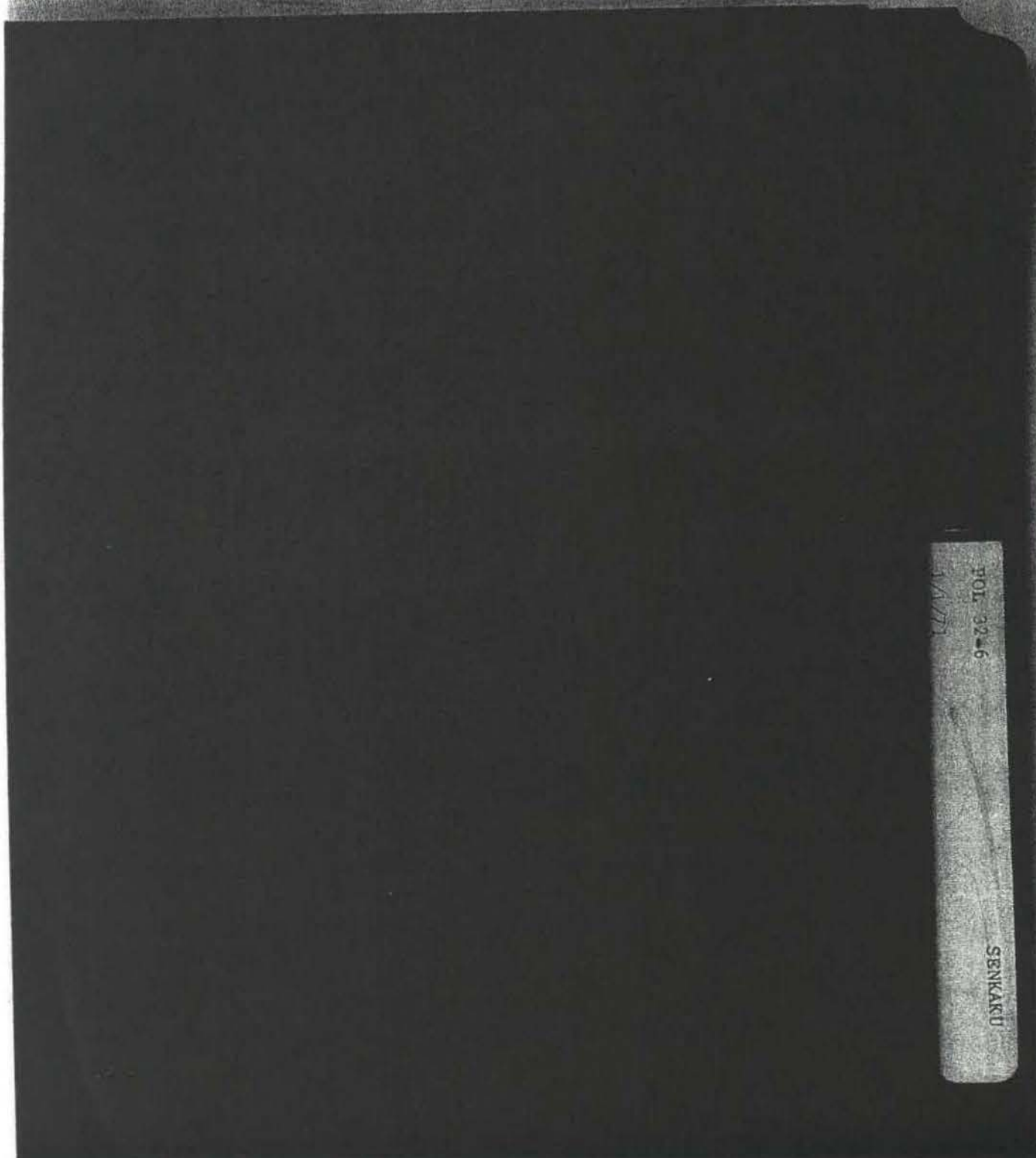


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By 1712 NARA Date 1-10-95

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POL 32-6  
SENKAKU

POL 32-6 SenKaku  
1971  
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(159 #8.)

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*Pol 32-6 Senkaku Is*  
*KR SCI 30 Rye Is*  
**Department of State TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 440

PAGE 01 HONG KI 00264 151038Z

17  
ACTION: EA-20

INFO: OCT-01 AID-28 IGA-02 E-15 COM-08 L-04 PM-05 CIAE-00

INR-08 NSAE-00 RSC-01 DODE-00 RSR-01 /093 W:  
000358

RI 150932Z JAN 71  
FM AMCONSUL HONG KONG  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9968  
INFO AMEMBASSY TAIPEI  
AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
HICOMRY

CONFIDENTIAL HONG KONG 264

SUBJ: WEATHER OBSERVATORY FOR SENKAKU ISLANDS

REFS: A. TAIPEI 0162; B. TOKYO 266; C. HICOMRY 222

1. CONGEN FULLY SUPPORTS EMBASSY TAIPEI'S VIEW (REFTEL A) THAT PEKING'S REACTION SHOULD NOT BE DISMISSED OUT OF HAND AND THAT US SHOULD DO WHATEVER IT APPROPRIATELY CAN, ON POLITICAL RATHER THAN LEGAL GROUND, TO DELAY INSTALLATION OF JAPANESE WEATHER STATION ON THE SENKAKUS AT LEAST UNTIL AFTER OKINAWA REVERSION.

2. ESTABLISHMENT OF WEATHER STATION EVEN AFTER REVERSION WILL NO DOUBT BE TROUBLESOME TO THE CHINESE, BUT THAT IS AN ISSUE WHICH PEKING, TAIPEI, AND TOKYO MUST WORK OUT FOR THEMSELVES. REGARDLESS LEGAL TECHNICALITIES, FOR PERMANENT INSTALLATION TO BE CONSTRUCTED ON THE SENKAKUS WHILE THE US STILL MAINTAINS ADMINISTRATIVE CONTROL WOULD BE TO PLACE US SQUARELY IN THE CENTER OF THE DISPUTE AND, ASIDE FROM COMPLICATING OUR RELATIONS WITH TAIPEI, LIKELY TO EVOKE SUBSTANTIAL CHINESE COMMUNIST SUSPICION AND HOSTILITY.

3. SUGGEST REFTELS AND THIS MESSAGE BE REPEATED TO CINCPAC (FOR POLAD). GP-3  
OSBORN

CONFIDENTIAL

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RS/R

~~EA/ROC~~  
whf?

FEBRUARY 16, 1971

Honorable J. W. Fulbright  
Chairman, Committee on Foreign  
Relations  
United States Senate  
Washington, D. C. 20510

Dear Mr. Chairman:

I have received your letter of January 27, informing the Department of the interest of Mr. Binney Y. Lao and Mr. Ping Shen of Princeton University in the status of the Senkaku Islands.

We are in the process of preparing a detailed reply giving you information about this point and also about the possibility of petroleum resources beneath the continental shelf near the islands and about exploration and exploitation concessions in the area. We will send our full reply as soon as possible.

Sincerely yours,

GW/CS<sup>P</sup> 2/11/71

David M. Abshire  
Assistant Secretary for  
Congressional Relations

POL 32-6 SENKAKU JS

Clearance:

EA/ROC:TPShoesmith  
EA - Mr. Barmon

EA/ROC:MEMcDonnell:mw 2/10/71 X 21321  
#1461

H - Mr. Prentice

1  
2-16-71

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By MRA  
NARA Date 1-10-9



DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT

**ACTION SLIP**

(To Remain With Correspondence)

CONTROL NO.

7101520

*WOC*

TO

EA - Mr. Lawson

DATE

2/2/71

SUBJECT Letter to S in Senator Fulbright, 1/27, re legal status of Senkaku Islands and oil exploration there.

**ACTION**

\*Prompt handling is essential. Return basic correspondence with reply. If delayed call telephone extension below

For appropriate action.

For direct reply. Comeback copy required

Prepare reply.

A response for signature by the H - Mr. Abshire

Clear with J, L, E, H.

Prepare a \_\_\_\_\_ to \_\_\_\_\_

Refer to White House request of \_\_\_\_\_

Due in H by 2/4 (Interim reply). Final reply due by 2/16.

For your information.

REMARKS

COPIES TO

S - Mr. Taylor w/att  
U - Mr. Williams "  
J - Mr. Baker "  
H - Mr. Weiss "  
L - Mr. Harris "  
E - Mr. Burns "

Alden H. Irons 28348

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By MA  
NARA Date 1-10-93



**FULBRIGHT, ARK., CHAIRMAN**

<b>WILLIAM B. GIERMAN, ALA.</b>	<b>GEORGE D. AIKEN, VT.</b>
<b>WILLIAM MANFELD, MONT.</b>	<b>KARL E. MUNDT, S. DAK.</b>
<b>ALBERT GORE, TENN.</b>	<b>CLIFFORD P. CASE, N.J.</b>
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<b>THOMAS J. DODD, CONN.</b>	<b>JACOB K. JAVITS, N.Y.</b>
<b>CLAIBORNE PELL, R.I.</b>	
<b>GALE W. MCGEE, WYO.</b>	

CARL MARCY, CHIEF OF STAFF  
ARTHUR M. KUHL, CHIEF CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

January 27, 1971

The Honorable David M. Abshire  
Assistant Secretary for  
Congressional Relations  
Department of State  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Secretary:

I am enclosing a copy of a letter I received which makes a number of assertions regarding the status of the Senkaku Islands. I would appreciate a detailed response to each of the points raised, including an up-to-date account of the reported oil discovery, its precise location, whether leases have been let and, if so, by whom and to which companies.

Sincerely yours,

J. W. Fulbright  
Chairman

Enclosures

from Binneg Y. Lao and Ping Sheng

1-30-71

1461

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By *Mr* NARA Date 1-10-05



January 18, 1971

The Honorable J. William Fulbright  
United States Senate  
Washington, D. C.

COMMITTEE ON

JAN 21 1971

FOREIGN RELATIONS

Dear Senator Fulbright:

May we bring the following facts concerning the Tiao-yü T'ai Islands (known as Senkaku Islands in Japanese) to your attention. Tiao-yü T'ai is a group of small uninhabited islands situated to the northeast of Taiwan. Because of its proximity to Taiwan, Chinese fishermen have made it one of their habitual fishing grounds and sanctuaries for bad weather since the Ming Dynasty in the early 15th century. The first Chinese written record of Tiao-yü T'ai appeared in the 1403 version of Shun Feng Siang Sung (a navigational map). Continuous and numerous written records followed thereafter (for example, see '使琉球錄' by 陳侃 (Chen K'eh)). Geographically, the Tiao-yü T'ai Islands are situated on the continental shelf extending out from the mainland; they are separated from the islands of the Ryukyu by a deep ocean trench. At present, over ten thousand of Taiwan's fishermen depend on the fishing water around Tiao-yü T'ai for their livelihood.

Last year, rich oil deposits were discovered underground near these islands. On September 10, 1970, the Japanese foreign minister declared that beyond any dispute, these islands belong to Japan, and subsequently on September 16 and 17, under U. S. and Japanese orders, the Ryukyu government chased Taiwanese fishermen from the area at gun point and mutilated the Chinese flag on one of these islands. The U. S. State Department then declared on September 19, 1970 that Tiao-yü T'ai is part of the Ryukyu Islands and is therefore under U. S. jurisdiction. Moreover, the State Department declared that Tiao-yü T'ai, together with the Ryukyu, would be returned to Japan in 1972.

We would like to point out that

(1) These islands were never surrendered by Japan to the U. S. as part of Ryukyu. Instead, the Tiao-yü T'ai were returned to China as part of the county of Taipei. It follows, therefore, that the U. S. State Department had no right to make such statements about returning the Tiao-yü T'ai Islands to Japan.

(2) Granted that U. S. is morally justified in establishing Japan as an economic and military power in the Far East to take over the supervising role which U. S. has played in Asia, this should not be done in such a fashion as to jeopardize the interests and territorial rights of other less fortunate nations which were not chosen by the U. S. as successor.

To support the first point, we note that in 1944, Tokyo's court ruled that Tiao-yü T'ai belonged to the County of Taipei, and that the Cairo Declaration of September 1, 1943, together with the Potsdam Declaration of July 26, 1945, insured that Taiwan,

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which includes Taipei and therefore the Tiao-yü T'ai Islands, be returned to China. On the other hand, the Japanese surrender to the U. S. Army signed on September 7, 1945 indicated "We—render unconditional surrender of islands in the Ryukyus within the following boundary——". Since Tiao-yü T'ai then did belong *not* to Ryukyu, it was never surrendered to the U. S. Army. Any attempts on the part of U. S. or Japan to assert claims over Tiao-yü T'ai would be in direct violation of the Potsdam Declaration and the Japanese surrender.

As for the second point, we merely note that the Chinese people have always had good relations with the American people. The use of Chinese territory by the U. S. State Department as a private gift to Japan will not only ruin such good friendship between these two peoples but will also discredit the good faith and image of the democratic U. S. in the opinion of the other free nations in Asia and throughout the world.

We therefore sincerely hope that you will look into this matter. We will be deeply grateful for whatever you can do to repair the damage already caused by statements and acts of the U. S. State Department.

Sincerely yours,

*Binneg Y. Lao*  
Binneg Y. Lao

*Ping Sheng*  
Ping Sheng

Jadwin Hall  
Department of Physics  
Princeton University  
Princeton, N. J. 08540

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By *MP* NARA Date 1-10-95

~~TOP SECRET~~



January 20, 1971

The Honorable J. William Fulbright  
United States Senate  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Senator Fulbright:

In our recent letter of January 18, 1971 concerning the Tiao-yü T'ai islands, the logic of part of the argument was lost due to an error in typing. In line 5 on page 2 the word "not" was omitted. This sentence should read "Since---then did not belong to Ryukyu, it was never surrendered to the U. S. Army."

Sincerely yours,

*Binney Y. Lao*

Binney Y. Lao

*Ping Sheng*  
Ping Sheng

COMMITTEE ON  
JAN 22 1971  
FOREIGN RELATIONS

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Authority NND96944  
By MRA Date 1-10-95



DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT  
**ACTION SLIP**  
(To Remain With Correspondence)

CONTROL NO.

7101520

RWC

TO

EA - Mr. Lawson

DATE

2/2/71

SUBJECT Letter to S fm Senator Fulbright, 1/27, re legal status of Senkaku Islands and oil exploration there.

**ACTION**

\*Prompt handling is essential. Return basic correspondence with reply. If delayed call telephone extension below.

For appropriate action.

For direct reply. Comeback copy required

Prepare reply.

A response for signature by the H - Mr. Abshire

Clear with J, L, E, H.

Prepare a to

Refer to White House request of

Due in H by 2/4 (Interim reply). Final reply due by 2/16.

For your information.

REMARKS

**COPIES TO**

S - Mr. Taylor w/att  
U - Mr. Williams "  
J - Mr. Baker "  
H - Mr. Weiss "  
L - Mr. Harris "  
E - Mr. Burns "

Alden H. Irons 28348

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*XR POL 23-8 U.S.*  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 027

PAGE 01 TAIPEI 00783 221043Z

20  
ACTION: EA-20

INFO: OCT-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-08 L-00 NSAE-00

NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 NIC-01 QU-05

RRR-01 /094 W

013986

RI 221033Z FEB 71  
FM AMEMBASSY TAIPEI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1987  
INFO AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
AMCONSUL HONG KONG

C O N F I D E N T I A L TAIPEI 0783

SUBJECT: SENKAKU ISLANDS; GRC VIEW OF CHINESE STUDENT  
DEMONSTRATIONS IN U.S.

IN FEBRUARY 20 MEETING WITH ME, PRIMARILY ON ANOTHER  
SUBJECT, GRC FONMIN WEI TAO-MING REFERRED TO RECENT  
DEMONSTRATIONS BY CHINESE STUDENTS IN THE U.S. AGAINST  
JAPANESE CLAIM TO SENKAKU ISLANDS. HE SAID HIS GOVERNMENT,  
AFTER A CAREFUL INVESTIGATION, WAS CONVINCED THAT THE  
DEMONSTRATIONS WERE INSPIRED BY "SMALL CELLS OF COMMUNISTS,"  
MOTIVATED BY A DESIRE TO UNDERMINE GRC-US AND GRC-HOU  
RELATIONS. HE SAID HIS GOVERNMENT'S INVESTIGATIONS INDICATE  
THAT MOST OF THE PARTICIPANTS WERE NON-COMMUNIST  
STUDENTS WHO THOUGHT THEY WERE TAKING PART IN A PURELY  
PATRIOTIC EXERCISE. HE ADDED THAT THEY HAD BEEN CLEVERLY  
DUPED BY A SMALL NUMBER OF COMMUNIST ORGANIZERS.  
FONMIN INDICATED HIS GOVERNMENT'S DISAPPROVAL OF THE  
DEMONSTRATIONS AND CONCERN AT THE APPARENT MALLEABILITY  
OF THE PARTICIPATING STUDENTS. GP-3  
MCCONAUGHY

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Department of State

*Oct 23-8 HK*  
*RP 32-6 Senkaku Is*  
~~State~~  
**TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 871

PAGE 01 HONG KI 01090 231013Z

21  
ACTION EA-20

INFO OCT-01 CU-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-08 L-04  
NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 NIC-01  
IO-13 EUR-20 RSR-01 /127 W 022401

R 230930Z FEB 71  
FM AMCONSUL HONG KONG  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 219  
INFO AMEMBASSY TAIPEI  
AMEMBASSY TOKYO

CONFIDENTIAL HONG KONG 1090

SUBJ: STUDENTS PROTEST ABOUT SENKAKU ISLANDS.

SUMMARY.

ABOUT 100 STUDENTS HELD DEMONSTRATION FEBRUARY 20TH  
IN FRONT OF JAPANESE CULTURAL CENTER AND CONSULATE  
GENERAL PROTESTING JAPANESE STAND ON SENKAKU ISLANDS,  
DENOUNCING JAPANESE MILITARISM AND AMERICAN IMPERIALISM  
AND JAPANESE-AMERICAN COLLUSION ON SENKAKU. DEMONSTRATION  
WAS PEACEFUL, ORGANIZED BY STUDENT MAGAZINE, AND  
THERE IS NO INDICATION OF COMMUNIST INVOLVEMENT.

