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米国管理下の南西諸島状況雑件 沖縄関係 米国関係
（議員等発言(2)（講演、記者会見等）

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サイミントシ上院議員(モリタナ) ~~野村~~ (昭四四・六・一)

記者会見

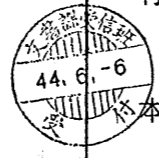
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MEET THE PRESS

Produced by Lawrence E. Spivak

SUNDAY, JUNE 1, 1969

GUEST:

SENATOR STUART SYMINGTON (. No.)

MODERATOR:

Lawrence E. Spivak.

PANEL:

William Beecher - New York Times

Roscoe Drummond - Los Angeles Times Syndicate

Lloyd Norman - Newsweek

Douglas Kiker - NBC News

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1 MR. SPIVAK: Our guest today on MEET THE PRESS is Senator
2 Stuart Symington, Democrat of Missouri, a leader in the fight
3 against deployment of the ABM. A former Secretary of the
4 Air Force, Senator Symington is the only Senator who serves
5 both on the Armed Services and the Foreign Relations Committees.

6 We will have the first questions now from Douglas Kiker
7 of NBC News.

8 MR. KIKER: Senator Symington, you are one of the leading
9 critics of the antiballistic missile system that the Nixon
10 Administration wants to build. Word is seeping out now from
11 Capitol Hill that the Pentagon, in an effort to prove its case
12 for a need for an ABM, is deliberately distorting intelligence
13 estimates of Soviet intentions.

14 Do you believe that this is the case? Is there an
15 intelligence gap in your opinion?

16 SENATOR SYMINGTON: I don't think anybody is deliberately
17 distorting intelligence, but I do believe there is a difference
18 between the way the intelligence has been interpreted by the
19 Department of Defense in public statements and the way we
20 have been receiving it in classified hearings.

1 In addition to that, what worries me is that when they
2 present the testimony, declassify additional testimony to
3 justify the system, they nevertheless keep classified informa-
4 tion which we believe would show that, regardless of whether
5 the Soviet threat is as much as they believe it is, the
6 Safeguard system is not the way to handle it.

7 MR. KIKER: It may be a question of semantics, but
8 isn't deliberate misinterpretation another word for distortion?

9 SENATOR SYMINGTON: No, I would say they get a different
10 interpretation in the way that they handle it. What would be
11 the best thing to do in my opinion would be to sit around and
12 declassify by agreement some of the data that they have given
13 us. For example, there is a chart that was submitted by the
14 Pentagon, classified, to the Armed Services Committee. If that
15 chart could be declassified, I believe that this argument would
16 be over.

17 MR. KIKER: For example, the Pentagon is saying that by
18 1975 if the Soviets continue their current buildup, they will
19 have 500 SS-9 missiles, and they are saying that the Soviets
20 show every intention of continuing that buildup.

21 Now you get these reports. Is that your understanding?

22 SENATOR SYMINGTON: Well, I don't know that they are going
23 to build 500 and I don't know that they are not, but I do
24 know that regardless of what they do or do not build in the
25 way of SS-9's, which really is nothing more or less than an

1 improved Titan, that we abandoned years ago, that the
2 Safeguard system is a very poor way to commit our limited
3 resources to handle that threat.

4 MR. KIKER: If the ABM does fail to gain approval, and
5 if the Soviets do continue their buildup of missiles, won't the
6 Nixon Administration have a political weapon to use against you
7 and others who voted against the ABM and won't they
8 use that weapon?

9 SENATOR SYMINGTON: Well, Mr. Kiker, this subject is above
10 politics. I must say, however, that the briefings that were
11 given us by people like Admiral Rickover, with respect to the
12 submarine menace, and the importance of the ICBM's, which
13 nobody has ever denied, I am very surprised that in the same
14 budget that they ask for this new adaptation of the old
15 Sentinel system, and they ask for a great deal of additional
16 money for that, they are cutting heavily the money they are
17 putting in minuteman, and they are cutting heavily the money that
18 they are putting into submarines.

