

# 琉球大学学術リポジトリ

米国管理下の南西諸島状況雑件 沖縄関係 外紙報道（在米大使館関係）(3)

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昭和46年



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電信写

PEOPLE HAVE WHAT HAS BEEN CALLED A "NUCLEAR ALLERGY" THAT REMAINS FROM THE ATOMIC BOMBINGS OF HIROSHMA AND NAGASAKI DURING THE CLOSING DAYS OF WORLD WAR II.

IN RESPONSE TO INQUIRIES, A STATE DEPARTMENT SPOKESMAN FLATLY DENIED THE EXISTENCE OF SUCH AN AGREEMENT, "SECRET OR OTHERWISE, WRITTEN OR ORAL." A SPOKESMAN FOR THE JAPANESE EMBASSY HERE SAID "THERE IS NO SUCH AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES."

BUT OTHER AUTHORITATIVE SOURCES SAID THAT THE AGREEMENT ALLOWED AMERICAN NAVAL VESSELS, INCLUDING NUCLEAR-POWERED SUBMARINES AND SURFACE SHIPS, TO CALL AT JAPANESE PORTS WHILE ARMED WITH NUCLEAR WARHEADS.

THE AGREEMENT FURTHER PROVIDES THAT AMERICAN AIRCRAFT CARRYING NUCLEAR BOMBS MAY LAND IN JAPAN WHILE ON PATROL, ON TRAINING FLIGHTS, OR IN EMERGENCIES.

DISCLOSURE OF THE TRANSIT AGREEMENT ADDS A

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NEW DIMENSTON TO THE REVERSION OF OKINAWA TO JAPAN, WHICH IS SCHEDULED FOR 1972. ON OKINAWA, THE MAJOR AMERICAN BASE IN THE WESTERN PACIFIC, THE UNITED STATES HAS THE RIGHT TO STORE AND TO DEPLOY NUCLEAR WEAPONS UNTIL THE ISLAND IS RETURNED TO JAPANESE RULE.

AFTER REVERSION, HOWEVER, THE UNITED STATES WILL LOSE THAT RIGHT, SINCE THE OKINAWAN BASES WILL BE GOVERNED BY THE SAME RULES THAT APPLY TO AMERICAN BASES IN JAPAN PROPER, WHERE NUCLEAR ARMS ARE NOT PERMITTED PERMANENTLY. BUT AMERICAN FORCES WILL STILL BE ALLOWED TO MOVE NUCLEAR ARMS THROUGH THE AIRFIELDS AND HARBORS OF OKINAWA.

THE TRANSIT AGREEMENT DOES NOT DEAL WITH THE STORAGE OF NUCLEAR WARHEADS OR THE DEPLOYMENT OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN JAPAN. UNDER THE MUTUAL SECURITY TREATY OF 1960, THE UNITED STATES MAY STORE OR DEPLOY NUCLEAR WEAPONS ON JAPANESE TERRITORY ONLY WITH THE PERMISSION OF THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT.

A MEMORANDUM ATTACHED TO THAT TREATY, WHICH IS STILL IN EFFECT, SAYS THAT "MAJOR CHANGES IN

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THE DEPLOYMENT INTO JAPAN OF UNITED STATES ARMED FORCES, MAJOR CHANGES IN THEIR EQUIPMENT, SHALL BE THE SUBJECTS OF PRIOR CONSULTATION WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF JAPAN.''

NUCLEAR WEAPONS UNMENTIONED

ALTHOUGH NUCLEAR WEAPONS WERE NOT SPECIFICALLY MENTIONED, BOTH GOVERNMENTS HAVE SAID THAT ''PRIOR CONSULTATION'' APPLIES PARTICULARLY TO NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND MEANS THAT JAPANESE CONSENT MUST BE OBTAINED BEFORE THEY CAN BE DEPLOYED IN JAPAN.

THE MOVEMENT OF NUCLEAR ARMS THROUGH JAPAN IS BELIEVED TO BE EXEMPT FROM ''PRIOR CONSULTATION'' BY DEFINING SUCH MOVEMENTS AS NOT CONSTITUTING A ''MAJOR CHANGE IN THEIR EQUIPMENT.''

SINCE 1964, NUCLEAR-POWERED SUBMARINES, MANY OF THEM ARMED WITH NUCLEAR WEAPONS, HAVE CALLED REGULARLY AT JAPANESE PORTS. IN JANUARY, 1968, THE NUCLEAR-POWERED AIRCRAFT CARRIER ENTERPRISE, WHICH IS WIDELY BELIEVED TO CARRY NUCLEAR WARHEADS, CALLED AT SASEBO IN SOUTHWESTERN JAPAN.

3 外務省

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IN ADDITION, CONVENTIONALLY-POWERED WARSHIPS WITH NUCLEAR WEAPONS MAY HAVE VISITED JAPAN, WHERE THE UNITED STATES MAINTAINS TWO MAJOR NAVAL BASES. WHETHER AIRCRAFT WITH NUCLEAR WEAPONS HAVE FLOWN INTO JAPAN SINCE THE AGREEMENT BECAME EFFECTIVE COULD NOT BE DETERMINED.

RUMORS WERE PUBLISHED

SUSPICIONS AND RUMORS THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS BOTH STORED NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN JAPAN AND MOVED THEM THROUGH JAPAN HAVE OCCASIONALLY BEEN PUBLISHED IN THE JAPANESE PRESS. UNITED STATES OFFICIALS, IN LINE WITH A WORLDWIDE POLICY, HAVE DECLINED TO DISCUSS THE ISSUE PUBLICLY AND HAVE NEVER CONFIRMED OR DENIED THE PRESENCE OF NUCLEAR ARMS ANYWHERE.

JAPANESE OFFICIALS AT HOME AND ABROAD HAVE TURNED ASIDE INQUIRIES BY POINTING TO PREMIER EISAKU SATO'S THREE PRINCIPLES OF NON-NUCLEAR POLICY. HE HAS CONSISTENTLY SAID THAT JAPAN WILL NOT BUILD, ACQUIRE, OR ALLOW NUCLEAR WEAPONS TO BE INTRODUCED INTO HER TERRITORY.

THE TRANSIT AGREEMENT HAS GIVEN THE UNITED STATES

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INCREASED FLEXIBILITY IN HOLDING A NUCLEAR UMBRELLA OVER ASIAN ALLIES. SUBMARINES ON PATROL IN THE EAST CHINA SEA AS PART OF COULD ENTER PORTS IN JAPAN FOR SUPPLIES AND RECREATION FOR THE CREW. ANTISUBMARINE WARFARE PLANES ARMED WITH TACTICAL NUCLEAR WARHEADS ON PATROL OVER THE SEA OF JAPAN COULD MAKE EMERGENCY LANDINGS IN JAPAN.

NIXON DOCTRINE NOTED

UNDER THE NIXON DOCTRINE, THE UNITED STATES IS GRADUALLY TURNING OVER TO ASIAN NATIONS THE TASK OF PROVIDING THEIR OWN SECURITY. BUT PRESIDENT NIXON HAS EMPHASIZED THAT THE UNITED STATES WILL CONTINUE TO MAINTAIN A NUCLEAR SHIELD IN ASIA.

JAPAN HAS TAKEN OVER RESPONSIBILITY FOR HER OWN CONVENTIONAL DEFENSE AND IS STEADILY IMPORVING THE QUALITY OF HER ARMED FORCES. BUT THE JAPANESE STILL RELY ON THE UNITED STATES FOR A NUCLEAR DETERRENT AND THE TRANSIT AGREEMENT ENHANCES THE AMERICAN CAPACITY TO FULFILL THAT COMMITMENT.

MOREOVER BEING ABLE TO MOVE NUCLEAR WEAPONS THROUGH JAPAN INCREASES<sup>外務省</sup> THE AMERICAN CAPACITY

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TO FULFILL NUCLEAR COMMITMENTS TO SOUTH KOREA, TO THE NATIONALIST CHINESE ON TAIWAN, AND TO THE PHILIPPINES.

THE EXISTENCE OF THE AGREEMENT ADDS AN IMPORTANT AND PREVIOUSLY UNKNOWN STAND TO THE UNITED STATES ALLIANCE WITH JAPAN. GIVEN THE "NUCLEAR ALLERGY" OF THE JAPANESE, THE POLITICAL RISK TAKEN BY BOTH GOVERNMENTS IN MAKING THE AGREEMENT INDICATES THAT THE TRUST BETWEEN THEM IS GREATER THAN WAS EVIDENT BEFORE.

JAPANESE LEFTISTS HAVE OFTEN ACCUSED THE CONSERVATIVE GOVERNMENT OF ALLOWING THE UNITED STATES TO BRING NUCLEAR WEAPONS INTO JAPAN. ANTI-AMERICAN ELEMENTS HAVE USED THE NUCLEAR ISSUE TO HAMMER AT THE JAPANESE ALLIANCE WITH THE UNITED STATES.

BUT THE IMPORTANCE OF THE ALLIANCE AND SECURITY CONSIDERATIONS APPARENTLY HAVE OVERRIDDEN THE POTENTIAL POLITICAL TROUBLES.

ソカヒ

大政事外外儀官  
務務典房  
次次典房  
臣官官審審長長  
儀総人電厚計  
書文会管給

調査長  
参断調  
参領移  
参領移

参地中東  
参北西  
参北保  
参一  
参西東洋  
参西東

参書近ア  
次総経国万  
参貿統  
参政技二  
参国一理  
参条協規  
参政経科  
参軍社專  
参道内外  
参一

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電信写

総番号(TA) 2/2/4  
 71年 4月 26日 19時 24分 米 国 主 管  
 71年 4月 27日 09時 08分 本 省 発 着 米 保  
 外務大臣殿 牛場(大使) 臨時代理大使 総領事 代理

ニューヨークタイムズ記事(核問題)

オ1124号 平 至急

往電オ1117号に開い

26日の国務相記者会見における本件記事に関する質疑応答次のとおり。

Q CHARLIE, DOES THIS GOVERNMENT HAVE AN AGREEMENT WITH JAPAN WHICH PERMITS THE TRANSITING OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS?

A I DON'T KNOW HOW I CAN IMPROVE ON THE FACT, CATEGORICAL DENIAL THAT WE HAVE ANY SUCH AGREEMENT WHICH THE STORY IN QUESTION CARRIED YESTERDAY.

Q WELL, THAT LEADS TO TWO FURTHER QUESTIONS. ONE -- DOES TRANSITING OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS NOT REQUIRE AN AGREEMENT FROM THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT, OR ARE THESE NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN FACT REMOVED FROM SHIPS

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WHICH ARE TRANSITING JAPANESE PORTS?

A JIM, WE SIMPLY NEVER DISCUSS PUBLICLY IN ANY CONTEXT, UNDER A POLICY OF VERY LONG STANDING, THE LOCATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS.

A BUT YOU ARE IN FACT DOING IT WHEN YOU ARE SAYING THERE IS NO TRANSIT AGREEMENT. YOU ARE MAKING AN EXCEPTION RIGHT THERE. YOU CAN'T HAVE IT BOTH WAY. YOU CAN TRY.

A I AM GOING TO TRY TO HAVE IT BOTH WAYS.

Q CHARLIE, THE FIRST PART OF THAT TWO-PART QUESTION DOES NOT DISCUSS THE LOCATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS. THE QUESTION PERHAPS YOU CAN ANSWER IS DOES THE TRANSITING OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS THEREFORE NOT REQUIRE ANY WRITTEN AGREEMENT WITH THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT?

A LET ME LEAVE IT WHERE ARTICLE 6 OF THE TREATY OF MUTUAL COOPERATION AND SECURITY LEFT IT.

Q WHERE IS THAT?

A MAJOR CHANGES IN THE DEPLOYMENT INTO JAPAN OF UNITED STATES ARMED FORCES, MAJOR CHANGES IN THEIR EQUIPMENT AND THE USE OF FACILITIES IN AREAS

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IN JAPAN AS BASES FOR MILITARY COMBAT OPERATIONS TO BE UNDERTAKEN FROM JAPAN, SHALL BE THE SUBJECT OF PRIOR CONSULTATION WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF JAPAN."

Q WELL, CHARLIE, YOU ARE NOT RULING OUT, ARE YOU, THAT SUCH SITUATION EXISTED IN THE ABSENCE OF A FROMAL AGREEMENT, OR ARE YOU?

A I AM SAYING, TAD, THAT IT IS JUST SIMPLY NOT OUR POLICY PUBLICLY TO DISCUSS THE LOCATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS -- PERIOD.

Q WELL, YOUR FIRST COMMENT WAS THAT THERE IS -- CATEGORICALLY YOU CAN DENY THAT THERE IS ANY AGREEMENT WITH JAPAN THAT PERMITS THE TRANSITING OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS. ARE YOU INCLUDING IN THAT A TWO-WAY UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN THE TWO GOVERNMENTS THAT IS NOT WRITTEN?

A I AM JUST GOING TO LEAVE IT EXACTLY WHERE IT IS.

Q WELL, WHAT DO YOU MEAN BY "AGREEMENT"? YOU ARE TALKING ABOUT A WRITTEN AGREEMENT? CAN YOU DEFINE THAT, CLARIFY THAT A LITTLE BIT?

A IF YOU WILL READ THE STORY IN QUESTION YESTERDAY, YOU WILL SEE THAT I SAID THERE IS NO AGREEMENT, SECRET OR OTHERWISE, WRITTEN OR ORAL.

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Q IS THERE A TRANSIT AGREEMENT, CHARLES?

A I AM JUST GOING TO STOP THERE I AM RIGHT NOW. THERE IS NO AGREEMENT.

Q I WOULD JUST LIKE TO ASK THE PERTINENCE OF "MAJOR CHANGES". WHOEVER SAID THERE WAS A CHANGE IN POLICY?

A WHAT?

Q I WOULD LIKE TO ASK THE PERTINENCE OF THIS ARTICLE 6, REFERRING TO MAJOR CHANGES. WHO SAID THERE WAS A CHANGE IN POLICY?

A NO. THERE WAS REFERENCE TO ARTICLE 6 IN THE STORY YESTERDAY, AND I THOUGHT I WOULD READ THE LANGUAGE VERBATIM TODAY.

Q ARE WE THROUGH WITH JAPAN?

Q NO, WE ARE NOT. CHARLIE, WHAT IS YOUR ANSWER ON WHETHER OR NOT A TRANSIT AGREEMENT EXISTS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND JAPAN COVERING THE ENTRY INTO AND OUT OF.

A WELL, THAT IS WHAT WE ARE TALKING ABOUT, SPENCER. AND I HAVE SAID THERE IS NO AGREEMENT.

Q NO AGREEMENT COVERING TRANSIT. THIS HAS NOTHING TO DO WITH NUCLEAR WEAPONS, RIGHT?

A WE ARE TALKING ABOUT TRANSIT AGREEMENTS OF

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NUCLEAR WEAPONS, IS WHAT I THOUGHT WE WERE TALKING ABOUT.

Q WELL, IS THERE A TRANSIT AGREEMENT THAT DOESN'T INCLUDE NUCLEAR WEAPONS?

A I WILL HAVE TO TAKE THE QUESTION. I DON'T HAVE THE FACTS.

Q DOES THE GOVERNMENT CONTEMPLATE NEGOTIATING SUCH AN AGREEMENT AS PART OF THE OKINAWA REVERSION SITUATION?

A MY UNDERSTANDING IS THAT WHEN THE REVERSION OF OKINAWA TAKES PLACE, OUR USE OF SUCH FACILITIES IN OKINAWA WILL BE EXACTLY THE SAME AS THAT IN JAPAN NOW. THAT IS TO SAY, OKINAWA WILL THEN BE COVERED BY THE TREATY OF MUTUAL COOPERATION AND SECURITY.

Q CHARLIE, ON THE QUESTION OF TRANSIT, RECOGNIZING YOUR RELUCTANCE ABOUT THE LOCATION OF THESE VESSELS, IS THIS PERMITTED WHETHER WE ARE DOING IT OR NOT? DO WE CONSIDER THIS FEASIBLE, LEGAL OR PERMISSIBLE?

A I DON'T KNOW HOW I CAN GO BEYOND WHAT I HAVE ALREADY SAID WITH RESPECT TO THE ABSENCE OF ANY AGREEMENT AS DESCRIBED IN THE LANGUAGE OF ARTICLE 6. I AM GOING TO LEAVE IT THERE. THAT IS ALL I HAVE TO SAY. (了)

# THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

BOSTON, THURSDAY, MAY 13, 1971

An International Daily Newspaper

VOL. 63, NO. 142  
TWO SECTIONS

NEW ENGLAND EDITION

## Focus

### hippies don't bloom here

By Francis O'ner

Tel Aviv, Israel

Allan, 25, a New York-born prophet of counterculture, and his wife Laura are totally discouraged.

"Society in Israel still has too many claims on its kids. And they don't feel they can afford to resist," they say.

It's their way of saying that the hip revolution is still an imported alien phenomenon in Israel.

For nearly a year Allan and Laura have tried to transfer to Israel the values of the hippies' way of life gathered in their sojourns from the East to the West Coasts of America.