END SUMMARY.

1. SOME 100 OR MORE STUDENTS STAGED DEMONSTRATION  
FEBRUARY 20 IN FRONT OF JAPANESE CULTURAL CENTER TO  
PROMOTE "OPPOSE JAPANESE MILITARISM, DOWN WITH JAPANESE  
IMPERIALISM, DOWN WITH JAPANESE MILITARISM",  
"NO AGGRESSION AGAINST SACRED TERRITORY", AND  
"CARRIED BY AN AMERICAN GIRL" "OPPOSE JAPANESE-  
AMERICAN COLLUSION". ACCORDING TO NEWSPAPER REPORTS  
ONE BANNER CALLED FOR BOYCOTT OF JAPANESE MERCHANDISE.  
THERE WERE SOME ENGLISH BANNERS. AFTER PEACEFUL  
DEMONSTRATION, STUDENTS MARCHED TO OFFICE BUILDING OF

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p.107



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POL 32-6 SENKAKU IS  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 175

PAGE 01 TAIPEI 00883 261152Z

20  
ACTION: EA-20

INFO: OCT-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-08 L-04 NSAE-00  
NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 IO-10 RSR-01  
/101 W

051584

R 261100Z FEB 71  
FM AMEMBASSY TAIPEI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2032  
INFO AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
AMEMBASSY SEOUL  
AMCONSUL HONG KONG  
CINCPAC  
HICOMRY

CONFIDENTIAL TAIPEI 00883

SUBJECT: ROC CLAIMS SENKAKUS

CINCPAC ALSO FOR POLAD

1. SUMMARY: UNDER QUESTIONING AT OPENING SESSION  
LEGISLATIVE YUAN, FONMIN WEI TAO-MING CLAIMED SENKAKUS  
PUBLICLY FOR FIRST TIME. MOFA TOLD EMBASSY CLAIM WAS  
LONG-STANDING POLICY NOW ANNOUNCED FOR FIRST TIME,  
BUT ANNOUNCEMENT IS CLEAR SHIFT FROM PREVIOUS GRC POSITION  
WHICH ONLY DENIED GOV'S CLAIM TO SENKAKUS. JAPANESE  
EMBASSY SAID THAT GRC INFORMED GOV IN WRITING FOR FIRST  
TIME FEB. 20 OF SENKAKU CLAIM. JAPANESE BELIEVE  
POLICY SHIFT RESULTED FROM PEKING'S CLAIM TO ISLANDS,  
SPURRED ON BY LEGISLATIVE INTERPELLATIONS, PRESS ATTENTION,  
AND STUDENT DEMONSTRATIONS IN U.S. END SUMMARY.

2. IN RESPONSE TO QUESTIONING AT OPENING 47TH SESSION  
OF LEGISLATIVE YUAN FEB. 23, FONMIN WEI TAO-MING CLAIMED  
PUBLICLY FOR FIRST TIME ROC SOVEREIGNTY OVER  
SENKAKUS. WEI SAID: QUOTE REGARDING SOVEREIGN RIGHTS ON YIAO-  
YU-TAI ISLETS, WE DISAGREE WITH JAPANESE GOVERNMENT IN  
LATTER'S CLAIM THAT THEY PART OF JAPANESE NANSEI GUNTO.

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TAIPEI 883

2/26/71

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PAGE 02 TAIPEI 00883 261152Z

OUR DISAGREEMENT BASED ON GROUND THAT FROM HISTORICAL, GEOGRAPHICAL AND USAGE VIEWPOINTS, THESE ISLETS SHOULD BELONG TO TAIWAN. OUR VIEWS AND POSITION ON THIS ISSUE HAVE BEEN REPEATEDLY COMMUNICATED TO JAPANESE GOVERNMENT.

"WHAT IS INVOLVED IN CASE OF THE TIAO-YU-TAI ISLETS IS SOVEREIGN RIGHTS AND WE SHALL NOT YIELD EVEN INCH OF LAND OR PIECE OF ROCK. GOVERNMENT WILL NOT WAVER IN ITS DETERMINATION ON THIS MATTER.

"AS TO EXPLORATION AND EXPLOITATION OF THE CONTINENTAL SHELF IN THIS MARITIME AREA, THE NATURAL BOUNDARY OF OUR CONTINENTAL SHELF, ACCORDING TO EXISTING PRINCIPLES OF INTERNATIONAL LAW AND CONVENTION ON CONTINENTAL SHELF, SHOULD BE OKINAWA TROUGH. ANY EXPOSED ISLETS OR ROCKS WITHIN THIS AREA CANNOT BE USED AS BASELINE FOR ESTABLISHING RIGHTS OF EXPLORATION. WE THEREFORE HAVE FULL AND UNRESTRICTED RIGHTS IN EXPLORATION AND EXPLOITATION OF CONTINENTAL SHELF IN THIS AREA. END QUOTE.

3. RESPONDING TO QUESTION ON CHINESE STUDENT DEMONSTRATIONS IN U.S. ON SENKAKUS, WE SAID GRC "TAKING STEPS TO ENSURE THAT STUDENTS NOT ALLOW THEMSELVES TO BE USED IN UNFAVORABLE MANNER SHOULD THERE BE FURTHER DEMONSTRATIONS."

4. MOFA TREATY DEPARTMENT DEPUTY DIRECTOR KUO KANG TOLD EMBOFF SOVEREIGNTY CLAIM TO SENKAKUS WAS LONG-STANDING POSITION OF GRC. KUO SAID CLAIM HAD BEEN MADE KNOWN TO GOJ, BUT THAT WEI'S STATEMENT WAS THE FIRST TIME THAT GRC HAD MADE CLAIM PUBLICLY. DIRECTOR NORTH AMERICAN AFFAIRS WAS UNINFORMED ON NEW GRC POSITION.

5. ON FEB. 25, JAPANESE EMBASSY COUNSELOR TAKESHI MUTO AND SECOND SECRETARY SHIGENOBU YOSHIDA GAVE EMBASSY COPY MOFA NOTE TO JAPANESE EMBASSY FEB. 20 RESPONDING TO GOJ NOTE ON SENKAKUS DELIVERED AFTER WATANABE VISIT TO TAIPEI IN OCTOBER. TEXT FOLLOWS:

QUOTE: GRC SHARES GOJ'S VIEW THAT FRIENDLY RELATIONS EXISTING BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES SHOULD NOT IN ANY WAY BE JEOPARDIZED ON ACCOUNT CONTINENTAL SHELF ISSUE.

"GRC DISAGREES WITH GOJ CLAIM THAT TIAO-YU-TAI ISLANDS BELONG TO JAPAN. FROM HISTORY, GEOGRAPHY, AND USAGE, TIAO-YU-TAI ISLANDS APPERTAIN TO AND BELONG TO TAIWAN.

"FURTHERMORE, IN DEMARCATION OF BOUNDARIES OF CONTI-

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Department of State

TELEGRAM

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PAGE 03 TAIPEI 00883 261152Z

NENTAL SHELF ANY EXPOSED ROCKS AND ISLETS SHOULD NOT BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT.

"GRC THEREFORE REGRETS THAT IT UNABLE TO ACCEPT GOU'S PROPOSED MODUS VIVENDI OF USING THE TIAO YU TAI ISLANDS AS JAPANESE BOUNDARY (SIC) IN APPLYING PRINCIPLE OF MEDIAN LINE EQUIDISTANT BETWEEN TERRITORY OF JAPAN AND CHINA. END QUOTE.

6. MUTO AND YOSHIDA CONFIRMED THAT GRC HAD CHALLENGED JAPANESE CLAIM IN INFORMAL CONVERSATIONS SINCE OCTOBER BUT THAT THIS GRC'S FIRST WRITTEN COMMUNICATION ON SUBJECT WENT BEYOND, CLAIMING ISLANDS. YOSHIDA SAID JAPANESE AMBASSADOR ITAGAKI HAS REPORTED THAT GRC POLICY CHANGE RESULTED FROM PEKING'S CLAIM TO SENKAKUS, SPURRED ON BY LEGISLATIVE INTERPELLATIONS ON SUBJECT AND CHINESE STUDENT DEMONSTRATIONS IN U.S. MUTO SAID JAPANESE SURPRISED AT WEI TAO-MING'S PUBLIC STATEMENT, AND SAID EMBASSY HAD NO INSTRUCTIONS YET, BUT THAT JAPANESE POSITION WOULD BE THAT ITS SOVEREIGNTY OVER SENKAKUS WAS NON-NEGOTIABLE.

7. MUTO ASKED IF WE KNEW GOJ HAD PLANNED TO BUILD WEATHER STATION ON SENKAKUS, SAYING U.S. HAD ORIGINALLY GIVEN APPROVAL BUT HAD REVERSED DECISION THREE MONTHS LATER. JAPANESE, IN MEANTIME, HAD BEGUN PHYSICAL PREPARATIONS FOR CONSTRUCTION OF WEATHER STATION. MUTO SAID GRC HAD INQUIRED WITH JAPANESE EMBASSY ABOUT REPORT. GRC MAY HAVE LEARNED THROUGH NEWSWEEK OF PLANS FOR WEATHER STATION.

8. COMMENT: WE AGREE WITH ASSESSMENT OF AMBASSADOR ITAGAKI THAT GRC POLICY CHANGE ON SENKAKUS RESULTED FROM PEKING'S CLAIMS TO SENKAKUS, WITH ANNOUNCEMENT INCITED BY LEGISLATIVE YUAN'S DELIBERATIONS, PRESS ATTENTION, AND DEMONSTRATIONS IN U.S. GP-3  
MCCONAUGHY

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By 1/10 NARA Date 1-10-05

RSIR

March 2, 1971

Honorable J. W. Fulbright  
Chairman, Committee on Foreign Relations  
United States Senate  
Washington, D. C. 20510

To: Mr. Fulbright  
Original (with courtesy  
of the correspondence  
was signed, dated & dispatched  
direct from "H".

Dear Mr. Chairman:

I refer to your letter of January 27 and to my interim reply of February 16, concerning the interest of Mr. Binng Y. Lao and Mr. Ping Sheng of Princeton University in the status of the Senkaku or Tiaoyutai Islands, as they are known in Chinese. You requested the comments of the Department of State on the various points they have raised and asked for information about the reported discovery of oil in the region around the Senkakus and about oil exploration and exploitation concessions that have been let.

A geophysical survey made in 1968 for the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE) by a group of scientists from the United States, Japan, the Republic of China, and the Republic of Korea, revealed that the subsoil of the continental shelf in the Yellow and East China Seas may hold rich oil reserves. The Republic of China and Japan have been among the coastal or island states asserting claims to exercise sovereign rights over portions of the shelf. There has been no agreement concerning division of the shelf among its several claimants.

The Senkaku Islands are located in one of the areas of the shelf under which oil deposits are thought to lie. They are a small group of uninhabited coral reefs located approximately 130 statute miles northeast of Keelung, Taiwan, and 80 miles from Iromote, the nearest inhabited island in the Ryukyuan chain. International law is unclear to what extent small islets of this kind shall be taken into account in determining the share of the continental shelf appertaining to the state having sovereignty over them. Japan and mainland China have both claimed the Senkakus. The Republic of China has contested the Japanese claim and, of course, may be assumed to deny the right of the government at Peking to make any claims on behalf of China. Peking, similarly, denies the right of Taipei to make such claims.

The Cairo Declaration and the Potsdam Proclamation make no mention of these islands. We take no position on the points raised by Mr. Lao and Mr. Sheng, such as any ruling by a Japanese court, dating prior to the conclusion of the Treaty of Peace with Japan in 1951. Under that Treaty, the United States has administered the Senkaku Islands as part of the Ryukyu Islands. Under Article III of the treaty, this

Doc 32-6 Senkaku Is

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- 2 -

Government acquired administrative rights to "Nansei Shoto". As used in the Treaty, the term refers to all islands south of 29 degrees north latitude which were under Japanese administration at the end of the Second World War and which were not otherwise specifically referred to in the Treaty. This description was intended to include the Senkaku Islands. The United States considers that residual sovereignty over the Ryukyus remains with Japan.

As a result of an agreement reached by President Nixon and Prime Minister Sato of Japan in 1969, it is anticipated that the United States will give up to Japan in 1972 the administrative rights it acquired under the Treaty. Thus, after reversion, Japan will have whatever rights it had prior to the assumption of administrative authority by the United States. The United States considers that any conflicting claims to these islands are a matter for resolution by the parties concerned.

Although the Senkaku Islands have been receiving considerable attention since the ECAFE survey, we understand that no oil domes have yet been located in the continental shelf and, of course, no oil has yet been removed. Oil survey activities are now being undertaken by private firms over wide reaches of the Yellow and East China Seas. American oil companies are predominant among the concessionaires in this area. Amoco, Gulf, Clinton International, and Oceanic Exploration Company hold concessions for joint exploration and exploitation ventures with the China Petroleum Company, owned by the Republic of China. Gulf and Caltex hold concessions from the Republic of Korea for joint ventures with Korean interests, and Caltex has also joined with Japanese interests to explore an area west of Japan. Shell, owned principally by British and Dutch interests, has received a concession from South Korea.

I hope this information will be useful to you. If I may be of further assistance, please do not hesitate to call on me.

Sincerely yours,

GW/csp 2/27

David M. Abshire  
Assistant Secretary for  
Congressional Relations

Clearances:

EA/ROC - Mr. Shoemith *Wen*

EA/J - Mr. McElroy *Wen*

L/EA - Mr. Greenwald *Wen*

EA/ROC:MEMcDonnell:mw 2/22/71 X 21321

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EA - Basman *WB*

H - Mr. Prentice *CP*

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POL 32-6 SENKAKUS I.S  
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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 659

PAGE 01 TAIPEI 01140 150836Z

18  
ACTION EA-20

INFO OCT-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 HL-02 INR-08 L-04 NSAE-00  
NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 IO-13 RSR-01

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R 150737Z MAR 71  
FM AMEMBASSY TAIPEI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2144  
INFO AMEMBASSY SAIGON  
AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
AMCONSUL HONG KONG  
CINCPAC

CONFIDENTIAL A/L TAIPEI 1140

SUBJECT: MOFA SPOKESMAN ON ROC TROOPS TO VN AND ON SENKAKUS.

REF: TAIPEI 0883 (NOTAL)

1. MOFA SPOKESMAN WEI YU-SUN MARCH 12 CATEGORICALLY DENIED WIRE SERVICE REPORT THAT ROC WOULD SEND TROOPS TO SVN TO ASSIST IN INVASION OF NVN, SAYING REPORT GROUNDLESS AND PURE SPECULATION.
2. ON SAME OCCASION WEI TOLD REPORTERS THAT GRC WAS SERIOUSLY NEGOTIATING WITH JAPAN ON SENKAKUS.
3. COMMENT: APART FROM RECENT NOTE TO GOU (REFTEL), THERE IS NO INDICATION OF SERIOUS NEGOTIATING BETWEEN GRC-GOU OVER SENKAKUS. JAPANESE EMBASSY HERE HAS INFORMED US GOU UNWILLING TO NEGOTIATE WITH GRC ON SOVEREIGNTY OF SENKAKUS. GP-3  
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NEA	CU	INR	TO : Department of State		HANDLING INDICATOR	
4	4	6	INFO : HONG KONG, SEOUL, TAIPEI, TOKYO		Assigned to <u>SEA</u>	
4	4	5	BUREAU OF ASIAN AND PACIFIC AFFAIRS		Action Taken <u>Taken</u>	
S/FW	S/S		FROM : Ambassador MOSCOW		DATE: March 22, 1971	
2	10		SUBJECT : <u>Izvestiya "Mistakenly" Stakes Chinese/Korean Claim to Sea of Japan</u>		Symbol <u>11/28/73</u>	
AGR	COM	FRB	REF		Name of Officer <u>[Signature]</u>	
10	10					
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1971 MAR 22 PM 3 03			COPYELO-PBR			
			<p>In a February 22, 1971 Izvestiya article entitled "The Zaibatsu Storm the Ocean" by Yu. Bandura (Izvestiya correspondent in Japan) and M. Rostarchuk (Izvestiya science correspondent), the authors included the following passage: "The oil monopolies of Japan are in the forefront of those who proclaim that Taiwan and South Korea are in the sphere of 'Japanese vital interests': the support of these puppets will help them lay their hands on the petroleum treasures of the Japan Sea, whose genuine owners are the Chinese and Korean peoples." The article as a whole concerned the interest of Japanese business circles in developing ocean resources.</p> <p>Since the geographical implications of this claim were of some interest (China does not border on the Sea of Japan), the reporting officers arranged a lunch with Mr. Rostarchuk on March 9 to explore this point. Under questioning, Rostarchuk readily admitted that this had been an egregious error, which had brought down the wrath of the Foreign Ministry on Izvestiya the following day. He claimed that the intended reference was to the East China Sea rather than to the Sea of Japan, and admitted that he had in mind the oil dispute over the Senkaku Islands when he wrote the passage. He lamented the fact that the many editors who reviewed the article had missed this blunder.</p> <p>Asked whether the Soviet Government had in fact taken an official public position over the Senkaku oil dispute, Rostarchuk said this was not the case, although he believed that Moscow would back Peking's claim to the continental shelf in that area if it took a position.</p>			
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3/16/71			Contents and Classification Approved by: <u>POL/TRBuchanan</u>			
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XR PCL 32-6  
SENKAKU IS

XR PCL CHINAT-US

## DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: AmEmbassy TAIPEI

INFO: AmEmbassy TOKYO  
AmConGen HONG KONGSubject: GRC Reaction to Lifting of Restrictions on  
Travel to Mainland China

Ref: Taipei 1150

1. Following presentation to Assistant Secretary Green of GRC note verbale concerning its claim to sovereignty over Senkakus, March 17 (septel), GRC Ambassador Chow Shu-kai referred to fact that MOFA Director North American Affairs had expressed to DCM Armstrong GRC regret and concern for recent USG decision to remove restrictions on travel to mainland China (reftel). He said that he had been instructed to make a similar representation. Chow, however, did not reiterate Chien's remarks and his manner indicated that he making strictly pro forma representation.

