

琉球大学学術リポジトリ

日米関係（沖縄返還）3

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東印、二十ヶ所、
（い、ニ、七）

次官 事務次官 月中大使	事務局長 参事 参事長 20-21	事務局長 参事 参事長 参事長
東郷・ス+19=長 龍 (8月27日午前)		
44. 8. 27		
参事長		
^{横内参事長} 会議概要 次のとおり (先方 WARPLE 参事長 松本大使)		
秋吉参事長 配給加之と右の如き MISS CAROL MOOR - 2等参事長		
の ATTACHE, 先方参事長一同席)		
1. 横内参事長		
(1) 先方より 沖縄返還に当りて 切実な側面を 充分解度して 合理的解決を圖りて (4) 總理		
と 12月 参事長の後 安保条約の履行に取極		
先方参事長 配給加之と右の如き MISS CAROL MOOR - 2等参事長 (沖縄問題の合理的解決の ため 先方参事長 配給加之と右の如き MISS CAROL MOOR - 2等参事長)		

27
 ① 在米大使
 ② 参事長
 ③ 参事長
 ④ 参事長
 ⑤ 参事長
 ⑥ 参事長

その方針を打ち出し、愛知外務大臣は先般の訪米に際し、二枚を備明した。この(1)の協定

料に付いては所謂「歯止め論」の反片寄の說明を排し、正帯台を以て、以上述べた側面をアポイント

した。二枚(1)他方核^はな^り現在(2)完成情上、動かすに於ける能力^はの^内に^は存在し、

政治的には核^は、^は軍事的リーディングに^はな^らないが、政府として~~核~~アポイントせしめざる^はな^らない

を説明の上、(1)非核^の原則の由来と意義、^はわが国内の核問題に^は関^心を^持つ^た知識^を

認識の欠^乏、^は所謂核^再軍備論^は、^はか^らも当初^に、^は米^國の核^持込^みを^排否^を

(1)この^は右^様相^を示^し、^は傾向^が強^いと思^われ^た、^は其^のつ^まみ^を補^足した。

(2) 二枚の対し、^は一^つの^大佐^の次^の如^く述べ^た。

(二) 半年来の向 國務省も日本政府の努力により日本内政の発展の
認識が大幅に向上した。また防衛の面での日本の新向を考へ方を
プロジェクトにして、英月並の事と見なすことが出来た。これは
たどつて

(1) 軍と改^{基地}の有効性確保が最高の課題
であり、種々研究を重ねたが、概^{通率}の

両様能力 (DUAL CAPACITY) を備えて43=としか
抑止力の大きき要求である。概^{とぬく}と=43の

部隊の^{駐留的}概^{意義}は右^となり、色^先を先^とを
概^はに^はか^いず^の場合も抑止力の低下は

見えない、との結論であった。

(4) 亦く右^はは^つ復讐者^にす^とを^来え^{日本}を^合て

極東の安全に甚大なる影響を及ぼすので、向^はを
統合^と謀^部より~~国家~~ 国家安全保障^会に

上^は、現在最高首脳^(~~閣内~~に^行つてあり)の

決^断を^行な^大統^領、総^理の^向で^決め^られ^た

着^(^極東^の防^衛に^種々^の変^化が^みら^れる^形勢^の米^の)

ことと見られる。その決り方によつて、半^國の^防衛^力

が^作戦^計画^の態^様に^変化^を生^ずる^に

軍の予算が盡き取りとける環境と相俟って、
軍には早く日英側と合意に達し詳細のプラン

を作成し入りとると思つては、

(1) なお 概装備部隊^(の使用)は、長年の兵備思

想と根をおさつては、人員と兵器を分けて

おいておくことは出来ぬ、といふ原則である。(これは
分級駐留の場合にも等しく、人員と兵器が共に展開せらるゝ場合)

陸上戦闘用の或る種の戦場兵器の場合 (これは例として
神龍自衛に使うのがあるが、前線支援用に討戦に用ゐるもの)

を除いて、空軍については「塔梁電等と航空料
と、概兵器を別々の所においておくべきである

現代戦の要請と相俟つて、従つて若し概ね
とあるが、右と之莫大の予算を要し抑へておくと

あつても、その部隊全部を神龍から引上ぐるは
方法があるといふが、空軍計画部内の考案である。

2. 日本側共同声明案及び總理発言案

参考資料別添1. 及び2のテキスト(2=8月27日付)を
手交の上従事との相違点と以下列如く説明したの

に付し、先方へ概ねコメントを付した。

(第2項) ASIA と THE AREA とした。

(第3項) ^{包括} 1文及び2文の SPECIFICALLY を削除 (注)

○ 中英の核廃条に拘らず文章を削除、これに代る

英例案に基く中英の核外政策に使用し(文挿入)