19 * * * *

20 (Announcements)

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1 MR. BEECHER: Senator, I'd like to ask you about the
2 metamorphosis of Stuart Symington. Until fairly recent years
3 you were regarded as one of the strongest voices in the Senate
4 in favor of a powerful defense establishment and yet suddenly
5 we see you as leading the fight against the antiballistic
6 missile system, as one of the principal critics of the Vietnam
7 policy, as a man who is questioning that the military might
8 be improperly setting foreign policy for the United States.
9 Clearly you are now listening to a new drummer.

10 Senator, what turned you around?

11 SENATOR SYMINGTON: In the 23 years that I have been in
12 government, I have worked for and voted for a lot, for the
13 Department of Defense. To be exact \$953 billion. This is the
14 first weapons system recommended that I have ever opposed. Some
15 have come to me and said, "We thought you were one of us."

16 Well, I am one of them. I am an American citizen and
17 above all, above politics or my respect and affection for the
18 military, come my obligations as a United States Senator.

19 So I am quite suprised that after voting for what will
20 be after this year over a trillion dollars, that I am criti-
21 cized for believing that this will not work, because I have
22 studied it carefully. I came out of the electronics industry.
23 I opposed it during the Johnson Administration, and I think it
24 is even more absurd, the new application of it in this
25 administration.

1 So if I didn't say that I was against it, I would not
2 live up to my trust as a Senator. In addition to that, when
3 I started working around already in the government, we had
4 all the gold and we had the bomb. Things have changed quite a
5 lot since then. We have got \$10.8 billion in gold and we owe
6 \$35 billion abroad to foreign people. And besides that, a
7 good many other people have the bomb. I don't think we can
8 fight our way out of this situation like we could 20 years
9 ago. I believe we have to think our way out. That about
10 sums up my change.

11 MR. BEECHER: If the Senate this summer should defeat
12 the Administration's proposal for an antiballistic missile
13 system would this strengthen or weaken its bargaining position
14 as it enters arms limitation talks with the Soviet Union?

15 SENATOR SYMINGTON: I personally believe that it would --
16 if the Senate defeats it, right now I think is an ideal time to
17 go ahead with arms control. On the other hand, I think that
18 more and more you are hearing about a possible ceiling given
19 to the Department of Defense, and this is saying, "This is all
20 the money you can spend." That probably would be a mistake.
21 On the other hand, our financial situation -- that is,
22 our monetary and fiscal situation is getting to the point
23 where it may be necessary.

24 MR. BEECHER: Would you be comfortable, Senator, with an
25 arms control agreement that allowed the Soviet Union to retain

1 the antiballistic missile system it now has deployed but pro-
2 hibited the United States from building anything at all of
3 that kind?

4 SENATOR SYMINGTON: I don't know what you are talking
5 about because they haven't deployed any system except one they
6 have just about abandoned around Moscow. They abandoned one
7 system around Leningrad. They are now in the process of
8 doing nothing we thought they were going to do with GALOSH
9 system around Moscow and they are testing a new system, which
10 is what we are doing, and I am all for testing this system.

11 On the other hand, people say they have been at it for 15
12 years. Well, why shouldn't they be at an ABM system for 15
13 years when we have been at an ICBM system for 23 years?

14 My personal opinion -- and everybody has a right to their personal
15 opinion -- is that the
16 reason they are going now so heavily for
17 ICBMs is that they tried the ABMs and found they wouldn't
18 work.

19 MR. BEECHER: You seem to be disagreeing with President
20 Nixon, Senator. He says the Soviet Union has deployed 67
21 antiballistic missile launchers around Moscow. You say they
22 have none.

23 SENATOR SYMINGTON: I didn't say that. I said they
24 planned to employ a good many more than 67. You mentioned
25 the figure, I didn't. Around Moscow.

We get a great deal of intelligence. As you know, Mr.

better

1 Beecher, we get / intelligence on a good day today than
2 we got in a year fifteen years ago and we know what they have
3 planned against what they are doing. That is one of the
4 reasons why I think (a) they are working so hard to get ICBMs
5 and (b) why it is a good time to start talking.

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1 MR. DRUMMOND: Senator, do you object if we change the
2 subject?

3 SENATOR SYMINGTON: Not at all.

4 MR. DRUMMOND: I'd like to ask whether you feel that what
5 is called the industrial-military complex tends to push us into
6 procuring weapons that we don't need?