2. Green took opportunity to place this decision in more

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EA/ROC:TShoesmith:lm

DRAFTING DATE TEL. EXT.  
3/17/71 22209

APPROVED BY:  
EA - Marshall Green

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**TELEGRAM**

045609

## DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: TAIPEI

 INFO:  
~~XXXXXX~~/TOKYO HONG KONG

SUBJECT: GRC Claim to Sovereignty Over Senkakus

1. GRC Ambassador Chow Shu-kai, on instructions, called on Assistant Secretary Green March 17 to present note verbale concerning GRC claim to sovereignty over Senkakus. Note summarized historical, geographical, geological, and legal basis of GRC claim along familiar lines, noted that GRC failure to challenge inclusion of Senkakus in "US military occupation" of Ryukyus "should not be construed as acquiescence on its part in Tiaoyutai islets being considered as part of Ryukyu islands," asserted that GRC considers that Senkakus "should be treated as appertaining or belonging to Taiwan" and concluded with request that USG "respect sovereign rights of ROC over Tiaoyutai islets and restore them to GRC when aforesaid termination [of US occupation of Ryukyu islands] should take place."

2. Chow placed note in context of Chinese student agitation in US and Hong Kong over Senkaku issue and GRC desire

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APPROVED BY: EA - Marshall Green (draft)

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ACTION: TAIPEI

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to handle matter in way which does not exacerbate relations with US and Japan. He referred to GRC efforts to moderate Chinese student movement and, in particular, prevent it from taking anti-US, anti-Japanese course, but stated that these efforts not having much success. He explained, however, that in keeping with government's efforts to minimize "negative publicity" on this issue, GRC did not plan to publicize delivery this ~~xxx~~ note. Chow said that for similar reason, GRC had not made public its protest to GOJ concerning plan to erect unmanned weather station on Senkakus. He careful, however, to allow for possibility that GRC might feel compelled at later date to make both actions public.

3. Green assured Chow that he would bring GRC note to attention those in Department directly concerned with this matter. He reviewed USG position on question sovereignty, noting that we do not consider that reversion of Senkakus to Japanese administration as part of Ryukyus necessarily

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ACTION: TAIPEI

PAGE 3

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is determinant of question of sovereignty, which we believe should be resolved between claimants or through third party arbitration. He acknowledged difficult position in which GRC placed by student demonstrators and Peking's claim, and he expressed appreciation for GRC efforts to prevent issue from disrupting US-GRC-GOJ solidarity. Green suggested that best course for GRC would seem to be to take position that it pursuing this matter with governments concerned, that this is legal problem to be resolved through diplomatic processes. In this way, GRC can make clear that it making its case with other governments concerned, at same time minimizing irritation by handling issue quietly. Chow agreed that GRC problem is to assure its people that it exercising proper concern for national interests without stirring up reaction in Japan.

4. At later point, after conversation turned to other matters, Green returned to Ryukyu reversion to illustrate importance of moving in timely fashion on certain key issues.

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Green noted that GRC itself recognizes importance of US bases on Okinawa, and ~~xx~~ he expressed hope that GRC also understands that if US had delayed longer in reaching agreement with GOJ on reversion it might not have been possible to obtain agreement to continued US use of and access to those bases in a way/Chow acknowledged point. which is helpful to GRC.

5. At conclusion of discussion, it was agreed that in response to press queries, Chow and Department would state that purpose of his call ~~xx~~ had been to convey GRC concern for lifting of restrictions on travel to Communist China (see septel), following which discussion had turned to other matters of mutual interest.

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ACTION: EA-20

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2202  
INFO AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
AMEMBASSY SEOUL  
AMCONSUL HONG KONG  
CINCPAC  
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CONFIDENTIAL TAIPEI 1268

SUBJECT: SENKAKU ISLANDS: GRC FOREIGN VICE MINISTER  
SHEN'S CONVERSATION WITH AMBASSADOR

REF: STATE 045609

1. SUMMARY: VICE FOMIN JAMES SHEN, MARCH 20, GAVE AMBASSADOR STRONG PRESENTATION OF GRC CLAIM TO SENKAKUS AND DEPRECATED JAPAN'S CLAIM. HE MENTIONED CHICOM ASSERTION OF SENKAKU CLAIM AS A COMPLICATING FACTOR, AND EXPRESSED CONCERN OVER RUMORED IMPENDING FURTHER CHINESE DEMONSTRATIONS ON AMERICAN CAMPUSES. HE URGED US TO ACCEPT GRC CLAIM AND TO TURN SENKAKUS OVER TO GRC ADMINISTRATION AT TIME OF REVERSION OF RYUKYUS TO JAPAN. END SUMMARY.

2. GRC FOREIGN VICE MINISTER JAMES SHEN ASKED ME TO COME TO FOREIGN MINISTRY MARCH 20. SUBJECT TURNED OUT TO BE CONFLICTING GRC-JAPANESE CLAIMS TO SENKAKU ISLANDS. DIRECTOR NORTH AMERICAN BUREAU OF FONOFF FRED CH'EN ALSO PRESENT AND TOOK MINOR PART IN CONVERSATION, MAINLY TO CONFIRM TECHNICAL FACTUAL MATTERS.

3. SHEN REFERRED TO AMBASSADOR S.K. CHOW'S CONVERSATION ON

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SUBJECT WITH ASSISTANT SECRETARY GREEN IN WASHINGTON MARCH 17 (REFTEL). HE SAID PURPOSE OF MEETING WAS TO REINFORCE GRC POSITION OF MARCH 5 PREVIOUSLY DELIVERED IN WASHINGTON.

4. SHEN SAID THAT HIS GOVERNMENT WAS CONCERNED BY THE PROSPECT OF MORE VIGOROUS DEMONSTRATIONS OVER THE SENKAKUS ISSUE BY CHINESE STUDENTS ON US UNIVERSITY CAMPUSES. SOME DISTINGUISHED CHINESE SCHOLARS IN THE US WERE NOW ALSO INVOLVED. HIS GOVERNMENT HAD REPORTS OF SIZEABLE DEMONSTRATIONS APPARENTLY PLANNED FOR APRIL 9 OR APRIL 10. GOVERNMENT WAS DOING ALL IT COULD TO DAMP DOWN THE EXCITEMENT OF THE CHINESE ACADEMIC COMMUNITY IN THE US, AND IT WAS IN AN EFFORT TO CALM THE DEMONSTRATORS THAT PRESIDENTIAL SECRETARY GENERAL CHANG CHUN HAD WRITTEN HIS STRONG LETTER OF LAST WEEK TO CHINESE SCHOLARS IN THE US SETTING FORTH THE FIRM CLAIM OF THE GRC TO THE SENKAKUS.

5. SHEN SAID HIS GOVERNMENT HAD BEEN SOMEWHAT TAKEN ABACK BY THE EMPHATIC AND UNCOMPROMISING POSTURE TAKEN BY THE GOJ IN PRESSING ITS CLAIM TO THE SENKAKUS. THE GRC WAS TROUBLED BY THE RIGIDITY SHOWN BY THE JAPANESE IN CALLING THEIR CLAIM TO THE SENKAKUS "NON-NEGOTIABLE". HE SAID THE GOC WAS DISMAYED THAT GOJ IN DISCUSSING THE SENKAKU ISSUE HAD TRIED TO DRAW SOME SORT OF PARALLEL BETWEEN THE PROBLEM OF THE JAPANESE NORTHERN ISLANDS HELD BY THE USSR AND THE DISPUTE OVER THE SENKAKUS. SHEN CONSIDERED IT SOMEWHAT DISTURBING THAT THE JAPANESE WOULD OVER-REACT IN THIS FASHION.

6. SHEN MENTIONED A REPORT RECEIVED BY HIS GOVERNMENT THAT THE JAPANESE PLAN TO START CONSTRUCTION OF AN UNMANNED WEATHER REPORTING STATION ON THE SENKAKUS AROUND THE END OF MARCH, AND HE HOPED THIS WOULD NOT OCCUR. HE THOUGHT THE JAPANESE DISCOVERY THAT THE SENKAKUS WERE ESSENTIAL FOR WEATHER REPORTING PURPOSES AT THIS TIME WAS RATHER SUDDEN.

7. SHEN REFERRED TO HISTORICAL RECORDS OF VISITS TO SENKAKUS BY EMISSARIES OF CHINESE EMPEROR TRAVELING TO RYUKYUS FOR ROYAL INVESTITURE CEREMONIES GOING BACK TO MING DYNASTY.

8. SHEN WAS RATHER SARCASTIC ABOUT JAPANESE EFFORTS TO DOCUMENT A LONG-STANDING CLAIM TO SENKAKUS. HE SAID CHINESE FOREIGN OFFICE RESEARCH HAD EXPOSED FALSITY OF JAPANESE CLAIM THAT PUBLISHED IMPERIAL EDICT BY JAPANESE EMPEROR IN 19TH

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CENTURY EFFECTED INCORPORATION OF SENKAKUS INTO JAPANESE EMPIRE. HE SAID JAPANESE HAVE NOW RECEDED FROM THAT POSITION AND MERELY CLAIM THAT UNPUBLISHED JAPANESE CABINET DECISION EFFECTED ANNEXATION OF SENKAKUS.

9. SHEN SAID THE GRC POSITION IS THAT THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA SOVEREIGNTY OVER THE SENKAKUS SHOULD BE RECOGNIZED, AND THE SENKAKUS TURNED OVER TO THE GRC "UPON TERMINATION OF US OCCUPATION." HE ADDED THAT THE GRC SAW NO REQUIREMENT UPON THE US TO DELIVER THEM TO JAPANESE ADMINISTRATION. HE ADDED THAT SINCE THE SENKAKUS WERE NOT A PART OF THE RYUKYUS, THEY DID NOT HAVE TO BE HANDLED IN THE SAME MANNER AS THE RYUKYUS AT THE TIME OF REVERSION.

10. SHEN RECOGNIZED THAT THE GRC POSITION AS TO THE SENKAKUS HAS BECOME MORE POSITIVE IN RECENT WEEKS, NOW GOING BEYOND MERE DENIAL OF JAPANESE CLAIMS TO SOVEREIGNTY, TO ACTIVE ASSERTION OF GRC SOVEREIGN RIGHTS. HE IMPLIED THAT THE GRC DECISION TO ACTIVELY PUSH ITS SOVEREIGNTY CLAIM HAS BEEN INFLUENCED BY THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PUBLIC ENTRY INTO THE FRAY, AND BY THE CHINESE STUDENT DISTURBANCES IN THE US.

11. SHEN'S SPECIFIC REQUESTS OF THE USG WERE: (A) NOT TO PERMIT JAPANESE CONSTRUCTION OF A METEOROLOGICAL STATION ON THE SENKAKUS WHILE THE US STILL HAS THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE OCCUPYING POWER; (B) NOT TO TURN THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE SENKAKUS OVER TO JAPAN AT THE TIME OF REVERSION OF THE RYUKYUS; (C) TO RESPECT THE GRC CLAIM TO SOVEREIGNTY OVER THE SENKAKUS, AND TO RESTORE THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE SENKAKUS TO THE GRC WHEN THE TERMINATION OF THE RYUKYUAN OCCUPATION TAKES PLACE.

12. I TOLD SHEN THAT THE USG WAS OPPOSED TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A WEATHER STATION ON THE SENKAKUS BY THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT WHILE USG STILL HAD THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE ISLETS, AND THAT WE WERE NOT TAKING ANY POSITION AS TO SOVEREIGNTY OVER THE SENKAKUS NOW OR AT THE TIME OF REVERSION. I THEN URGED THAT THE GRC DO ALL IT COULD TO PREVENT THIS ISSUE FROM BECOMING ABRASIVE AT A TIME WHEN GOJ COOPERATION AND GOODWILL ARE GREATLY NEEDED IN CONNECTION WITH IMPORTANT PENDING ISSUES. SHEN AGREED WITH LATTER POINT AND SAID GRC HAD ALREADY SUGGESTED TO GOJ THAT GOVERNMENTS DAMP DOWN PUBLICITY ON THE ISSUE. HE SAID GRC WAS FOLLOWING THIS POLICY CAREFULLY AND

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HE THOUGHT GOJ WAS TRYING TO DO THE SAME, ALTHOUGH JAPANESE  
PRESS WAS CONTINUING TO FAN THE ISSUE TO SOME EXTENT. GR#3  
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ACTION EA-20

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FM AMEMBASSY TAIPEI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2232  
INFO AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
AMCONSUL HONG KONG  
CINCPAC

C O N F I D E N T I A L TAIPEI 1337

SUBJECT: OVERSEAS SCHOLARS ON SENKAKUS; CHANG CHUN'S REPLY.

REF: A) TAIPEI 0582 - PIC 23-8 05 in POL 13-2  
B) STATE 045609  
C) TAIPEI 1268 - PIC 32-6 Senkakus IS

1. SUMMARY: IN RESPONSE TO LETTER FROM FIVE HUNDRED OVERSEAS SCHOLARS URGING GRC FIRMNESS OVER SENKAKUS ISSUE, PRESIDENTIAL SECRETARY GENERAL CHANG CHUN SAID ROC WOULD DO UTMOST TO PROTECT "EVEN AN INCH OF LAND OR PIECE OF ROCK" IN SENKAKUS. PUBLIC RESPONSE BY PRESIDENTIAL OFFICE MAY COMPLICATE RESOLVING ISSUE. END SUMMARY.

2. SOME FIVE HUNDRED PROFESSORS, SCHOLARS, AND STUDENTS FROM OVER FIFTY AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES AND INSTITUTES REPORTED BY LOCAL PRESS TO HAVE SENT LETTER TO PRESIDENT CHINAG EMPHASIZING THAT TIAO YU TAI TAO (SENKAKUS) ARE CHINESE TERRITORY, AND URGING THE GRC TO FIRMLY THWART JAPAN'S NEW ATTEMPT AT AGGRESSION. NAMES INCLUDED SENIOR SCHOLARS AND SCIENTISTS FROM BEST KNOWN US UNIVERSITIES.

3. ANSWERING ON BEHALF OF PRESIDENT CHIANG, PRESIDENTIAL

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SECRETARY-GENERAL CHANG CHUN DESCRIBED PROBLEM AS INVOLVING COUNTRY'S SOVEREIGNTY. HE SAID THAT ROC WOULD TAKE FIRM STAND, WOULD DEFEND ITS RIGHTS ON CONTINENTAL SHELF, AND "WILL DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO PROTECT EVEN AN INCH OF LAND OR A PIECE OF ROCK" IN THE DISPUTED SENKAKUS. CHANG SAID JOINT COMMITTEES FOR EXPLORATION OF UNDERSEA RESOURCES BY ROC, ROK, AND JAPAN IS PRIVATE AND NOT RELATED TO SENKAKUS ISSUE, AND THAT PRIVATE TALKS MIGHT LEAD TO EXPLORATION AGREEMENTS.

4. EDITORIAL IN MAR 18 CHUNG KUO SHIH PAO SUPPORTED SCHOLARS AND SAID, "QUESTION OF SOVEREIGNTY SHOULD BE SEPARATED FROM QUESTION OF UNDERWATER EXPLORATION FOR CRUDE OIL" AND COMMENTED THAT THERE WAS NOT A SHRED OF EVIDENCE HISTORICALLY OR IN JAPANESE ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS TO SUPPORT CONTENTION THAT SENKAKUS DO NOT BELONG TO TAIWAN. EDITORIAL URGED GRC NOT TO LET EFFORTS FOR REGIONAL COOPERATION INTERFERE WITH PRESERVATION OF SOVEREIGNTY, AND EXHORTED GOVERNMENT TO MAKE CLEAR EXPLANATION OF ITS STAND.

5. COMMENT: ESCALATION OF ISSUE TO PRESIDENTIAL OFFICE EVIDENCE OF SERIOUSNESS WITH WHICH GRC VIEWS PROBLEM. GRC IS CAUGHT BETWEEN DESIRE TO DEFUSE ISSUE IN DIFFICULT CHIREP YEAR AND SUBSTANTIAL POPULAR AND PRESS SUPPORT FOR HARD LINE TOWARD JAPAN. GRC PROBABLY FEELS UNABLE TO TAKE SOFTER LINE THAN PEKING. GP-3  
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RSR-01 SCI-06 E-15 COM-08 /131 W  
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2905  
INFO AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
AMEMBASSY SEOUL  
AMCONSUL HONG KONG  
CINCPAC  
HICOMRY

CONFIDENTIAL TAIPEI 1507

SUBJECT: SENKAKU ISLANDS DISPUTE

REF: TAIPEI 1268

1. SUMMARY: ACTING FONMIN EXPRESSED RISING CONCERN OF GRC AT SUCCESS OF CHICOMS IN STIRRING UP CHINESE DEMONSTRATIONS IN US OVER SENKAKU ISSUE. HE ASKED FOR SPECIFIC ASSURANCES THAT USG WOULD NOT PERMIT JAPANESE CONSTRUCTION WEATHER STATION IN SENKAKUS DURING REMAINING PERIOD OF US ADMINISTRATION AND HOPED THAT GRC COULD BE AUTHORIZED TO LET AMBASSADOR CHOW USE THIS INFO IN MEETING WITH DEMONSTRATION LEADERS NEXT WEEK. SAID HIS GOVERNMENT FELT THAT CHICOM PROPAGANDA BLASTS OF LAST DECEMBER REGARDING SENKAKUS, OFFSHORE OIL EXPLORATION AND TERRITORIAL SEA LIMITS HAVING WIDESPREAD AND HARMFUL EFFECT. GRC FELT IT COULD NOT AFFORD TO BE LESS ZEALOUS THAN CHICOMS IN OPPOSING JAPANESE CLAIM TO SENKAKUS. END SUMMARY.

2. I SAW ACTING FONMIN H. K. YANG AT HIS REQUEST THIS MORNING. SUBJECT WAS SENKAKUS. HE SAID GRC IS INCREASINGLY CONCERNED ABOUT DEMONSTRATIONS OF CHINESE STUDENTS AND PROFESSORS IN US OVER SENKAKUS ISSUE SCHEDULED FOR APRIL 10.

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PAGE 02. TAIPEI 01507 021111Z

IT SEEMED THAT RATHER ELABORATE ARRANGEMENTS ARE BEING MADE FOR DEMONSTRATIONS IN SEVERAL CITIES, INCLUDING WASHINGTON. HE SAID AMBASSADOR S. K. CHOW HAD SOMEWHAT DELAYED HIS RETURN TO TAIPEI ON THIS ACCOUNT. CHOW WAS PLANNING TO MEET WITH A SMALL DELEGATION OF DEMONSTRATION LEADERS SOMETIME NEXT WEEK.