Now there is only disappointment, for, as Allan put it, "There are no real genuine 'freaks' here. All you have are middle-class kids with long hair who think they're hippies if they go to Tiffany's—the most expensive night club in the city."

Though peace beads and the use of soft drugs are more in evidence now than they were before the 1967 war, the hip revolution has barely touched the country's younger generation.

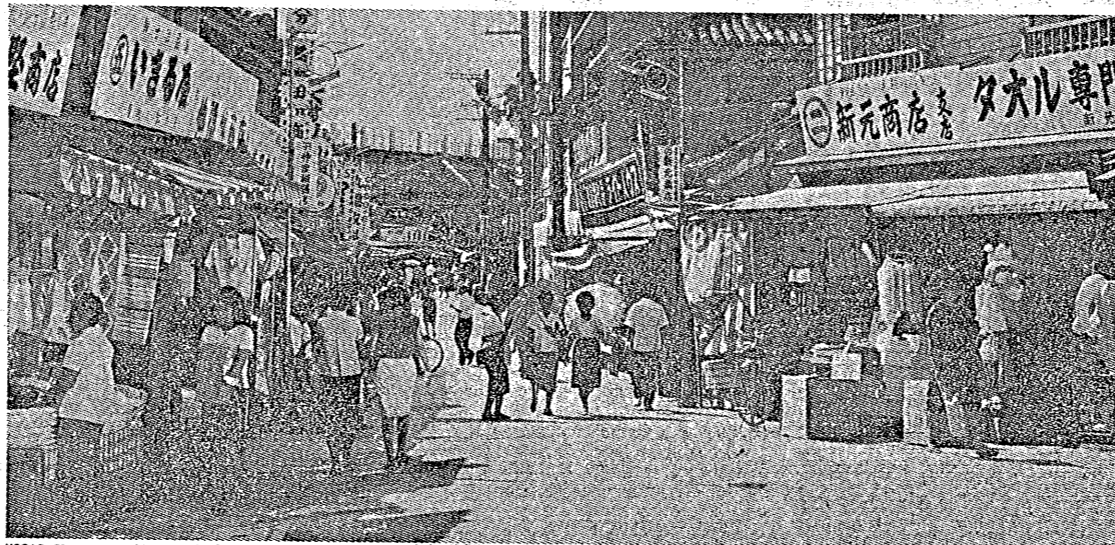
Out of 758 humanities students receiving their degrees recently at a Hebrew University ceremony, this reporter saw only three or four who by outward appearance could be termed "freaks."

#### Dependence on youth

Both student leaders and university authorities agree on why the Israeli campus youth is not receptive to counterculture.

Possibly the most important reason is that in spite of Israel's military victories in the past, its citizens still feel that their physical survival is under threat.

Youth is not considered redundant here.



USCAR Photo

A warm shopping day in Okinawa

## Japan fears Okinawa pact rebuff

By Elizabeth Pond

Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Tokyo

Okinawa negotiations now have entered their final, intensive phase amid rising Japanese fears that the United States Senate may not approve the resulting treaty.

The Nixon administration promised to make the Okinawa reversion a treaty, requiring Senate approval, when it thought it had a textile imports agreement in the bag. No satisfactory textile agreement materialized, however, and the

Okinawa reversion became snarled by the totally unrelated textile feud.

Diplomats here cite the whole textile affair as a classic example of how not to conduct negotiations. First, Prime Minister Eisaku Sato assumed that he could get the Japanese textile companies to limit their American exports to a volume acceptable to American textile manufacturers. The textile industry, however, one of the most independent industries in Japan, refused to go along with Mr. Sato's wishes.

Second, the American textile industry proved more intransigent than negotiators anticipated. When talks got close to what diplomats considered an equitable solution, according to informed sources, the United States textile interests refused to settle for any compromise.

Third, these sources report, American negotiators in Tokyo never got clear signals from Washington that a feeler by Rep. Wilbur D. Mills was unacceptable to the Nixon administration. Mr. Mills, chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, let it be known several months ago that voluntary restraints by Japanese textile firms would suffice to get him

to drop proposed protectionist legislation for textiles and other goods.

The Mills initiative and the restraints subsequently agreed on by Japanese textile exporters were hotly repudiated by American textile manufacturers and by Washington officials.

The highly newspaper-conscious Japanese have become especially worried as a result of two recent articles in the American press: last week's cover story on Japan in Time magazine; and an article on the American return of Okinawa to Japan in the New York Times.

★ Please turn to Page 9

## SST springs back

### House votes revival plan

By Peter C. Stuart

Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

The Phoenix-like American super transport (SST), suddenly revived toward a fight for its new-found life in a hostile Senate.

The SST was resurrected when the House of Representatives voted Wednesday, May 12, to spend \$85.3 million, originally marked as termination costs, to keep the program going instead.

The turnabout came on a narrow vote of 201 to 195. Only six weeks ago, the House rejected SST funding, 215 to 207. Absentees — 38 of them — and a number of vote switches appeared to have made the difference this time.

The issue now shifts to the Senate, which has balked at money for the SST twice in the past five months.

"Our position is much stronger than one SST opponent said. But majority leader Mike Mansfield flatly predicts the Senate will again refuse funding, sending the issue to an often unpredictable conference between the two bodies.

#### Low profile

The vote is interpreted here as perhaps foreshadowing congressional approval of President Nixon's request for a guarantee of \$250 million for the ailing Lockheed Aircraft Corporation.

The "save the SST" drive, evidently sprung from the congressional ranks, quickly won support from House leaders of both parties and the White House.

# ★ Japan fears Okinawa pact rebuff

Continued from Page 1

Time magazine stressed resentment by American business of Japan's protectionism and aggressive export practices. The Japanese were jolted to hear this resentment voiced by several American businessmen who have worked extensively in Japan and have been regarded as basically friendly toward the Japanese.

The New York Times article questioned the wisdom of submitting an Okinawa treaty to the United States Senate when Southern textile interests and industrial Southern senators are angry over Japanese textile exports to the United States. American diplomats here have been blunt in informing their Japanese counterparts of this hazard.

On the substantive issues involved in the return of Okinawa to Japan there is relatively little difference left between the two sides. Detailed negotiations have been tough and drawn out, but there have been no insurmountable obstacles to agreement.

## Issues few

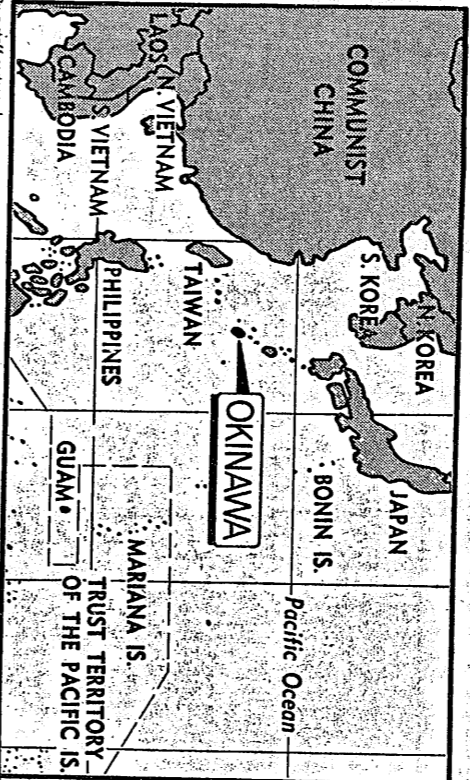
The issues that remain to be resolved include continued American use of a Voice of America transmitter on Okinawa, continued military use of the Naha civil airport by a few Navy planes, the amount of Japanese payment for United States plant and assets, and the status of American businessmen on the island after the 1972 reversion.

Essentially, it appears that the United States has gotten what it has asked for out of the negotiations. The United States has taken the position throughout that it is being generous in voluntarily returning Okinawa, which it acquired as a result of the defeat of Japan in World War II, and that Japan should therefore agree to terms of transfer that ensure that the United States does not lose out by its act.

American military bases will remain on the island after reversion, but they will then fall under the Japanese-American Defense Treaty and American forces stationed there will shift from American to Japanese legal jurisdiction.

The Japanese press reported this week that the Japanese Government will allow the VOA facilities to operate for another three to five years. The Japanese press has cited \$400 million as the range of Japanese payment in the transfer.

The Japanese Government is eager to conclude the Okinawa treaty within the next few weeks for political reasons. The Diet finishes its session at the end of May, and upper house elections take place at the end of June. A final Okinawa accord would be useful to the ruling Liberal Democrats in the electoral campaign.



Okinawa in relation to other U.S. outposts

# ★ U.S. abortion law?

Continued from Page 1

But in backing the District of Columbia law—which is similar to that in 34 other states—it also placed the burden on state lawyers to prove that there was no medical justification to end pregnancy. Legal authorities say upcoming decisions should clarify the constitutional issue once and for all.

Meanwhile, pending the report of the presidential panel and a U.S. Supreme Court decision, states continue to wrestle with abortion legislation. The trend is toward liberalization, so far mostly by broadening therapeutic reasons. New York law permits abortion on demand. So does Alaska and Hawaii. Arkansas, Colorado, Delaware, Georgia, Kansas, and Oregon, among others, have recently made their abortion laws more flexible. Hawaii, the first state to legalize unrestricted abortion last year, imposes only a 90-day residence requirement.

## Operations estimated

However, despite these trends, there are still strong moves toward stricter abortion legislation. New York's new law—which went into effect last July—now is under heated attack from the Roman Catholic Church and other opponents. (New York presently permits abortion up to the 24th

week of pregnancy with no residence requirement.)

Terence Cardinal Cooke of New York says that 100,000 "unborn children have been destroyed" in New York City alone since the law was liberalized. And Dr. Carl W. Tyler, head of family-planning evaluation activity at the Center for Disease Control in Atlanta, reports that legal abortions are running at a rate nearly half that of live births in New York and other states with liberalized laws.

Here in California, where there were more than 62,000 recorded legal abortions in 1970 under the state's liberalized therapeutic abortion act, there now is a packet of proposed restrictive legislation.

Assemblyman Robert H. Burke (R) of Huntington Beach, author of key changes, says that the present law is "widely abused."

The proposed legislation to tighten abortion laws will be aired in committee hearings here scheduled to start early in June. However, close observers say they doubt California will move to alter its abortion restrictions—one way or the other—before the U.S. Supreme Court rules on the basic constitutional question.

And some believe that the court will be influenced not so much by its prior decisions but by changing public opinion.

# THE CHRISTMAS WORLD entries

By Staff of The Christ

There's a new most beautiful beauty. They're changing. It hasn't happened here of the Great Christmas. Incredible accuracy. On May 31, the of remarkable set and British but Westminster's time became a courage, ticking at ings that destroy minister but never

As this is written, Reed Ltd., has Ben John Verro charge. One day recently, he began his down the 292 step check the time to a ter hour, and that check room temperature.

Assignment assigned. Thwaites & Reed ment from E. Den Edward John Dent metemaker, and built the clock body installed in 1859 any time in 1859.

"It was a long set. Butcher of Dent's announced. "But the on watch 24 hours grown to be too m get the labor needed. For Mr. Verro father who has b for 20 years, it's a of high importance and Friday some of the climb but w knowledge of how.

Not surprisingly, was precisely on make the tower in afternoon. The star

## CLASSIFIED CLASSIFIED

EMPLOYMENT

EMPLOYMENT

REAL ESTATE

RENT

HELP WANTED

HELP WANTED

HELP WANTED

NEW ENGLAND

NEW ENGLAND

HOUSES T

ACCOUNTANT

WIFE

LONG BEACH, CALIF

# THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

BOSTON, THURSDAY, JUNE 17, 1971

An International Daily Newspaper

## Focus

### 'Happy talk' on TV news

By Alan Bunce

New York

Solemnly, NBC's John Chancellor looks into the television camera. With an aura suitable for a network news broadcast, he declares, "We have brought you this last item not for any intrinsic value, but because this has been a pretty slow news day."

You can all but see double-takes crossing the faces of the program's 17-million-odd viewers. They were used to the wry twists of Mr. Chancellor's coanchorman, David Brinkley. But here was one of TV journalism's celebrities actually poking fun at his own program, over an item about English hens laying green eggs.

Yet the incident—which occurred a few weeks ago on NBC "Nightly News"—is just an example of something increasingly noticeable on otherwise somber network reports: a measure of humor and "warmth."

What is warmth? Warmth is the festive display on the ABC network news when Howard K. Smith had a birthday not long ago. Or Roger Mudd grimacing in his effort to stifle a chuckle over something Mike Wallace just reported on the CBS news show. Harry Reasoner's homey touch has replaced the brisker dispatches of his predecessor Frank Reynolds, and even CBS's oracular Walter Cronkite will crack a fatherly joke these days.

#### Paper airplanes

Not that world affairs are being taken lightly. Newscasters are simply laughing at themselves a bit—in reaction, perhaps, to the sober-sided business of spelling out crisis to viewers that number between 41 million and 44 million, the total news audience of the three commercial networks.

That business has been made even more sober in recent months, of course, by the publicity battle raging over the "reliability" of network news.

Still the gags fly, and especially on local stations, where three-quarters of all TV news reaches the air. Paper airplanes have been known to whiz over the heads of sportscasters and weathermen. And not long ago, a newscast was being made on a just-completed massive study on pollution. The study angered paper manufacturers as a prime villain. Newsman Roger Grimsky saw a photo-story in the fact that this study itself was printed on—you guessed it—a voluminous, unbound document.

To add emphasis at the end of his story, he chucked all 500 pages into the air and let them sail down across the studio.

#### Listeners captured

That happened on New York's WABC. Its network is considered leader of the "laugh

## Japan, U.S. tie Okinawa treaty knot

By Elizabeth Pond

Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Tokyo

Formal signing of the Okinawa reversion treaty climaxes a year and a half of tough negotiations between Japan and the United States. The next hurdle will be legislative ratification by both countries.

In Japan the ruling Liberal Democratic Party is expected to marshal the necessary Diet votes, despite opposition-party complaints about the terms of American return of Okinawa and its sister islands to Japan. Ratification in the U.S. is more problematical, with Southern senators threatening not to approve the treaty without a government agreement limiting Japanese textile exports to the U.S.

#### U.S. military to stay

On military installations the U.S. will, after reversion, maintain its major bases and its present deployment of 40,000 to 50,000 troops, which will then fall under the Japan-U.S. security treaty.

Okinawa will remain much more heavily fortified than Japan proper, with American forces with offensive capacity stationed on it and with a little under 20 percent of its land surface devoted to U.S. military bases.

American officials emphasize that there will be no loss of military effectiveness on Okinawa as a result of the return. The U.S. will continue to use six sevenths of its present military acreage in Okinawa, including all major installations and bases. The only American unit that will be withdrawn will be a military-intelligence school primarily used for training third-country nationals.

#### Objectives gained

In the final agreement the U.S. has essentially gotten what it wanted, in continued use of military bases in Okinawa without reduction of forces; in Tokyo's assumption of an Okinawan defense role closely coordinated with the Americans; in continued Voice of America broadcasting from Okinawa; and in omission of any explicit promise that nuclear weapons will not be kept in Okinawa in the future.

★ Please turn to Page 4

#### Assurances of closer ties

## Brandt gains Washing

By Lucia Mount

Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Keeping them there, the two countries are trying to negotiate an offset agreement. The broad principles of such an agreement

Dramatic press disclosures of part of the U.S. war record on Vietnam reverberate in foreign offices around the world. Washington officials worry that American security has been seriously breached, writes

George W. Ashworth (below). The Nixon administration's action in having the disclosures halted raises charges of censorship (Courtney R. Sheldon, Page 10). Meanwhile, the Senate plans its own probe (Richard L. Strout, Page 10).

## U.S. security

By George W. Ashworth

Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

Disclosure of portions of the Pentagon's war record has raised several security issues that go far beyond the war.

Because the issue is Vietnam, the very controversy of that war and the way it was started has tended to overshadow so far the possible security implications of the disclosures in the New York Times.

But officials here see these potential difficulties:

- Some of the material used was originally encoded, at least several items being sent in very classified and closely held forms. Disclosures of these messages in their un-coded form could serve to help other interested nations decipher other messages of

## ★Japan and U.S. tie Okinawa treaty knot

Continued from Page 1

The Japanese Government has gotten what it wanted in the rare return by the victor to the vanquished a territory lost in war; in reversion by 1972; in the complete removal of all U.S. military planes from Naha civilian airport by the time of reversion; in return of the potentially oil-rich Senkaku Islands (though the U.S. has pointedly not declared its views on the sovereignty claims of Japan, Taiwan, and mainland China); and in getting a token American payment for outstanding Okinawan claims against the U.S.

### Opposition unhappy

Opposition forces in Japan have not gotten what they called for, in that reversion will mean no appreciable reduction of American forces and base or their military role; no explicit nonnuclear promise; no end to VOA broadcasting; no removal of special forces; and no restriction on flights over other countries by U.S. strategic reconnaissance SR71's stationed on Okinawa.

Thirty-four U.S. facilities will be turned over to the Japanese Government on or before reversion. Thirteen facilities will be turned over as soon as Japanese self-defense forces are able to man them, probably within six months to a year. Together, these facilities will constitute about 14,500 acres, or one-seventh of the present U.S. military area there.

