琉球大学学術リポジトリ

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(July 24, 1969)

Joint Communique: Comments on the U.S. draft

The present paper sets forth Japanese comments on some of the substantive points contained in the U.S. version of the draft communique though the Japanese side wishes to defer until a later occasion its further comments on other subject matters to be dealt with in the communique in connection with the question of reversion of Okinawa.

It is our wish that, with a view to finding a mutually satisfactory solution, the U.S. side give further thought to its position by taking into full consideration the basic views of the Japanese Government which are contained in the paper dated July 16, 1969, and on which the present paper is also based.

- 1. Comments on basic issues
- 1. Application of the Security Treaty to Okinawa

Although the U.S. draft simply states that, upon reversion, the Security Treaty and its related arrangements would apply to Okinawa, it is in the view of the Japanese Government a point of considerable importance that the Treaty and its related arrangements would apply "intact" (that is to say, with no modification) to Okinawa, requiring no additional arrangements in their application.

2. Nuclear weapons

The U.S. draft refers to U.S. forces in Okinewa and their "equipment" as making a major contribution to the security of the Far East and to the defense of Japan and goes on to state that the "deterrent capability of the U.S. military forces on the islands should in no way be diminished by reversion." Yet, as has been made clear on a number of occasions, any solution that would recognize the existence of nuclear weapons in Okinawa leaves no room for its being accepted by the Japanese side. In view of the need for effective functioning of U.S. bases in Okinawa and also of the effects the question might have on the overall relations between Japan and the U.S., a clear understanding by the U.S. side of the Japanese position on this matter is essential.

3. Use of facilities and areas

It is stated respectively in the third end fourth paragraphs of the U.S. draft, in similar but not in identical terms, that the Government of Japan will agree, under the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security, to the use by U.S. forces of facilities and areas in Japan for certain specified purposes. Detailed explanation, however, was given in the paper dated July 16, 1969 that the Government

cannot properly renounce the right of final judgement reserved by it through the prior consultation system and, therefore, no prior consent could be given, without a special arrange—ment requiring Diet approval, to the use of facilities and areas for military combat operations even if the formalities of prior consultation would have to be gone through. On the other hand, it is also to be recalled that precisely because of this difficulty, the Japanese draft meant to express in the clearest possible terms the intention of the Japanese Government by referring to its basic recognition.

Although, in connection with prior consultation, the U.S. draft refers to the purpose of the use of facilities and areas in Japan in such general terms as "to meet an armed attack...." (third paragraph) and "for military measures required to deal with an armed attack" (fourth paragraph), attention may be called to the fact that prior consultation on the operational uses of facilities and areas is required only with respect to "military combat operations" while non-combat operations can be freely undertaken from Japan.

4. Reference to individual countries

Reference to individual countries, as is made in the

third and fourth paragraphs of the U.S. draft, is not considered appropriate in view of the considerations already given in paragraph I.(3) in the paper dated July 16, 1969.

II. Other comments

Date for reversion (pars. 1 of the U.S. draft)

When the U.S. draft states that "determination of a final date for reversion will not be possible until negotiations are completed on the details," does the word "details" refer to the contents of the agreement on reversion to be concluded?

2. Continued use of facilities and areas in Okinawa (para.2)

It is to be recalled that, as a matter of legal procedure, the continued use by the U.S. of its facilities and areas in Okinawa after reversion is to be authorized in accordance with the Security Treaty and its related arrangements (in particular, the Status of Forces Agreement).

3. The Exchange of Notes of September 8, 1951 (para. 3)

The Exchange of Notes of January 19, 1960, which provides that the Exchange of Notes of September 8, 1951 will continue to be in force, is included among the arrangements when referred to as "the Security Treaty and its related arrange-ments." Furthermore, under the terms of paragraph 3 of the former Exchange of Notes, the use of facilities and areas

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Another point to be made in this connection is that while the U.S. draft refers to the Exchange of Notes of 1951 as having "particular relevance" to the situation in the Republic of Korea, the said Exchange of Notes is relevant only to the situation in the Republic of Korea. This should be all the more clear if both Exchange of Notes are read together.

4. Taiwan and Southeast Asia (para. 4)

- (a) Apart from the basic point already made in paragraph I. 4 above, the meaning of the first sentence in relation to the rest of the paragraph is not olear.
- (b) According to the official definition of the term "Far East," "Southeast Asla," aside from the Philippines, is not included in the Far East and, therefore, cannot be treated as a legally meaningful concept in the application of the Security Treaty and its related arrangements.