3. YANG ADDED THAT CHICOM HAND BEHIND SCENE IN ORGANIZING DEMONSTRATIONS WAS BECOMING MORE EVIDENT AND GRC WORRIES ARE CORRESPONDINGLY INCREASED. HE THOUGHT MOST OF THE PROSPECTIVE DEMONSTRATORS ARE INNOCENT DUPES, BUT SMALL CORE OF DEMONSTRATORS ARE PROBABLY SUBVERSIVE AND KNOWINGLY ACTING FOR CHICOMS.

4. YANG CONTINUED THAT GRC LEGISLATORS, TOP PARTY MEMBERS, AND SENIOR ADVISORS TO PRESIDENT ALL DISTURBED AND FEEL CONVINCED THAT A RECORD OF ACTIVE GRC EFFORTS TO COUNTER JAPANESE CLAIMS AND MANEUVERS MUST BE ESTABLISHED IN FACE OF CHICOM PROPAGANDA ASSERTIONS. WHEN CHICOMS ENDEAVOR TO PREEMPT A CHINESE NATIONAL ISSUE INVOLVING TERRITORIAL MATTERS, GRC CANNOT AFFORD TO SEEM INDIFFERENT.

5. YANG SAID HE WOULD NOT DWELL ON SOVEREIGNTY ASPECT OF ISSUE AGAIN, SINCE VICE MIN SHEN HAD COVERED THIS IN MARCH MEETING WITH ME. PRESENT REQUEST WAS THAT USG DO WHAT IS POSSIBLE TO DAMP DOWN JAPANESE ACTIVITIES IN PURSUIT OF ITS SENKAKU CLAIM. HE ALSO HOPED THAT HE COULD REFRAIN FROM TAKING ANY ACTIONS WHICH WOULD PUT GRC IN A POOR LIGHT AS DEFENDER OF A CHINESE NATIONAL POSITION. IN REFERENCE TO MARCH 20 CONVERSATION (REF TEL), HE ASKED IF WE COULD GIVE MORE SPECIFIC ASSURANCES THAT JAPANESE WOULD NOT BE PERMITTED TO ESTABLISH METEOROLOGICAL STATION ON SENKAKUS DURING REMAINING PERIOD OF US ADMINISTRATION. HE HOPED THAT OUR POSITION AGAINST JAPANESE CONSTRUCTION OF WEATHER STATION COULD BE REGARDED AS UNCLASSIFIED, SO THAT FONOFF WOULD BE ENABLED TO SUGGEST TO AMBASSADOR CHOW THAT HE USE THIS INFORMATION IN HIS MEETING WITH THE DEMONSTRATION LEADERS.

6. I TOLD ACTING FONMIN THAT I WOULD RELAY HIS REQUEST TO DEPARTMENT. I FELT REASONABLY SURE THE JAPANESE WERE AWARE OF OUR DEFINITE OPPOSITION TO CONSTRUCTION.

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PAGE 03. TAIPEI 01507 021111Z.

OF A METEOROLOGICAL STATION ON SENKAKUS WHILE WE REMAINED RESPONSIBLE FOR ADMINISTRATION OF THOSE ISLANDS AND I DID NOT ANTICIPATE THAT THE ISSUE WOULD ARISE IN ANY ACUTE FORM DURING THE REMAINING PERIOD OF OUR RESPONSIBILITY. HOWEVER, THIS MUST BE CONSIDERED CLASSIFIED INFORMATION AT THIS TIME AND IN VIEW OF THE GENERAL SENSITIVITY OF THE SUBJECT I DID NOT KNOW WHETHER DEPARTMENT WOULD FEEL THAT IT COULD AUTHORIZE GRC TO USE THE INFORMATION IN THE WAY THAT THE FONOFF DESIRED. HOWEVER, I WOULD ENDEAVOR TO GET A PROMPT REACTION FROM WASHINGTON.

7. ACTING FONMIN EXPRESSED HIS GRATITUDE FOR THE BACKGROUND PROVIDED AND SAID HIS GOVERNMENT WOULD BE ADDITIONALLY GRATEFUL FOR ALL ASSISTANCE WE COULD PROVIDE IT IN DEALING WITH THE VERY TROUBLESOME CHICOM PROPAGANDA BLASTS OF DECEMBER 3 AND DECEMBER 29 WHICH IMPROPERLY TIED SENKAKU ISSUE WITH CHICOM OFFSHORE OIL AND TERRITORIAL SEA CLAIMS. GR-3.  
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POL 32-6 SENKAKU

IS

*High Commissioner  
 Ryukyu Islands*

68

## DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: TAIPEI  
 TOKYO

INFO: HICOMRY, CINCPAC, HONG KONG

SUBJECT: *NOFORN* Senkaku Islands Dispute

REF: (a) Hicomry 080015Z Jan 71; (b) State 012669; (c) Tokyo 868; (d) Taipei 1507; (e) Tokyo 3054

1. Ambassador may make following reply to Acting FonMin Yang:

(a) Embassy Tokyo last January suggested to Japanese Foreign Ministry that GOJ postpone plans to use its aid funds to build weather ~~xx~~ station on Senkakus until after reversion and pointed out needless increase in tension station could

cause. *Refs A and C* (~~Ref C-2X~~/repeated to Taipei ~~with Ref A~~ April 5).

(b) GOJ gave no assurances on this point, but it has not raised matter of station since our representations or, to our knowledge, moved forward with plan.

(c) It was never contemplated that a Japanese repeat Japanese station be built on Senkakus. Rather, GOJ has offered GRI funds for construction of a GRI station.

(d) We cannot authorize release of any of above information to public. If matter were publicized, GOJ would undoubtedly face, and probably have to give into, popular pressure

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EA/ROC: MEMcDonnell:bds

DRAFTING DATE

4/5/71

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APPROVED BY:

EA/ROC - TPSRsmith

CLEARANCES:

EA/J - Mr. McElroy

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ACTION: TAIPEI, TOKYO

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to commit itself to construct station.

2. BEGIN FYI/NOFORN. GRC release of information about US representations to GOJ could only result in louder claims by PRC, Japan, and GRC to Senkakus. Except for value attached to them by <sup>extreme nationalists,</sup> ~~extremists~~, Senkakus can only take on practical importance if (a) area has commercially exploitable oil reserves and (b) coinciding claims of GRC and PRC to continental shelf and Senkakus are resolved both between the two and between them and Japan in such a way that islets receive value as basepoint of a line dividing shelf resources with Japan. Commercial deposits have not yet been proved. Settlement of GRC/PRC claims dispute in foreseeable future is obviously unpromising, and assignment of large portion of shelf to Japan solely on basis of perfected claim to Senkakus is uncertain.

3. USG has apparently been successful in convincing GOJ to drop weather station project (Ref E). Should this become public, however, pressure on GOJ to move ahead would rise substantially and our ability to influence the situation short of outright public veto which could have adverse

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results on Okinawa and in reversion negotiations and which the  
GRI could probably circumvent by itself funding project.

END FYI/NOFORN

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END

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 TOKYO 03054 051037Z

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ACTION EA-20

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-08 L-04  
NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 UGIA-12 SCI-06  
E-15 COM-08 RSR-01 /130 W

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R 050915Z APR 71  
FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7981  
INFO AMEMBASSY SEOUL  
AMEMBASSY TAIPEI  
AMCONSUL HONG KONG  
CINCPAC  
HICOMRY

CONFIDENTIAL TOKYO 3054

SUBJ: SENKAKUS

REF: TAIPEI'S 1507

1. WE ARE CONFIDENT GOJ WILL CONTINUE TO HOLD LINE ON NOT  
RPT NOT SETTING UP METEOROLOGICAL STATION ON SENKAKUS DURING  
PERIOD OF US ADMINISTRATION. NEVERTHELESS, RECOMMEND AGAINST  
AUTHORIZING GRC TO USE THIS INFORMATION PUBLICLY. SHOULD GRC

MAKE INFORMATION PUBLIC, PARTICULARLY IN MANNER WHICH WOULD  
INFERENTIALLY SUPPORT ITS CLAIM TO SENKAKUS. IT WOULD LIKELY  
RESULT IN GOJ PRESSURE TO CONSTRUCT METEOROLOGICAL STATION  
IMMEDIATELY.

2. GOJ ALREADY VERY SENSITIVE ABOUT GRC CLAIMS TO SENKAKUS.  
PRESS IS CARRYING OCCASIONAL ARTICLES SUPPORTING GOJ POSITION  
ON THIS. SHOULD GRC PUSH CASE VERY HARD PUBLICLY, IT IS  
QUITE POSSIBLE THAT GOJ RESISTANCE WOULD NOT RPT NOT BE  
LIMITED TO SENKAKU ISSUE BUT COULD AFFECT GOJ POSITION  
ON BROADER ISSUES SUCH AS UN REPRESENTATION.  
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	2	5				APR 3 12 45 PM 1971		
L	FBO	AID	FROM : Amconsul MONTREAL			DATE: April 5, 1971		
3								
SPPS	SY	SLS	SUBJECT : Japan's Claim to TIAO YU TAI Islands Protested			In letters to President Nixon and Prime Minister Sato, and by orderly demonstrations in Montreal on April 3, a "Special Committee on TIAO YU TAI Incident" of the Chinese Students' Union of Canada has protested the reversion of the TIAO YU TAI (Senkaku) Islands from U.S. to Japanese control in 1972.		
1	1	10						
AGR	COM	FRB	REF :			Copies of the students' letters to American and Japanese authorities and press clippings covering the demonstrations are enclosed.		
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TR	XMB	AIR	NAVY			OSD		
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Enclosure to MONTREAL A-29  
Page 1

SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON  
THE MATA INCIDENT  
3415 DUNDAS ST. WEST  
MONTREAL 136, P.Q.

April 2, 1971

Mr. J. G. G. G. G. G.  
Mr. J. G. G. G. G. G.  
Mr. J. G. G. G. G. G.  
Mr. J. G. G. G. G. G.

Dear Sir:

Enclosed is a copy of the letter we have sent to  
the Prime Minister of your Government in Tokyo, Japan.  
We sincerely hope that our concern for this matter will  
receive the due attention of your government.

Yours truly,



Jimmy Burns  
Chief Co-ordinator

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By Mr NARA Date 1-10-9

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Tel. (613) 232-4480

Enclosure to MONTREAL A-29  
Page 2

## CHINESE STUDENTS' UNION OF CANADA

109 College Avenue, Apt. 2  
Ottawa, Ont. Canada

## SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON

TIAO YU TAI INCIDENT

3485 LAPOINTE ST. APT. 5

MONTREAL 130, P.Q.

The Consulate General

Japanese Consulate

1155 Richmond Street

Dear Sir,

In view of the recent unwarranted claim of your government over the Tiao Yu Tai Islands, the Chinese Students' Union of Canada has formed a Special Committee on Tiao Yu Tai Incident headquartered in Montreal to study on this. After a referendum among its members, we solemnly declare that we shall

1. Defend Chinese sovereignty over the Tiao Yu Tai Islands.
2. Oppose the revival of Japanese militarism.
3. Protest against any conspiracy against Chinese territorial sovereignty over the Tiao Yu Tai Islands.

We are going to hold a demonstration on the afternoon of April 3, 1971, and we shall arrive at your office at approximately 3 P.M. the same afternoon, to present to you a letter of protest which we sincerely hope that you will forward to your government, accordingly. We should be much obliged if you could delegate an officer to be in your office on the afternoon of April 3, 1971, to receive our letter.

Yours truly,



Jimmy Kiang

Chief Co-ordinator

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## CHINESE STUDENTS' UNION OF CANADA

109 College Avenue, Apt. 2  
Ottawa 2, Ont. Canada

April 2, 1971.

Mr. Eisaku Sato  
Prime Minister,  
Japan.

Dear Mr. Sato,

This is a letter to express our strong protest against the presumptuous claims of your government over the Tiao Yu Tai Islands.

That the Tiao Yu Tai Islands are part of the sovereign territory of China is an indisputable fact based on historical and geographical evidences and on international law. We firmly disagree that these islands should be related to the Ryukyu Islands scheduled for reversion to your country in 1972, as unwarrantedly claimed by your government since last summer. In September, 1970, your government incited the use of military personnel to harass our fishermen who have been fishing in that area for year, and to disparage the Nationalist Chinese flag on the islands. These outrageous acts are most intolerable, and have offended the Chinese people.

In recent years, the tendency of resurrecting Japanese militarism has become increasingly apparent despite disclaims from your government. The situation is beginning to resemble Japanese militarism of forty years ago. It is our sincere hope that the bloodshed and sacrifices of both our people in the past will prevent a similar tragedy today or in the future.

In calling your attention to this, I am speaking on behalf of the Chinese Students' Union of Canada which represents the majority of the Chinese students in Eastern Canada. We seriously urge the Japanese government to reconsider the above mentioned points carefully so as to enhance international justice and not to disappoint all peace-loving people in the world.

Yours truly,



Jimmy Chang  
Board Chairman,  
C. S. U. C..  
Chief Co-ordinator,  
Special Committee on Tiao Yu  
Tai Incident, C. S. U. C..

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 Page 4



## Chinese students demonstrate

Students from Canadian universities, supporters of Nationalist China, Saturday staged a protest here against the recent takeover by Japan of the Tiao Yu Tai Islands, northeast of Taiwan. They claim the discovery of oil be-

neath the area sparked the takeover. After demonstrating in front of the U.S. and Japanese consulates, the 75 students heard speeches in Place du Canada across from the Laurentian Hotel.

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MONDAY APRIL 5, 1971



Staff Photo by Bill Robson

Montreal Chinese students in protest march against Japan's attempted claim to the Tiao Yu Tai islands.

## Chinese protest island claim

By MARK WILSON

Almost 200 Chinese students in Montreal marched through the downtown area Saturday in protest against attempts by Japan to claim sovereignty over the Tiao Yu Tai islands.

For hundreds of years the half-dozen uninhabited islets, 120 miles off Taiwan in the East China Sea, have been used only as a rest-point by Chinese fishermen, but underlying the current conflict is the discovery that extremely rich oil deposits probably lie under the surrounding seabed.

The demonstrating students believe the issue is more important than it seems at first because of the new Japanese expansionist aims which they say are being revealed.

The demonstrating students believe the issue is more important than it seems at first because of the new Japanese expansionist aims which they say are being revealed.

Saturday's march, spirited and extremely orderly, proceeded from the McGill campus to the Japanese consulate on Dorchester Street, and then to the U.S. consulate on McGill.

In songs, speeches and placards, the demonstrators called for unity of all Chinese people to defend Chinese sovereignty over the islands and to "oppose the revival of Japanese militarism."

Since both People's China and the Taiwan-based government of Chiang Kai-Shek claim that there is only one China, of which Taiwan (Formosa) is a part, the issue unites overseas Chinese regardless of which of the two governments they may be loyal to.

In terms of international law, the question is complex, but the Chinese believe they have a far stronger case for sovereignty.

Japan claims the islands are part of the Ryukyu Islands (Okinawa) which are governed by the U.S. and will report to Japanese sovereignty in 1972.

The Chinese point out that Tiao Yu Tai lies on the continental shelf of China and is separated from the Ryukyus by a deep undersea trench.

(International agreements give individual nations exclusive rights to mineral exploitation on continental shelves lying off their shores.)

The Chinese also say that a Japanese court decided in 1944, when most of East Asia was under Japanese rule, that Tiao Yu Tai was part of Taiwan, not the Ryukyus.

Last September, however, Okinawan naval forces took down a Chinese flag on Tiao Yu Tai and drove Chinese fishermen off the islands. They have since maintained gunboat patrols in the area.



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POL 32-6 SENKAKUS IS

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PAGE 01 TAIPEI 01625 101334Z

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ACTION: EA-20

INFO: OCT-01 CCO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00

PM-05 H-02 INR-08 L-04 NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01

PRS-01 SS-20 IO-16 NIC-01 E-15 RSR-01 /108 W  
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OPI 101110Z APR 71  
FM AMEMBASSY TAIPEI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2356  
INFO AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
AMEMBASSY SEOUL  
AMCONSUL HONG KONG  
HICOMRY  
CINCPAC

CONFIDENTIAL TAIPEI 1625

SUBJECT: SENKAKUS

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

1. ACTING FONMIN H. K. YANG TELEPHONED DCM SATURDAY EVENING TO EXPRESS HIS "GRAVE CONCERN" OVER STATE DEPT. STATEMENT APRIL 9 REGARDING USG INTENTION RETURN SENKAKUS TO JAPAN NEXT YEAR. HE QUOTED FROM AP STORY DATED WASHINGTON WHICH STARTS, "US STATE DEPT. SAID FRIDAY IT WILL RETURN TO JAPAN NEXT YEAR THE ADMINISTRATIVE RIGHTS TO NANSEI SHOTO INCLUDING SENKAKU ISLAND WHICH IT SAID WAS ACQUIRED UNDER THE 1950 TREATY OF PEACE WITH JAPAN. THE STATEMENT CAME ON THE EVE OF A DEMONSTRATION HERE BY SEVERAL THOUSAND AMERICANS OF CHINESE DESCENT IN SUPPORT OF NATIONALIST CHINA'S CLAIM TO SENKAKU." YANG SAID HE FOUND IT IMPOSSIBLE UNDERSTAND WHY STATEMENT MADE AT THIS TIME, SINCE IT CAN ONLY "POUR OIL ON FIRE" OF THE PROBLEM BEING CAUSED BY THE DEMONSTRATIONS IN US. HE REFERRED TO HIS RECENT DISCUSSION OF THIS PROBLEM WITH AMBASSADOR (TAIPEI 1507) IN WHICH HE HAD VOICED GRC CONCERN OVER CHICOM MANIPULATION AND EXPLOITATION OF THESE DEMONSTRATIONS. YANG ASKED THAT HIS VIEWS BE URGENTLY CONVEYED TO DEPT., WITH REQUEST FOR ANY ADDITIONAL INFORMATION OR EXPLANATION.