From a military and psychological point of view the most important of these will be Naha airport, Naha port (where the U.S. will retain a military port area similar to its Yokohama port area in Japan proper), a petroleum tank farm, and a central housing area.

### Atomic angle kept oblique

On nuclear weapons the Japanese opposition has pressed Tokyo to get an explicit guarantee that the Americans would never



Gordon N. Converse, chief photographer

Shoppers in Kyoto, Japan

### Will the newer generation even remember Okinawa?

keep such weapons on Okinawa. American law forbids public disclosure of nuclear deployment, however. The issue is therefore handled in the treaty only obliquely.

American officials confirm the interpretation that the U.S. could in the future introduce nuclear weapons into Okinawa with the consent of the Japanese Government.

The Japanese opposition, fearing that government consent would be readily forthcoming, has pressed Prime Minister Eisaku Sato hard on the issue. In reply Prime Minister Sato has stressed his confidence that

the U.S. government will fulfill its assurances.

On VOA broadcasting from Okinawa, the U.S. succeeded in getting no firm terminal date on its operation. It will be allowed to function for a minimum of five years, with the prospect of that period being extended through consultations.

American sources report that the particularly thorny problem of protection of U.S. business interests in Okinawa is resolved in the treaty to the satisfaction of the business interests themselves.

American enterprises, consisting of three or four large companies and 200-odd small firms for a total of some \$175 million book value, will essentially be free to carry on operations in Okinawa in the future as at present.

The three major companies of Esso, Gulf, and Fairchild will function as joint ventures and have already worked out the conditions of their operation.

Other companies that have licenses for Okinawa even if they have right to operate; these would have to work out their own specifics, possibly also in the form of joint ventures, with the Japanese. Inherent rights will include sales in Japan proper, though not relocation of plants there.

### Mrs. Knauer charges delay in juice labeling

By the Associated Press

Scottsdale, Ariz.

President Nixon's consumer adviser has accused government and industry of unconscionable delay in resolving consumers' doubts over whether they are getting flavored water or the real thing when they buy orange juice.

Mrs. Virginia H. Knauer, special assistant for consumer affairs, said consumers are practically helpless in determining from titles like "juice," "juice drink," and "drink-ade" how much the product has been diluted.

She noted it has been seven years since the Food and Drug Administration proposed requiring that labels show the percentage of dilution in juice drinks.

Mrs. Knauer said she was amazed that the FDA proposals permit as little as 50 percent orange juice in any drink labeled "orange juice drink."

## Meat budget fare

Thrifty Gourmet Williams-Heller, World Library.

"Many inexpensive, tasty and nutritious recipes often more flavorful than those of Williams-Heller a problem of preparation today's budget."

Each recipe in this book tells what meat to buy, how to freeze and how to use planned leftovers.

Beside the 200 recipes of the world's best roasts, steaks, chops, loaves, with a list of what you can create with them.

There are sections on carving, pot roasting, and a complete glossary and a complete index.

Ann Williams-Heller, known in her field as the "Queen of Meat," has written five books on national cuisines.

Mrs. Williams-Heller and her husband received the Order of the Swiss Cross in Switzerland. She is a biochemist and a lecturer from Columbia University in European hotels. She has lectured from 30 States in women's groups.

## ★German Communist line—still hard

Continued from Page 1

This statement brought the East German Government more closely in line with the apparent Soviet desire for a rapprochement with the West.

Nevertheless, the East German leader's statement, which he read with a sober voice in

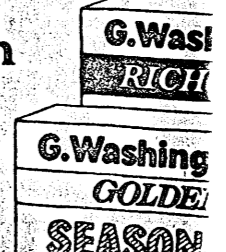
becomes more dangerous and more aggressive, the stronger socialism has become. "Imperialism is parasitical, decaying capitalism which seeks to delay its historic fate through heightened aggressiveness."

Mr. Honecker categorically rejected the possibility that capitalism might change,

are represented at the congress, including many non-Communist "national democratic" groups and parties.

The one issue with regard to which Mr. Honecker was most original was his approach to the concept of a nation, and particularly his definition of the German nation.

• Not just a broth  
• Not just a seasoning  
• Not just



# Focus

## Mod, mod East bloc

By Eric Bourne

Vienna

Albanian "dandies" and pop-minded young Bulgarians and Romanians seeking more student freedom are all compelling their Communist mentors to pay more heed to youth's restless moods in the modern world.

All three regimes tried longer than others in Eastern Europe to play Canute against so-called "Western influences" and ignore the universal generation problem.

Prompted by the sound and picture images that cross their borders from foreign radio and television, they are just beginning to relax.

Even little Albania, self-enclosed within its own geographical-ideological "fortress" for two decades, finally admits vulnerability.

### Source of fashion

Like Bulgaria, it still hammers away against Western music and dress styles. But both regimes now are taking the line that "if you can't beat 'em, join 'em" by trying to make their own radio and TV "competitive," that is, more attractive to their youth.

The Albanian party daily Zeri i Popullit weighed in recently against the "long-haired and strangely got-up dandies" of Dures, the country's principal port.

With Italy a few hours only across the Adriatic, it is clear where the fashion was coming from.

Albanian TV is still an infant. But Italian TV comes in clear — and also that from neighboring Yugoslavia where programs can be as "hip" as any.

"Young people," Zeri i Popullit said mournfully, "absorb everything, including foreign fashions and bourgeois behavior."

Authority, however, is yielding and making the best of it by encouraging youth "festivals" where previously banned rhythms and small combos are permitted. Radio Tirana has instituted its own "Saturday night" with an unprecedented politics-free four hours of nonstop light music.

### Broadcasting revamped

Bulgaria — where folk of all ages listen to Western broadcasts for news as well as entertainment — has revamped its entire broadcasting network.

Recently, a student asked the youth organization's newspaper Narodna Mladost why the new music "has conquered the world with the single exception of Bulgaria?" "Had we shown the same attitude toward everything new we would still be using wooden plows and goose quills."

Sofia Radio's first channel now gives day-long popular music — strongly laced, too, with English and American "pop" — and a second with only brief news headlines.

## Nine U.S. planes prolong Impasse on Okinawa

By Elizabeth Pond  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Tokyo

Four hurdles remain in final U.S.-Japanese negotiations on Okinawa revision before a final treaty can be signed.

The negotiations are dragging out largely because of nine U.S. Navy planes.

Tokyo wants Okinawa's main civilian airport, Naha, totally civilianized on American return of the island to Japan by removal of these several military planes. Symbolically, the status of this gateway to Okinawa is important to public opinion in a country that outlaws war in its Constitution.

The U.S. Navy, however, balks at transferring its P-3 antisubmarine reconnaissance planes to Kadena Air Force Base 12 miles

## General charged in Viet killing

By George W. Ashworth  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

The United States Army is apparently unwilling to let charges of war crimes in South Vietnam rest until they are fully resolved.

The Army has charged Brig. Gen. John W. Donaldson for the alleged murder and assault of Vietnamese civilians. According to the charges, General Donaldson, until recently a senior planner with the Joint Chiefs of Staff in the Pentagon, is charged with alleged murder of six Vietnamese and alleged assault against two South Vietnamese.

General Donaldson is the first American general charged with committing war crimes as a result of Vietnam; he is the first to be charged with such alleged crimes since the Philippine insurrection some 70 years ago.

The highest ranking officer previously charged in connection with war crimes was Col. Oran Henderson, whose court-martial charges of trying to cover up the My Lai massacre is under way at Ft. Meade.

One other American general, former Maj. Gen. (now Brig.) Samuel W. Koster was charged, not with war crimes, but in connection with the My Lai massacre of March, 1968. The charges were later dropped, but General Koster was reduced one grade by Secretary of the Army Stanley R. Resor for failing to live up to the standards expected of an officer of his grade.

### Colonel charged

Also charged, now is Lt. Col. William J. McCloskey, who served as General

away, saying it would cost \$40 million to build necessary new facilities.

The U.S. Air Force likewise balks at accepting the P-3's at Kadena, saying it needs all the space on the 5,261-acre base itself.

A second major unresolved issue concerns Okinawan claims for damages, resulting from American operations. Here the State Department position is that it gave final, congressionally approved compensation for claims in 1965, and it cannot now go to Congress for more appropriations. The United States acknowledges that there are legitimate claims since that date, but settlement of them still poses some knotty problems.

It now is expected by both sides that outstanding differences between the two countries will be resolved when Japanese Foreign Minister Kiichi Aichi and American Secretary of State William P. Rogers meet in Paris next week.

### Broadcasting disputed

A third issue which has stirred a considerable furor here is the strong public desire to have the United States pledge that Okinawa will be kept free of nuclear weapons. Diplomats believe, however, that this issue can be handled by judicious wording in the agreement, even if such wording has not yet been worked out.

A fourth issue not yet completely resolved is that of Voice of America broadcasting. Japan has wanted to make it clear that the American transmitter on Okinawa will continue to function only for a finite transitional period; the United States has not wanted to be bound by a terminal date.

On this question, according to sources, the Americans are essentially getting their way. Broadcasting will reportedly continue for five years but will not necessarily be limited to that period.

The major question of bases—apart from Naha Airport—is settled. Under the American counting system there are currently 140-150 American installations on Okinawa. Under the consolidated Japanese counting there are 80-90, of which only 10 to 20 of the smaller ones will go to Japan by reversion date.

### Date still uncertain

The Japanese Government acknowledges that the Okinawa bases are a vital link in the American defense system and that particularly with continuing withdrawal from Vietnam, the United States will need to maintain its present level of bases on Okinawa for several years.

The actual date of transfer in 1972 has not yet been decided upon. On the U.S. side, the Department of State does not want to specify a date lest the Senate consider this executive preempting of legislative prerogatives.

Tokyo, however, finds it a political necessity to announce a target date when it makes the agreement public. Its preferred date is April 1, which opens both the Japanese fiscal year and the school year. The day mentioned by the United States is July 1.

★ Please turn to Page 14

As President Nixon's three top aides charge that the president's former general counsel, Dr. Henry Kissinger, has been "grossly negligent" in handling the Vietnam peace negotiations, they have demanded that he be removed from the post.

**Cr**  
**CO**

# Oklahoma businessmen battle tax increase

Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Oklahoma City

Oklahoma Gov. David Hall is locked in a battle with some of his state's top industrial and financial leaders over efforts to push through a state tax increase.

The fight has brought charges that Mr. Hall, who campaigned on no new taxes and tax relief for lower income levels, is anti-business.

Governor Hall has pushed a \$21 million oil and natural-gas increase through the Legislature, which became effective May 1. Now he is pressing for a \$17 million income-tax boost aimed at corporations and individuals with incomes above the \$16,000 level.

The result has been that the Democratic Governor has placed the Democratic Legislature under the most pressure it has faced since it considered and passed the repeal of prohibition in 1939.

### Requests whittled

The Governor, who said repeatedly during his campaign that he opposed a tax increase, startled legislators in January when he proposed an \$82.6 million tax increase in a state with a \$279 million general-fund budget. He sought \$43.5 million from an income-tax raise and \$39 million from a natural-gas tax.

The Legislature whittled the original requests to the present level. Recently, the Governor defended the new tax as necessary. He predicted state revenue will fall \$32.5 million short of expectations during the coming fiscal year.

"Quality education and safe roads top our priorities," he said, adding, "With inflation and increasing demands, the state must have more money."

Mr. Hall charged the oil and gas industry with "selfishness" and labeled them "fat cats."

He told a television audience, "Many people today who are lobbying the Oklahoma Legislature made over \$200,000 last year and did not pay one dime of state income tax last year."

Tax opponents hinted that the Governor singled out the oil and gas industry for tax increases because that group supported Republican Gov. Dewey F. Bartlett in his unsuccessful bid for reelection.

### Chamber official attacks

The anti-business charge was first hurled by Paul Strasbaugh, executive vice-president of the Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce.

In a speech Mr. Strasbaugh said, "I am sincerely and honestly convinced that the

efforts of the past one-quarter century for industrial development in Oklahoma stand in jeopardy at this moment."

The top executive of Kerr-McGee Corporation, a major energy producer, blasted the Hall tax plan as "unfair" and "discriminatory." The charge was made by Dean A. McGee, chairman of the board, who formed the company with the late U.S. Senator Robert S. Kerr.

Mr. McGee, who seldom speaks out publicly, said, "The [income] tax is being imposed on leadership of the state, the people to whom we should be looking to expanding existing industry and to assist in encouraging new industry to come to the state."

### Cutbacks put through

The executive said his company was delaying several expansion projects in the state because of the tax program.

Skelly Oil Company, Tulsa, announced it was phasing out its Oklahoma oil and gas exploration and would develop no more resources in the state.

Roy Edwards, president of Oklahoma City-based Wilson & Co., labeled the Hall proposal "a cruel hoax that will have disastrous consequences for Oklahoma."

Governor Hall has answered his critics by blaming the Nixon administration for the nation's economic ills. He also says that Oklahoma's oil and gas rates are still less than those of Texas and Louisiana and that income-tax averages are still below surrounding states.

## ★Okinawa talks deadlocked

Continued from Page 1

On the SRT1 strategic-reconnaissance planes the Japanese Government has elicited from the Americans the statement it would like, saying that these planes should not violate any other country's airspace.

The Eisaku Sato government would like to have the signed agreement would like to have the signed agreement in hand before the upper-house elections on June 27. With the impasse over the nine Navy planes signing now has been postponed from June 1 to June 17.

Leftist demonstrations in Tokyo against the agreement likewise are having to be rescheduled. The one last weekend timed for the eve of signing, resulted in almost 300 arrests after a Molotov-cocktail clash with police.

to impose their moral on the state."

As a thing we have found is very organized and very Catholicism are generally of the abortion law."

Some areas of the state have been liberalized abortion law in Richmond County, generally considered as the most liberalized abortion law. In more moderate areas, 76 percent of the rest not want to go back to liberal law charge that a right to be born and opponents of the liberal abortion law.

Materialize: out-of-state New York for abortions. In half of the abortions performed on out-of-state there are as many as there are live.

It have to come here to more than she should have a baby," said a named Parenthood As-

New York. York state's law prohibits the pressure off some their own laws. How- practically every state looked to New York to cal laws.

problems look; they are finding them arising from the private abortion-referral up business as soon ent into effect.

He made a concerted the huge demand for soliciting out-of-state is advertise heavily in newspapers. Some 25 profit on each abortion from hospitals.

feel that even if the be abolished—either through action of the

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GREENWICH

(Continued)



CONNECTICUT

HARTFORD

Goodwin

Loomis & Britton

CONNECTICUT

MERIDEN

(Continued)



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NEW CANAAN

(Continued)

ONE STOP GARDEN CENTER

The Christian Science Monitor

May 22, 1971

# Reversion issue

## Japanese withstand Okinawa protests

By Elizabeth Pond  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Tokyo  
The Japanese Government is riding out the current storm of opposition to continued United States use of military bases on Okinawa. Its policy is to react as little as possible and let the storm blow itself out.

A general strike was mounted May 19 by labor unions in Okinawa to protest the terms of America's 1972 return of the island to Japan. Minor skirmishes took place, involving right-wingers, demonstrators, riot police and some American servicemen.

Sources in Tokyo indicated that this level of protest was livable, and probably would peter out in a day or two.

Dissatisfaction with the conditions of reversion is not confined to Okinawans, though feeling runs highest on the island.

Opposition parties in Japan proper and the bulk of editorial comment in Tokyo also are objecting to the course of negotiations as it is becoming known. Prime Minister Eisaku Sato and Foreign Minister Kiichi Aichi faced stiff questioning on Okinawa in the Diet last week and this.

### Two-pronged objective

Protest is directed at two targets: continued stationing of American combat forces on Okinawa after reversion with no protected reductions, and the suspected presence of American nuclear weapons on the island now or in the future.

In the political shorthand that has developed, dissidents are demanding a homeland-level reversion of Okinawa rather than "Okinawization of the homeland."

They want the return of Okinawa to mean a decline in U.S. military presence on the island. They fear instead that it will mean that the Japanese, American security forces in Okinawa after reversion, may involve Japan in some future American war.

According to an exchange of notes at the prime minister-secretary of state level at the time of the 1960 treaty, the United States may not conduct combat operations with forces stationed in Japan or bring nuclear weapons into Japan without prior consultation with Tokyo.

In practice, prior consultation has rarely, little importance for the 35,000 American troops now based on Japan

proper; for these are largely logistics service, and maintenance personnel.

### Combat units on island

U.S. forces currently in Okinawa, however, number 50,000, including the combat-ready Third Marine Division that just recently left Vietnam and Air Force F-105 and F-4E fighter planes. B-52's which run bombing raids on Indo-China ceased using Okinawa's Kadena Air Base last year.

The Japanese press has summed up the contrast by calculating that Okinawa has a density of military facilities 200 times that of Japan proper.

When Prime Minister Sato and President Nixon agreed in principle to Okinawa reversion in 1969, Mr. Sato indicated in veiled language that the Japanese Government would be sympathetic if the United States found military action necessary in Korea or Taiwan. This sympathy, apparently is not going to be restated explicitly in the Okinawa agreement, but it is understood to continue unchanged.

