

琉球大学学術リポジトリ

日米関係（沖縄返還）34

メタデータ	言語: 出版者: 公開日: 2019-02-14 キーワード (Ja): キーワード (En): 作成者: - メールアドレス: 所属:
URL	http://hdl.handle.net/20.500.12000/43833

43
10.22
ニクソン、ハンフリー両候補、邦人記者団

(回覧番号) 外務省電信案 (分類)

機密表示 (極秘・秘の朱印) 平	符号表示 略 (平)	※ 総第 49114 号
	※ 第 1992 号	※ 昭和 年 月 日 時 分 発 43-10-23 15-20
	大至急 (至急) 普通 LTF	※ 発電係 済

大臣 政務次官 事務次官 外務審議官 外務審議官 官房長	主管 アメリカ局長 参事官 北米課長	主管局部課 (室) 名 米北 起案 昭和 43 年 10 月 23 日 起案者 吉川 電話番号 445
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協議先

在 米 下田 (大) 臨時代理大使
総領事 代理 あて 三木 大臣 発

電 報 在 大 使 臨時代理大使 あて
総領事 代理

件名
ニクソン、ハンフリーの回答文テキスト送付依頼

木内書記官へ ~~平野課長~~ 代理

22日付朝日朝刊は、ニクソン、ハンフリー

両候補の ~~日米関係~~ 対日政策等

用紙同紙の質問状に対する回答を

報にしているが、本省より同紙本社に

23-105
済

(※印刷内は電信課記入)

(昭和四三七一改正)

GB-1

向合せに3. 右回答原文は
ワシントン 総局に送るが、~~米~~ 総局
より直接入手し、29日には
ワシントン本社外報部に異存なく
回答越した。
ワシントン、同総局より本件英文
テキストを入手の上、至急空送りに
した。

(3)

GB-3

外務省

対日政策の輪郭を示す

米大統領候補の回答内容

【ワシントン】アメリカ総局二十一日発。米大統領候補フランクリン・デルノ・ローゼンズワルド氏の日朝交渉に、

アジアのリーダーに

二ツツン氏

一面を著る。政治指導者としての二ツツン氏が、日朝交渉の相手を考へ、米大統領候補としての責任を自覚し、アジアのリーダーに行動するべきであると説き及ぼす。二ツツン氏は、米大統領候補としての責任を自覚し、アジアのリーダーに行動するべきであると説き及ぼす。二ツツン氏は、米大統領候補としての責任を自覚し、アジアのリーダーに行動するべきであると説き及ぼす。

遊説中、機内で意見

遊説中、機内で意見

【ワシントン】河村特派員二十日ロム。二ツツン米大統領候補が遊説中、機内で意見。

対中正常化に努める

ハンフリー氏

米大統領候補ハンフリー氏は、対中正常化に努めるべきであると説き及ぼす。ハンフリー氏は、米大統領候補としての責任を自覚し、対中正常化に努めるべきであると説き及ぼす。

二ツツン氏

二ツツン氏は、米大統領候補としての責任を自覚し、対中正常化に努めるべきであると説き及ぼす。二ツツン氏は、米大統領候補としての責任を自覚し、対中正常化に努めるべきであると説き及ぼす。

遊説中、機内で意見

【ワシントン】河村特派員二十日ロム。二ツツン米大統領候補が遊説中、機内で意見。

対中正常化に努める

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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

大政事外外官
 務務房
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 官官審審長
 入会管計
 総文電厚給
 参旅移
 参長
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総番号(TA) 43328
 68年10月24日20時15分 ワシントン 発 北
 68年10月25日10時02分 本省 着
 外務大臣殿 下田(大使) 臨時代理大使 総領事 代理

平繩返還に関するニクソン候補の声明

ヲ3106号 平

往電ヲ3105号別電

EXCERPTS FROM MR. NIXON'S STATEMENT (QUESTIONS AND
ANSWERS PERIOD) IN HILLSBORO, NEW HAMPSHIRE ON FEBRUARY 28,
1968

LONG-RANGE, I THINK, THE POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES SHOULD
BE THAT OKINAWA SHOULD BE RETURNED TO JAPAN. I THINK THAT IT IS
VITALLY IMPORTANT FOR US TO RECOGNIZE THAT WE CAN HAVE NO REAL
COLLECTIVE SECURITY IN ASIA WITHOUT JAPAN BEING A PART OF IT.