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PAGE 02 TAIPEI 01625 101334Z

2. DCM SAID EMBASSY HAD RECEIVED NOTHING FROM STATE DEPT. REGARDING SPOKESMAN'S STATEMENT ON SENKAKUS. (WIRELESS FILE RECEIVED THIS MORNING CARRIED STORY BASED ON SPOKESMAN'S STATEMENT ABOUT OFFSHORE OIL PROBLEM, BUT DID NOT MENTION SENKAKUS. UNFORTUNATELY WE HAVE NOT RECEIVED TRANSCRIPT SPOKESMAN'S NEWS CONFERENCE EITHER BY WIRELESS FILE OR CABLE.) DCM SPECULATED THAT EITHER OFFSHORE OIL PRESS STORY OR PLANNED DEMONSTRATION IN WASHINGTON PROMPTED PRESS QUESTION ABOUT USG INTENTIONS REGARD SENKAKUS, AND THAT SPOKESMAN RESPONDED ALONG LINES PREVIOUS STATEMENTS. DCM AGREED CONVEY YANG'S CONCERN TO DEPT.

3. PLEASE CABLE TRANSCRIPT AND ANY ADDITIONAL GUIDANCE FOR RESPONDING TO ACTING FONMIN. PLEASE USE IMMEDIATE PRECEDENCE, SINCE ONLY IMMEDIATE CABLE WILL REACH US OVER WEEK-END AND YANG REQUESTED WE CONTACT HIM AS SOON AS WE OBTAIN ANY FURTHER INFO.  
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MCCONAUGHY

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ACTION: AmEmbassy TAIPEI IMMEDIATE  
INFO: AmEmbassy TOKYO PRIORITY  
AmEmbassy SEOUL PRIORITY  
AmCon HONG KONG PRIORITY

SUBJECT: Senkakus

REF: Taipei 1625

1. As transcript April 9 noon briefing makes clear, Department spokesman's statement of USG position on Senkakus was in response to questions; press interest in this subject generated by Senkaku demonstration scheduled for Washington April 10.

2. As Embassy aware, position stated by Department spokesman April 9 has been USG position for some time. You may wish recall for Acting FonMin Yang Department spokesman's statement of September 10, 1970 (carried wireless file) and Q and A subsequently made available to press for attribution (State 148490 of September 10, 1970). In this connection, we note that in meeting with Ambassador on September 15, 1970, Acting FonMin Shen did not protest US position — ~~in~~ i.e., that Senkakus regarded as part of Ryukyus and that residual sovereignty rests with Japan — and could understand why USG felt it had to take that position, although Shen noted

GRC disagreement with USG interpretation (Taipei 4000). Also

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April 10, 1970 22209

## APPROVED BY:

EA - Marshall Green (substance)

## CLEARANCES:

EA/J- Mr. Ericson (substance)

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relevant in this connection are Ambassador Chow's representation to Assistant Secretary Green on September 14, 1970 (State 15229) and Green's response along lines of Para 1 State 150567. Finally, on occasion Chow's presentation of GRC note verbale March 17, 1971, Green ~~again~~ again pointed out that USG considers Senkakus to be part of Nansei Shoto and that these islands will therefore be turned back to Japanese administration under reversion agreement. Green pointed out, however, that USG does not consider that reversion of Senkakus to Japanese administration as part of Ryukyus necessarily is determinant of question of sovereignty, which we believe should be resolved between claimants or through third party arbitration (State 45609).

3. You also should note that US has tried to avoid public statements of its position on Senkakus partly out of regard for problems which this issues poses for GRC. When, however, as in present instance, we pressed for statement of USG position we cannot say less than already on public record or appear to be drawing back from our agreement with Japan on reversion. We sure GRC

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appreciates importance to our mutual security interests of smooth  
implementation of that agreement (See State 45609, Para 4)

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

Attention: *Mr. Mullett*

Keep this study together  
April 10, 1971

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MEMORANDUM FOR MR. HENRY A. KISSINGER  
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Farewell Call on the President by  
Ambassador Chow Shu-kai of the  
Republic of China

During their meeting on April 9, Ambassador Chow Shu-kai of the Republic of China informed Assistant Secretary Green that he has been instructed to raise the subject of his country's claim to the Senkaku Islands when he makes his farewell call on the President on April 12. We are enclosing a memorandum containing supplementary talking points for the President's use. Other talking points were included in the Secretary's Memorandum to the President dated March 25.

*Theodore L. Eliot, Jr.*  
for Theodore L. Eliot, Jr.  
Executive Secretary

Enclosure:

Suggested Talking Points.

MICROFILMED  
BY S/S: CMS

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Clearances:

EA/J - Mr. Ericson  
EA - Mr. Green  
L/OA - Mr. Nordquist (draft)  
L - Mr. Stevenson (draft)

POL 32-6 SENKAKU

XL

POL 17 CHINAT-45

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Authority NND969044  
By IMA NARA Date 1-10-93SECRETSupplementary Talking Points for  
Courtesy Call by Chinese Ambassador Chow Shu-kai

Japan, the People's Republic of China, and the Republic of China have claimed sovereignty over the Senkaku Islands (or Tiaoyutai Islands, in Chinese). The Senkakus are a small group of uninhabited islets located about 130 miles northeast of Taiwan. The Republic of China has protested our intention of returning the Senkakus to Japan under the Okinawa Reversion Agreement and has asked that they be "restored" to the Republic of China.

Under Article III of the Treaty of Peace with Japan, the United States acquired administrative rights over "Nansei Shoto", including the Ryukyus, south of 29 degrees north latitude. The term "Nansei Shoto" was understood to include the Senkaku Islands, which were under Japanese administration at the end of the Second World War, and which were not otherwise specifically referred to in the Treaty. We have administered the Senkakus as part of the Ryukyus since the end of that war.

As a result of the agreement reached by you and Prime Minister Sato in November, 1969, it is anticipated that the United States will return to Japan in 1972 the administrative rights to Nansei Shoto it acquired under the Treaty.

It is our position that neither the Peace Treaty nor the Reversion Agreement is necessarily the final determinant of sovereignty over the Senkakus. The United States position is that in 1972, we will relinquish whatever rights to the Islands that we acquired under the Treaty of Peace with Japan.

Ambassador Chow has informed us that he has been instructed to raise this question with you during his

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POL 32-6 SENKAKU



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By 1/10/93 NARA Date 1/10/93SECRET

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farewell call. At a minimum, he may urge that the USG not make any statements or take any action which would appear to endorse the Japanese claim to sovereignty over the Senkakus. He also may renew his government's request that these islands be restored to the GRC when Okinawan reversion takes place.

The GRC Vice Foreign Minister has asked that Ambassador McConaughy urgently convey to the Department his government's "grave concern" over a statement made by the Department's spokesman at the noon briefing April 9 that we intend to return the Senkakus to Japanese administration under the Okinawan reversion agreement. This statement, which has been our public position for some time, was made in response to questions prompted by the Chinese student demonstration on this issue to be held in Washington on April 10.

Talking Points

If Ambassador Chow raises this issue, you may wish to:

- Express appreciation for the GRC efforts to restrain its public opinion on this issue.
- State that we also wish to avoid a situation in which the Senkakus become a point of controversy between the GRC, the US and Japan. Such controversy can only benefit the Chinese Communists.
- Emphasize the importance to peace and security in East Asia of your agreement with Prime Minister Sato on Okinawan reversion.
- Point out that should the US now appear to modify that agreement by removing the Senkakus from its implementation, the effect on US-Japan and GRC-Japan relations would be highly unfortunate. This must be avoided.

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By 1/10/05 NARA Date 1-10-05SECRET

-3-

-- Note our position that neither the Peace Treaty nor the Reversion Agreement necessarily is the final determinant of the question of sovereignty over the Senkakus.

-- Express the hope that any such claim can be resolved by discussion between the GRC and Japan and in a way which will minimize irritation on both sides.

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 Authority *MD 969039*  
 By *CD* NARA Date *9/15/08*



*Pol 23-8 HC*  
*Pol 32-6 Senkaku IS*  
 Department of State  
**TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 524

PAGE 01 HONG K 02284 140149Z

92/19  
 ACTION EAP-20

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 GU-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-08

L-04 NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12

IO-16 NIC-01 RSR-01 ORR-02 SY-03 /135 W  
 019515

R 131000Z APR 71  
 FM AMCONSUL HONG KONG  
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC 653  
 INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON  
 AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
 AMEMBASSY TAIPEI  
 AMEMBASSY TOKYO

C O N F I D E N T I A L HONG KONG 2284

C O R R E C T E D I C O P Y (CORRECT TEXT OMISSION PARAGRAPH 4.)

SUBJ: SENKAKU DEMONSTRATION IN HONG KONG

REF: TAIPEI 1643

SUMMARY

*Pol 32-6 Senkaku IS*  
*4x Pol 19 Lyu IS*  
*on Pol 23-8 US*  
 STUDENTS AND YOUTHS DEMONSTRATED BEFORE JAPANESE CULTURAL OFFICE APRIL 10 OVER JAPANESE CLAIM TO SENKAKU ISLANDS, WITH 21 ARRESTED. STUDENT MEETINGS LATER ATTACKED "POLICE BRUTALITY." HKG TAKES CALM VIEW OF MATTER AND SEES NO SINISTER PRESENCE BEHIND STUDENT DEMONSTRATORS. CONGEN AGREES STUDENTS SEEM TO BE ACTING ON OWN, AND THAT THERE IS NO COMMUNIST INVOLVEMENT EVIDENT, BUT ALSO NOTES THAT STUDENTS PLANNING FURTHER ACTION FOR THIS COMING WEEKEND. END SUMMARY

2. GROUP OF YOUTHS HELD DEMONSTRATION AFTERNOON APRIL 10, 1971, BEFORE JAPANESE INFORMATION AND CULTURAL OFFICE (CENTRAL DISTRICT OF HONG KONG) TO PROTEST JAPANESE CLAIM TO SENKAKU ISLANDS. ALTHOUGH ORGANIZERS PREVIOUSLY TOLD POLICE HAD WITHHELD PERMISSION FOR DEMONSTRATION, SOME SCORES OF YOUTHS SHOWED UP WITH BANNERS. DEMONSTRATORS REFUSED POLICE ORDER TO DISPERSE AND AFTER MINOR

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 Authority MD 969039  
 By CH NARA Date 9/15/88



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PAGE 02 HONG K 02284 140148Z

SCUFFLE 21 (19 BOYS AND 2 GIRLS) ARRESTED AND TAKEN TO POLICE STATION. THIS ENDED DEMONSTRATION AND ALSO SCRAPPED EARLIER PLANS TO PRESENT PETITION AT AMERICAN CONSULATE GENERAL. AN ESTIMATED 100 YOUTHS WENT TO POLICE STATION TO DEMAND UNSUCCESSFULLY THE RELEASE OF THEIR FRIENDS BUT DISPERSED WITHOUT INCIDENT. ALL ARRESTEES RELEASED ON BAIL LATER THE SAME DAY.

2. TWO STUDENT FEDERATIONS CALLED MEETING ON EVENING APRIL 10 TO COMPALIN OF POLICE BRUTALITY AND REPORTEDLY TO CONSIDER FURTHER ACTION SUCH AS BOYCOTT OF JAPANESE AND AMERICAN PRODUCTS. ON TELEVISED INTERVIEW APRIL 11 ONE STUDENT LEADER CLAIMED HE HAD PROOF OF "POLICE BRUTALITY" IN FORM OF MOVIES TAKEN AT DEMONSTRATION BY STUDENTS. OTHER STUDENT LEADERS STRESSED THAT STUDENT FEDERATIONS HAD NOT ORGANIZED DEMONSTRATION THAT ACTION WAS NOT DIRECTED AT HKG, AND THAT ALTHOUGH STUDENT FEDERATIONS SUPPORTED DEMONSTRATORS ON SENKAKU ISSUE THEY DID NOT APPROVE OF ANY VIOLENCE. FURTHER STUDENT MEETINGS OVER WEEKEND EMPHASIZED THAT SENKAKU DEMONSTRATION HAD "NO POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS" AND CAME FROM PATRIOTIC CONSIDERATIONS ALONE.

3. DEMONSTRATION ACTUALLY NOT ORGANIZED BY STUDENT FEDERATIONS BUT BY AD HOC GROUP OF STUDENTS AND OTHER YOUTHS WHO CALLED SELVES "PROTECT TIAOYUTAI ISLANDS ACTION GROUP OF HONG KONG," AND BY MEMBERS OF STAFF OF STUDENT PUBLICATION "70'S BI-WEEKLY" WHO ARE ALWAYS INTERESTED IN FINDING POPULAR CAUSE TO ESPOUSE. NO DISSIDENT EXPATRIAT STUDENTS INVOLVED, BUT TWO (NEITHER AMERICAN) SHOWED UP AT POLICE STATION WHEN RISK OF ARREST HAD CLEARLY ENDED.

4. HKG POLITICAL ADVISER SAID HKG NOT MUCH CONCERNED OVER DEMONSTRATION. AS INDICATION OF THIS HE POINTED OUT THAT DUE TO FOUR-DAY EASTER HOLIDAY HE STILL HAD NOT RECEIVED POLICE REPORT ON INCIDENT. HE AGREED THAT YOUNG STUDENTS ARE ALWAYS LOOKING FOR POPULAR CAUSES, AND SENKAKU IS GOOD ONE. CHINESE OF ALL POLITICAL COLORATION RESIST JAPANESE. HE SAID CHIEF DANGER OF YOUNG STUDENT DEMONSTRATORS WAS THAT THEY MIGHT BE TAKEN OVER BY MORE EXPERIENCED PEOPLE WITH MORE SINISTER MOTIVES, BUT THAT THERE WAS NO EVIDENCE SO FAR THAT THIS HAD HAPPENED. HE NOTED JAPANESE CONSUL GENERAL ALWAYS MOST SENSITIVE TO ANY SUGGESTION OF ANTI-JAPANESE SENTIMENT IN HONG KONG, AND THUS ALWAYS CALLED FOR POLICE PROTECTION WHEN ANY DEMONSTRATION WAS LIKELY OUTSIDE HIS OFFICES. THIS, HE SUGGESTED, MAY HAVE PROMPTED EXTR-FIRM POLICE REACTION TO DEMONSTRATION.

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Authority 140 969039  
By C/NARA Date 9/15/08



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PAGE 03 HONG K 02284 140143Z

5. COMMENT: PUBLICITY-HUNGRY STUDENTS APPEAR TO HAVE BEEN MOVING INFLUENCE BEHIND DEMONSTRATION. HKG'S CALM REACTION MATCHED BY SEVERAL OFFICERS OF JAPANESE CONSULATE GENERAL, ONE OF WHOM TOLD CONGEN THAT "DEMONSTRATION CAME OFF AS EXPECTED." DISSIDENT STUDENTS MAY HAVE HELPED WITH ORGANIZATION OF DEMONSTRATION, EVEN THOUGH THEY CAREFULLY REFRAINED FROM ATTENDING. USE OF MOVIE CAMERA AT DEMONSTRATION SIGNIFIES INTENTION OF STUDENTS TO EXPLOIT "POLICE BRUTALITY" THEME. CONGEN DOES NOT BELIEVE THERE IS ANY SIGNIFICANT POLITICAL BACKING TO YOUNG STUDENTS' PROTESTS. SPECIFICALLY NO INDICATION OF COMMUNISTS INVOLVEMENT. CONGEN NOTES, HOWEVER, THAT STUDENTS ARE PLANNING FURTHER PROTEST MOVES FOR COMING WEEKEND, TO BE HELD ON BOTH SIDES OF HARBOR, AND FURTHER DISORDER IS STILL POSSIBLE, ALTHOUGH NOTHING SERIOUS ANTICIPATED.  
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 Pol 32-6 Senkakus  
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## DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: TAIPEI

 INFO: TOKYO  
 HONG KONG

STATE \_\_\_\_\_

SUBJECT: Demonstrations over Senkakus

Ref: Taipei 1694, 1643.

1. Chinese Embassy here has consistently stated GRC not involved in Senkaku protest movement and that it believes prime movers are "outside" -- i.e. Chinese Communist -- elements. Within USC we have been unable to pinpoint just who is behind demonstrations. Although some in US academic community see hand of Chicom in tight organization of protests and "United Front" flavor of wording of handouts, movement seems to include sizeable proportion of children of high-level GRC officials. Campus TIM advocates have shown no interest in this cause and we were told by an Action Committee representative that TIM "boycotting" movement. Hong Kong refugees and students ~~will~~ with mainland background have been quite active on other hand. We would tentatively estimate that movement is spontaneously derived from frustrated nationalism felt by young Chinese in US and draws on organizational skills which have become quite developed on US

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 EA/ROC:TPShoesmith

 CLEARANCES:  
 INR - Mr. Lake

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 FORM DS-322  
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## DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: TAIPEI

campuses and among minority groups. It probably reflects some of same spirit which has led to growth of "Boxers" (I Kor Yuen) in New York and Hua Hsing in San Francisco.

2. In view close surveillance which apparently maintained by GRC internal security agencies over student activities and rarity of such demonstrations as held by National Taiwan University and National Cheng Chih University students April 14, we would appreciate Embassy assessment of possibility of official GRC involvement. Alternatively, does Embassy consider government not involved but unwilling to control; if so, does Embassy see potential for such student activity extending to other current policy issues?

END

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*Pol 32-6 Senkaku Is*  
*XR Pol 23-8 China*  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**  
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PAGE 01 TAIPEI 01754 161326Z

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ACTION: EA-20

INFO: OCT-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 HL-02 INR-08 L-04 NSAE-00

NSC-10 PM-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 SY-03 O-03

OPR-02 CU-05 IO-16 E-15 COM-08 OEP-01 INT-06 RSR-01

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R 161007Z APR 71  
FM AMEMBASSY TAIPEI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2414  
INFO AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
AMCONSUL HONG KONG  
HICOMRY  
CINCPAC

COINTEL I DEINT I A/L TAIPEI 1754

(3)

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

SUBJECT: DEMONSTRATIONS OVER SENKAKUS.