### Operations defined

Under the present narrow Japanese interpretation, departure by U.S. Marines from Okinawa to Vietnam to fight would not constitute combat operations requiring Japanese approval. Nor would an airlift of paratroops from the United States that stopped briefly in Okinawa.

Only a case in which paratroops based in Okinawa were flown, say, to Korea, where they jumped into battle, would Japanese consent be required. Okinawans and Japanese opposition parties fear, therefore, that their government might in the future give virtually automatic approval to combat by American troops stationed in Okinawa and then be held responsible for them.

On the introduction of nuclear weapons into Okinawa, opposition forces have found government assurances ambiguous and "abstract." When asked in Parliament how the Japanese Government would verify the total absence of nuclear weapons, Foreign Minister Aichi replied: "Through all possible measures and convincing methods." This answer, Tokyo editorial comment took to be lacking in concreteness.

Subsidiary military issues include nerve gas (scheduled to be removed from Okinawa by fall), special units like the Okinawa Bersers and a psychological operations group (which will probably stay on), and SR-71 strategic reconnaissance planes. Three SR-71's currently are based at Kadena, and two additional hangars reportedly are being built to raise housing capacity to five of the planes.

## ★ Britons rally

Continued from Page 1

A May 15-18 Harris poll for the Daily Express queried 1,031 voters from 120 constituencies and reports 62 percent against membership, 20 in favor, but 82 percent believing Britain will go in.

Opinion Research Center (ORC) polled voters for the European movement at the end of April and reports 56 percent against membership, 30 percent for. Of the three polls, only ORC reports declining opposition; the other two organizations gave figures this week indicating rising resistance.

The Conservative empire-cherishing Daily Express is bristly and bombastic on market membership. "Mr. Pompidou may call this a marriage," their editorial said May 20. "The British people call it a life sentence."

Mail such as that reaching newspapers, offices in nameless envelopes represents "the Protestant alliance" and warns that the Common Market "is a predominantly Roman Catholic bloc." It refers to the market as "the Common (slave) Market."

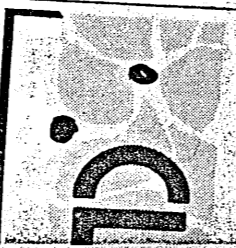
More politically reasoned, Mr. Marten's arguments warn of the perils of any future European parliament.

### Sovereignty concern

"The major part of our sovereignty will pass to the European Parliament," he warned this week in an article in the Evening Standard. "The British Parliament will be left with a residue of minor matters from Westminster, than it is today."

"This is no hysterical forecast; it is based upon the logical consequences of what the Europeans have said. This is the real issue upon which the matter should be debated."

Across the House from Mr. Marten, on Labour's front bench, Anthony Wedgwood Benn, former Minister of Technology, this week renewed his campaign for a national referendum on Britain's entry into the Common Market. He suspects most members



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書文会營給  
調査長  
領移長  
参企析調  
参領旅移  
参地中東  
長北東西  
参北北保  
中南  
参一  
参西東洋  
長西東  
近ア  
長経経国資  
次総経国資  
長経協長  
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412

電信写

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71年 7月 19日 10時 0分 本 省 着

主管  
米北

外務大臣殿 4 (大使) 臨時代理大使 総領事 代理

核兵器の所在に関する論評

第2026号 平 至急(ゆう先処理)

18日のWPは「核兵器の所在を明らかにせよ」と題するハルペリン(前国防省ISA次官補代理)の要旨次のとおりの論文を掲載している。

オキナワに核兵器が配置されていることにつき日米の新聞記者、日本反対党の政治家ならびにオキナワの人々は否定しない。しかし米国政府の当局者は米国の安全を脅すとの理由の下に、核兵器の存在につきこれを確認も否定もしないのが米国政府の方針であるとして言及しない。過去における唯一の例外は、マクナマラ国防長官が、米国が在欧核兵器の増強を拒否していたにもかかわらず、なぜ欧州から核を引あげようとしているのかと事実と逆のことで責められた時に、たまりかねて「欧州には米国は7000以上の核兵器を保持している」ともらしたことがある。しかし、このようにマクナマラは核兵器について言及したがそのために米国の安全が脅されるようなことはなかつた。

核兵器の所在は見当のつくことであつて、従つてその存在

外務省

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電信写

に言明を回避しようとするのは、ソ連や中共になぞをかけるためではない。むしろ米国政府が/回核兵器の所在を明らかにすれば他の全ての関係国から情報の提供、公表を求められ、際限のないことになるからであり、そのため米国は核兵器を配置してある友好国の政府とかたらずて、国民に核兵器の存在を明らかにしない方針で臨んできた。対外約束に関する議会のサイミントン小委員会ですら核に関する情報をふうじられてきた。

かくの如く米国民が米国の安全上の重大事項に関し一切情報を否定されていることは問題である。他方米国政府のかくの如き方針によりオキナワの核兵器に関連して日本国民は疑心暗きとなつて日米関係に暗影を投げかけている。右核兵器を台湾に移すという報道があるが、これが事実とすれば台湾からの引あげを遅延せしめることとなり、また米中関係改善に悪影響を及ぼすこととなる。

本件の如き重大問題について米国民が相談にあずかれないのは許し難い。米国は核兵器をその存在を明らかにすることが不都合な国々の領域から移動撤去すべきである。その上で大統領は議会及び国民に対し、核兵器の存在を許容する外国地域での核兵器につきリストと配置理由を説明すべきである。しかして米国は国外に核兵器を配置すべきかどうかにつき公論の機会を与えられるべきである。

(了)

外務省

秘密表示 (朱印)

部数指示	発信用	執務用	備考
主信	/	/	2
付			
属	30		

発送日 昭和46年7月26日  
 処理日  
 発着タイプ 検査

文書課長 公 信 案 (分 類)

公 信 番 号	178	公 信 日 付	昭和46年7月26日
大 臣	主管	起案	昭和46年7月19日
政務次官	アメリカ局長	起案者	古田 2498
事務次官	参事官	電話番号	
外務審議官	北米才一課		
外務審議官			
官房長			
協議先			
受信者	在沖経高瀬大使	発信者	外務大臣 臨時代理
写送付先		(希望発送日)	
件名	電信転報 (核兵器の所在に關する論評)		

GA-2 23 22 外務省 回覧番号

朱批 第 178 号  
 昭和46年7月23日

沖縄復帰準備委員会  
 日本国政府代表 殿

外務大臣

電信転報 (核兵器の所在に關する論評)

本件に関する下記電信 (1) 通を転報する。

記

71年7月18日在米 発本大臣 あて 第 2026 号

付属添付

GA-4

外務省

( 部の内 号)

大政事外儀官  
務務典房  
次次典房  
臣官官審審長長  
儀儀人電厚計  
(書文会営給)

調査長  
領移長  
参企析調  
参領旅査移

テ 中東  
長 北東西  
(米) 参北北保  
長 中南  
参一  
歐 参西東洋  
長 西東

近ア長 参書近ア  
経 次総経国資  
長 参統三万  
経協長 参政技二  
参一理  
(参) 参  
長 参政経科  
国 参社專  
長 参道内外  
文長 二

注意

1. 本電の取扱いは慎重を期せられたい。
2. 本電の主管変更その他については検閲班に連絡ありたい。

電信写

71年 7月 29日 19時 59分 米 国 発  
71年 7月 30日 09時 46分 本 省 着

外務大臣殿 牛場(大使) 臨時代理大使 総領事 代理

オキナワに関する米上院議員の演説

第2/49号 平 至急

28日ピアソン(共)、29日バード(民)の両上院議員は本会議でオキナワに関連し要旨下記の通りの演説を行なつた。(テキスト空送)

1. ピアソン議員

(1) 日米関係は両国の政治家が力りようを弛きして両国の対立を避くべき極めてデリケートな時期差しかかっている。差し当つては上院のオキナワ返かん協定の審議が問題であり、一部にこれを貿易問題と結びつける動きがあるが、このため批准ができない事態になれば日本の競争ナショナリズムをよびおこすこととなろう。よろしく日米関係の全体としての重要性の中で問題を位置づけるべきであらう。

(2) 日本は予見し得る将来ビルマから朝鮮までのアジア全域で中国に対抗し得る唯一国であり、アジアにおけるクソン・ドクトリン成功のカギである。今後の米中接近が日本との密接な連けいをなさないがしろにしていゝとは考

外務省

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2. 本電の主管変更その他については検閲班に連絡ありたい。

電信写

れない。

(3) 日米間の経済問題については、日本の輸出により困難に立たされている一部産業の声にみみを傾けるだけでなく、日本が米国農産物のナンバーワン輸入国であることをわすれてはならないであらう。

2. バード議員

(1) 米国はアジアで広はんな防衛義務を引きえている。この義務は厳然と存在するものであり、義務を引きうけているからにはその遂行能力を米国は保持せねばならない。しかるに日本はGNPの1%の防衛費を費しているのみで西太平洋における防衛パートナーの役割を引受ける能力を持つに至っていない。

(2) オキナワ返かん協定は現在の米国がオキナワ基地に対しもつている無制限な権限を制限し日本は米国の行動に拒否権をも持つこととなろう。

私はオキナワが究極的には日本に返されることに反対しないが米国が西太平洋に防衛義務をもちかつ日本の防衛努力が足りない現在は返かんに適当な時期とは思われない。もし協定を上院が承認するのならばすべからくアジアの防衛義務をけい減すべきである。

(了)

外務省

560 335

中 轉 送

( 部の内 号 ) 注 意

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- 大政事外外儀官
- 事務次長
- 典房
- 臣官官審審長長
- 儀給入電厚計
- 書文会當給
- 調査員
- 参折調
- 領移長
- 参領旅査移
- 参地中東
- 参北北西
- 参北北保
- 参一二
- 参西東洋
- 参西東
- 参書近ア
- 次総経国資源
- 参質統国万
- 参政技二
- 参国一理
- 参条條規
- 参政経科
- 参軍社專
- 参道内外
- 参文

電信写

総番号(TA) 43701 主管  
 71年8月25日21時10分 米 国 発 着  
 71年8月26日10時43分 本 省 着 米北1

外務大臣殿 大河原 大使 臨時代理大使 総領事 代理

オキナワ問題に関する投書

第2549号 平 至急

25日付ニューヨーク・タイムズの投書らんに「TO AID THE PEOPLE OF THE RYUKYUS」と題する元米民政官 SHANNON MCCUNE (初代の非軍人民政官)の投書が掲載されているところ、右要旨次のとおり。(切りぬき空送する)

1、米上院は休会あけにオキナワ返かん協定に対し助言と同意を与える責任がある。同協定はオキナワを右に対する潜在主権を有する日本に平和りに返かんすることを取り決めている。上院の承認がオキナワ返かんとの関係のないせん維問題の故に遅らされることがあつてはならない。

2、返かん協定の第6条と第7条は三公社を日本政府に3億2,000万ドルで売却することを取り決めている。これら三公社の成功は米側により大きな責任を与えられたオキナワ出身の管理者、技術者の努力によつている。これらオキナワ住民の果たした役割りを考え、私は日本政府の支払う3億2,000万ドルをもとにして「リュウ米教育科学

外務省

注 意

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電信写

文化基金」を設立することを提案する。

3、かかる基金は米国が過去においてオキナワで援助の手をさしのべて来た各種の活動を引き続き支援することが出来る。例えばリュウキユウ大学、首りはく物館、英語センター、各種文化センター、学者の交流、衛生関係問題等の分野で資金を活用しうる。

4、また、日本政府に対し、米側資金に見合つた資金の供与を求めるべきである。オキナワ戦で10万人以上の民間人死亡者を出したオキナワの住民のぎせいを思えば日本政府としても資金供与を正当化する理由を見出せよう。

5、かかる基金は施政権返かん後も米国が引き続きオキナワ住民に関心を寄せているということの証左となる。

(了)

外務省

アメリカ局長  
参事官  
北米第一課長

特別長  
知事  
村長  
信

政第 77100 号 昭和46年 8 月 27 日

外務大使 殿 在米大河原臨時代理大使

引用(来)(往)公信・電信番号 往電カ 2549 号

送付資料

沖縄問題に関する投書  
(8月25日付ニユ-ヨ-クタイハス)

希望配布先

付属添付  付属空便(行)  付属空便(D.P.)  付属船便(貨)   
 (郵)

信写送付先 (別添とも)

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首席	務官
総	務
連	總
渉外	調査
漁	業
航	空
科学	協
連絡	調整
調	査
力	夕
局	務



## Letters to the Editor

### To Aid the People of the Ryukyus

To the Editor:

The United States Senate after its recess will have the responsibility of granting its "advice and consent" on the Agreement between Japan and the U. S. signed on June 17. The Agreement provides for the peaceful return of the Ryukyu Islands to Japan which has held "residual sovereignty" over them.

This generous move by the U. S. in returning territory held since World War II merits praise. It is a move the Soviet Union could do well to emulate by returning the islands off the coast of Hokkaido which it seized after World War II. Approval of the Agreement in the Senate should not be delayed over the extraneous issue of Japanese textile import quotas which have little bearing on the American return of Okinawa.

Articles VI and VII of the Agreement provide for the sale of the Ryukyu Electric Power Corporation, the Ryukyu Domestic Water Corporation and the Ryukyu Development Loan Corporation to the Japanese Government for \$320,000,000, truly a bargain price.

The success of these notable joint Ryukyuan-American enterprises is due, in part, to excellent services rendered

by Ryukyuan managers and technicians, given considerable responsibilities by the United States Civil Administration. Because of their involvement in the development and growth of these corporations both as producers and consumers it seems only right that the Ryukyuan people should benefit from their sale. Therefore, I propose that the \$320,000,000 being paid by Japan be used by the United States as the capital resources of a Ryukyuan-American Educational, Scientific and Cultural Foundation.

Such a foundation could support the activities which the United States has assisted in the past in these fields and in which it should take great pride. Such institutions as the University of the Ryukyus, the Museum at Shuri, the English Language Center, various cultural centers and technical and vocational schools—most of them built with American funds—could profitably use grants from the Foundation to advance their programs. The exchange programs for visiting scholars and travel grants for Ryukyuan students in the United States could be continued. Public health programs through which malaria and polio have been eradicated need continued assistance for the well-being of the million Okinawans. The great resources of the

Ryukyu Islands are its courteous, diligent, gentle and persevering people. The Foundation would nurture these resources. On its return to Japan, Okinawa should not be allowed to become again the poorest and most neglected prefecture.

There are precedents for such American action: the Boxer Indemnity Fund in China, the Fulbright programs all over the world, the United States Educational program in India and so on. Use of the Japanese payments for such a Foundation would only require action by the United States Government. Furthermore, the Japanese Government should be urged to make a matching yen contribution.

Such action on the part of the Japanese Government would be justified in view of the great sacrifices made by the Okinawan people in World War II when over 100,000 civilians lost their lives during the Battle of Okinawa. The proposed Foundation through its programs of developing the human resources of the Ryukyu Islands would be tangible evidence of America's continuing interest in the people of Okinawa after they revert to Japan.

SHANNON McCUNE  
Gananoque, Ont., Aug. 11, 1971  
The writer, Professor of Geography at the University of Florida, served as the first civilian Civil Administrator of the Ryukyu Islands in 1962-64.