5. Action for the protection of U.S. forces (para. 4)

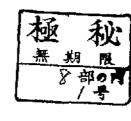
As explained in detail in paragraph V. (2) of the paper dated July 16, 1969, a concept such as military action specifically to deal with an attack on U.S. forces outside. Japan does not properly fit in with the basic legal framework of the present Security Treaty.

6. Security Consultative Committee (para. 6)

The suggestion contained in the U.S. draft is basically a useful one. It would be appreciated if the U.S. side could further elaborate its ideas on the subject.

7. U.S. assets and expenditures in Okinawa (para. 7)

Without clear knowledge of the character and contents of "United States assets and expenditures in the Ryukyus," the Japanese Government is not in a position to give its views on the principle to "equitably compensate" the U.S. for such assets and expenditures.



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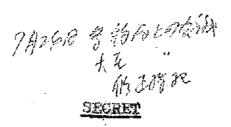
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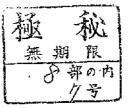
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It is earnestly boped that, with a view to finding a mutually satisfactory solution, the U.S. side give further thought to its position by taking into full consideration the basic views of the Japanese Government which are contained in the paper dated July 16, 1969, and on which the present paper is also based.

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II. Other comments

1. Date for reversion (pers. 1 of the U.S. draft)

When the U.S. draft states that "determination of a final date for reversion will not be possible until negotiations are completed on the details," does the word "details" refer to the contents of the agreement on reversion to be concluded?

2. Continued use of facilities and areas in Okinawa (para. 2)

The continued use by the U.S. of its current facilities and areas in Okinawa after reversion can only be authorized in accordance with the Security Treaty and its related arrangements (in particular, the Status of Forces Agreement). Consequently, the Japanese Government is not in a position at the present stage to grant the U.S. such use in general terms with the only proviso "unless otherwise mutually agreed."

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5. The Exchange of Notes signed on September 8, 1951 [para. 3]

The Exchange of Notes signed on January 19, 1960, which provides that the Exchange of Notes signed on Beptember 8, 1951 will continue to be in force, is included among the arrangements when referred to as "the Becurity Freaty and its related arrangements." Furthermore, under the terms of paragraph 3 of the forcer Exchange of Notes, the use of facilities and areas by the U.S. forces under the Unified Command of the United Nations is made subject to prior consultation. Thus, within the context of the third paragraph of the U.B. draft, it is difficult to find any significance in referring to the above-mentioned Exchange of Notes.

Another point to be made in this connection is that while the U.S. draft refers to the Exchange of Notes of 1951 as having "particular relevance" to the situation in the Republic of Korea, the said Exchange of Notes is relevant only to the situation in the Republic of Korea. This should be all the more clear if both Exchange of Notes are read together.

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(a) It would be appreciated if the U.S. side could elaborate on the phrase "threats to the peace which would require similar action by the two Governments," the precise meaning of which is not clear.

(b) According to the official definition of the term "Far East," "Southeast Asia," aside from the Philippines, is not included in the Far East and, therefore, cannot be treated as a legally meaningful concept in the application of the Security Freaty and its related arrangements.

5. Action in support of U.S. forces (para, 4)

A concept such as military action to deal with an attack on U.S. forces outside Japan does not properly fit in with the basic legal framework of the present Security Ereaty and, consequently, cannot be treated in a uniform manner without considering the actual circumstances of each individual case.

6. Security Consultative Committee (para. 6)

The suggestion contained in the U.S. draft is basically a useful one. The significance, however, of paragraph 6 of the U.S. draft does not seem to be clear in relation to the Exchange of Letters on this matter, signed on January 19, 1960, which sets forth the terms of reference of the Security Consultative Committee, Clarification is also sought with respect to the phrase "to assist both Governments in the discharge of their obligations under the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security."

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SECRET

Draft Communique

The President the Prime Minister reviewed the status of the Ryukyu Islands and agreed that the mutual security interests of the United States and Japan could be accommodated within arrangements for the return of administration of these islands to Japan. They therefore agreed that the two Governments will enter immediately into consultations regarding specific arrangements for accomplishing the early restoration of these islands to Japan without detriment to the security of the area. Although determination of a final date for reversion will not be possible until negotiations are completed on the details, the two leaders agreed that every effort should be made to carry out the transfer of administrative rights in 1972_7

The Prime Binister and the President agreed that upon reversion of the administrative rights over Okinama / the Byukyu Islands to Japan, the Treaty of Natual Cooperation and Security between Japan and the United States of America and its related arrangements should apply intact to Okinama, requiring no additional arrangements in their application, that necessary measures to this end, including the removal from Okinawa of nuclear weapons, if any existed, should be taken by the time of the reversion, /would apply to Okinawa.