7 SENATOR SYMINGTON: The degree of emphasis against the
8 cancellation of the ABM for the first time worries me quite a
9 lot, because I think that it is becoming more clear that there
10 are many pressures with respect to the pushing of this system
11 that I don't understand, based on the logic of the system.

12 Now, for example, I opposed it when they said it was neces-
13 sary for me to vote to protect our cities against the Chinese.
14 It didn't make any sense to me. Nevertheless, we went ahead and
15 we designed, they said, a good golf stick, or a good
16 golf club. Now, that is not what they are talking about today.
17 It is a totally different use, because they have shifted
18 the SS-9 from a second strike weapon to a first strike weapon,
19 and I am getting worried about all the arguments that are
20 being put up as to why this particular system, a relatively
21 unimportant part of our budget, is absolutely essential to the
22 security of the United States.

23 On a news program not too long ago someone said if we
24 didn't do this, the United States would be naked. Well, if
25 we are spending \$80 billion a year, and we have already spent

2 1 \$953 billion since World War II, if we are going to be naked
2 by not putting this up, maybe we better change tailors.

3 MR. DRUMMOND: Did you feel these pressures when you were
4 Secretary for Air, and did you tend to feel you needed to
5 yield to them or did you resist them?

6 SENATOR SYMINGTON: Well, I think that is a bit of an iffy
7 question. Certainly I wouldn't yield to them, and I don't re-
8 member any pressures when I was Secretary comparable to these,
9 Mr. Drummond.

10 MR. DRUMMOND: I would like to raise one more question,
11 Senator, if I may. It seems to me that nearly everybody agrees
12 that there is a need for a total review of the interrelationship
13 between foreign policy, foreign commitments and defense
14 spending. From what you have said publicly I would be
15 inclined to suggest you probably agree with that. What I want
16 to ask you is, do you think that either Congress or the Senate
17 itself, or the Senate Committees, are organized to undertake
18 that kind of total review and if not, what do you do about it?

19 SENATOR SYMINGTON: Well, under the Constitution, and the
20 clause incident to advise and consent, we have the right to
21 look at our commitments abroad prior to the declaration of any
22 war, and we have the right to approve treaties. That
23 is our constitutional situation. I have gone to several
24 countries in recent years where the Ambassadors have said
25 to me that the head military man of the United States is the

1 Ambassador in this country; I am not," and that despite the
2 Kennedy letter which came out when President Kennedy wrote it
3 some years ago when that story was getting around.

4 I don't know whether we are the right ones to do it. I
5 would welcome a better organization, if one could be
6 created, where you would have some kind of a joint commission
7 of people who are outstanding in our communities, but it
8 should be done, because we have 452 bases abroad. We have
9 thousands of places where we have our military people located,
10 and you go into these countries and you see these billions
11 and billions of dollars spent and then you compare that to our
12 growing financial problems and you realize something has to
13 give. And up to this point I haven't mentioned some domestic
14 problems which look like they are pretty serious.

15 MR. NORMAN: May I go to one of our urgent problems,
16 not quite domestic -- Vietnam. The war has been dragging on,
17 and the peace negotiations are getting nowhere. You proposed
18 in October of 1967 a cease-fire. Do you still feel that a
19 cease-fire now would solve the problem, a cease-fire in prepara-
20 tion for solid talks?

21 SENATOR SYMINGTON: Well I don't think anything can, as you
22 say, solve the problem. But we have shackled badly our
23 Navy and we have shackled our Air Force, and actually because
24 all the adjacent countries to South Vietnam are sanctuaries,
25 we in effect have shackled the Army. And therefore I said in

1 October '67 when I came back from Vietnam -- and I think I have
2 been there more than any other Senator -- I said "Why don't
3 we just have a cease-fire? Why do we stop our qualitative posi-
4 tion and keep on with our quantitative position?"

5 And that was my suggestion, and I would think it would
6 be a good suggestion today. I don't see why we fight their war
7 and stipulate that we cannot utilize where we are the
8 strongest, namely with our Navy and our Air Force.

9 MR. NORMAN: Would you be in favor of what is reported
10 to be an Administration proposal to require the Thieu
11 government to accept a provisional coalition government in
12 advance of any elections in South Vietnam?