注意

- 1. 本電の取扱いは慎重を期せられたい。
- 2. 本電の主管変更その他については検閲班に連絡ありたい。

電信写

大政事外外儀官  
 務務典房  
 次次  
 臣官官審審長長  
 儀総人電厚計  
 書文会管給

調査長  
 参企析調  
 参領旅査移  
 長

参地中東  
 長  
 北東西  
 参北北保  
 長  
 中南雅  
 参一三  
 参西東洋  
 長  
 西東

参書近ア  
 長  
 次総経国資  
 参質統  
 参政技一理  
 長  
 国企二  
 参条協規  
 長  
 参政経科  
 長  
 車社專  
 参道内外  
 長  
 文

総番号(TA) 49636  
 71年9月25日00時10分  
 71年9月13日13時46分  
 米 国 本省  
 主 管 情道  
 発 着

外務大臣殿 牛場(大使) 臨時代理大使 総領事 代理

日本の政情(新聞論調)

第3022号 平

24日ワシントン・ポストは論評らんにSATO'S SURVIVAL HANGS IN BALANCEと題する要旨下記ハリソン記者の報道を掲げている。(切りぬき空送)

1. 中国問題に関する米国の両決議案の共同提案国となるとの決定以来、サトウ総理に対する退任圧力が増大している。米国の決議案が国連で敗れることがあればサトウ総理は11月にオキナワ国会が終った時点で辞職を余ぎなくされよう。決議案が採択されたとしてもサトウ氏の政権維持は容易でなからうといわれている。

2. 共同提案国になるとのサトウ総理の決定は、オキナワ返かん実現への考慮によるところが大きいと見られている。中国問題で米国に協力することによりサトウ氏は日本のオキナワ国会が米国上院におけるオキナワ協定審議に及ぼすべき影響を和らげ、かつ経済問題についてニクソン大統領の歩み寄りを得ることを期待しているといわれる。

注意

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電信写

3. 共同提案国問題についての総理の異例なテレビによる発表は、この決定をサトウ氏が自らの責任においてとつたことを強調せんとするものである。サトウ総理は従来から国府と密接なつながりを有し、台湾が何らかの形で本土から分離していることは日本の利益であると考えていた。総理はこの考えを今さら急に変えれば自分はオポチニストと見られると述べた由であるが、最近のシェウオンライの発言によりサトウ氏にとっては共同提案国になる以外の名もある途(HONORABLE COURSE)はなくなつたといえよう。

4. ニクソンの訪中発表以降の日本財界の態度の変更を反えいして、自由民主党内の反サトウ勢力は中国問題をサトウ氏の退任を迫る道具に利用しており、また野党は中国問題をオキナワ基地の問題と結びつけている。米中間のきん張かん和の可能性に照らし、サトウ政権が米国の軍事的プレゼンスの存在を正当化することはますます困難となつている。

5. 基地問題中特に注目すべきはヨコスカ基地である。ヴァード長官は先般の訪日の際してヨコスカ基地を整理するとのそれ以前の決定をくつがえし、更にエンタープライズを含む原子力艦船の寄港の承認、その他の便益の提供により日本は米国の核抑止力維持に協力すべきであると主張し

注意

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電信写

た。日本政府は米政府に対しオキナワ国会終了まではエンタープライズ問題を持出さないよう求めているが日本の野党はすでに本件にしよう点をあてつつある。  
(了)

外務省

秘密表示(朱印)  
平文

部数指示	発信用	執務用	備考
主信	18	1	又2
付	そのま		
属	付属添付		

発送日	昭和46年10月8日
処理日	
発信	タイプ
	検査

文書課長 (印) 公 信 案 (分類)

公 信 番 号	本比 第 234 号	公 信 日 付	昭和46年10月7日
大 臣	主 管	起 案 日	昭和46年10月7日
政 務 次 官	アメリカ局長	起 案 者	三田村
事 務 次 官	参 事 官	電 話 番 号	2478
外 務 審 議 官	北米才一課長		
外 務 審 議 官			
官 房 長			
協議先			
受 信 者	在 沖 繩 高 瀬 大 使		発 信 者 木村 佐藤 外務大臣臨時代理
写 送 付 先	(希望発送日)		
件 名	公 信 転 報 (円高トが沖縄経済に与える影響についての10月16日付ウォール・ストリート・ジャーナル紙報道)		
GA-2	外 務 省	回 覧 番 号	7 146



米北1第 234 号  
昭和46年10月7日

沖縄復帰準備委員会  
日本国政府代表 殿

外務大臣

公信転報 (月7日が沖縄経済に与える影響)  
10月16日付ワシントンポスト紙報道

本件に関する下記公信( )通を転報する。

記

46年9月7日 米 発 大臣 あて 第 8105 号

付属添付

GA-4

外務省

注意

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電信写

357

総番号(TA) 53776  
 71年10月15日22時40分 米 国 主管  
 71年10月16日11時59分 本省 発着  
 外務大臣 殿 中場 (大使) 臨時代理大使 総領事 代理

KRAFTの対日論調

第3296号 平 至急

往電第3250号に関し

14日のワシントンポストはJOSEPH KRAFTの「SATO BOUNCES BACK」と題する論説を掲載しているがその要旨次のとおり。

サトウ総理は国内政治面における勢力を日米両国の緊密な関係の再確認を通じて強化するという構想を持っている。先日自分と会見した際に、総理はこの目標を達成する方途について考えを明らかにしてくれた。それによると、右構想の中心をなすのはオキナワ返かん協定で、その上院における批准が必ずしもらつ感を許さないのて、その促進のため日米間に今日存する3大懸案、即ち国連における中国代表権問題、せん維輸出規制問題及び円切上げ問題はこれに従うものとして取扱われる。

国連における中国代表権問題につき米案を支持することは、ことに自民党内において反サトウ勢力がサトウ総理は中国との話し合いを行い得ないということを総理に対する主要

大政事外外儀官  
 務務 典房  
 次次  
 臣官官審審長長  
 儀総人電厚計  
 書文会営給

調査長  
 参企析調  
 参領旅査移  
 長

ア 参地中東  
 長 北東西  
 米 参北北保  
 長  
 中 参一  
 南 二  
 参 三  
 西 参西  
 東 参東  
 長

近 参書近ア  
 長 次総経国資  
 参 源  
 長 参質統  
 参 国  
 政 技一理  
 協 長  
 長 参参  
 長 参政  
 参 経科  
 長 軍社  
 参 専  
 参 道内  
 長 外  
 一 二

添付なし

外務省

注意

1. 本電の取扱いは慎重を期せられたい。
2. 本電の主管変更その他については検閲班に連絡ありたい。

電信写

な反対根拠として打出しているときに勝目のない米案を支持して中国の反感を招くことは問題であったが、オキナワ問題及び日米関係重視の見地からこれにふみきつた。同様にせん維の対米輸出規制も日米協力関係の維持という観点から政府間協定に応じることとなつたし、円切上げも国際的調整の一かんとして大はばに行う用意があるようである。

自民党内に中国に関して不おんな動きがあり、野党は米国の基地を残した形でのオキナワ返かんに反対している状況の下で、この構想の実現性には問題もある。しかし、最近発表されたニクソン大統領のモスクー訪問は日本のぎせにおいて米中が取引をするという恐れを打消してくれたので、この構想が実現する可能性は大きくなつたし、そうならばサトウ総理の政治勢力は強化され、日米間の長い協調関係も継続されることとなる。

(了)

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大政事外外儀官

事務次長 典房 電信写

大臣官 審審長

儀儀人電厚

文会営給

調査長

参企析調

長領移

参領旅査

長

ア

参地中東

長北西

参北北保

中

参一二

中南

参西東洋

長西東

近

参書近ア

長

次総経国

長

参貿統

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総番号(ITA) 53952

71年 10月 17日 22時 00分

71年 10月 18日 13時 25分

米国 発信

本省 着

外務大臣殿 牛場(大使) 臨時代理大使 総領事 代理

オキナワ国会等に関する米紙記事(報告)

第33/5号 平

7日ポスト紙は「FIGHT LOOMS ON OKINAWA PACT IN JAPAN」との表題の下にHARRISON特派員執びつに係る東京電記事を掲載しているところ要旨次のとおり(記事空送)。

記

1. せん維協定ができて/日も経たぬうちにオキナワ返かん協定をめぐり日米関係への新たなきょうい(緊張)が起つている。野党と一部自民党内の盟友は/6日からのオキナワ国会で協定再交渉のキャンペーンを開始した。もし協定の国会通過を止に失敗すればかれ等の次の目標は米軍基地用の土地取用のための法律成立を止となる。既に土地再契約を拒んだり通常の5ばいのたい借料を要求している地主が多く、現在の使用料/200万ドルから6000万ドルへとふくれ上る可能性もあり、日本政府はたい借料決定をめぐりパーガンの心理的支えとして土地取用権限を求めている。

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2. オキナワ問題と密接な関係にあるのが中国問題であり、7月訪中公明党グループに対しシユウオンライはオキナワにおける米軍基地の引続いての存在と返かん後の新たな日本自衛隊基地設置は日中正常化の“大きな障害”だと述べた。返かん協定に付随して日米間で結ばれた協定で返かん後6カ月以内に自衛隊3200名の駐留と地对空ミサイルその他防衛施設の設置が合意された。これは日本の米軍かた代りの証拠として米国議員を説得する主要材料と見られている。しかし相次ぐニクソンショックの日本経済への影響による防衛費さく減、あるいは米中関係の展開によりオキナワでの日米両軍駐留の意味に疑問を投げる向きも出始めている。オキナワ自身は太平洋戦争当時のぎせいの記おくが強く、返かん後も本土よりもはるかに密度のこい基地の存在は本土政府のオキナワをたてとして使用する意図の表われとの非難が行われ、オキナワそ国復帰協議会は土地収用に反対するセネストも計画している。

3. サトウ首相は国会期間中激しい個人攻撃をこうむろうが、不信任案成立は何とかしのげよう。国連での国府議席よう護の日米努力が如何なる結果をもたらすかも大きな影響を及ぼそう。これにまけると年内退じんの圧力が強まろうが、サトウ総理は依然来年9月までの任期一ぱいをねら

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つている。ナカソネ総務会長はオキナワ返かん実現までのサトウ首相在任を支持してサトウ派のかつさいをはくした。更に国会での爆弾の一つは日本共産党がオキナワで入手したと言われる米軍秘密文書で、これによると返かん後も核が存在する由であり、同党は今週月余の検討の結果返かん協定の核ぬきに関するごまんが明らかになつたとの発表を行なつた。

(了)

企画課長 (4)  
 アメリカ局長  
 参事官  
 信 送付  
 北米第一課長

政 第 8929 号  
 昭和46年10月19日

外 務 大 臣 殿  
 在 米 牛 場 大 使

引用(来)(往)公信・電信番号  
 往電サ33/5号

送 付 資 料

沖繩国会等に関する米紙記事  
 (10月19日付ワシントンポスト)

首相官邸
総務省
中務省
渉外課
航空課
科学協力課
連絡調整課
調査課
内務課
局

(希望配布先)

付属添付  
 付属空便(行)  
 付属空便(DE)  
 付属船便(貨)  
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 10/26

## Fight Looms On Okinawa Pact in Japan

By Selig S. Harrison  
Washington Post Foreign Service

TOKYO, Oct. 16—With the Japan-U.S. textile agreement barely one day old, a new threat to relations between Washington and Tokyo has emerged in the form of a major offensive by Japanese political groups against the Okinawa reversion agreement.

Opposition parties and their allies in the ruling Liberal Democratic Party have organized a joint campaign for renegotiation of the Okinawa agreement in the special two-month session of the Diet (parliament) starting today.

If they fail to block passage of the reversion treaty, their next target will be defeat of crucial legislation empowering the government to commandeer land needed for U.S. bases. The reversion agreement commits Japan to furnish base lands to the United

States, but many owners of land hitherto leased to the U.S. military are refusing to renegotiate leases with the Japanese government or are demanding rentals up to five times higher than those paid to the United States.

The land rental bill could go up from \$12 million yearly at present paid by the United States to at least \$60 million. Japanese officials are seeking the power to take over land from a minority of recalcitrant landowners refusing to enter into negotiations and hope to use it as a psychological weapon in bargaining on rentals.

The Okinawa battle is closely linked with plans for a series of Diet attacks on the pro-Taipei China policy followed by Prime Minister Sato. Chinese Premier Chou En-lai told a delegation of Buddhist Komeito leaders in July that the continued presence of U.S. bases and the establishment of new Japanese bases on Okinawa after reversion would be a "major obstacle" to the normalization of Tokyo-Peking relations.

In addition to its direct impact on the debate over ratification of the reversion treaty, the growing sensitivity of the China issue has also led to some second thoughts in the government regarding an agreement with the United States providing for transfer of the air and naval defense of Okinawa to the Japanese after reversion.

WASHINGTON POST

OCT 17 1971

In a controversial companion agreement signed soon after the reversion accord in June, Japan agreed to station 3,200 self-defense force troops on Okinawa within six months after reversion and to follow this by July, 1973, with an additional, unspecified "appropriate" number of supporting troops for surface-to-air missile defense units and the operation of aircraft control and warning systems.

This has been viewed as a key element of the reversion bargain by the Nixon administration, offering a demonstration to doubting congressmen of Japanese willingness to take over U.S. defense burdens.

But officials here are beginning to suggest that cutbacks in defense spending necessitated by the "Nixon shocks" to the Japanese economy might affect the level of the self-defense force deployments on Okinawa.

Apart from the new economic reasons for trimming defense costs, some officials say the recent improvement in Sino-U.S. relations has made it harder than ever to justify both Japanese and U.S. military deployments on Okinawa.

China seems to be less of a threat now, this view runs,

and many Japanese are afraid that Tokyo will find itself thrust forward as an American-sponsored military buffer against Peking at the very time when the United States itself is easing tensions with China.

The dominant opposition attitude is typified in a much-discussed article by Meiji University Professor Akio Watanabe in the current issue of the influential monthly "Chuo Koron."

Japanese officials "sugar-coated" their demands for the reversion of the island by promising to keep it safe for the United States as a military bastion, Watanabe charges, and yet the public in both Japan and Okinawa pushed for reversion as a nationalist symbol of escape from the American strategic network rather than as a device for prolonging the U.S. presence.

On Okinawa itself, islanders remember the 150,000 casualties suffered when U.S. troops took over in April, 1945.

A strong urge persists among Okinawans for demilitarization of the island or at least reduction of the base presence there to the same level as the Japanese main islands.

The combination of U.S. facilities retained under the reversion accord and the advent of new Japanese installations is likely to make the density of bases greater in Okinawa than in the main Japanese islands.

Okinawan political groups attack this as a reflection of a Japanese desire to use the island as a front-line shield taking the brunt of any future military attack on Japan.

The Council for the Return of Okinawa to the Fatherland, a potent force during the reversion movement, has called for a general strike on Nov. 10 to mobilize landowner resistance to lease negotiations with Japan.

Prime Minister Sato will be under sharp personal attack during the Diet session but is generally expected to weather moves for a non-confidence motion against his government.

It would take at least 60 defections from the ruling party in addition to complete unity in the ranks of the 244-member opposition to put over a no-confidence vote in the lower house of the Diet.

Sato aides got a bad scare in July when 54 doves signed a statement calling for the recognition of Peking.

Most of the rebels retreated under pressure from the party whip at the last minute. In the upper house, however, a coalition of the ruling party's dissidents and opposition deputies overthrew the speaker in August.

The outcome of U.S. and Japanese efforts to save a U.N. seat for Taiwan is expected to

have a significant psychological impact on the Diet.

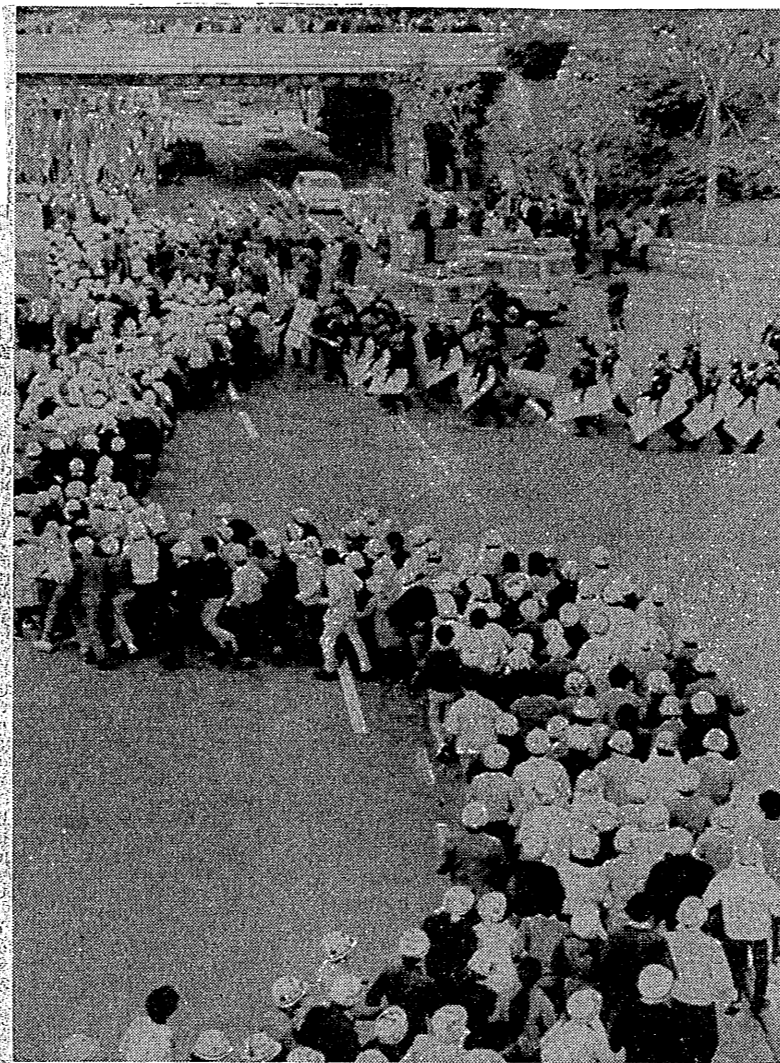
While a U.S.-Japanese defeat in the United Nations would strengthen pressures on Sato to resign by the end of the year, he is still hoping to ride out the storm and talks of serving out his full term ending in September, 1972.

The Governing party's executive council chairman, Yasuhiro Nakasone, said this week that he would accept Sato's continuance in office until the reversion of Okinawa next spring, a potentially significant factional shift hailed by Sato supporters.

One of the sleepers in the Diet session is a threat by the Japan Communist Party to unveil secret U.S. military documents purportedly obtained on the island and containing proof that the United States plans to retain nuclear weapons there following reversion.

The party announced this week that a monthlong study by party leaders had discredited the implied pledge in the reversion accord to remove nuclear weapons.