LONG-RANGE, THE INTERESTS OF JAPAN AND ASIA, OF A FREE STRONG
JAPAN, ARE THE INTERESTS OF A FREE STRONG UNITED STATES IN THE
PACIFIC. AND I THINK, ONCE JAPAN ASSUMES THE ROLE OF LEADERSHIP,
THAT OKINAWA CERTAINLY COULD BE RETURNED.

(3)

ニリン次期米大使館の沖肥行止
 1. ニュー・ハンプシャー州 ヒルズボロ
 における(1968年2月28日)の
 声明(沖肥関係却任)
 43. 11. 14
 北米課

長期的には、米国の政策は、沖縄を
 日本へ返還する事であるといふ
 事であると思ふ。 故に、米国民
 の参加を促して、
 日本がその責任を担う事
 が必要であると思ふ。
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長期的には、日本がEU-V-Pの利
 益、自由国家としての
 の利益は、太平洋における自由国家
 としての米国の利益である。 之
 により、日本が、指導者の役割を
 果たすことにより、
 日本が、沖縄返還の責任を
 担う事が必要であると思ふ。
 2. 朝日新聞社からの質問に
 社長の回答(1968年10月15日)
 (1) — 43年10
 (2) —

ニクソン次期米大統領の沖縄
問題に対する考え方の一端

昭和43/1/5
アメリカ局北米課

1. ニュー・ハンプシャー州ヒルズボロにおける発言
(1968年2月28日)

長期的には、米国の政策は、沖縄を日本へ返還するというものであるべきだと思います。私は、日本の参加なくしてアジアにおける真の集団的安全保障はありえないということをわれわれが認識することがきわめて重要であると思います。

長期的には、日本及びアジアの利益、及び強大な自由国家たる日本の利益は、強力な自由国家たる米国の太平洋における利益でもある。それ故、ひとたび日本が指導者の役割りを果たすことを引受けるならば、沖縄はかならず返還しうると思います。

2. 朝日新聞社の質問に対する回答
(昭和43年10月23日付「朝日」朝刊より)

(1) 私が当選したら、沖縄返還について1967年11月15日の合意を尊重するか、との質

問については、67年の会談で作られた基礎の上に立つて前進するつもりであることを保証する。

沖縄諸島の返還に関する私の立場はすでに公にしている。68年2月28日私は、この問題に対する米外交政策の長期的な取組み方は、沖縄を究極的には日本に返すことができる、ということではなければならない、と指摘した。日本がアジアにおいて、相互依存、地域的協力の方向でリーダーシップを続けるのに見合つて、沖縄返還が可能である、というのが私の見解である。

私は「日米両国政府は、沖縄の施政権を日本に返還するとの目的のもとに、かつ以上の(ジョンソン・佐藤間の)討論を考慮しつつ、沖縄の地位について共同かつ継続的な検討を行なうべきである」ことに、完全に同意する。日米両国が、琉球高等弁務官に対する諮問委員会を那覇に設けて、施政権返還上の問題を緩和する準備をしていることは喜ばしい。

日本国民の希望は理解できる。同様に、佐藤首相とジョンソン大統領が述べているように、これら諸島にある米国の基地が、日本及びアジアの自由諸国の安全確保に、重要な役割りを果たしていることは認めなければならない。私の政権は、いかなる取決めも自由アジアの立場ないし安全を、決して弱めないよう注意を払うだろう。

その点、佐藤首相が述べたように、日本政府が地域的防衛の責任の多くを、徐々に受持つ意向であることを心強く思っている。

(2) 67年の合意でも明らかなように、沖縄返還問題はアジアの集団安全保障における日本の役割りの問題と無関係ではない。私は、日本が指導的経済大国となつてゆくにつれて、アジアにおける健全なバランスを維持するため、外交的、経済的、政治的、そして軍事面でも、より大きな役割りを演じることはたしかだと思ふ。

