(3) I hope that the text of the joint announcement can be prepared before Prime Minister Tanaka and Foreign Minister Ohira's visit is confirmed.

(Prime Minister Tanaka and Foreign Minister Ohira of Japan will visit China. Premier Zhou of the State Council is delighted to make this invitation.)

Regarding the timing of the visit, I believe it is best to be general and say, "the end of September."

As long as Prime Minister Tanaka is coming, I hope to take as much time possible to accompany him.

I hope to spend more time with him than I did with [US President Richard] Nixon. After all, we are establishing diplomatic relations....

Takeiri: How shall I convey the timing of the Prime Minister's visit?

Zhou: Sun will return to China on August 16th. Please convey the date to him by then.

If it is after that, please convey the date to Mr. Xiao. You can let him know, or it could be through Foreign Minister Ohira.

(4) A direct flight from Tokyo to Beijing is possible.

To put safety above all else, I think we should have a practice flight. I will send a navigator and a telegraph operator to Tokyo.

We had a practice flight for Nixon, as well. Kissinger came on the president's plane.

Takeiri: Did you publicize this?

Zhou: They did not publicize it or think to do so. The CIA might have caught wind of it, however.

When Kissinger came from Pakistan, the news was not leaked internationally. The press in Beijing also did not catch wind of the visit. Kissinger seemed nervous when he first came, but there was no need. Please tell Prime Minister Tanaka that he has no reason to be nervous when he comes to China.

(5) If Prime Minister Tanaka and Foreign Minister Ohira come to China, how many people will also attend?

We do not mind if telegraph equipment and radio equipment are also brought.

When Nixon came to China, such tasks were completed in his plane.

(6) If Prime Minister Tanaka and Foreign Minister Ohira come to China, I believe Japanese journalists would also want to visit China. Please have the Prime Minister choose and how many journalists from which companies will come. We will provide

the invitations. We will make a press center with the news department. Our center has a satellite relay, so we would like to assist you in this regard.

We would like to guarantee safety. You have come to China many times so I am sure you already know this.

(7) When you return home and the decision has been made, please give a summary to Mr. Xiao. I do not think there is a need to go too much into detail. For instance,

We need to discuss something.

Or, that we agree. (Entry 8, Entry 3)

Or it would also be suitable to tell him that you will consult with him in person.

Please convey this to Mr. Ohira. The communications office in Tokyo is not a diplomatic facility. It is a law office for trade protocols. There will not be direct communications between this office and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Sun, Xiao, Xu, and Jiang should be sufficiently reliable and trustworthy.

I saw that the Foreign Minister replied to a journalist's question saying that he would like to proceed with formal negotiations. However, please do not start anything on an official capacity. If he does, there will be a lot of questions from the press. You discretely contacting Xiao should be sufficient. It will also be fine if Mr. Ohira directly talks with Xiao, as well. Sun will return to China in mid August. If Prime Minister Tanaka is to meet with them, as well, we would be greatly delighted. If there is urgent information to convey, please do so only through Sun.

We have told Chairman Mao [Zedong] about you. The Chairman has expressed his admiration for you. Please give my regards to Prime Minister Tanaka and Foreign Minister Ohira.

The reestablishment of Japan-China relations is immensely important, but as long as there are those who grasp this, there will be those who will act as obstacles. Please careful of this. I am sure that Jiang Jieshi has sent in special operation teams into Japan. There is the possibility of further physical attacks, so please do be very careful.

(Statements of Premier Zhou's on Lin Biao)

Takeiri: Thank you so much for your thorough thoughtfulness.

Zhou: It is a matter of course. I believe we have concluded the topics of our discussion. Please go in good health.

Zhou: Lastly, the three rounds of talks that we have had are of great importance, so, aside from Prime Minister Tanaka and Foreign Minister Ohira, please keep the discussions completely confidential.

Of course, we will also keep it confidential.

I make this request with complete trust in you.

Takeiri: I will convey this to Prime Minister Tanaka and Foreign Minister Ohira.

Thank you so much for your time.

I also hope for your health. I will come again.