The Diet session is expected to run until mid-December.



United Press International

More than 3,000 Japanese students snake-dance in Tokyo protesting ratification of U.S.-Japanese Okinawa reversion treaty and demanding Premier Sato to resign.

注意

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務務 典房  
次次  
臣官官審審長長  
儀給人電厚計  
書文会営給

調査長  
領移長  
参企折調  
参領旅査移

ア 参地中東  
長 北東西  
米長 参北北保  
中南審 参一二  
欧 参西東洋  
長 西東

近ア 参書近ア  
長 次総経国資  
経 一源  
長 参貿統国  
経 参政技一理  
協 長 国  
長 参政二  
経 国  
長 参参協規  
国 参政経科  
長 軍社專  
傳 参道内外  
長 文 一  
長 一

電信写

総番号(TA) 56457 主管  
71年 月 日 時 分 米 国 発 米地  
71年 10 月 29 日 11 時 3 分 本 省 着  
外務大臣殿 中坊(大使)臨時代理大使 総領事 代理

オキナワ返かん協定上院審議(新聞報道及び論調)

第3484号 平

10月28日付 ニューヨーク・タイムズ、ワシントン・ポスト両紙は「ROGERS BIDS SENATE VOTE OKINAWA PACT」(タイムズ)、「ROGERS ASKS SPEED ON OKINAWA PACT」(ポスト)と題し、オキナワ返かん協定に関する上院外交委員会における審議の様相を報じているところ。その要旨次のとおり。

(1) ニューヨーク・タイムズ  
ロジャース国務長官は本日の上院外交委において調和ある日米関係維持のために、上院がオキナワ返かん協定を承認するよう求め、オキナワ返かんが行われぬ場合には反米的政府が成立するかも知れぬ旨警告した。  
同協定は、日米関係緊張化の動きの中で、上院に提出されたわけであるが、主として日米せん維協定の成立により、協定に対する反対派(主に南部議員)は大いに減少したようである。

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またロジャース長官は、日本の国会が必要な施行法令を制定しなければ米側としては協定を批准し得ぬ旨強調した。ロジャース長官は5月以来はじめてこの批判的な上院外交委に出席したわけであるが、今回は従来より行政府の外交委政策に常に最も批判的なフルブライト及びフランク、チャーチ両民主党上院議員等より賛辞の言は「COMPLIMENTS」を投げかけられた。

(2) ワシントン・ポスト

27日ロジャース長官は上院に対しオキナワ協定の早期批准を要請したところ、上院外交委においてはVOAにつき若干の留保があつたのみで、協定に反対する上院議員はいなかつた。「ロ」長官は「ニューキニウ諸島の核基地には核兵器がある旨はじめて公に確認したが、フルブライト上院外交委員長よりオキナワから核兵器は撤去されるや否や問うたに対し、「そうだ、外交委へ詳細は書簡をもつて送付済みであり、右については秘密会において討議するのであればよろこんで応ずる。」と答えた。右に対し「フ」委員長は核については公開で討論した方が核のよく止力を高めると思われ、何故公開討論に申しけん質になるのかわからぬと述べ、更にまた米国が中共との関係改善を求めている現在、核の道具として使われてきたVOAをオキナワに保持する理由がわからぬと述べたところ。「ロ」長官はオキ

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電 信 写

ナワ返かんは日米両国の安全保障上の利益と合致する形で実施されており、米国は両国の相互安全保障に必要なオキナワの軍事施設及び地域を保持 (RETAIN) すると述べた。

更に「ロ」長官は日本国民は本協定を支持しており、本協定が実施をし得ぬ場合には、日米関係全般に極めて不こうな結果をもたらし、また協定を批准せぬ場合には米国との緊密な関係を望まぬ連中に格好の武器を与えることになるうと述べた。

日本側の情報によると、日本の野党はオキナワ協定をサトウ政権打倒へのテコとして利用しているが、国会議員の過半数はこれに賛成しているので、12月中ごろまでには国会の承認を得るものと期待される。しかしながらサトウ総理は中国代表権と経済問題をめぐる日米関係緊張の結果退任を強いられると予想される。

2. なお28日付ワシントン・ポストは「JAPAN AND THE U.S. DEFEAT」と題する社説において、今般の中国代表権問題につき論じた後、米側としてはサトウ総理の助力に答えるべきであるとし、オキナワ協定の早期批准は日米友好が日本にとり必ずしも与えることのみを意味するものではないということもサトウ総理及び、その後断者トはつりし示す証左となつと論じている。

(3)



郵政 送付 公 信 参事官  
北米課長

政 第 9196 号 昭和 46 年 10 月 29 日

外 務 大 臣 殿 在 米 牛 場 大 使

引用(来)(往)公信・電信番号 住電才 3488号

送付資料

沖縄返還協定上院審議  
(新聞報道及び論調)

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首席事務官
総務課
渉外調査
漁業
航空
科学協力
連絡調整
調査
力夕
局



希望配布先 )

付属添付  付属空便(行)  付属空便(DP)  付属船便(貨)

(郵)

本信写送付先 (別添とも)

## Rogers Asks Speed On Okinawa Pact

Secretary of State William P. Rogers yesterday asked the Senate for speedy ratification of the treaty returning Okinawa and the Ryukyu Islands to Japan after 27 years of American administration.

As Rogers appeared before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, no Senator objected to the treaty, although there were some reservations about the retention of a Voice of America transmitting station in Okinawa.

Rogers also made the first public confirmation that nuclear weapons have been stored at American bases in the Ryukyu Islands. Asked by committee chairman J. William Fulbright (D-Ark.) whether these weapons would be removed, Rogers replied, "Yes." He said he had sent a letter to the committee containing details which he would be "happy" to discuss in executive session.

Fulbright took exception to the secrecy. If the nuclear weapons are to serve principally as a deterrent, he said, keeping their existence secret would diminish the effect. "I don't know why you're sensitive about discussing them openly because that enhances their role as a deterrent," he said.

Fulbright also questioned retention of the Voice of America on Okinawa while the United States was seeking to improve relations with China. VOA, he said, is "a tool of the cold war." "I don't see why it should be retained."

Rogers said reversion of the Ryukyus was being carried out in a manner consistent with U.S. and Japanese security interests. He said the United States "would retain such military facilities and areas in Okinawa as required in the mutual security of both countries."

Rogers said that the Japanese people support the treaty and that failure to carry out the agreement "would have extremely unfortunate effects on our whole relationship with Japan."

Failure to ratify, he said, would "give a strong weapon to those political forces in Japan who do not favor the kind of close relationship with the United States which now exists and who seek to replace the present leadership of the country with others less favorable to such a relationship."

Rogers noted that differences between the United States and Japan on monetary and trade issues had strained relationships in recent months.

For a while, it appeared that disagreement over textile quotas might hinder ratification of the Okinawa treaty, but this is no longer considered an obstacle since Tokyo has agreed to quotas.

Japanese sources said that the opposition in the Japanese Diet was using the Okinawa treaty as a lever against the Sato government but that they expected approval in the Diet by mid-December because the majority favor it.

Premier Eisaku Sato, however, is still expected to be forced out in the aftermath of strains with the United States over Chinese representation at the United Nations and the economic issues.

## Japan and the U.N. Defeat

The Japanese government is paying a much higher price than the United States for the defeat of the Two Chinas resolution in the United Nations. Measured in loss of prestige, erosion of domestic support, and public anxiety for the future, the defeat has had far more impact in Japan than in this country.

Premier Sato stands for the principle, in Japanese domestic politics, that the interests of his country's security and prosperity are best served by the closest possible alliance with the United States. It has been a bad four months for both the premier and the principle.

The United States asked for Japanese support in the U.N. at a time when it had opened negotiations with China (without warning Mr. Sato, let alone offering the much-promised consultation) and had embarked on its new economic policy (again without warning, although much of it was aimed explicitly at Japan). It was also the period in which the United States was publicly threatening the Japanese in the textile bargaining.

China policy is a much more immediate matter to the Japanese than to Americans. They are a great deal closer, after all, and exports have a much more direct effect on Japan's economy. (Japan's exports to China have recently been running at a level of more than \$500 million a year, which is in the same range as their sales to Britain, for example, or West Germany.) Mr. Sato has been under severe attack, not only from the left but within his own party, for holding fast to the traditional American position after Mr. Nixon himself has abandoned it.

But when the United States asked Mr. Sato for

help on the Two Chinas resolution, he responded with very active support. He invested his personal reputation in the campaign to a degree that Mr. Nixon never did.

It is now necessary that the United States demonstrate at least that it recognizes Mr. Sato's assistance. The Okinawa agreement is before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The Secretary of State, Mr. Rogers, put the matter in the mildest possible terms yesterday when he told the Committee that an American refusal to ratify the agreement "would have extremely unfortunate effects on our whole relationship with Japan. It would, for example, give a strong weapon to those political forces in Japan who do not favor the kind of close relationship with the United States which now exists."

The United States' relationship with Japan has changed sharply and irretrievably in these past four months. American policy is no longer so protective of Japanese interests, nor so supportive of its development as it had been for 25 years. Where American policy once looked on Japan primarily as an ally, it now looks on Japan as a competitor and, in Pacific politics, perhaps a rival. This summer was the point at which the United States ceased to think of Japan as a client, and began to regard her in terms of genuine equality. It now lies chiefly with the United States to set the terms of a new friendship, no doubt cooler than in the past but durable nonetheless and crucially important to both sides. The prompt ratification of the Okinawa treaty would be solid evidence for Mr. Sato, and his successors, that friendship with the United States need not be all give and nothing in return.

**ROGERS BIDS SENATE  
VOTE OKINAWA PACT**

Special to the New York Times  
WASHINGTON, Oct. 27. Secretary of State William P. Rogers urged the Senate today to approve a treaty relinquishing American control over Okinawa as a necessary step toward maintaining "a viable and harmonious relationship with Japan."

Testifying before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Mr. Rogers warned that failure to ratify the treaty returning Okinawa and the other Ryukyu islands to Japanese control could lead to an anti-American government in Tokyo.

The treaty, signed last June, comes before the Senate amid what Mr. Rogers acknowledged were strained relations, caused largely by differences over trade and monetary policies.

Much of the opposition to the treaty, mostly among Southern senators, appears to have diminished, largely because of a recent agreement limiting Japanese textiles exports.

Mr. Rogers emphasized that even if the Senate gave its approval, President Nixon could not ratify the treaty "until after the Japanese Diet has enacted the necessary implementing legislation."

In Mr. Rogers's first appearance before the often-critical committee since May, he found himself embraced in compliments, led by Senators J. W. Fulbright and Frank Church, both Democrats, among the more persistent critics of Administration foreign policy.

THE EVENING STAR  
Washington, D. C., Thursday, October 28, 1971

**Asia Policy Is Praised  
By Fulbright Group**

By GEORGE SHERMAN  
Star Staff Writer

Members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee have praised in giving unusually strong praise to Secretary of State William P. Rogers for the Nixon administration's policy in Asia.

"I think the administration deserves more credit than it is getting for major changes in policy in Asia, changes long overdue," Sen. Frank Church, D-Idaho, said yesterday at a Senate hearing.

Church, a strong anti-war critic and co-author of an amendment in the \$3.2 billion foreign aid bill to stop all funds for Vietnam except for the withdrawal of American forces there, praised the administration for its "substantial reduction of forces" already in Vietnam.

**Cooper Seconds**

Sen. John Sherman Cooper, R-Ky., the other sponsor of the anti-war amendment, seconded Church and commended Rogers for the "remarkable changes" produced in American policy toward China, the Pacific generally, and toward Southeast Asia.

The meeting blossomed into one of the most harmonious sessions in years between a Secretary of State and the Foreign Relations Committee.

One by one, committee members known for their liberal persuasion commended Rogers for his efforts to preserve Nationalist China in the United Nations while opening up a long overdue dialogue with the Communist mainland.

The words of praise were slightly overshadowed by continuing discussion over whether the United States should cut funds to the United Nations in the wake of the China vote Monday night.

Rogers was testifying on the treaty signed in June to return Okinawa to Japan. Committee members voiced overwhelming support for the swift Senate ratification, which the administration wants in order to bolster sagging Japanese-American relations.

Church, who led off the praise of the Asia policy, used the treaty about Okinawa as example and cited three other facets of the Nixon policy which "deserve credit."

- The removal of 300,000 men from South Vietnam, with "complete disengagement" as the over-all aim.
- Reduction of American forces in Thailand, Korea, the Philippines, Japan and elsewhere in Asia.
- The President's forthcoming trip to Peking, which Church called "a significant gesture toward peace" and a "turning point" in American policy toward Asia.

The committee members overwhelmingly supported the treaty. Committee chairman J. William Fulbright, D-Ark., called it the "last issue" from World War II to be settled between Japan and the United States.

Rogers, for the first time, confirmed publicly that under the treaty, the United States will remove all nuclear weapons from the island. But he said that the United States will continue to use the strategic bases there under the neutral security treaty with Japan, and that the new arrangement strengthens the allied security system in the Pacific.

注意

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電信写

大政事外外儀官  
務典房  
次典房  
臣官官審審長長  
儀給人電厚計  
専文会営給

調査長  
参企析調  
領移長  
参領旅査移

参地中東  
長北東西  
米参北北保  
中南番  
欧参西東洋  
長西東

近ア長  
参書近ア  
次総経国資  
源  
長参貿統  
参政技一理  
国企二  
参条協  
長  
参政経科  
軍社專  
情道内外  
長文長  
一二

総番号(TA) 58882 主管  
71年11月11日20時35分 米 発着 米  
71年11月12日10時45分 本省 着

外務大臣殿 年(場) (大使) 臨時代理大使 総領事 代理

オキナワ返かん協定上院通過(新聞報道)

第3710号 平

//日付 ニューヨーク・タイムズ、ワシントン・ポスト、  
ポルチモア・サンはそれぞれ、SENATE ENDOR  
SES OKINAWA TREATY (タイムズ)、  
OKINAWA PACT RATIFIED (4-  
6 (ポスト)、OKINAWA PACT PASS  
ED BY SENATE (サン)との見出しでオキナ  
ワ返かん協定が上院により承認されたことを報道している  
ところ。その要旨次のとおり。

// ニューヨーク・タイムズ  
(1) 本協定は第2次大戦後に残された最後の日米間の主  
要な政治問題を解決し、現在同盟国である両国政府間の平  
等関係を正常なものとする。本協定のもとでは、米国は極  
東の主要な戦略基地であるオキナワの軍事基地を保持する  
が、日本がその施政権を回復する。

(2) オキナワ返かん協定は上院において最小限度の論議  
と反対にあつただけで承認された。ヴァージニアのハリ

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一。パード議員のみが極東の戦略目的及び協定上の公約を  
実行する米国の能力を制限するという理由ではつきりと反  
対した。

(3) 本協定の下では、米国は日本政府の許可を得た後に  
のみオキナワの米軍基地を軍事作戦に使用できることにな  
り、また核兵器は撤去しなければならない。米統合参ぼう  
本部は本協定が極東における米国の安全保障に不利益にな  
らないとの結論を出し、マクソン大統領は本協定を「米国  
の戦後の極東政策の中で最も重要な業績の一つ」とし、「  
日米間の友好的、生産的関係の継続に絶対必要である」と  
述べた。

(4) オキナワ返かん問題は近年ますます日本国内でやつ  
かない政治問題となり、日米両政府間のあつれきの原因と  
なつていた。また去る6月協定が調印された後は両国間の  
きびしい経済問題をめぐる緊張のため上院で相当反対にあ  
うのではないかと懸念されていたが、マクソン大統領の新  
経済政策と日本側のせん維協定合意により上院承認が容易  
になつた。

(5) 米政府は日本の国会がオキナワにある米軍基地の継  
続使用を許可するために必要な立法措置をとるまでは批准  
書に署名しないことを明らかにしている。日本の国会では  
野党がオキナワの米軍基地存続に反対しているが、協定

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は来月始めには承認を得られるだろう。しかし関係国内立法の国会承認はもつとやつかいである。

2. ワシントン・ポスト

(1) オキナワ返かん協定は1969年のニクソン大統領のサトウ総理に対する公約を果すものである。同協定はオキナワの米軍基地の存続を認めるが、日本は基地の使用につき今まで以上の発言権を得ることになり、1973年7月までにオキナワ防衛の責任を負担することになる。これまでは米国はオキナワの米軍基地の絶対的使用権をもっていたが、今後は1960年の日米安保条約に従い、同基地の直接的戦闘活動のための使用、核兵器のちよ蔵等につき日本政府との事前協議を必要とする。

(2) フルブライト上院外交委委員長は「本協定により米国のオキナワにおける核兵器ちよ蔵は許されないだろう」と語り、ウエストモーランド将軍は月ようの上院軍事委ちよう開会で事前協議の要件のため返かん後は(イ)米軍兵力の実質的増大、(ロ)軍施設の大規模な変更、(ハ)核兵器ちよ蔵、(ニ)オキナワからの直接戦闘行動、等につき日本政府の許可を必要とするがオキナワ返かん協定はオキナワ基地の維持に必要であるとして、同協定を支持した。