13 SENATOR SYMINGTON: I'd put it to you this way, Mr.
14 Norman: I have watched this carefully now for a good many
15 years, and with all our needs at home and in other places of
16 the world, we are spending \$2-1/2 billion a month in Vietnam.
17 I would be in favor of anything that would get us out of
18 this situation with honor.

19 MR. NORMAN: Do you see any peace proposal that might
20 work out sometime this year for a withdrawal of troops?

21 SENATOR SYMINGTON: I would hope that troops would be
22 withdrawn. Confession is good for the soul, and the more
23 I have thought about it over the years, the more I think that
24 General Gavin's concept of the enclave might have been the
25 better way to handle this situation. Of course hindsight is

1 always better than foresight, but that is what I believe now.

2 MR. NORMAN: You have been there a number of times. How
3 many troops do you think we could safely pull out this year?

4 SENATOR SYMINGTON: That is beyond my ken. I would not
5 want to make a military analysis of that character.

6 MR. SPIVAK: Senator, we are spending a little over \$80
7 billion a year now for defense. Would you cut that by a great
8 deal now, and if so, how would you cut it?

9 SENATOR SYMINGTON: I think that one way to cut it would
10 be not to go ahead with weapons systems which to me do not
11 contribute to our national security. The best way to
12 cut it would be to have all services get together, the
13 three, in order that there was no duplication. I also, as
14 you know, for many years have felt that inasmuch as there is
15 not a single NATO country, not one, that has ever come up with
16 its original commitments with respect to the military position
17 of NATO as constituted in SHAPE, and inasmuch as there has never
18 been a day that the United States hasn't fully met that commit-
19 ment and inasmuch as those countries abroad, some of them, are
20 the strongest countries financially in the world today,
21 led by Germany, under those circumstances I think they should
22 do more -- come up at least to what they said they would do,
23 and I think we should reduce our troops in other parts of the
24 world, including Europe.

25

1 MR. SPIVAK: Would you be prepared to tell the Defense
2 Department to make a certain cut, to cut X number of dollars?

3 SENATOR SYMINGTON: Well, when you get into the
4 tactical aspect of it as to what they should cut, if we take
5 it out of their hands, that could run us into deep trouble.
6 But I was in New York as a delegate to the United Nations
7 this year and I went to some meetings that were attended by
8 some of the ablest people in the country, and the arguments
9 there were whether you could cut this budget up to \$20 billion
10 or \$30 billion without affecting our national defense.
11 And so one of the unfortunate aspects of the ABM debate, to
12 me, is that pretty soon you are going to see an arbitrary
13 cut of our military establishment. And if it went too deep
14 it would be harmful instead of helpful.

15 MR. KIKER: Senator, an awful lot of people are saying
16 now that the military-industrial complex, or, perhaps better
17 stated, the military-industrial-congressional-bureaucratic
18 has gotten out of control,
19 complex/ has gained too much power.

20 How do you get a handle on it, how do you bring it under
21 control? Is new legislation needed, for example?

22 SENATOR SYMINGTON: Well, I think it is fair to say -- I
23 was an industrialist, once, and I believe that the Depart-
24 ment of Defense can handle this matter. You say military-
25 industrial-congressional-bureaucratic. I think you might
add universities to that, based on some of the recent

1 experiences that I have had, if you are going to add anything
 2 at all. But I believe that the American people should be
 3 led into realizing (a) that our resources are limited (b)
 4 that our problems in Europe and the Middle East are more
 5 important than the Far East and (c) that there is nothing
 6 more important than our domestic problems here at home. If
 7 that is done, I think you will automatically see a re-
 8 apportionment of the pie chart of our resources.

9 MR. BEECHER: Do you agree with Senator Kennedy, that
 10 the way to get the North Vietnamese and Viet Cong to
 11 negotiate seriously in Paris is to reduce the military
 12 pressure on them in Viet Nam?