次官
印

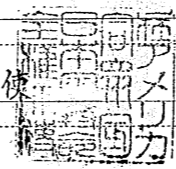
アメリカ局長
参事官
北米課長

政第 17969 号

昭和 43 年 10 月 25 日

外務大臣殿

在 米 下田大使



ニクソン、ハニフリー両候補
の朝日新聞南米内林に対する

回答文テキスト送付

貴電米北米 1992 号を以て入午方附記
今のあつた事件内林回答文英文テキスト
分別添送付す。

付属添付

要処
首席事務官
南方
以 調査
漁業
航空
科学協力
連絡調整
通 信
力 学
長 官



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OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

October 17, 1968

Dear Mr. Mori:

Attached is the text of the responses
to the questions which you raised.

Sincerely,

John E. Rielly
John E. Rielly
Assistant to the Vice President

Attachment

Mr. Tomino Mori
The Asahi Shimbun (Japan)
794 National Press Building
Washington, D. C. 20004

(1) There is a widely-held observation that the U.S. will become more isolationistic hereafter. What do you think should be the role of the U.S. in world affairs and the extent of U.S. commitment abroad?

I do not think that it is predetermined that the U.S. will become more isolationistic. There is no question that there are considerable pressures to cut back our American commitments overseas, especially American military commitments. The extent to which these pressures will build up will be determined in great part by the type of settlement that is eventually reached in Viet Nam. The extent to which U.S. Government will yield to any such pressures will be determined greatly by the outcome of the election on November 5.

I discussed my view of the role of the United States in the world at some length on September 26 in a speech before the Commonwealth Group in San Francisco. I stated that the U.S. will continue to have a major responsibility for preserving world peace, but the way in which we fulfill that responsibility will change.

Our role in the next decade will undoubtedly be different from that in the last. There are pressing problems in the U.S. which cause us to place careful priorities on allowance of resources abroad. Revival of strength in other free countries enables them to assume greater burdens.

We cannot continue forever to follow a strategy which lies exclusively on American power as the guarantor of security in all areas of the developing world. We do not intend to withdraw from Asia. But in pursuing our policy in Southeast Asia in the future, we should strictly adhere to three guidelines: (1) self help; (2) regional and multilateral responsibility; and (3) selective American assistance.

This means that in implementing our policy we should avoid where ever possible unilateral involvement, either military or economic, and should favor working through multilateral institutions.

In meeting security crises, I have stated that we must give greater emphasis to enlarging the peace keeping capacity of the United Nations and of regional organizations.

(2) What do you think the "Post-Vietnam" Asia should be?
What kind of role do you think Japan should take in future Asia?

I believe the future of "Post-Vietnam" Asia will be decided in great part by Asian nations. It is likely that four great Asian Nations - Japan, India, Indonesia, and China - will play the greatest role in shaping the future of that area. I believe that the role in Japan of the next decade will be determined chiefly by Japan. As the strongest industrial nation in Asia -- and one of the leading world industrial powers -- Japan can play a major role in promoting the stability of the area. Japan has already contributed much through aid programs, through trade, and through technical assistance. I would hope that she would continue to expand her role in these areas, working through multilateral organizations like the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank, and with her traditional allies such as the U.S.

(3) You have been asserting a bridge-building policy toward Communist China. If you are elected and the Vietnam War is over, do you think you will make any kind of overtures to Mainland China?

I have stated on several occasions that we can talk neither about reconciliation nor about increasing the stability and progress of the developing world without taking full account of Mainland China.

Although the prospects for cooperative programs with China in the next decade are not good, we should make it clear that we are prepared to replace conflict with cooperation whenever the Chinese are.

We must expect rebuffs, rejection, and insult ... and still continue to seek more normalized relations with the mainland.

To widen our contacts with the seven hundred and fifty million people who live in Mainland China we should:

- 1) lift restrictions on trade in non-strategic goods,
- 2) encourage interchange of scholars, journalists, and artists,
- 3) make it clear that should China make its decision to become a responsible, participating member of the community of nations, we will welcome it. And we should, now, encourage it.