(3) 一時は、貿易問題と米国の軍事上の自由を制限さ

注意

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れることをめぐる日本に対する不満のため、上院の3分の2の賛成をうることは疑問視されていたが、マンズフィールド上院院内総務は日米せん維協定の締結により同協定に対する反対は相当減少したことを最近くり返し述べていた。またジョン・ステニス上院軍事委委員長は「アジアで最も強力な非共産国と相争い、オキナワを役立たなくするより、日本との新しい、より平等な関係をじゆ立した方がはるかに良い」と語り、上院が協定に反対する可能性が終止ふをうった何人かの上院議員は原則的には返かんに賛成しながらも、軍事的弾力性のそう失に不かいである旨語つた。ポールドウオーター上院議員は今後極東のどこに核兵器をちよ蔵するのかという疑問を提出し、ケネディー議員は核兵器を台湾に移転すれば中共との新しい関係を危くすると述べた。

3. ポルチモア・サン

(1) 上院の批准で米側の措置は完了したが、日本の国会は野党の反対にもかかわらずこの協定を承認すると信じられている。オキナワの正式返かんは批准書交換の2ヶ月後に行われ、米軍の日本占領軍としての地位の最後の名残りがとり払われることになる。

(2) 返かん後オキナワの米軍基地は本土なみになり、同協定により、米軍は軍事施設と約70,000エーカー

注 意

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(約6億/千万ドル相当)を保持し、日本側に13000エーカー(約5千6百万ドル相当)を譲渡する。日本側は3億2千万ドルを米側に支払いオキナワ防衛の直接責任及びその費用を負担する。

(3) 上院の反対派の論拠は米国がその軍事活動につき日本に拒否権を与えるということであつた。しかしステニス上院軍事委員長は協定支持は上院の批准をほとんど確実にした。

(了)

送付至公信  
 事務局長

アタリ力局長 ← 20  
 参事官  
 北米第一課長

政 第 9558 号 昭和 46 年 11 月 12 日

外 務 大 臣 在 米 牛 場 大 使

引用(来)(往)公信・電信番号 往電米3710号

送 付 資 料

沖縄返還協定上院通過  
 (新聞報道)

事務局長	事務官
参事官	参事官
参事官	参事官
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(希望配布先)

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本信写送付先

(別添とも)

手内(通)品目(印)事務局長

# SENATE ENDORSES OKINAWA TREATY

**Votes 84 to 6 for Island's Return to Japan—Rioters There Kill a Policeman**

By JOHN W. FINNEY  
Special to The New York Times  
WASHINGTON, Nov. 10

The Senate approved today, by a vote of 84 to 6, a treaty that would return Okinawa to the administrative control of Japan, thus ending United States occupation of the territory of its World War II enemy.

The treaty, years in negotiation, resolves the last major political issue between the two countries growing out of World War II and formalizes a relationship of equality between two Governments now joined as allies.

In Okinawa, masked student demonstrators protesting against American retention of military bases there set a policeman afire and then beat him to death. United Press International reported: "At least 80 other persons were said to have been injured in clashes during a 24-hour protest strike."

Under the treaty, the United States is to retain military facilities on Okinawa, its prin-

cipal strategic base in the Far East, but Japan will regain administrative control over the Ryukyu Island chain, which includes Okinawa.

**Peace Treaty Signed in '51**  
The 1951 San Francisco peace treaty recognized Japanese sovereignty over the islands but provided that the United States would retain administrative jurisdiction so long as military conditions in the region made it necessary. The islands, which were the scene of bloody fighting late in World War II, have been administered by a United States high commissioner who had a veto power over the elected legislature and the Okinawan Chief Executive.

The Okinawa Reversion Treaty, as it is formally known, was approved by the Senate with a minimum of debate and opposition. In two days of sporadic discussion, only Senator Harry F. Byrd Jr., Independent of Virginia, spoke out against the accord on the ground that it would handicap the United States' ability to carry out its strategic and treaty commitments in the Far East.

Those who voted against the treaty were Senators: Byrd; James B. Allen, Democrat of Alabama; Barry M. Goldwater, Republican of Arizona; Clifford P. Hansen, Republican of Wyoming; Warren G. Magnuson, Democrat of Washington, and Milton R. Young, Republican of North Dakota.

### Nuclear Arms Must Go

Under the treaty, the United States can use its bases on Okinawa for military operations only after prior consultation with, and permission of, the Japanese Government. The United States must also remove whatever nuclear weapon are now stationed on Okinawa.

The Joint Chiefs of Staff concluded that the treaty, with its limitation on the use of the Okinawan bases, would not adversely affect United States security interests in the Far East. President Nixon described the pact as "one of the most important accomplishments of our postwar policy in the Far East" and called it "essential to the continuation of friendly and productive relations be-

tween the United States and Japan."

Increasingly in recent years the return of the islands has become a troublesome nationalistic and political issue in Japan and a growing source of friction between the two Governments. After negotiations that began in 1967, the detailed agreement was finally worked out and signed last June.

Before the treaty was submitted to the Senate, at a time of severe economic strains between the two countries, there were fears that considerable opposition might be encountered

in the Senate. However, the announcement of President Nixon's new economic policies and Japan's acceptance of an agreement to limit textile exports to the United States smoothed the way for approval. The treaty provides that the islands will be returned to Japanese control during 1972. Before the treaty goes into effect, however, it must be signed by President Nixon and ratified by the Japanese Government.

The Nixon Administration has made it clear that the President will not sign the treaty until the Japanese Diet or Parliament

has passed the legislation necessary to permit continued American use of bases on Okinawa, such as laws giving the Japanese Government the right to take control of land for American installations. Under the treaty the United States will retain 88 military facilities—ranging from air bases to rest centers—on Okinawa and will turn over 48 other installations to Japan.

In the Japanese Diet, which is now meeting in special session to consider the treaty, the Government of Premier Eisaku Sato is encountering delaying

tactics from the opposition parties, which are critical of the provisions permitting American retention of military bases in the Ryukyus. However, it is expected that the Government, with its majority control in the Diet, will be able to obtain approval by early next month. Potentially more troublesome, however, may be the gaining of parliamentary approval of the accompanying

legislation, including a change in Japanese communications laws to permit the Voice of America to continue operating a relay station on Okinawa for at least five years.

NEW YORK TIMES  
NOV 11 1971

# Okinawa Pact Ratified, 84-6

The Senate voted 84 to 6 yesterday to ratify President Nixon's treaty returning Okinawa and the other Ryukyu Islands to direct Japanese control after 25 years of U.S. administration.

The treaty, signed June 17, 1971, carries out a promise made by Mr. Nixon to Japanese Prime Minister Sato in November 1969 to return Okinawa to Japanese administration.

While never claiming sovereignty over the islands, the United States took control of Okinawa and other portions of the Ryukyu chain after defeating Japan in World War II. In the decades of its control the United States allowed local self-government in most civil matters, but built up a group of major military bases at a

cost of over \$600 million, involving 134 separate installations totaling 83,000 acres.

The treaty approved yesterday specifically provides for the United States to retain its bases in Okinawa, although Japan will have a bigger say in how the bases are used and will assume responsibility for the physical defense of Okinawa by about July 1973.

Under previous arrangements, governed by the 1951

U.S.-Japan peace treaty, the United States had what amounted to an absolute right to use the bases as it saw fit. Henceforth, however, use of the U.S. bases on Okinawa and other islands in the Ryukyu chain will be governed by the terms of the 1960 Mutual Security Treaty between the United States and Japan. It requires "prior consultation" with Japan, as the sovereign

See OKINAWA, A7, Col. 1

and now the controlling power before the bases may be used for direct combat operations or storage of nuclear weapons.

Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman J. W. Fulbright (D-Ark.) said: "The treaty contemplates that after reversion the U.S. will not be permitted to store nuclear weapons in Okinawa. Fulbright also said the United States now stations about 50,000 troops in Okinawa.

At a hearing Monday before the Senate Armed Services Committee, Gen. William C. Westmoreland, speaking for the Joint Chiefs of Staff, said

the prior consultation requirement places the following restrictions on U.S. operations in Okinawa:

- The U.S. may not initiate a substantial buildup of U.S. forces in Okinawa without the government of Japan's permission.
- Major changes in military equipment may not be made without Japan's permission.
- The U.S. cannot store nuclear weapons in Japan without the permission of the Japanese government.
- The U.S. cannot undertake direct combat operations from Okinawa without Japan's permission, for example, flying direct combat sorties.

But Westmoreland said the provision of logistic support to combat forces, or use of Okinawa as an intermediate base for planes destined to go to the combat zones would not be subject to prior consultation. On the whole, he backed the treaty as necessary to maintain Okinawa as a general base despite loss of some flexibility because of the new

prior consultation requirement.

At one time Senate approval of the treaty by the required two-thirds vote was considered questionable because of anger with Japan over trade matters and over the reduction in U.S. military options imposed by the prior consultation requirement.

However, Majority Leader Mike Mansfield (D-Mont.) has said repeatedly in recent weeks that conclusion of the U.S.-Japan agreement limiting imports of Japanese textiles had substantially reduced opposition to the treaty.

As for the military questions, any possibility that they would stop the treaty was ended Tuesday when Senate Armed Services Committee Chairman John Stennis (D-Miss.), one of the most influential and respected men in the Senate, announced that he supported the treaty as a way to regularize U.S. relations with Japan and to assure that Okinawa would not become altogether useless as a

base in a few years because of Okinawan and Japanese resentment of continued U.S. occupation.

Stennis said it is far better to establish a new, more equal relationship with Japan, ending Japan's subordinate relationship arising out of World War II, than to risk a festering dispute with the more powerful non-Communist nation in Asia.

Describing the kinds of restrictions outlined by Westmoreland, Stennis said, "I believe continuing Okinawa under these conditions would be better than letting the situation fall apart altogether, as I believe it would in three to five years."

"I say again," he added, "that we make a mistake if we think we have a choice between continuing as we are and continuing under reversion."

He concluded, "I do not think there is a chance to continue as we are for but a few more years. Therefore, it is better to establish this new relationship."

loss of military flexibility arising from the new prior consultation requirement made the treaty distasteful, despite their agreement with the principle that the United States could not continue indefinitely to occupy the sovereign territory of a now friendly foreign nation.

Sen. Barry Goldwater (R-Ariz.) raised the question of where U.S. nuclear weapons will be stored in the Far East after they can no longer be kept in Okinawa. Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.), in a statement shortly afterwards, said a shift of the nuclear weapons to Taiwan, as rumored several times, would endanger newly emerging relations with mainland China.

The six senators who voted against the treaty were James B. Allen (D-Ala.), Harry Flood Byrd Jr. (Ind.-Va.), Goldwater, Clifford P. Hansen (R-Wyo.), Warren G. Magnuson (D-Wash.) and Milton R. Young (R-N.D.).

WASHINGTON POST  
NOV 11 1971



## Okinawa pact passed by Senate

Washington Bureau of The Sun

Washington—The Senate approved by an 84-to-6 vote yesterday a U.S.-Japanese treaty to return Okinawa and the rest of the Ryukyu Islands to Japan after more than a quarter of a century of occupation.

The Senate ratification of the treaty completes U.S. action on the document. The Japanese Diet has still not ratified the treaty, but favorable action is believed to be assured, despite minority opposition.

The four minority parties, which together compose only a third of the Diet membership, are opposing the treaty because it would allow the United States to maintain military bases on the islands.

### Occupying power

The formal reversion of Okinawa to Japan would occur two months after the formal exchange of ratification papers between the two countries. It would remove the last vestige of U.S. status as an occupying power in Japan as a result of World War II.

After the reversion, the U.S. would maintain bases on Okinawa on the same basis as it now maintains them on the Japanese home islands in accordance with the U.S.-Japanese Mutual Security Treaty.

The U.S. currently has 50,000

See TREATY, A6, Col. 4

BALTIMORE SUN  
NOV 11 1971

## Senate passes Japan treaty

**TREATY, from A1**  
troops on Okinawa. According to the reversion treaty, the U.S. would retain military facilities and about 70,000 acres—with an estimated value of \$610 million—while releasing to the Japanese 13,000 acres, worth \$56 million.

### Local defense

Also under the treaty, the Japanese would pay the U.S. \$320 million and assume the responsibility for the immediate defense of Okinawa as well as its cost.

Opposition in the Senate to the treaty, led by Senator Harry F. Byrd, Jr. (Ind., Va.), was solely on the grounds that the U.S. would lose military flexibility, making it more difficult to maintain its military commitments in the Far East.

Senator Byrd said that the United States would be giving the Japanese veto power over its military operations. Besides Senator Byrd, others voting against the measure were James B. Allen (D., Ala.), Barry M. Goldwater (R., Ariz.), Clifford P. Hansen (R., Wyo.), Warren G. Magnuson (D., Wash.), and Milton R. Young (R., N.D.).

The support, however, of Senator John C. Stennis (D., Miss.), chairman of the Armed Services Committee, all but assured Senate ratification.

### Political impact

Mr. Stennis said that while the U.S. would lose some military flexibility, the political impact of not ratifying the treaty would fuel anti-American sentiment in Japan as well as on Okinawa,

making continued U.S. military presence there difficult, if not impossible.

Under the treaty, Mr. Stennis noted, the U.S. would have to consult the Japanese government before making any major additions to U.S. forces on Okinawa and before mounting any combat operations—such as air strikes—from the island.

The treaty would also require the removal of nuclear weapons from Okinawa.

When the reversion treaty was signed last June, it was feared that senators from Southern textile states would oppose ratification because of anger over Japanese export policies. Since then, however, Japan has agreed to limit some of its exports, including textiles, and the opposition from the textile states never developed.

Most of the debate on the treaty was held Tuesday but the vote was held up until yesterday

because many Republican senators were out of town Tuesday, attending fund-raising dinners in various parts of the country.

### Policeman killed in Okinawa protest

Naha, Okinawa. (Reuters)—Demonstrators beat a policeman to death on Okinawa, while others fought with riot police in Tokyo during demonstrations today against a United States-Japan agreement returning Okinawa to Japanese control.

Almost 100,000 Okinawan workers staged a 24-hour strike which paralyzed much of island life.

Demonstrators supporting the strike hurled gasoline bombs at a policeman on traffic duty in Naha, the island capital, then beat him to death. Other groups attacked police posts with gasoline bombs and stones.

大臣秘書  
官總務  
中任冬新

送付  
年夏  
和停

アメリカ局長  
参事  
北米才一課長

政 第 9559 号 昭和 44 年 12 月 12 日

外 務 大 臣 殿 米 牛 場 大 使

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沖繩返還協定(ニューヨーク  
タイムズ投書)

総務	
渉外	
漁航	
科学	
調査	
九十九	
局庶務	



(希望配布先)

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本信写送付先 (別添とも)

沖繩返還協定(ニューヨーク  
タイムズ投書)(23)

## Letters to the Editor

### Reversion of Okinawa to Japan

To the Editor:

Ikko Kasuga, Chairman of the Japan Democratic Socialist party, expressed his reservations on the Agreement for the Reversion of Okinawa to Japan. [Letter Oct. 20.] This agreement is now under consideration in the Japanese Diet and has just been approved by the United States Senate.

Mr. Kasuga's reservations are not well-founded. For example, since the United States has never publicized the reported presence of nuclear weapons on Okinawa, it would scarcely be fitting for President Nixon to publicize their withdrawal as Mr. Kasuga desires. It may be presumed that they have already been withdrawn.

Mr. Kasuga, in demanding reduction in the number of American bases, appears to be ill-informed on the actual situation. Many small military facilities, for example, radar domes on mountain crests, unmanned target pylons on islets and reefs, monuments to Ernie Pyle and to General Buckner, unduly inflate the number of United States "bases" in the Ryukyu Islands. Moreover, to avoid isolating large areas, facilities are dispersed so that roads may be constructed and Okinawan farmers may use land between installations.

A number of large bases are being

turned over to the Japanese Self-Defense forces. The remaining American-operated bases will have the same status as those on the mainland of Japan. Americans continuing to pay heavy operational costs and land rentals will be relieved when the Japanese assume the responsibility and costs for the defense of Japan and Okinawa and when threat and tension no longer exist in the Far East.

Continuation of the Voice of America broadcasts from Okinawa, the last of Mr. Kasuga's reservations, is due solely to technical problems; these have been understood and accepted by responsible Japanese officials. Surely Mr. Kasuga would not wish to deprive listeners in North Korea and China of alternate sources of information while more powerful channels are being prepared.

It is remarkable that nowhere in his letter does Mr. Kasuga ever mention the people of the Ryukyu Islands. It is as if they did not exist or were of no concern. This glaring omission prompts this letter.

The United States would never have been in Okinawa in the first place had not the Japanese High Command, with callous disregard for the lives of Okinawans, moved massive military forces into the Ryukyus in 1944, thus

making these islands rather than the mainland of Japan the magnet for the advancing American forces. I trust the lack of any expressed concern for the Okinawan people by Mr. Kasuga does not reveal continuing Japanese disregard for their welfare. The Okinawans should not be pawns in some game of Japanese party politics which Mr. Kasuga may be playing.