REF: STATE 063601

TAIPEI 1718

TAIPEI 1694

SUMMARY: INITIATIVE FOR DEMONSTRATIONS OVER SENKAKUS APPEARS TO HAVE COME MORE FROM STUDENTS THAN GOVERNMENT. LATTER HAS PROBABLY GIVEN TACIT APPROVAL BECAUSE OF RELUCTANCE OPPOSE PATRIOTIC OUTPOURING OF YOUTH. DIS-SATISFACTION OVER US-CHINA POLICY AND OIL EXPLOITATION MORATORIUM ARE OTHER FACTORS INFLUENCING GOVERNMENT'S TACIT APPROVAL. WHILE STUDENTS SO FAR HAVE NOT APPEARED TO BE EMOTIONALLY AROUSED OVER RECENT US-CHINA POLICY DEVELOPMENTS, ONCE HAVING HAD THEIR HEADS, IT MIGHT NOT TAKE MUCH FOR THEM TO TAKE TO STREETS ON THIS ISSUE. END SUMMARY.

1. WE BELIEVE THAT INITIATIVE FOR DEMONSTRATIONS OVER

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*Japan 1754*  
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By 1ma NARA Date 1-10-95

Department of State

TELEGRAM

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PAGE 02. TAIPEI 01754 161326Z

SENKAKUS HAS COME LARGELY FROM STUDENTS. AVAILABLE INFORMATION REVEALS STUDENTS AT VARIOUS UNIVERSITIES HELD MEETINGS AND PREPARED POSTERS ON ISSUES BEGINNING APRIL 10 IN RESPONSE TO DEPT'S SPOKESMAN'S APRIL 9 STATEMENT. THEIR ACTIVISM WAS UNDOUBTEDLY ENCOURAGED BY WIDESPREAD LOCAL PRESS COVERAGE AFFORDED CHINESE STUDENT DEMONSTRATIONS ON SENKAKUS IN UNITED STATES OVER WEEKEND APRIL 3-4.

2. APPARENTLY CAMPUS AUTHORITIES INITIALLY ATTEMPTED MILDLY TO RESTRAIN STUDENTS, BUT BY DOING SO ADDED FUEL TO FIRE BY APPEARING AS THWARTERS OF PATRIOTIC WILL. STUDENTS THEN CARRIED CASE TO KMT WHICH WE BELIEVE RECOGNIZED DIFFICULTY INVOLVED IN ANY ATTEMPT TO QUASH THIS OUTPOURING OF SUPPORT FOR GRC'S POSITION ON ISSUE. ADDITIONALLY, GRC'S ATTITUDE TOWARD STUDENT ACTIVISM WAS PROBABLY COLORED BY ITS DISSATISFACTION WITH US POLICIES IN GENERAL, WITH RECENT ADVOCACY OF MORATORIUM ON OIL EXPLORATION IN PARTICULAR AND BY UNWILLINGNESS TO APPEAR LESS CONCERNED THAN CHICOMS ON SENKAKUS. WE BELIEVE THESE CONSIDERATIONS RESULTED IN GRC TACIT APPROVAL OF STUDENT DEMONSTRATIONS AND MEETINGS ON SENKAKUS. MOREOVER, IN VIEW NORMALLY TIGHT CONTROLS OVER STUDENTS AND LATTER'S RELUCTANCE TO RUN AFOUL OF AUTHORITIES, CONTINUING AND GROWING STUDENT ACTIVISM ON ISSUE INDICATES STUDENTS CLEARLY AWARE THAT GRC UNWILLING SUPPRESS SUCH BEHAVIOR.

3. IT SIGNIFICANT THAT OVERSEAS CHINESE STUDENTS INITIALLY PLAYED LEADING ROLE IN SENKAKUS PROTEST ACTIVITIES.

BECAUSE OF THEIR PRIVILEGED POSITION, THESE STUDENTS TRADITIONALLY HAVE BEEN LESS AMENABLE TO CONTROL BY AUTHORITIES AND SOMEWHAT LESS RELUCTANT TO SPEAK THEIR MINDS. ASIDE FROM NOT RELISHING TASK OF ATTEMPTING TO SUPPRESS THESE STRONGER-WILLED STUDENTS, GRC PERHAPS FELT THAT PROMINENCE OF OVERSEAS CHINESE WOULD WEAKEN IMPRESSION THAT IT IN SOME WAY RESPONSIBLE FOR OR CONNECTED WITH DEMONSTRATIONS.

4. PATTERN OF DEMONSTRATIONS TO DATE FURTHER SUGGESTS PASSIVE RATHER THAN ACTIVE NATURE OF GRC ROLE IN PROCEEDINGS. AUTHORITIES HAVE OBVIOUSLY ATTEMPTED TO KEEP THEM UNDER TIGHT CONTROL AND HAVE KEPT US INFORMED OF DEMONSTRATORS' PLANS AND WHEREABOUTS. POLICE HAVE BEEN ON

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TELEGRAM

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PAGE 03 TAIPEI 01754 161326Z

SCENE BEFOREHAND, INCONSPICUOUSLY BUT IN GREAT STRENGTH, AND HAVE SHUNTED AWAY ON-LOOKERS AND OTHERWISE EFFECTIVELY ACTED TO PREVENT DEMONSTRATION FROM GETTING OUT OF HAND. THIS HAS ALSO BEEN TRUE OF DEMONSTRATIONS AT JAPANESE EMBASSY.

5. IF, AS WE SURMISE, DEMONSTRATIONS ARE LARGELY WORK OF STUDENTS, IT IS LIKELY THAT GRC IS SOMEWHAT NERVOUS OVER PRECEDENT THIS MIGHT CREATE FOR SIMILAR ACTION IN FUTURE. WHILE WE HAVE NOT DETECTED ANY DEEP-SEATED STUDENT EMOTIONALISM ON RECENT US-CHINA POLICY INNOVATIONS, ONCE HAVING HAD

SATISFACTION OF THROWING WEIGHT AROUND, IT MIGHT NOT TAKE MUCH FOR THEM TO AGAIN TAKE TO STREETS ON THIS ISSUE UNDER BANNER OF PATRIOTIC SUPPORT OF GRC'S STAND. IN SUCH CASE GRC WOULD PROBABLY AGAIN FEEL CONSTRAINED TO PERMIT DEMONSTRATIONS, ALTHOUGH IT MAY BE WORRIED THAT ONCE THIS ACTIVITY BECOMES PART OF STUDENT LIFE, THERE IS NO GUARANTEE AS TO WHAT DIRECTION IT MIGHT TAKE.

6. ONE

ADDITIONAL POINT IS THAT IN SEPARATE CONVERSATION WITH EMBASSY OFFICERS, SECRETARY GENERAL OF EXECUTIVE YUAN, Y. S. CHIANG, AND VICE PREMIER'S AIDE, MGEN. PAT WEN, ALLUDED TO POSSIBILITY OF OUTSIDE AGITATORS STIRRING UP LOCAL STUDENTS ON SENKAKUS. THEY MAY HAVE HAD IN MIND FREE WHEELING OR POLITICALLY UNRELIABLE INDIVIDUALS WITHIN RANKS OF OVERSEAS CHINESE STUDENTS. GRC-3: MCCONAUGHY

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By 1m2 NARA Date 1-10-05

*Pol 32-6 Senkakus Is.*  
*X R Pol 23-8 China*  
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PAGE 01 TAIPEI 01751 161312Z

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ACTION: EX-20

INFO: OCT-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 HL-02 INR-08 L-04 NSAE-00

NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USTA-12 CU-05 SY-03

OPR-02 IO-16 ACDA-19 O-03 RSR-01 / 135 WI

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R 160951Z APR 71  
FM AMEMBASSY TAIPEI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2411  
INFO AMCONSUL HONG KONG  
AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
HICOMRY  
RUHHHKFGXCINCPAC

C O N F I D E N T I A L TAIPEI 1751

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

SUBJECT: DEMONSTRATIONS OVER SENKAKUS

REFS: A. TAIPEI 1718; B. TAIPEI 1694

SUMMACD: APPROXIMATELY TWO HUNDRED UNIVERSITY STUDENTS  
DEMONSTRATED BEFORE EMBASSY ON SENKAKUS. DESPITE KMT  
EFFORTS DISSUADE THEM FROM DOING SO. DEMONSTRATION WAS  
ORDERLY AND AMBASSADOR RECEIVED DELEGATION WHO READ AND  
DELIVERED PROTEST NOTE. STUDENTS NOW FEELING THEIR OATS  
AND FUTURE DEMONSTRATIONS MAY OCCUR. END SUMMARY.

1. APRIL 16 MEETING OF SEVERAL HUNDRED UNIVERSITY  
STUDENTS AT NATIONAL CHENG CHI UNIVERSITY LED TO  
DECISION DEMONSTRATE IN FRONT OF KMT. SECRETARY GENERAL  
CHANG PAO-SHU TOLD STUDENTS HE WOULD ADDRESS THEM AT  
CITY HALL. CHANG FIRST SPOKE AND WAS FOLLOWED BY  
KMT FIRST SECTION CHIEF CHEN CHIEN-CHUNG. BOTH  
EXPRESSED SYMPATHY WITH STUDENT VIEWS BUT TRIED TO GET  
STUDENTS TO AVOID FURTHER DEMONSTRATIONS AND ALLOW GRC  
TO NEGOTIATE ISSUE.

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By 1112 NARA Date 1-10-03

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PAGE 02 TAIPEI 01751 161312Z

2. STUDENTS DECIDED TO DEMONSTRATE AT EMBASSY IN SPIRE OF KMT PERSUASION. AT 2:30 APPROXIMATELY 200 STUDENTS MARCHED IN MILITARY ORDER TO FRONT GATE OF EMBASSY SHOUTING SLOGANS AND CARRYING BANNERS SIMILAR TO THOSE IN EARLIER DEMONSTRATIONS. IN AMBASSADOR'S ABSENCE, POLICEMEN RECEIVED DELEGATION WHO REFUSED TO DELIVER PROTEST MESSAGE SAYING THAT A WAIT OF ONE OR TWO HOURS WOULD NOT BE TOO LONG. GENERAL CHANG HAN KUANI AND COL. CHARLTON WONG OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS POLICE WERE UNSUCCESSFUL IN PERSUADING STUDENTS TO DELIVER NOTE AND LEAVE. AMBASSADOR UPON HIS ARRIVAL RECEIVED DELEGATION OF TWO STUDENTS WHO READ ALOUD AND DELIVERED STRONG PROTEST NOTE. ONE OF THE STUDENTS WAS EXCITED AND IMPOLITE. WHEN LEAVING BUILDING STUDENTS PROMISED THAT ACTIVITY WOULD CONTINUE UNLESS US REPLY WAS RECEIVED. TRANSLATION BEING SENT SEPTEL.

3. SEVERAL SOURCES HAVE INFORMED US THAT TODAY'S DEMONSTRATIONS HAVE LARGELY THE REACTION TO KMT'S REFUSAL TO PERMIT PRESS TO CARRY PHOTOGRAPHS OF PREVIOUS DEMONSTRATIONS. STUDENTS ARE NOW APPARENTLY FEELING THEIR OATS AND FUTURE DEMONSTRATIONS MAY OCCUR.

4. IN CONVERSATION WITH VICE PREMIER CHIANG CHING-KUO LAST NIGHT, AMBASSADOR MADE POINT THAT WE WERE WILLING RECEIVE PEACEFUL PETITIONERS ON SENKAKUSU BUT HOPED THAT EFFORTS WOULD BE MADE TO AVOID ANY SITUATION WHICH WOULD DISRUPT NORMAL OPERATIONS OF EMBASSY. GPL3  
MCCONAUGHY

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ACTION EA-20

INFO OCT-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-08 L-04 NSAE-00  
NSC-10 PW-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 O-03 SY-03  
OPR-02 CU-05 IO-16 RSR-01 /117 W 044384

R 161123Z APR 71  
FM AMEMBASSY TAIPEI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2415  
INFO AMCONSUL HONG KONG  
AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
HICOMRY  
CINCPAC

CONFIDENTIAL TAIPEI 1755

CINCPAC ALSO FOR POLAD

SUBJECT: DEMONSTRATIONS OVER SENKAKUS

REF: A. TAIPEI 17171 B. TAIPEI 1964

1. PRESIDENT OF NATIONAL TAIWANESE UNIVERSITY STUDENT COUNCIL  
LI TA-WEI ACCOMPANIED BY HEAD OF NTU "NEWS AGENCY" CALLED  
ON AMBASSADOR THIS MORNING TO PRESENT PETITION OF PROTEST  
OVER SENKAKUS SIGNED BY 2000 NTU STUDENTS. STUDENTS CAME  
AS PART OF POLITE AND WELL-DRESSED DELEGATION OF TEN FROM NTU.

2. AMBASSADOR RECEIVED STUDENTS AND ACCEPTED PETITION, WHICH  
HE SAID HE WOULD FORWARD TO USG. AMBASSADOR EXPLAINED TO  
DELEGATION THAT USG TAKES NO POSITION ON SOVEREIGNTY OVER  
SENKAKUS. IN OTHER WORDS, WE HAVE NOT RECOGNIZED

JAPANESE OR OTHER SOVEREIGNTY. THE US IS NON-COMMITTED ON  
THIS ISSUE, AND HOPES THAT THE CLAIMANTS CAN RESOLVE IT  
BETWEEN THEMSELVES. GP-3  
MC CONAUGHY

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By 1112 NARA Date 1-10-95

Pol 32-6 Senkakus  
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PAGE 01 TAIPEI 01752 161315Z

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ACTION EA-20

INFO OCT-01 SY-03 CU-05 OPR-02 O-03 IO-16 CIAE-00 DODE-00

PM-05 H-02 INR-08 LL-04 NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01

PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 RSR-01 7117 W

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R 160951Z APR 71  
FM AMEMBASSY TAIPEI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2412  
INFO AMCONSUL HONG KONG  
AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
HICOMRY  
CINCPAC

① LIMITED OFFICIAL USE TAIPEI 1752

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

SUBJECT: DEMONSTRATIONS OVER SENKAKUS.

REF: TAIPEI 1751

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF PROTEST DELIVERED BY STUDENT  
DELEGATION TO AMBASSADOR DURING AFTERNOON APRIL 16 DEMONSTRATION  
ON SENKAKUS (REFTEL):

BEGIN TEXT: TO AMBASSADOR WALTER P. MCCONAUGHY  
FROM FEDERATION OF STUDENT ASSOCIATIONS, NATIONAL  
CHENG CHI UNIVERSITY, DATED APRIL 16, 1971. YOUR  
EXCELLENCY, YOUR GOVERNMENT VIOLATED INTERNATIONAL  
TREATIES AND DISREGARDED INTERNATIONAL MORALITY WHEN IT  
MADE THE STATEMENT ON APRIL 9 ON THE FUTURE OF THE  
TIAOYUTAI ISLANDS. THIS HAS VIOLATED OUR TERRITORIAL  
SOVEREIGNTY. THE STUDENTS OF THIS UNIVERSITY ARE ALL  
ANGERED BY THIS STATEMENT AND HOPE THAT YOU WILL REIN  
IN AT THE PRECIPICE AND WITHDRAW THIS STATEMENT. IF  
NOT, YOUR GOVERNMENT WILL HAVE TO BE HELD RESPONSIBLE  
FOR THE GRAVE CONSEQUENCES ARISING FROM THIS ISSUE.

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By ma NARA Date 1-10-03



# Department of State TELEGRAM

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PAGE 02 TAIPEI 01752 161315Z

FEDERATION OF STUDENT ASSOCIATIONS, NATIONAL CHENG CHI  
UNIVERSITY. END TEXT. EXEMPT  
MC CONAUGHY

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 Authority MD 969039  
 By CD NARA Date 9/15/08



Pol 23-8 HK  
 Department of State **TELEGRAM**  
 XR Pol 32-6 Senkaku Is

CONFIDENTIAL 411

PAGE 01 HONG KONG 02426 190994Z

21  
ACTION: EA-20

INFO: OCT-01 EUR-20 CU-05 NTC-01 E-15 COM-08 IO-16 CIAE-00

DOD-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-08 L-04 NSAC-00 NSC-10 P-03

RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USA-12 RSR-01 /153 W

060249

RI 190815Z APR 71  
 FM AMCONSUL HONG KONG  
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC 706  
 INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON  
 AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
 AMEMBASSY TAIPEI  
 AMEMBASSY TOKYO

CONFIDENTIAL LIAISON HONG KONG 2426

SUBJECT: LATEST HK STUDENT DEMONSTRATION ON SENKAKU ISLANDS

REF: HK 2284

1. AS REPORTED IN REFTEL HONG KONG YOUTHS AND STUDENTS CONTINUED TO DEMONSTRATE IN PROTEST AGAINST PROSPECT SENKAKU ISLANDS (TIAO YU TAI) MAY BE HANDLED BACK TO JAPAN. AN ESTIMATED TOTAL OF 1000 TO 1500 YOUTHS (INCLUDING UNIDENTIFIED PROPORTION OF STUDENTS) GATHERED AT SCHOOLS ON BOTH SIDES OF HK HARBOR SATURDAY APRIL 17 WITH BANNERS CHIEFLY ATTACKING JAPAN FOR ENTERTAINING AMBITIONS TO SOVEREIGNTY OVER SENKAKU ISLANDS. ALTHOUGH ANTI-JAPANESE SENTIMENTS SEEMED PREDOMINANT AT LEAST ONE SIGN READ "DOWN WITH US-JAPAN CONNIVANCE." ONE ANGRY STUDENT SUGGESTED MARCH TO CENTRAL DISTRICT OF HK BUT WAS OVERRULED "BECAUSE NO PREPARATIONS MADE." SOME SPEAKERS CALLED FOR HK-WIDE BOYCOTT OF JAPANESE AND AMERICAN GOODS.

2. SMALLER NUMBERS OF STUDENTS ATTENDED FURTHER RALLIES IN HK AND KOWLOON ON SUNDAY APRIL 18. ONE PROFESSOR CALLED FOR BOYCOTT OF JAPANESE GOODS, AND AS HE

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Hong Kong 2426 4/19/71



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 Authority 140 9C9039  
 By CJ NARA Date 9/15/08



# Department of State TELEGRAM

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PAGE 02 HONG K 02426 190934Z

SPOKE A STUDENT SMASHED HIS JAPANESE-MADE WATCH TO THE CHEERS OF OTHER STUDENTS WHO VOWED NOT TO BUY JAPANESE PRODUCTS. ANOTHER SPEAKER EMPHASIZED STUDENTS' ACTION HAD NO BACKING FROM "PARTICULAR POLITICAL PARTIES." NO INCIDENTS REPORTED FROM MEETINGS ON EITHER DAY.