(4) There is an observation that in order for Japan to assume a larger role in Asia, it will become necessary to revise Article 9 of Japanese Constitution which prohibits rearmament. Do you agree with this observation?

I do not believe it would be appropriate at this time for me to comment on the necessity of revising Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution.

(5) The problem of reversion of the Ryukyu Islands to Japan is currently the biggest issue between the U.S. and Japan. When Prime Minister SATO of Japan had talks with President Johnson last November, an understanding was reached to the effect that both governments will make efforts to agree, in a few years, upon timing of the reversion. When you assume Presidency, do you contemplate to respect the understanding and make efforts to realize early return of those Islands?

In regard to the reversion of the Ryukyu Islands, I expect to fully respect the understanding between President Johnson and the Japanese Government to achieve an early return of these islands to Japan. On several occasions, I have personally discussed these questions with Prime Minister SATO and Foreign Minister MIKI. I believe they appreciate my open-minded approach to this question and my desire to achieve a prompt and realistic solution.

THE ASAHI SHIMBUN, JAPAN
WASHINGTON BUREAU

704 NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20004
STERLING 3-0523 3-0524

Oct. 9, 1968

Questions

- (1) Okinawa: When the Japanese Prime Minister ASTO visited Washington last year, there was an agreement between President Johnson and Mr. SATO to the effect that the governments will continue to talk about the return of the Ryukyus to Japan, with a view to reaching an agreement, in a few years, on a future timetable to return those islands. If elected President, do you intend to honor that agreement?
- (2) Building Asian forces: During the current campaign, you are advocating building Asian forces. Could you elaborate a little on that? Militarily or economically? And what role do you expect from Japan? In Oct. 1967 issue of Foreign Affairs magazine, you said it would become necessary for Japan to revise the Constitution which restrict Japan from rearming itself and engaging in overseas operations.

RICHARD M. NIXON
P. O. BOX 1968
TIMES SQUARE STATION
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10036

October 16, 1968

Dear Mr. Kawamura:

I am happy to respond to your inquiry regarding my position on the return of Okinawa in sovereignty to Japan and on the requirements for building peace and security in Asia.

As you are aware, the issues you raise have some delicate aspects and inter-related considerations. Since the issues are of such importance to the framework of mutual trust and cooperation between the United States and Japan, I shall attempt to answer your inquiry as completely and candidly as possible.

With respect to your question regarding whether or not I intend, if elected President, to respect the agreement of November 15, 1967, between President Johnson and Prime Minister Sato, I assure you that I intend to follow through with the agreed groundwork established at the 1967 meeting.

With specific reference to the return of the Ryukyu Islands, my position on the subject is a matter of public record. On February 28, 1968, I pointed out that the long-range approach of United States foreign policy in this matter should be that Okinawa could eventually be returned to Japan. It is therefore my view that, as Japan's role of leadership in Asia continues in the direction of greater interdependence and regional cooperation, Okinawa could be returned.

Mr. Kinji Kawamura

October 16, 1968
Page 2

I am in complete accord with the agreement "that the two Governments should keep under joint and continuous review the status of the Ryukyu Islands, guided by the aim of returning administrative rights over these Islands to Japan and in the light of these discussions". I was happy to see that the United States and Japan have prepared for easing any problems of transition by establishing, in Naha, an Advisory Committee to the High Commissioner of the Ryukyu Islands. Needless to say, I am also in accord with those aspects of the agreement regarding immediate consultations on the specific arrangements for accomplishing the early restoration of the Bonin Islands to Japan in a fashion which is not detrimental to the security of the area.

The desire of the Japanese people for the reversion of these islands is understandable. At the same time, as the Prime Minister and President have stated, we must recognize that the United States bases on these islands continue to play a vital role in assuring the security of Japan and of other free nations in Asia. My Administration would be concerned that any arrangements should, in no way, weaken the position or security of free Asia.

In this light, I was heartened by the intention of the Government of Japan, as expressed by the Prime Minister, gradually to assume much of the responsibility for defense of the area.