As this notable peaceful return of the Ryukyu Islands takes place in 1972, Japanese and Americans alike should show genuine concern for the future well-being of the million inhabitants. Organization by the United States of a Ryukyuan-American foundation would be tangible evidence of such concern.

As I suggested in an Aug. 24 letter to The Times, such an organization could be financed by the \$320 million being paid by the Japanese Government for certain public service corporations that were developed through joint Ryukyuan-American efforts. Similar positive action on the part of Japan would be much more in keeping with the generous return of Okinawa than ill-informed and carping criticism such as that expressed by Mr. Kasuga.

SHANNON MCCUNE

Gainesville, Fla., Nov. 10, 1971  
The writer, professor of geography at the University of Florida, was Civil Administrator of the Ryukyu Islands, 1962-1964.

### Okinawa and the U.S.

To the Editor:

I write as the newly elected chairman of the Japan Democratic Socialist party.

My firm conviction is that the maintenance of a friendly relationship based on mutual trust is vital, not only to Japan and the United States but also to the security and prosperity of Asia.

The Japanese people welcome and pay high tribute to the U.S. Government for its decision to return Okinawa to Japan despite many problems. However, I am seriously concerned because the Japanese people are not completely satisfied with the Reversion Agreement for these reasons:

¶ There is no provision in the agreement on the withdrawal of nuclear weapons;

¶ Most of the existing U.S. military bases, including special units, will remain.

¶ Voice of America (V.O.A.) broadcasts will not be discontinued.

I am gravely concerned over the growing frustration among our people in case the agreement becomes effective in its present form since it may lead to an anti-American sentiment.

The Japanese Parliament will soon sit in extraordinary session to consider ratification of the Okinawa Reversion Agreement. I feel it is my duty to ask you to exercise your influence on the U.S. Government and public opinion so that a mistake would not be made in settling the problem in Okinawa.

It is absolutely necessary to convince the Japanese people that nuclear weapons will be withdrawn from Okinawa. For this purpose, (a) the President of the United States must make a public announcement that nuclear weapons will be removed, and (b) a system must be set up to let Japan check the removal of nuclear weapons.

U.S. military bases on Okinawa

must be reduced drastically in numbers and their status made the same as those on mainland Japan.

V.O.A. broadcasts from Okinawa infringe on the Radio Law and the Broadcast Law of Japan. They also undermine the basic posture of Japan's diplomacy, which is to strengthen friendship and coexistence with our neighbors. V.O.A. broadcasts must therefore be discontinued simultaneously with the reversion of Okinawa.

I would have liked very much to visit the U.S. to explain my views in person. But the convening of the extraordinary session of our Parliament prevents me.

IKIKO KASUGA  
Tokyo, Oct. 11, 1971

秘密表示(朱印)  
平文

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起案 昭和46年11月16日	
協議先	
受信者 沖繩復帰準備委 日本国政府代表	発信者 外務 大臣
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 昭和46年11月16日

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 日本国政府代表 殿

外 務 大 臣

公 信 転 報 ( 沖 繩 返 還 協 定 「 2 - 3 - 1 9 1 4 2 」 投 送 )

本件に関する下記公信(1)通を転報する。

記  
 46年11月12日 在米 半島大使 発本大臣 於て 政第9559号  
 付属 添付

注意

- 1. 本電の取扱いは慎重を期せられたい。
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大政事外外儀官  
務務典房  
次次  
臣官官審審長長  
儀総入電厚計  
書文会営給

電信写

総番号(TA) 60387  
71年11月18日20時30分 米ID 主管  
71年11月19日10時03分 本省 着 料

外務大臣殿 平嶋 大使 臨時代理大使 総領事 代理

参企析調  
参領旅査移

オキナワ返かん協定上院通過(新聞社説)

第3807号 平

11月18日付ワシントンポストは「OKINAWAの JAPAN AND OHINA」と題する社説を掲げているところその内容次のとおり。

上院のオキナワ返かん協定批准は今年にわたりくり返し日本に対してなされた約束を果すものである。数カ月前には第2次大戦後米国が講和条約で日本に潜在主権を認めたオキナワの施政権は日本政府に還かんされるが、クーパー上院議員は上院で「わが国は太平洋における日本との戦争を終結させるために他のどの同盟国よりも力を尽くしたにもかかわらず日本に対しいかなる領土の割譲も要求しなかつたことはいさきゆうにわが国の名よとなることだと思ふ」と語つた。

もち論オキナワは太平洋における政治の一要素を構成し続けるだろう。米国はオキナワの大軍事基地を維持しつづける。日本とオキナワにおける相当数の意見はオキナワの管理がかかる規模の米軍の存在を容認したことを批判する。

外務省

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北西  
参北北保

参一  
参西東洋  
西東

参書近ア  
次総経国資  
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電信写

の批判は「クソン大統領の北京訪問により激化しそつてある。

日本国民は米国が「てい察任務のためにオキナワの基地を使用しそこにあるV.O.A放送は主に中国に向けられたものであることを非常によく知つている。日本人は日本領土から行つた米軍の活動につき中共が日本に責任を問ふと推測している。米国が中国とのより友好的な関係に向つて進もうとするに従つてこの米国の動きは他の太平洋諸国に「対し米国の同じ方向に向おうとする大きな圧力をつくり出す。オキナワの例が示すようにアジアの同盟諸国がわれわれ自身以上に中国に対し敵対的な態度をとることをわれわれが期待するとなればそれは理くつに合わないことである。」

(了)

外務省

送付 信  
 参事官  
 北米第一課長  
 アメリカ局長

政 第 9790 号  
 昭和46年 11 月 19 日  
 外 務 大 臣 殿  
 在 米 牛 場 大 使

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- 総務
- 沖縄
- 渉外調査
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- 力夕夕
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WASHINGTON POST

NOV 18 1971

### *Okinawa, Japan and China*

The Senate's ratification of the Okinawa treaty fulfills a promise made repeatedly, over many years, to Japan. Some months from now the administration of the Ryukyu Islands will revert to the Japanese government, whose "residual" sovereignty we recognized in the peace treaty after World War II. "I think it is to the lasting honor of our country," Senator Cooper told the Senate, "that although it had done more than any of the other allies to bring about the end of the war in the Pacific against Japan, it did not demand from Japan the cession of any of its territories."

Okinawa will continue, of course, to be an element in the politics of the Pacific. The United States continues to maintain large military bases there. A considerable body of opinion in Japan and

on Okinawa criticizes Premier Sato for having accepted an American presence on this scale. These criticisms are likely to be sharpened by President Nixon's trip to Peking.

The Japanese are very much aware that the United States uses the Okinawa bases for reconnaissance missions, and that the Voice of America transmitters there are chiefly aimed at China. The Japanese assume that China will hold them responsible for American activities conducted from Japanese territory. As the United States moves toward a warmer relationship with China, it creates a great pressure on other Pacific nations to move in the same direction. As the case of Okinawa will demonstrate, we cannot reasonably expect our Asian allies to seem more hostile to China than we ourselves are prepared to be.

アメリカ局長

送付公信

参事官  
北米第一課長

政 第 情 報 9495 号	昭和46年 11 月 19 日
外 務 情 報 殿	在 米 牛 場 大 使
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「ベ平区」による沖繩協定反対の新聞広告  
 (11月17日付ワシントン・ポストに掲載の記事の)



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WASHINGTON POST  
NOV 17 1971



### Support!! Okinawan Peace Mandate

This Okinawan Peace Mandate was drafted by "Okinawans Group to Create Peace" in opposition to the Agreement of Reversion signed by the Governments of Japan and the United States of America. This mandate was adopted by people attending the "Anti-War meeting" held in Koza, Okinawa on May 16th and also supported by anti-war Americans and Servicemen living here. The content of the Okinawan Peace Mandate is as follows:

#### Okinawan Peace Mandate

Okinawa has been utilized by Japanese and American militarists to oppress the people of Asia for nearly one century. The complacency of the Japanese people, the American people, and the Okinawan people is directly responsible for this crime against humanity.

In pre-World War II days Okinawa played an integral part in Japanese expansion into Asia. During World War II Okinawa was a key military stepping stone for Japanese militarists, who in the name of the emperor waged war on the people of Asia.

American militarists discovered the usefulness of Okinawa as a base for military aggression during their war against the Korean people, and in pursuing their containment of China policy. Presently, to destroy and to devastate the Indochinese people, American militarists have turned Okinawa into the very keystone for pursuing that war.

Japanese rulers, in the period following World War II, seeking the security of a strong military presence in Asia, seeking economic expansion, and seeking new military power over Asia, all too happily abandoned Okinawa to the American militarists.

Having more than succeeded in these initial goals, the present Japanese government is negotiating with the U.S. government to restore her pre-war rule over Okinawa. Together, these two governments are conspiring to use the reversion of Okinawa to consolidate their joint economic military hold over the people of Asia.

Further complacency and silence at this point by the Japanese, the American, and the Okinawan people will only create further suffering and devastation for Asia, and deepen the crime against humanity. Therefore:

I. In order to stop American military aggression and destruction in Asia and any such future occurrence, we demand a total and immediate end to all American military bases, personnel, and weapons on Okinawa. Furthermore, we appeal to all American GIs and to the American people to completely disarm your aggressive military so that it may never again oppress any nation.

II. We demand that the so-called Japanese Self-Defence forces not set foot on Okinawa. We demand that neither Okinawa nor any part of Japan be used as a base for the new Japanese imperialism, the new Japanese remilitarization, and the joint action of the American and Japanese militaries to oppress both us and our Asian brothers.

We resolve to bear the responsibility for the above mentioned crime against humanity, and we resolve to bear the responsibility for preventing its recurrence in Asia. We appeal to you, Americans, Japanese, GIs, whoever you may be, to bear your share of the responsibility.

We of Beheiren request you to do whatever possible to bring about liberation of Okinawa and recovery of peace in Asia in conjunction with the above Mandate.

*Yoshitake Kureya*  
representing Okinawa Beheiren ("Peace for Vietnam!" Committee) Naha-higashi P. O. Box 2008, Naha, Okinawa.  
*Yoichi Endo, Yoshiko Furiya, Yotaro Konaka, Kyoko Kohda, K. Muro, T. Takahashi, M. Terai, Y. Kanai, M. Hibiya*  
Beheiren "Peace for Vietnam!" Committee  
Ishii Bldg., 6-44, Kagurazaka, Shinjuku-ku, Tokyo.

An Ad Campaign was started some four years ago in Okinawa by a handful of Okinawa students, citizens and visitors from Japan. Nickels and dimes accumulated thus far make it possible to carry this advertisement.

送付公信 参事官  
 北米第一課長  
 アメリ力局長

政 第 9971 号	昭和46年 11月 26日
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沖縄返還関係新聞報道

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 胎母以長(軍給治行上)

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- 総務
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# Lower House in Japan Votes Okinawa Pact With U.S.

By RICHARD HALLORAN  
Special to The New York Times

TOKYO, Nov. 24—The lower house of the Japanese Diet (parliament) approved today the treaty with the United States under which Okinawa will be returned to Japanese political control next year.

In Japan's parliamentary process, the vote assured ratification even though the treaty will be considered by the upper house. The vote was 285 to 73.

The Socialist and Communist parties, which have a total of 105 seats in the 401-member house, boycotted the session in protest against the treaty. The Komeito (Clean Government party) and the Democratic Socialist party voted against the pact.

The United States Senate passed the treaty 84-6 on Nov. 10. President Nixon, however, has declared that he will not sign it until the Japanese adopt implementing legislation that will assure continued operation of the extensive American military facilities on the island.

Immediately after approving the treaty, the lower house voted unanimously, and with Premier Eisaku Sato's support, for two opposition resolutions that appeared to conflict with Japan's agreement on Okinawa with the United States.

### Will Bar Nuclear Arms

One called on the Japanese Government to obtain from Washington a commitment that all nuclear weapons will be withdrawn from Okinawa before reversion. It also stated that the Japanese Government would not permit the United States to deploy nuclear arms on Okinawa under any circumstances.

The Nixon Administration has said publicly that there will be no nuclear weapons on Okinawa at the time of reversion. But the joint communiqué on Okinawa issued by President Nixon and Premier Sato in November, 1969, though vaguely worded, has been interpreted by officials of both Governments as permitting nuclear weapons to be deployed on Okinawa in an emergency.

The communiqué said that reversion would be carried out "without prejudice" to United States rights to consult with the Japanese Government if

Washington thought posting nuclear arms in Okinawa necessary. Mr. Sato also said in the communiqué that "it was important for the peace and security of the Far East that the United States should be in a position to carry out fully its obligations to nations with which it has defense treaties."

### Cutback of Bases Sought

The second resolution called for a reduction in the size and number of American military bases on Okinawa after reversion, even though a detailed agreement on the maintenance of those bases is part of the treaty package.

Mr. Sato, after the resolutions were adopted, reaffirmed his policy against allowing the United States to bring nuclear weapons into Japan proper and Okinawa. He also said that he would begin today a "serious effort" to have the bases on Okinawa cut back.

American officials here said Japanese officials have already made informal requests for a new commitment on the nuclear and base issues. But they said that the Nixon Administration had not yet decided whether it would go beyond what it had already pledged.

The ruling Liberal-Democratic party agreed to support the resolutions as a face-saving concession to the opposition, which had threatened to disrupt the Diet proceedings. The opposition argued against the treaty because it provides for the retention of the bases on the island.

But the Socialists and Communists, after four days of negotiation, refused to accept the concession and therefore stayed away from the voting.

Under the Japanese Constitution, a treaty passed by the lower house goes to the upper house for approval. But the pact is automatically approved if the upper house fails to act within 30 days. The upper house of 252 members currently has 134 Liberal-Democratic members, thus assuring passage if the treaty comes to a vote.

The bills to implement the treaty are scheduled to be considered during this session of

the Diet, which ends Dec. 24. But passage may be delayed until next winter because the Diet has two controversial resolutions on China still before it.

No date has been set for reversion, although the agreement calls for the return sometime in 1972.

The return of Okinawa to Japan is not likely to improve United States-Japan relations but it may help to slow the deterioration caused by differences over China policy and economic issues in the last few months. The Japanese demand for return has been an emotional, nationalistic desire to

wipe out the last major vestige of World War II.

The prospects of reversion, however, have already turned Japanese attention toward the recovery of four islands north of Japan—Shitokan, Kunashir, Shushio, and Shibotsu—that were seized by the Soviet Union at the end of the war.

### 100,000 Stage Protest

TOKYO, Nov. 24 (Reuters)—About 100,000 people demonstrated throughout Japan today to protest against the lower house's approval of an agreement to return Okinawa to Japanese rule.

NEW YORK TIMES  
NOV 25 1971

### Protests in Japan

TOKYO—An estimated 10,000 persons demonstrated throughout Japan to protest the lower house of parliament's approval of the terms of an agreement to return Okinawa to Japanese rule. A government spokesman said the protests generally were peaceful, but police arrested 119 people, 113 of them in Tokyo where about 300 students threw gasoline bombs at a police guard box and overturned eight cars.

## ATOMIC ARMS BAN ON OKINAWA URGED

Japanese Call for Curb on  
U.S. Bases After Return

TOKYO, Nov. 22 (AP)—Premier Eisaku Sato's governing Liberal-Democratic party and two moderate opposition parties adopted a resolution today calling for a ban on nuclear weapons on Okinawa.

The three-party resolution also demanded that the Japanese Government impose limits on American use of United States military facilities on Okinawa after it and the other islands of the Ryukyu chain are returned to Japanese rule in 1972 by the United States.

The resolution was adopted unanimously by the House of Representatives special committee on Okinawa affairs. The Socialist and Communist parties boycotted the vote, but nine Socialists and one Communist voted with the committee anyway.

### Leftists Demonstrate

Japanese leftists have been demonstrating almost daily this month against the American-Japanese agreement on Okinawa's reversion because it would allow United States forces to stay on the island and does not specify that American nuclear weapons be removed.

Premier Sato has said that nuclear weapons will be gone by the time the island is returned to Japanese rule. Other limits on United States bases also are envisioned since the American-Japanese security treaty—which regulates bases in Japan—will apply to Okinawa after it is returned.

The Liberal-Democratic, the Clean Government, and the Democratic Socialist parties agreed on the resolution while searching for a way to get ac-

NEW YORK TIMES

NOV 23 1971

tion in Parliament moving again. Proceedings have been crippled by an Opposition boycott called to protest the Government's tactics in forcing the reversion agreement through committee.

### Socialist Reports Evidence

The Socialist chairman, Tomomi Narita, said his party had obtained more evidence that United States forces stored nuclear and biochemical weapons at the Iwakuni Marine base, about 450 miles west of Tokyo.

Last Tuesday a Socialist legislator, Yanosuke Narasaki, said at a meeting of the lower house committee on Okinawan affairs that the United States Marines had nuclear weapons at the Iwakuni base.

The Foreign Ministry denied that the United States military had nuclear or dangerous chemical weapons stored at the base, calling the accusation nonsense.

About 60,000 workers demonstrated in Tokyo today in a continuing protest against the reversion treaty. The police said they arrested one person for possession of a fire bomb.