They were also of the view that the presence of U.S. forces and their equipment in the Ryukyu Islands make a major contribution to the security of the Far East and to the defense of Japan. 7 and that, after the reversion, United States armed forces should be granted the use of facilities and areas in Okinawa in accordance with the provisions of the said Treaty and arrangements /The Prime Minister stated that the United States would therefore be granted continued use of its current willtary facilities and areas in the Ryukyu Islands unless otherwise mutually agreed. The Prime Minister also agreed that it was in the interests of Japan that the deterrent capability of the U.S. military forces on the islands should in no way be diminished by reversion. 7

In this connection, the Prime Minister affirmed the recognition of his Government / the President and the Prime Minister carefully reviewed the security situation in the For East. The President and the Prime Minister offirmed the recognition of both their Governments/ that the security / the posce and security of Japan could not be adequately maintained without international peace and security / peace and security / in the Far East and, consequently, the security of countries in the Far East was a matter of serious concern for Japan / both Governments // . The Prime Minister was of the

view that, in the light of such recognition on the part of the Government of Japon, the reversion of the administering powers over Okinawa to Japan in a manner stated in the preceding peragraph should be compatible with effective discharge of the interactional obligations assumed by the United States for the defence of countries in the Fer East, including Japan. The President replied that he shared the Prime Minister's view. /In their review of the security situation in the Far East, the President and the Prime Winister thoroughly considered possible threats to peace in the area. The Princ Minister stated that his Government fully recognizes the continuing abligations of Japan to facilitate the support of United Nations forces engaged in any United Nations actions in the For East, which it assumed in the Exchange of Notes signed at San Francisco on September 8, 1951 and reaffirmed in the Exchange of Notes signed at Washington on January 19, 1960. It was agreed that this obligation had particular relevance to the situation in the Republic of Korea where United Nations forces are still stationed. Separate statement on Korea / Communique 7 The Prime Minister also made clear the basic recognition of his Government that, in particular, an armed attack against the Republic of Korea, if it eccurred, would seriously affect the security of Japan. The Prime Winister further stated that such recognition would form the basis on which the Government of Japan would determine its position vis-à-vis prior consultation under the exchange of notes concerning the implementation of Article 6 of the Security Trenty on the use by United States armed forces of facilities and areas in Japan as bases for military combat operations from Japan to meet the armed attack against the Republic of Kores /and that on the basis of this recognition and the Exchange of Notes above referred to the GOJ will, under the terms of the Trenty of Mutual Cooperation and Security, agree to the use by U.S. armed forces of facilities and areas in Japan (including Okimawa Prefecture) to meet an armed ottack against the Republic of Kores.

Lit was further agreed that threats to the peace which would require similar action by the two Governments could arise in other areas in the Fer Best, particularly in the area of Taiwan and in Southeast Asia. The Prime Minister made clear the basic recognition of the Government of Japan that an armed attack on United States forces in the Far East or an armed attack in an area of the Far East which would require the United States to corry out its obligations for the protection of its own forces or the defense of countries in the area would also affect the security of Japan. Accordingly, this recognition forms the basis upon which the Government of

Japan will agree, under the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security, to the use of facilities and areas in Japan (including Okinawa Prefecture) for military measures required to deal with such an attack.

The Prime Minister stated the intention of the Government of Japan following reversion gradually to assume the same responsibility for the immediate defense of what will then be the Prefecture of Okinawa as it has for the defense of other areas of Japan.

The Prime Winister and the President agreed that the United States-Japan Security Consultative Committee should expend and deepen its consultative functions in regard to the defense situation in the Far East in order to assist both Governments in the discharge of their obligations under the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security.

The President and the Frime Ninister also agreed that with the assumption by the Severnment of Japan of complete responsibility for the welfare of the people of the Byukyu islands and with restoration of full authority over the Byukyu Islands to the Covernment of Japan, the Government of Japan will equitably compensate the United States for United States and expenditures in the Byukyus according to formulas of valuation to be agreed upon. 7