Likewise, I value highly the Prime Minister's statement that Japan is prepared to continue making positive contributions to the peace and stability of Asia in accordance with its capabilities. Japan has already taken welcome strides towards constructive cooperation, as evidenced by the participation in the Asian Development Bank and ASPAC.

Mr. Kinji Kawamura

October 16, 1968
Page 3

Of course, as is apparent in the agreement of 1967, the first issue is not unrelated to the subject of Japan's role in the collective security of Asia. With respect to your second question, I feel that as Japan emerges as a leading economic power, it will surely play a greater role -- in diplomatic, economic, political and military terms -- in sustaining a healthy balance in Asia.

I realize that the question of Japanese participation in collective security arrangements is much discussed and debated in Japan. Since the safety of noncommunist Asia depends largely upon Japan's role in regional associations, and since our national interests coincide on the matter of free and independent Asian nations, I welcome and support the trends towards participation in arrangements for the peace and stability of the area.

As I stated in my article, "Asia After Viet Nam", looking toward the future, it does not appear realistic to expect a nation moving into the first rank of major powers to be totally dependent for its own security on another nation, however close the ties. Total dependency would be a disservice to both the people of Japan and the people of the United States.

I am confident that, whatever arrangements or modifications become necessary, they can be accomplished through the spirit of mutual trust and cooperation. The successful achievement of both of our nations' long-range enlightened interests and the future of peaceful change in Asia largely depend upon this spirit.

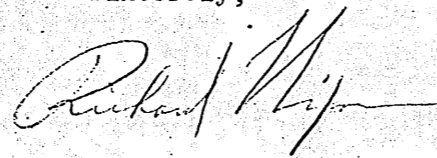
Working through and building upon the framework of mutual trust has always been my personal desire and a Republican Party principle. John Foster Dulles, when negotiating the Peace Treaty at mid-century, predicted that the future of peaceful change, security

Mr. Kinji Kawamura

October 16, 1968
Page 4

and prosperity depended upon our ability to enter into an era of genuine cooperation and understanding. My Administration would be dedicated to building upon the close ties of mutual trust and interests, and to regional cooperation in the cause of peaceful change.

Sincerely,



Mr. Kinji Kawamura
Chief, The Asahi Shimbun
Washington Bureau
794 National Press Building
Washington, D. C. 20004

THE ASAHI SHIMBUN, JAPAN
WASHINGTON BUREAU

794 NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20004
STERLING 3-0523 3-0524

Oct. 4, 1968

Remarks of Mr. Nixon (Excerpts)
at the interview
(from notes of Kawamura)

The future of peace and stability in the Pacific depend much upon U.S.-Japanese relations.

The role to be played by Japan there is, of course, up to the Japanese to decide. As a major industrial power in Asia--- her gross national product is equal to China --- Japan can and must play a leadership role in free Asia. This was not possible 10 years ago. However, it is now clear that we have a new generation in Asia and they welcome brains and planning ability of Japan.

I visited Japan six times since I retired from Vice-Presidency in 1961, and talked with Prime Minister SATO, former Prime Minister KISHI and others. I will keep closest personal relations with them.

Major objective of my administration is going to maintain closest direct relations and communications with Japan --- on political, economic matters and on self-defense of Japan.

I think we are now entering a new era of relations between the U.S. and Japan.

To me, during the first half of this century, primary emphasis of American foreign policy was Europe. But now it is the Pacific--- and the U.S. and Japan together hold key to the peace of the Pacific.

Looking toward the future, Japan can be a bridge to China. We must all think--- at the year 2000, there must be a dialogue with Communist China. And Japan can be a bridge for that.

THE ASAHI SHIMBUN, JAPAN
WASHINGTON BUREAU

794 NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20004
STERLING 3-0523 2-0524

I have had many Japanese friends in Whittier and many of them are helping me in my campaign. And I have visited Japan six times. So, I have a legitimate interest in Japan. When I met Mr. SATO, we always talked about political problems each of us have. If you have a chance to talk to Mr. SATO, tell him that I will win.