13 SENATOR SYMINGTON: Yes, I do. Considering all the other
 14 rules and all the other shackling we have done of all the
 15 other services. I do not see why, if we want a real peace,
 16 that we go out in the country -- and I have been up and down
 17 those valleys myself by helicopter several times -- and kill
 18 a lot of these people and let them kill a lot of our youth,
 19 when at the same time, then we go back into, you might say,
 20 into the enclaves. Because we control this territory by day
 21 and the Viet Cong and the North Vietnamese control it by night.
 22 It is a difficult question to answer Yes or No, but I think
 23 that Senator Kennedy had merit in his criticism.

24 MR. DRUMMOND: Senator, Mr. Kennedy yesterday, Senator
 25 Kennedy said that an American government committed to peace

1 can win a settlement in Viet Nam.

2 I'd like to ask whether you feel that the Nixon adminis-
 3 tration is committed to bring about what you have described
 4 as an honorable peace in Viet Nam.

5 SENATOR SYMINGTON: Well, let me say this, Mr. Drummond.
 6 I believe (a) that our President is an honorable man and (b)
 7 that he is desperately anxious to achieve an honorable peace
 8 in Viet Nam. I had dinner quite recently with Ambassador
 9 Lodge in Paris. On the other hand, he is a good politician
 10 and he knows that pretty soon this is not going to be
 11 "Johnson's War," it is going to be "Nixon's war," and that
 12 unquestionably increases his desire to get out. And I be-
 13 lieve that he wants to get out, very, very badly, as soon as
 14 he can. Especially when he receives people like his
 15 Secretary of State who are going around the world and
 16 nothing the problems in other parts of the world, and when he
 17 receives reports of what is going on in this country.

18 MR. NORMAN: Back in the mid-40's when you were at the
 19 Pentagon, you used to be known as a big-bomber man and a big
 20 air-power man. What do you think now of the prospects and
 21 what are your own opinions about the AMSA or the superbomber
 22 that the Air Force wants that some people say will cost
 23 \$9 billion and others \$12 billion? What is your view on that?

24 SENATOR SYMINGTON: I can answer you this way on that,
 25 Mr. Norman: I opposed the B70. I think missilery, air to air,

1 sea to sea, air to ground, ground to ground, is going to re-
 2 quire a great deal of careful thought with respect to new
 3 weaponry. Based on my opinion in the Pentagon and based on
 4 my seventeen years on the Armed Services Committee, I am sure
 5 there is one criticism in which there is some justification
 6 of the military; namely, that they prepare for the next
 7 war on the basis of the way they fought the past war. And
 8 the technological developments are coming so fast that I
 9 think we have to look at a great many things besides the
 10 big bombers. Today, although my mind is open, I am opposed
 11 to any large investment comparable to what the B-70 was,
 12 because of the tremendous developments in all forms of
 13 missilery.

14 MR. SPIVAK: Gentlemen, we have less than four minutes.

15 Senator Symington, the American people are confused
 16 by the expert testimony they have heard on both sides of the
 17 ABM issue. Why should they listen to you and others who
 18 oppose the ABM rather than the President and his experts?

19 SENATOR SYMINGTON: Well, Mr. Spivak, I suggested
 20 earlier in this program that a chart which was presented by
 21 the Pentagon representatives, specifically Deputy Secretary
 22 of Defense Packard and Director of Research Foster, that was
 23 submitted to the Senate Armed Services Committee in
 24 classified hearings, be declassified. I have studied the
 25 chart and to the best of my knowledge if the chart is

1 declassified, then this question of whether we should deploy
 2 the ABM now or whether we should have further research and
 3 engineering prior to deployment, would be clarified and
 4 decided once and for all.

5 MR. KIKER: Senator, you say that pretty soon it is going
 6 to be known as Nixon's war. How much time do you think that
 7 the President has left before critics, such as yourself, will
 8 declare the honeymoon finally over?

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1 SENATOR SYMINGTON: Well first, I have never criticized
2 President Nixon about this war.

3 MR. KIKER: That is my point.

4 SENATOR SYMINGTON: He did not get us into it and
5 I believe sincerely that he is mighty anxious to get us out
6 of it. How long it can go, however, with these heavy casualty
7 lists before the American people will transfer the responsibility
8 from this Administration to the other Administration is
9 just as much your guess as mine.