3. EDITORIALS IN LOCAL PRESS GENERALLY SUPPORT STUDENTS' PROTECTION OF CHINESE RIGHTS IN SENKAKU ISLANDS BUT DEPLORE ANY RESORT TO DISORDER OR LAWLESSNESS. COMMUNISTS HAVE NOT YET COMMENTED EDITORIALLY.

4. COMMENT: DEMONSTRATIONS THIS WEEKEND ORGANIZED BY HK FEDERATION OF STUDENTS WHEREAS EARLIER ONES STAGED BY TEMPORARILY FORMED "ACTION COMMITTEE." LOCAL CRITICISM OF DISORDERLY DEMONSTRATIONS OBVIOUSLY HAS HAD EFFECT AS PARTICIPANTS (PROBABLY MOSTLY STUDENTS BUT NOT ALL FROM HK UNIVERSITY OR CHINESE UNIVERSITY) TOOK EFFECTIVE MEASURES TO KEEP PROCEEDINGS ORDERLY AND UNDER CONTROL. DEMONSTRATORS REMAINED ON CAMPUSES AND DID NOT GO TO CONSULATES OR OFFICES. STUDENTS LIKELY TO CONTINUE TO HARP ON POPULAR THEME ("PROTECTING CHINESE SOVEREIGNTY") BUT SO FAR THERE IS NO EVIDENCE OF INVOLVEMENT OF ANY LOCAL POLITICAL FACTION, PARTICULARLY HK COMMUNISTS. STUDENT THREAT OF BOYCOTT (EITHER OF JAPANESE OR AMERICAN GOODS) IS NOT LIKELY TO BE CARRIED OUT BUT CONTINUATION OF DEMONSTRATIONS WITH TALK OF BOYCOTTS WILL PROBABLY MAKE BOTH JAPANESE AND AMERICAN BUSINESSMEN APPREHENSIVE. GP-3.  
 OSBORN

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By 1712 NARA Date 1-10-05

Pol 32-6 Senkakus  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 492

PAGE 01 TAIPEI 01790 191103Z

21  
ACTION: EA-20

INFO: OCT-01 CU-05 NIC-01 OPR-02 SY-03 O-03 CIAE-00 DODE-00

PM-05 H-02 INR-08 L-04 NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01

PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 AID-28 RSR-01 130 W  
060899

R 191017Z APR 71  
FM AMEMBASSY TAIPEI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2432  
INFO AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
AMCONSUL HONG KONG  
HICOMRY  
CINCPAC

C O N F I D E N T I A L TAIPEI 1790

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

SUBJECT: SENKAKUS DEMONSTRATIONS

REF: 1) TAIPEI 1763; 2) TAIPEI 1751

SUMMARY: THERE ARE INDICATIONS THAT GRC HAS ACTED TO HALT MASS STUDENT DEMONSTRATIONS BEFORE EMBASSY ON SENKAKUS. MINISTER OF EDUCATION APRIL 17 CALLED ON STUDENTS TO PRESENT PROTESTS AND RECOMMENDATIONS ON SENKAKUS IN WRITING TO GOVERNMENTAL AGENCIES. CNA APRIL 18 REPORTED THAT STUDENTS HAD DECIDED TO REFRAIN FROM STREET DEMONSTRATIONS AND APRIL 18 EDITORIAL IN CHINA NEWS APPROVINGLY NOTED THAT DEMONSTRATIONS HAD ENDED. STUDENT BEHAVIOR TODAY ADDITIONALLY SUPPORTS SURMISE THAT GOVERNMENT HAS REINED IN ACTIVISTS.  
END SUMMARY.

1. THIS MORNING (APRIL 19) DELEGATION OF TEN FACULTY MEMBERS AND STUDENTS FROM NATIONAL TSINGHUA UNIVERSITY APPEARED TO PRESENT PETITION TO AMBASSADOR. AMBASSADOR RECEIVED DELEGATION OF TWO STUDENTS AND ONE PROFESSOR WHO PRESENTED PROTEST MESSAGE. AMBASSADOR TOLD GROUP US TOOK NO

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Japan 1790  
4/19/71

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PAGE 02 TAIPEI 01790 191103Z

POSITION ON ISSUE OF SOVEREIGNTY OVER SENKAKUS, WHICH SHOULD BE SETTLED BY GRC AND GOJ. WHEN THEY ASKED FOR REPLY TO PROTEST, AMBASSADOR SAID HE DOUBTED THEY WOULD RECEIVE DIRECT REPLY. TEXT FOLLOWS SEPTEL.

2. THIS MORNING POLICE INFORMED US THAT 11-MAN DELEGATION FROM FU JEN UNIVERSITY, 30 STUDENTS FROM NATIONAL NORMAL SCHOOL, AND A GROUP OF FACULTY MEMBERS FROM NATIONAL CHENG CHI UNIVERSITY WOULD APPEAR THIS AFTERNOON AT EMBASSY WITH PROTEST NOTES. AS OF 5:30 PM, NONE OF THESE GROUPS HAVE APPEARED.

3. THERE ARE INDICATIONS THAT THE GOVERNMENT HAS TAKEN STEPS TO BRING AN END TO MASS DEMONSTRATIONS BEFORE THE EMBASSY ON SENKAKUS ISSUE. LOCAL PRESS APRIL 17 CARRIED STATEMENT BY NEW MINISTER OF EDUCATION LO YUN-PING, WHICH WHILE EXPRESSING APPRECIATION OF PATRIOTIC SENTIMENT OF YOUTH NOTED ISSUE WAS COMPLEX AND WOULD TAKE TIME TO SOLVE. LO DECLARED GOVERNMENT'S STAND WAS FIRM AND IF STUDENTS WISHED TO MAKE THEIR OPINIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS KNOWN, THEY SHOULD DO SO IN WRITING TO APPROPRIATE GOVERNMENTAL AGENCIES.

4. CNA APRIL 18 ENGLISH LANGUAGE SERVICE REPORTED "COLLEGE STUDENTS IN THIS CITY WHO HAVE DEMONSTRATED FOR THREE CONSECUTIVE DAYS AGAINST THE UNITED STATES AND JAPAN OVER TIAOYUTAI DECIDED YESTERDAY TO REFRAIN FROM STREET DEMONSTRATIONS". REPORT THEN NOTED STUDENTS AT NATIONAL TAIWAN UNIVERSITY HELD RALLY ON TIAOYUTAI QUESTION AND HAD DELIVERED PROTEST LETTER TO FOREIGN MINISTRY FOR TRANSMITTAL TO US EMBASSY. REPORT ALSO REVEALED THAT STUDENTS OF TAIWAN PROVINCIAL MARITIME COLLEGE AND TAMKANG COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCE HAD SENT LETTERS TO GOVERNMENT AND YOUTH CORPS RESPECTIVELY SUPPORTING ROC'S STAND ON SENKAKUS. IMPLICATION WAS THAT STUDENTS NOW OUTRIPPLY FOLLOWING COURSE RECOMMENDED BY MINED. ENGLISH LANGUAGE APRIL 18 EDITORIAL EXPRESSED RELIEF THAT STUDENTS HAVE LISTENED TO ELDERS AND RETURNED TO CAMPUSES AND STUDIES. (AS) --- DEMONSTRATIONS --- LIKELY TO LEAD TO MISUNDERSTANDINGS AND PRECEDENTS OF DUBIOUS VALUE.

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PAGE 03 TAIPEI 01790 191103Z

5. IN LIGHT CNA REPORTS, CHINA NEWS EDITORIAL, FRED CHIEN'S APRIL 17 EXPRESSION OF HOPE THAT AMBASSADOR WOULD CONTINUE TO RECEIVE STUDENT DELEGATIONS (TAIPEI 17631) AND PATTERN OF STUDENT BEHAVIOR IN PAST THREE DAYS, OUR SURMISE IS THAT ROC HAS REINED IN STUDENTS, AND WILL POSSIBLY TRY TO LIMIT THEM TO SMALL, PEACEFUL DELEGATIONS, CARRYING PROTEST TO AMBASSADOR. GRC MAY BE MOTIVATED BY CONCERN OVER POSSIBILITY OF LARGE-SCALE DEMONSTRATIONS GETTING OUT OF HAND.

6. LOCAL PAPERS OVER PAST FEW DAYS HAVE GIVEN LOW-KEY COVERAGE TO APRIL 16 DEMONSTRATION AT EMBASSY AND TO RALLIES OVER WEEKEND AT NTU AND FUJEN UNIVERSITY. INTERESTINGLY, CHINESE CNA SERVICE DID NOT CARRY REPORTED "STUDENT" DECISION TO REFRAIN FROM STREET DEMONSTRATIONS. WE BELIEVE THAT WHILE GRC WANTED TO CONVEY MESSAGE TO US, IT WAS CONCERNED OVER POSSIBLE REPERCUSSIONS ARISING FROM LOCAL PUBLICITY AND PREFERRED TO DEAL BEHIND-THE-SCENES WITH STUDENTS. GP-3  
MCCONAUGHY

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Department of State  
**TELEGRAM**

POL 32-6 SERRANA  
XR POL 32-6 Quita Sueno Banks  
XR POL 32-6 RON CADOR CAY

069388

INDICATE:  
☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

## DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: Amembassy MANAGUA  
INFO: Amembassy BOGOTA

STATE

SUBJECT: Quita Sueno and Other Caribbean Islands

REF: Managua 685, Bogota 1750

1. Although Department is anxious to avoid creating impression with GON that we are being devious in dealing with Colombian Government about Quita Sueno, we believe that nature and timing of any US approach to GON must be worked out in consultation with GOC. USG does not recognize that Nicaragua has a claim to Quita Sueno, Roncador and Serrana, nor do we believe Nicaragua has valid claim to seabed and subsoil rights on Quita Sueno under 1958 Convention on Continental shelf. Our primary interest lies in resolution of admitted dispute with Colombia and this interest requires consultation with GOC before we discuss issue with third party.
2. We therefore propose to include question of approach to Nicaraguans on agenda of talks Shamwell will have in Bogota in early June. We do not believe that it is necessary to advise

DRAFTED BY:

ARA/CEN/N:RHines:gem

DRAFTING DATE

4-21-71

TEL. EXT.

23083

APPROVED BY:

ARA - Mr. Hurwitch

CLEARANCES:

L/ARA - Mr. Shamwell

L/ARA - Mr. Kolson

ARA/CEN - Mr. Breen

ARA/NC - Mr. Little

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4-68

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 ACTION: Page 2 of telegram to Amembassy MANAGUA info Amembassy  
 BOGOTA

GON of June talks themselves, since these are working level discussions which may or may not lead to decision to enter negotiations. Assuming that talks have positive results, we would seek to obtain GOC agreement to informing GON (1) that our two governments have agreed to attempt to resolve their dispute over the Caribbean islands, (2) that preliminary working-level discussions have been held, and (3) that we are now considering whether to enter into formal negotiations.

3. Department has reconsidered advisability of informing GON of our position on particular point of status of Quita Sueno (i.e., that it is seabed and subsoil beyond national jurisdiction of any state--see para 2, State 36401 of March 10, 1970). As Embassy can see from text of US note transmitted State 18328, as well as previous messages (see especially Bogota 1020 of March 23, 1970) any negotiations with GOC will involve validity of historic claims, law of the sea, and fishing rights, and will probably entail studied give-and-take.

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DRAFTING DATE TEL. EXT.

APPROVED BY:

CLEARANCES:

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To inform GON of this one point of our negotiating position would only invite questions as to other points of our position which we would not be prepared to discuss.

GP-3

ROGERS

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90 L 32-6 Senkaku Is.  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 TAIPEI 01840 211058Z

19.  
ACTION: EA-20INFO: OCT-01 OPR-02 SY-03 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-08  
L-04 NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12

RSR-01 /093 W

079194

R 211024Z APR 71  
FM AMEMBASSY TAIPEI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2449  
INFO AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
AMCONSUL HONG KONG  
HICOMRY

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE TAIPEI 1840

SUBJECT: SENKAKUS DEMONSTRATIONS

① REF: TAIPEI 1790

NO DEMONSTRATIONS OR DELEGATIONS TODAY AT EMBASSY,  
AND WE HAVE HEARD OF NONE ELSEWHERE. EXEMPT  
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By 1m2 NARA Date 1-10-95

32



POL 32-6 SENKAKUS  
XR POL 15-6 CHINAT  
Department of State  
**TELEGRAM**

SECRET 593

PAGE 01 TAIPEI 01868 221000Z

17  
ACTION: EA-20

INFO: OCT-01 PM-05 NSC-10 SS-20 RSC-01 CIAE-00 INR-08

NSAE-00 DODE-00 L-04 RRR-01 /0701 W

089715

R 220900Z APR 71  
FM AMEMBASSY TAIPEI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2461  
INFO AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
AMCONSUL HONG KONG  
HICOMRY  
CINCPAC  
CINCSARPAC

S E C R E T TAIPEI 1868

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

SUBJECT: GRC FLAG REMOVED FROM SENKAKUS

REFS: A) HICOMRY 190800Z  
B) STATE 062299 (NOTAL)  
C) TAIPEI 1677 (NOTAL)  
D) TAIPEI 1385  
E) TAIPEI 1754

1. SENKAKUS IS HOT POLITICAL ISSUE HERE. SEVERAL THOUSAND STUDENTS HAVE ALREADY DEMONSTRATED AT THEIR SCHOOLS AND ELSEWHERE OVER SENKAKUS QUESTION. AND AT LEAST SOME MEETINGS (REF E PARA 2-E) HAVE ASKED THAT FLAG BE RETURNED.

2. WE HAVE RECEIVED FORMAL REQUEST FROM GRC FOR RETURN OF FLAG. UNLESS ADDRESSEES PERCEIVE OBJECTIONS, WE WOULD APPRECIATE WASHINGTON'S INSTRUCTING HICOMRY TO REQUEST GRC TO RETURN FLAG TO US FOR RETURN TO GRC. ON RETURNING IT TO GRC, WE WILL REQUEST THAT MOFA EITHER RETAIN FLAG OR HAND IT IN IN A WAY WHICH WILL NOT CREATE FURTHER DIFFICULTIES. GPM3  
MCCONAUGHY

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Taipei 1868  
4-22-71

RG 319

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*Pol 32-6 Senkaku Is*  
 Department of State
**TELEGRAM***XR Pol 23-8 US*

CONFIDENTIAL 810

PAGE 01 HONG K 02593 260917Z

21

ACTION EA#20

INFO OCT-01 IO-16 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-08 L-04

NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRG-01 SS-20 USIA-12 CU-05

NIC-01 RSR-01 /110 W

118099

 RI 260830Z APR 71  
 FM AMCONSUL HONG KONG  
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC (768)  
 INFO AMEMBASSY SEOUL  
 AMEMBASSY TAIPEI  
 AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
 USMISSION USUN  
 HICOMRY  
 CINCPAC

C/O NI F I D I N I T I A L HONG KONG 2593

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

SUBJ PEKING REPORTS SENKAKUS DEMONSTRATION IN US

1. NCNA (APR 23) REPORTED THAT MEETINGS WERE HELD APR 10 IN WASHINGTON, NEW YORK, BOSTON AND OTHER MAJOR AMERICAN CITIES TO PROTEST AGAINST ATTEMPTS BY THE US AND JAPAN "IN COLLUSION WITH THE CHIANG KAI-SHEK BANDIT GANT" TO ANNEX "CHINA'S TERRITORY THE TIAOYU (SENKAKU) AND OTHER ISLANDS" AND TO PLUNDER PRC SEABED AND SUBSOIL RESOURCES. THE ARTICLE DENOUNCED AS "BUMPTIOUS" THE STATE DEPARTMENT POSITION THAT THE SENKAKUS WOULD BE RETURNED TO JAPAN AS PART OF THE OKINAWA REVERSION AND NCNA FAILED TO REPORT THAT THE US TOOK NO STAND ON THE SINO-JAPANESE DISPUTE OVER SOVEREIGNTY OF THE ISLANDS.

2. COMMENT: THIS IS THE FIRST PRC MEDIA ATTENTION TO ANY OF THE RECENT DEMONSTRATIONS BY CHINESE STUDENTS IN OPPOSITION TO JAPANESE CLAIMS TO THE SENKAKUS. (THE DEMONSTRATIONS IN TAIWAN ON THIS ISSUE REMAIN UNMENTIONED). THUS FAR, THE PRC'S TREATMENT OF THE ISSUE SEEMS LARGELY

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Hong Kong 2593 4/26/71



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By 1112 NARA Date 1-10-95*Department of State* **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 HONG KI 02593 250917Z

DESIGNED TO KEEP ITS CLAIMS IN VIEW AND DOES NOT AMOUNT  
TO A MAJOR PROPAGANDA OFFENSIVE. FOR THE TIME BEING AT  
LEAST, PEKING SEEMS CONTENT TO LET THE MATTER FESTER AS  
A DISPUTE BETWEEN THE GOU, GRC AND USG. GP-4.  
OSBORN

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*POL 32-6 SENKAKUS*  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**  
*RR POL 15-6 CHINAT*

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PAGE 01 TAIPEI 01962 280930Z

17  
ACTION EA-20INFO: OCT-01 EA-15 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-08 L-04  
NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 IO-16

RSR-01 /099 W

006486

RI 270000Z APR 71  
FM AMEMBASSY TAIPEI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2506  
INFO AMCONSUL HONG KONG  
AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
HICOMRY  
CINCPAC

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE TAIPEI 1962

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

SUBJECT: SENKAKUS: RETURN OF GRC FLAG

REF: HICOMRY 240330Z APR 71

POLCOUNS RETURNED GRC FLAG TO EULEN WOOD, MOFA DEPUTY  
DIRECTOR FOR NORTH AMERICAN AFFAIRS, AND SAID THAT USG  
HAD OBTAINED FLAG FROM GRC IN LOW-KEY MANNER. HE ADDED  
THAT HE HOPED GRC ALSO WOULD HANDLE MATTER IN WAY WHICH  
WOULD AVOID PUBLICITY, SINCE NEWSPAPER WAR LIKE THAT OF  
LAST SEPTEMBER IN INTEREST NEITHER OF GRC NOR OF US.  
MRS. WOOD SAID GRC APPRECIATED RETURN OF FLAG, AND THAT  
SHE WOULD REPORT COMMENTS PUBLICITY TO HER SUPERIORS.