○ ^{達成の存在} テキストに和平の達成の存在の自前意文に添す

(第4項) THEIR EVALUATION OF を削除

○ FAR EAST と INCLUDING JAPAN の間のコロンを

削除 (以下第5, 第6項は同じ)

○ 本文の FAR EAST の次に INCLUDING JAPAN を挿入

(第5項) TIME HAS COME と HAD COME とした。

(注) 英外務省、この共同声明案に77021. 及び743. 意味を了る要保有の以外、
外務省

◦ COME の次の THE TWO GOVERNMENTS 政府

◦ PEOPLE OF JAPAN の次の PROPER 正しく

代りに ^{の二} OF BOTH THE MAINLAND AND OKINAWA ^{の二}
とす。

◦ CONSULTATIONS REGARDING SPECIFIC ARRANGEMENTS

FOR の次に ACCOMPLISHING とす X

◦ 1972年の文章を WITH A VIEW TO ACCOMPLISHING

THE REVERSION DURING 1972 BY CONCLUDING

THESE SPECIFIC ARRANGEMENTS WITH THE

NECESSARY LEGISLATIVE SUPPORT. とす。

◦ 米の FACILITIES AND AREAS の中に MILITARY とす X

米の
(米6項) REVERSION と RETURN OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE

RIGHTS とす。

◦ 米は 米に WITHOUT MODIFICATION THEREOF. とす。 ✓

○ 本尾村が2文の OKINAWA の項に TO JAPAN と併列

(本92) 我方厚意とあり

(本92) 同上

(本92) 本はの COMPLEX PROBLEMS と COMPLEXITY

OF THE PROBLEMS とする

○ ADMINISTRATIVE AUTHORITY と ADMINISTRATIVE

RIGHTS と改める。(2ヶ所)

○ SENIOR REPRESENTATIVE と SENIOR と併列

3. 72-122 中の訓令事項

先方の説明項のとおり。

(1) 非公開の ASSURANCES — 72-122 共同声

明、総理発言と曖昧さが大なる場合は非公

開の ASSURANCES を求め、^{（注）} 支持が強い。 ~~（本92）~~

~~（本92）~~

(2) 共同声明書

次の諸点を要望す。

共同声明書の
要約と全文
を添付する

(第2項) 末尾を DEFENSE TREATY OBLIGATIONS
(挿入)

IN THE AREA とす (FOR DEFENSE OF COUNTRIES 削除)

(当該条約の理由不明な部分の肉連の修正上の肉連を以て付す)

(第1項) 中英核用条に肉付文章削除

○ 韓国、台湾の取扱いを差違をせざらん

ニ七分三がに ~~程度~~ 程度如何の非公開 ASSURANCES

を示す。

○ リアト和平の達成を沖縄復帰の条件

を以て之をせざるを EXPRESSED THEIR

ERNEST HOPE THAT PEACE BASED ON

JUSTICE IN V.N. BE ACHIEVED BEFORE

REVERSION. とす (8月19日と同じ文言)

○ 第三の突は肉連に、リアトの返還時期を
(先ず)

ソビエト戦争が認められる場合 復帰を延期する
支援のあり戦時作戦行動を認めるかの選択につき

共同声明以外

日米が協議すべきことを行ふ方法 — 総選挙
でも非公開の保証をもち — この事例がまの

とれた必要ありとの見持が強い、と補足。 当然の

この場合急ぎで共同声明の文言をまとめるべきである
が、共同声明の合意が困難 でも異なるがし

と伺うにたいし、なお 先方の上記提案がUSEFULであると述べ
たので、当然の二武器³⁶の口合等の条件を協議を

済ませる慣習として措置。))

(第5段) 1972年の文章に「ソビエトとの合意(8A21A)

の文言 (TO EXPEDITE THE CONSULTATIONS AND TO
SEEK THE NECESSARY LEGISLATIVE SUPPORT

WITH A VIEW TO ACCOMPLISHING THE REVERSION
BY THE YEAR 1972 IF NEGOTIATIONS AND
DETAILED

IMPLEMENTING ARRANGEMENTS FOR REVERSION
ARE COMPLETED BY THAT TIME) 王 哲人 113.