10 MR. BEECHER: Senator, you said earlier that you would
11 be in favor of reducing our troops in Europe. Would you agree
12 with the view of former President Eisenhower that one
13 American combat division in Germany would be sufficient to show
14 that we would fight if Russia attacked, rather than the present
15 five?

16 SENATOR SYMINGTON: I am very glad you brought that up,
17 because the late great President Eisenhower was the
18 first one to suggest, to the best of my knowledge, the
19 reduction of our troop forces in Europe. I believe if we
20 have troops there and we have the flag there, inasmuch as I
21 have never been one that felt that those troops were a
22 shield -- rather they were only a tripwire; the two words
23 that have been used for so many years -- that it would be well
24 to take them out.

25 So whether it should be one division or two divisions

2 1 instead of the five divisions that the American taxpayers
2 have paid for that have been there for over a quarter
3 of a century now, that I would leave up to the military.

4 MR. DRUMMOND: Senator Symington, I have a domestic
5 question I would like to ask you. Do you favor the direct
6 popular election of President and Vice President?

7 SENATOR SYMINGTON: Yes, I do.

8 MR. NORMAN: The Japanese Foreign Minister will be here
9 next week and he will be asking for the return of Okinawa. How
10 do you feel about the return of Okinawa to the Japanese?

11 SENATOR SYMINGTON: I wouldn't oppose it, but on the other
12 hand I think if they want it back, and want to specify what we
13 should or should not have on that island, as apparently they
14 are doing, that they better start spending some of their own
15 money for the national defense of their country instead of
16 letting us underwrite that, and at the same time flooding this
17 country with so much merchandise because of their lower
18 standard of living.

19 MR. NORMAN: You feel they are getting a free ride then,
20 in the defense of their own country and their own area?

21 SENATOR SYMINGTON: Well, please don't ask me to go any
22 further than I just did.

23 MR. SPIVAK: Senator, you have access to all of our
24 military intelligence. What is the truth about Soviet military
25 strength today, against our military strength?

1 SENATOR SYMINGTON: I still believe this country is
2 stronger. I think there are three fields, however, that we
3 have to concentrate on and I have so said publicly. The first is,
4 we are very short of attack submarines. The second is, since
5 1954, the Russians have built and I have photographs of 13
6 modern fighter planes, and the Preparedness Subcommittee
7 staff tell me there are five more./ And the third is,
8 way behind in modern fighter aircraft, and finally, I think we
9 have to be sure that our missiles in a second strike can
10 get into the Soviet Union. On that score, I think we are in
11 very good shape.

12 MR. SPIVAK: I am sorry to interrupt, but our time is up.
13 Thank you, Senator Symington, for being with us today on
14 MEET THE PRESS.

15 * * * *

16 (Next week: Postmaster General of the United States,
17 Winton M. Blount.)
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極秘

事務次官
森外務審議官 条約局長
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米紙一

6月3日ノサミット 衆知・ロジャー・合議ノ
際、ロジャー・長官ハ

「日本ニ同好 米門ニモ 世論ニ 場合由(保
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改衛又出ノ 英ニ 米國ニ 比レ 日英ノ 改衛
費ノ 比率ノ 差ニ 付テ (紐約ノ 米ノ 專横ニ

利子カ) 世論カ 問題ト 比レ 付テ、
最近ノ サミットノ 上院議員ノ 発言ニ 付テ

一九五三年の日本協会は、ロジャー・合議ノ
際、ロジャー・長官ハ

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反映セテ

上院議員ノ 発言ハ 米紙ニ 引同セテ
6月1日 NBC

放送ニ 付キテ 衆知ノ 際、
ロジャー・長官ハ

GA-6

外務省

MR. NORMAN: The Japanese Foreign Minister will be here next week and he will be asking for the return of Okinawa. How do you feel about the return of Okinawa to the Japanese?

SENATOR SYMINGTON: I wouldn't oppose it, but on the other hand I think if they want it back, and want to specify what we should or should not have on that island, as apparently they are doing, that they better start spending some of their own money for the national defense of their country instead of letting us underwrite that, and at the same time flooding this country with so much merchandise because of their lower standard of living.

MR. NORMAN: You feel they are getting a free ride then, in the defense of their own country and their own area?

SENATOR SYMINGTON: Well, please don't ask me to go any further than I just did.