244 (1972年) の通達に ARRANGEMENTS の語句に
かかっていたことは正しく述べられている。(当方

は自前手と完全に同じ考えに立っており、半例として
EXPEDITE にも引受がなされるべきであることは指摘
したが、1972年7月22日

● ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ においては、後刻電話
102 自前手の1972年7月22日、その次に

が PROVIDED THAT BY THAT TIME THESE SPE-
CIFIC ARRANGEMENTS CAN BE CONCLUDED WITH

THE NECESSARY LEGISLATIVE SUPPORT. とあることは
提案趣意、当方検討を待た)

(才6項) ^{WITHOUT} MODIFICATION ^{なし} の文言が各条にも
「有之並、とあるから、削除する。 ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

極	秘
無	期
限	
6	部の内
6	号

SECRET

1 (原) 案
2
3 米府
4 Open
5 日
6 日

(August 27, 1969)

セロコシ - 各府用は同府で作成
05 - 在米用

別添

Draft Joint Communiqué

1. The Prime Minister and the President had a broad exchange of views on Japan-U.S. relations as well as on the respective positions of the two countries in the present international situation. The President expressed the deep interest of his Government and his own in Asia and stated his belief that Japan and the United States should cooperate in contributing to the peace and prosperity of the region. The Prime Minister, appreciating the view of the President, made it clear that Japan would make further active contributions befitting her capabilities to the peace and prosperity of Asia.

2. The Prime Minister and the President exchanged frank views on the recent international situation, with particular attention to developments in the Far East. The Prime Minister expressed his recognition that, in the light of the present situation, the presence of U.S. forces in the Far East constituted a mainstay for the stability of the area. The President, while emphasizing that the countries in the area were expected to make their own efforts for the stability of the area, gave assurance that the United States would continue to contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security in the Far East by honoring its treaty obligations for defense of countries in the area.

3. The Prime Minister and the President noted the continuing tension over the Korean peninsula. The Prime Minister highly appreciated the peace-keeping efforts of the United Nations in the area and stated that the security of the Republic of Korea was essential to Japan's own security. The Prime Minister and the President shared the hope that Communist China would adopt a more cooperative and constructive attitude in its external relations. The President, however, recalled that Communist China had so far refused to join with the United States in a mutual renunciation of the threat or use of force in the Taiwan area, and referred to the treaty commitment of his country to the Republic of China. The Prime Minister expressed his full understanding of the position of the United States and stated that the Japanese Government also continued to view the situation in the Taiwan area with close attention and concern. The President described the earnest efforts made by the United States for a peaceful and just settlement of the Vietnam problem. The Prime Minister expressed his earnest hope for a substantial progress towards that end. He further stated that Japan was exploring what role she could play in bringing about stability and reconstruction in the Indo-China area.

4. In the light of the situation and the prospects in the Far East, the Prime Minister and the President highly valued the role played by the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security in maintaining the peace and security of the Far East including Japan, and mutually affirmed the intention of the two Governments to maintain firmly the Treaty on the basis of mutual trust and the common evaluation of the international situation. They further agreed that the two Governments should maintain closer and constant contact with each other on matters affecting the peace and security of the Far East including Japan, and on the implementation of the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security.

5. The Prime Minister emphasized his view that the time had come to respond to the strong desire of the people of Japan, of both the mainland and Okinawa, to have the administrative rights over Okinawa returned to Japan on the basis of the friendly relations between Japan and the United States and thereby to restore Okinawa to its normal status. The President expressed due appreciation of the Prime Minister's view. The Prime Minister and the President also recognized the vital role played by U.S. forces in Okinawa in the present situation in the Far East. As a result of their discussion, it was agreed

that the mutual security interests of Japan and the United States could be accommodated within arrangements for the return of the administrative rights over Okinawa to Japan. They therefore agreed that the two Governments would enter immediately into consultations regarding specific arrangements for accomplishing the early reversion of Okinawa without detriment to the security of the Far East including Japan. They further agreed to expedite the consultations with a view to accomplishing the reversion during 1972 by concluding these specific arrangements with the necessary legislative support. In this connection, the Prime Minister made clear the intention of his Government, following reversion, to assume gradually the responsibility for the immediate defense of Okinawa as part of Japan's defense efforts for her own territories. The Prime Minister and the President also agreed that the United States would retain under the terms of the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security such military facilities and areas in Okinawa as required in the mutual security of both countries.

6. The Prime Minister and the President agreed that, upon return of the administrative rights, the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security and its related arrangements would apply to Okinawa without modification thereof. In this connection, the Prime Minister affirmed the recognition of his

Government that the security of Japan could not be adequately maintained without international peace and security in the Far East and, therefore, the security of countries in the Far East was a matter of serious concern for Japan. The Prime Minister was of the view that, in the light of such recognition on the part of the Japanese Government, the return of the administrative rights over Okinawa in the manner agreed above should be compatible with effective discharge of the international obligations assumed by the United States for the defense of countries in the Far East including Japan. The President replied that he shared the Prime Minister's view.

7. The Prime Minister described in detail the particular sentiment of the Japanese people against nuclear weapons and the policy of the Japanese Government reflecting such sentiment. The President expressed his understanding of the position of the Japanese Government and assured the Prime Minister of the intention of the U.S. Government to ensure the reversion of Okinawa to be carried out in a manner consistent with the policy of the Japanese Government as described by the Prime Minister.

8. The Prime Minister and the President agreed that with respect to financial questions which could arise in connection with the return of the administrative rights over Okinawa to

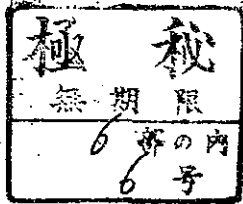
Japan, a mutually satisfactory solution should be found by the time of the reversion.

9. The Prime Minister and the President, recognizing the complexity of the problems involved in the reversion of Okinawa, agreed that the two Governments should consult closely and cooperate on the measures necessary to assure a smooth transfer of administrative rights to the Government of Japan in accordance with reversion arrangements to be agreed to by both Governments. They agreed that the Japan-United States Consultative Committee in Tokyo should undertake over-all responsibility for this preparatory work.

The Prime Minister and the President decided to establish in Okinawa a Preparatory Commission in place of the existing Advisory Committee to the High Commissioner of the Ryukyu Islands for the purpose of consulting and coordinating locally on measures relating to preparation for the transfer of administrative rights, including necessary assistance to the Government of the Ryukyu Islands. The Preparatory Commission will be composed of a Representative of the Japanese Government with Ambassadorial rank and the High Commissioner of the Ryukyu Islands, with appropriate staff, with the Chief Executive of the Government of Ryukyu Islands acting as adviser to the Commission. The Commission will report and make recommendations

to the two Governments through the Japan-United States Consultative Committee.

10. The Prime Minister and the President expressed their conviction that a mutually satisfactory solution to the question of the return of the administrative rights over Okinawa to Japan, which was the last of the major post-war issues pending between the two countries, would be to strengthen further the Japan-U.S. relations based on friendship and mutual trust and would also make a major contribution to the peace and security of the Far East.



SECRET

1 (国) 第 117
2
3 第 102
4 第 102
5 12月22日
6 27日
812(1) - 第 101(1) (1) 第 102日

(August 27, 1969)

8/1
1/15
=

Draft Statement by the Prime Minister

As I have always stated in the past, the security of Japan in the world in which we live today cannot be adequately maintained without international peace and security in the Far East. Thus, the security of countries in the Far East cannot but be a matter of serious concern for Japan's security. Herein lies the significance of Article VI of the Security Treaty. And it would be in accord with our national interest to determine our response to prior consultation in the light of the need to maintain the security of the Far East including Japan.

In particular, if an armed attack against the Republic of Korea were to occur, the security of Japan would be seriously affected. Therefore, should an occasion arise for U.S. forces in such an eventuality to use facilities and areas in Japan as bases for military combat operations to meet the armed attack, the policy of the Japanese Government towards prior consultation would be to decide promptly its position on the basis of the foregoing recognition.

The maintenance of peace and security in the Taiwan area is also an important factor for the security of Japan.

I believe in this regard that the determination of the United States to uphold her treaty commitments to the Republic of China should be fully appreciated. However, should a situation ever occur in which these treaty commitments would actually have to be invoked against an armed attack from outside, it would be a threat to the peace and security of the Far East including Japan, though, I am glad to say, such a situation cannot be foreseen today. The policy of our Government is to continue to keep a close watch on the situation in the Taiwan area and to deal with it as our national interest requires.

秘密表示(未印)
極 秘
 無 期 限
 4 部 の 内
 4 号

館長直扱

部数指示	発信用	執務用	備考
主 信	/	0	/
付	3	1	
属			

至 急

發送日	昭和44年8月29日	校 査
処理	下 庄	
発 信	タイプ	

文書課長

公 信 案 (分類)

公 信 番 号	米 121 第 1154 号	公 信 日 付	昭 和 44 年 8 月 28 日
大 臣	主 管	起 案	昭 和 44 年 8 月 27 日
政 務 次 官	アメリカ局	起 案 者	千 葉 電 話 番 号 443
事 務 次 官	参 事		
外 務 審 議 官	北 米 一 課		
外 務 審 議 官			
官 房 長			
協 議 先	条 約 局 長		
受 信 者	在 米 下 田 大 使	発 信 者	愛 知 大 臣
写 送 付 先		(希望発送日)	8 月 28 日
件 名	沖 縄 問 題 記 録 等 送 付		

GA-2

外務省

回覧番号

28 62

米北1才1154号

昭和44年8月28日

在米大使殿

外務大臣

沖縄問題記録等送付

8月27日、東郷アメリカ局長・スタイナー
公使会談記録及び同記録の言及せし
日本側共同声明案(別添1)及び総理発言
案(別添2)写各1部別添送付す。

なお、上記は、いずれも外部に対し厳に
秘匿してゐるので、取扱いには充分注意
ありたく、念のため。

付属添付