COMMENT: MRS. WOOD HAS YET TO MAKE A SUBSTANTIVE  
COMMENT TO US ON ANY ISSUE SINCE ASSUMING HER  
PRESENT POSITION. EXEMPT  
MCCONAUGHY

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Taipei 1962  
4-27-71

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*POL 32-6 SENKAKUS*  
*XR POL 15-6 CHINAT*  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 TAIPEI 02004 300227Z

88  
ACTION EA-20

INFO OCT-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-08 L-04 NSAE-00

NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 IO-16 RSR-01

/104 W

023510

R 300201Z APR 71  
FM AMEMBASSY TAIPEI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2524  
INFO AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
AMCONSUL HONG KONG  
HICOMRY  
CINCPAC

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE TAIPEI 2004

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

SUBJECT: RETURN OF GRC FLAG

REF: TAIPEI 1962

DURING CALL ON ANOTHER SUBJECT APRIL 28, DR. FREDERICK  
CHIEN, MOFA DIRECTOR FOR NORTH AMERICAN AFFAIRS,  
EXPRESSED APPRECIATION OF US EFFORTS TO OBTAIN RETURN  
OF GRC FLAG FROM GRI. HE SAID THAT MOFA WOULD RETAIN  
FLAG AND WOULD AVOID PUBLICITY ON THE SUBJECT.  
EXEMPT  
MC CONAUGHY

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*Taipei 2004*  
*4-30-71*

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May 6, 1971

Honorable Earl F. Landgrebe  
House of Representatives  
Washington, D. C. 20515

Dear Mr. Landgrebe:

Thank you for your letter of April 26 to the Secretary, enclosing material sent to you by the Concerned Chinese Association at Indiana University. We appreciate the opportunity of seeing the material and of providing you with the United States position with respect to the status of the Senkaku Islands, or Tiaoyutai Islands as they are known in Chinese.

The Senkaku Islands are a small group of uninhabited coral reefs located approximately 130 statute miles northeast of Keelung, Taiwan and 80 miles from Iromote, the nearest inhabited island in the Ryukyuan chain. Under Article III of the 1951 Treaty of Peace with Japan, the United States acquired administrative rights over "Nansei Shoto," south of 29 degrees north latitude. This term was understood to include the Senkaku Islands which were under Japanese administration at the end of the Second World War and which are not otherwise specifically referred to in the Treaty.

As a result of an agreement reached by President Nixon and Prime Minister Sato of Japan in 1969, the United States is expected to return to Japan in 1972 the administrative rights to Nansei Shoto it acquired under the Treaty. Japan will then have whatever rights it had prior to the transfer of administrative authority. We consider that any conflicting claims to the Senkaku Islands are a matter for resolution by the parties concerned.

A geophysical survey made in 1968 for the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE) by a group of scientists from the United States, Japan, the Republic of China and the Republic of Korea, revealed that the subsoil of the continental shelf in the Yellow and East China Seas may hold

Pol 32-6 SENKAKU JS

EA/ROC: ME McDonnell

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By Mr NARA Date 1-10-95



rich oil reserves. Japan and the Republic of China are among the states asserting claims to rights over portions of the shelf. There has been no agreement concerning division of the shelf among its several claimants.

The Senkaku Islands are located near areas of the shelf under which oil deposits are thought to lie. However, to date no oil domes have been located on the shelf and no oil has been removed. Surveys to locate oil are now being undertaken by private firms over wide reaches of the Yellow and East China Seas.

International law is unclear to what extent small islets, like the Senkakus, should be taken into account in determining what share of the continental shelf should go to the state having sovereignty over the islets. The Republic of China, Japan and the People's Republic of China have all claimed the Senkakus. The Republic of China may be assumed to deny the right of the government at Peking to make claims in behalf of China. Peking, similarly, denies the right of Taipei to make such claims.

If I may be of further assistance, please do not hesitate to call on me.

Sincerely yours,

*GW/CS/6*

David M. Abshire  
Assistant Secretary for  
Congressional Relations

Enclosure:

Correspondence returned

Clearances:

EA - *Wm*  
EA/ROC - Mr. Shoesmith

*OK*  
H - Mr. Prentice

EA/ROC:MEMcDonnell: bds 5/3/71 x21321

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By *MA* NARA Date 11-10-95



LANDGREBE  
DISTRICT, INDIANA  
38 HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING

Congress of the United States  
House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C. 20515  
April 26, 1971

COMMITTEES  
EDUCATION AND LABOR  
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA  
TELEPHONE 202-225-5777

65

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ACTION  
is assigned to

P/MS

Hon. William P. Rogers  
Secretary of State  
U.S. Department of State  
2201 C Street, N.W.  
Washington, D. C. 20520

7106259

Dear Mr. Secretary:

✓ The enclosed material was sent to me  
by the Concerned Chinese Association at Indiana  
University. I am forwarding it for your infor-  
mation and comment.

Sincerely,

*Earl F. Landgrebe*

Earl F. Landgrebe

EFL/cmm  
Enclosure

Doc 32-6 Senkaku Is.

RECEIVED  
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

1971 APR 27 AM 11 20

RS/AN  
ANALYSIS BRANCH

*Encl att  
Re Sovereignty of  
TAIO-YU-T'AI (Senkaku Islands)*

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By MRA Date 1-10-9



DS-1563

DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT**ACTION SLIP**

(To Remain With Correspondence)

CONTROL NO.

7106259

S/S

TO

EA - Mr. Lawson

DATE

4/29/71

SUBJECT

Landgrebe letter to S of 4/26/71 forwarding monograph on Chinese sovereignty over Tiao-yu-t'ai Islands

**ACTION**

\*Prompt handling is essential. Return basic correspondence with reply. If delayed call telephone extension below.

For appropriate action.

For direct reply. Comeback copy required

A response for signature by the H - Mr. Abshire

XXX Prepare reply.

Clear with

Prepare a to

Refer to White House request of


H

XXX Due in ~~XX~~ by May 4 - Please mark comeback copy for S/S-S to be returned by H after signature.


For your information.

REMARKS

COPIES TO

H - Mr. Weiss  
S - Mr. Taylorw/att  
"  
Parker Borg 21522  
SECRETARIAT STAFF  
EXT.

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By  NARA Date 1-10-95



Note 12

「原文件下部欠落」

CONCERNED CHINESE ASSOCIATION

Indiana University  
514 E. Seventh Street  
Bloomington, Indiana 47401

April 3, 1971

Dear Sir:

Please excuse us for taking this liberty in writing to you on the issue of Tiao-yü-t'ai, an issue which has made the headlines in Chinese, Japanese, and European newspapers in the past few months, an issue which has become the general concern of Chinese students all over the United States. Special committees have been formed; intensive research has been carried out; numerous pamphlets have been published, and peaceful demonstrations have taken place in various big cities across the country--viz., New York, Chicago, San Francisco, Seattle, and Los Angeles. National demonstrations have been planned for April 9, 1971 (Friday) in San Francisco, and for April 10, 1971 (Saturday) in Washington, D.C.

The Chinese students here are resolved to defend the sovereignty of China over the Tiao-yü-t'ai Islands because they properly belong to China. Also, recent examples of oil spills along the American coasts indicate that any development of subsea oil deposits, if not handled with extreme care, will have disastrous ecological consequences. In view of this, the proximity of the Tiao-yü-t'ai Islands to China dictates that the Chinese must not run the risk of having a foreign power control the oil industry around Tiao-yü-t'ai.

It must be emphasized that our resolution to defend Tiao-yü-t'ai against foreign imperialism transcends ideological boundaries. This is not without precedent. In the Sino-Indian border dispute of 1962, the Nationalist government supported the Peoples' Republic of China in the latter's territorial claim. In the same manner, we defend Tiao-yü-t'ai not for any particular regime, but for China herself. To us, China is much more than a regime. She is the sum of all her people, her four thousand years of history and her culture. To us, the Tiao-yü-t'ai incident is not so much a question of oil or profit, but a question of Chinese territorial integrity and the dignity of the Chinese people. On this issue, all Chinese are united.

Nor is the Tiao-yü-t'ai affair only the concern of the Chinese people. It is not just an isolated incident but is part of a scheme to exploit the vast quantities of oil deposits in the South China Sea, from Korea through Taiwan, Vietnam, Cambodia, Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia, etc. It is only the latest manifestation of Japanese imperialism and the resurgence of Japanese militarism. It is also the manifestation of the present Asian policy of the United States: to promote Japan into sharing the U.S.'s burden in the western Pacific--as the watchdog of Asia. Thus, we urge all peace-loving people of the world, especially Japanese and American, to join us in this movement to uphold justice and to defeat imperialism and militarism.

The enclosed report is the result of the collaborated efforts of Chinese students across the United States, the result of months of research. We hope you will look through it carefully, and decide for yourself where justice lies.

Thank you for your attention to this affair.

Sincerely,

Concerned Chinese Association

Note in copy form

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By Mr. NARA Date 1-10-95

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April 3, 1971

THE SOVEREIGNTY OF TIAO-YÜ-T'AI (SENKAKU GUNTO)

"with the sniff of oil in the air, this is no longer  
just an academic question for the international lawyers."

-The Guardian (12-18-70)

The current dispute over the uninhabited islands of Tiao-yü-t'ai raises two questions: (1) which state holds sovereignty over these islands, and (2) which state holds the right to the natural resources of the seabed on which these islands lie.

According to the 1958 Convention on the Continental Shelf,<sup>1</sup> it was agreed that (1) (Article I) the term "continental shelf" is used as referring (a) to the seabed and subsoil of the submarine areas adjacent to the coast but outside the area of the territorial sea, to a depth of 200 metres or, beyond that limit, to where the depth of the superjacent waters admits of the exploitation of the natural resources of the said areas; (b) to the seabed and subsoil of similar submarine areas adjacent to the coasts of islands, and (2) (Article II) the coastal State exercises over the continental shelf sovereign rights for the purpose of exploring it and exploiting its natural resources.

The islands of Tiao-yü-t'ai lie on the edge of the continental shelf extending from Mainland China, who, according to the agreements quoted above, would have sovereign right to its natural resources. If, however, the islands belong to Japan, then she can invoke Article VI, paragraph 2, of the Convention: "Where the same continental shelf is adjacent to the territories of two adjacent States, the boundary of the continental shelf shall be determined by agreement between them. In the absence of agreement, and unless another boundary line is justified by special circumstances, the boundary shall be determined by application of the principle of equidistance from the nearest point of the baselines from which the breadth of the territorial sea of each State is measured."

According to the report of the UN-sponsored Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East made after extensive surveys in 1968 and 1969, "the shallow sea floor between Japan and the Republic of China may contain substantial resources of petroleum, perhaps comparable to the Persian Gulf area." A spokesman for the U.S. Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution, which conducted the U.N. survey, said that the 80,000 sq. mile Taiwan basin has late Tertiary sediments more than 6,500 ft. thick.<sup>2</sup> The islands of Tiao-yü-t'ai lie within this area.

Mr. Barry Weisberg, co-director of the Bay Area Institute in San Francisco, says in his article "The U.S. Oil Involvement in Asia"<sup>3</sup> that

Ecologically, Southeast Asian crude oil is important because of its extremely low sulfur content--less than two-thirds of 1 per cent. The Administration is contemplating a tax on the sulfur content of fuel, and there is thus a reason for the industry to call low-sulfur fuels "sweet."

These events [oil rush in the West Pacific] will no doubt shape the destiny of the entire Pacific Basin. Petroleum today represents 70 per cent of all U.S. investments in Third World Nations. This explains the statement by The Washington Post on October 4, 1969: "What

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terest and more permanent consequence to a country . . . than what happens on the seventh floor of the State Department."

This being the case, the importance of the Tiao-yü-t'ai incident is not to be overlooked. The present dispute may have repercussions not only in the economic sphere but also in the maintenance of world peace, and therefore the question of sovereignty over the islands must be dealt with most carefully.

### The Question of Sovereignty

Altogether, five governments are involved in this dispute--viz., the Taiwan government (of the Republic of China), the Peking government (of the Peoples' Republic of China), the Tokyo government (of Japan), the Ryukyu government (of the Ryukyu Islands), and the U.S. government. Since, in effect, both the Taiwan government and the Peking government are claiming the islands for the Chinese people,<sup>4</sup> while the interests of the Tokyo government and the Ryukyu government are identical,<sup>5</sup> these four governments can be conveniently grouped under two separate fronts--the Chinese and the Japanese--without much distortion of facts. The U.S. government, as the present administering authority over these islands, also plays an important part in this affair. In the following, the reasons offered by each front to support its claim are summarized and the attitude of the U.S. government briefly outlined before we attempt at an analysis of the case.

Reasons for the Chinese claim. (1) Historically, Tiao-yü-t'ai was mentioned in Chinese texts as early as 1403, and has been repeatedly referred to as part of Chinese territory since 1534.<sup>6</sup> (2) Geographically, Tiao-yü-t'ai lies on the edge of China's continental shelf and is separated from the Ryukyu Islands by a trench over 2000 meters deep. Also, the northeasterly current in the East China Sea has made the islands a natural ground for Taiwan rather than for Ryukyu fishermen. (See Fig. 1) (3) The domestic administration of the Japanese government before 1945 placed the islands of Tiao-yü-t'ai under the Taipei Prefecture, not under the Okinawa Prefecture.

Reasons for the Japanese claim. (1) Senkaku Gunto was first discovered by a Japanese in 1884 and officially made part of Ishigaki by the Japanese government in 1895.<sup>8</sup> (2) After the San Francisco Peace Treaty of 1951<sup>9</sup> came into effect, the Ryukyu Islands were separated from Japan. In the Report of the U.S. Civil Administration of the Ryukyu Islands, No. 27, the Senkaku Gunto is included in its administrative area. (3) The Ryukyu Islands--in its present boundary including the Senkaku Gunto--are scheduled to be returned to Japan in 1972, as a result of the 1969 agreement between Nixon and Sato.<sup>10</sup>

The attitude of the U.S. government. (1) The Senkaku Islands were intended to be included in the description contained in Article III of the 1951 Peace Treaty, under which the U.S. acquired administrative rights to the Ryukyu Islands.<sup>11</sup> (2) Japan was meant to retain residual sovereignty over the Ryukyus, and the administrative rights of the U.S. government are now anticipated to terminate in 1972.<sup>12</sup> (3) Japan will then have full right to her territories, and the U.S. government considers that any conflicting claims to the Senkaku Islands are a matter for resolution by the parties concerned.<sup>13</sup>

Analysis. The following analysis is based on facts and documents we have come across in our research work.<sup>14</sup>

#### A. Historical Evidence

(1) The Chinese people have been closely related to the islands of Tiao-yü-

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indicate.

- (2) Reference to these islands never appeared in Japanese historical texts or government documents before 1884, and, in any case, that year only marks the first "discovery" of the islands by a Japanese--who had already been preceded by numerous other Chinese "discoverers."
- (3) After the Prefect of Okinawa learned of the 1884 "discovery", he applied in the following year to the Japanese government for permission to claim these islands. The Japanese government, not wishing to jeopardize the negotiations it was then having with China over the Ryukyu Islands,<sup>15</sup> postponed the issue. The application was made again in 1890, and again postponed. It was not until 1895, on the eve of Japan's victory in the Sino-Japanese War, that the application was finally accepted in a cabinet meeting of the Japanese government.<sup>16</sup> The interesting question here is: if Japan had not considered the islands of Tiao-yü-t'ai as part of China's territory, why did she take so much precaution in claiming the islands until she was sure of her victory over China?
- (4) In the negotiations with China over the Ryukyu Islands referred to in (3) above, the islands of Tiao-yü-t'ai were not mentioned at all in a partition plan suggested by U.S. ex-President Grant.<sup>17</sup> Obviously, the Tiao-yü-t'ai Islands were not considered as part of the Ryukyus.
- (5) In a comprehensive and detailed Atlas and Dictionary of Place Names in Japanese Territory published by the Geographical Society of Japan in 1939,<sup>18</sup> the islands of Tiao-yü-t'ai cannot be found. Nor did these islands appear in other Japanese atlases or government reports.<sup>19</sup> Apparently, the Japanese have forgotten about these islands after claiming them in 1895.
- (6) In atlases published by other countries, the Chinese name for these islands--Tiao-yü-t'ai--was used consistently until after the Second World War, when the invention "Senkaku Gunto" began to appear.<sup>20</sup>

#### B. Geographical Evidences

- (1) Tiao-yü-t'ai does not form part of the Ryukyu chain, but rather marks the outermost limit of the continental shelf extending from mainland China. It lies 100 miles away from the Yaeyama-Miyako group, and about 240 miles from Okinawa Gunto, and is separated from these other island groups by a trench over 2000 meters deep.
- (2) The flow of the current in this area being northeasterly, it is much easier for Taiwan fishermen going with the current to reach the Tiao-yü-t'ai Islands than it would have been for Ryukyu fishermen, who would have to go across the current. As a result, the fishing grounds around the Tiao-yü-t'ai Islands have been monopolized by Taiwan fishermen for centuries. In 1958, fishermen from the Ilan district (in northeastern Taiwan) brought home 12,000 tons of mackerel (2/3 of the total production in the Ilan district) totalling NT. 70,000,000 in worth. Currently each year, about 300 boats from Suao (in the Ilan district) make a living out of the Tiao-yü-t'ai fishing grounds, and the products they bring home support local canning industries.<sup>21</sup>
- (3) Considering the above two factors, to include Tiao-yü-t'ai as part of the Ryukyu Islands is to ignore grossly the geographical circumstances and the meagre livelihood of the Taiwan fishermen.

#### C. The Legal Side

- (1) The Japanese claim of the islands of Tiao-yü-t'ai in 1895 was a unilateral action without support from any bilateral agreement with China.
- (2) When the Treaty of Shimonosaki was concluded between China and Japan in 1896, the Japanese Congress defined the Tiao-yü-t'ai Islands as part of the territories of cession.<sup>22</sup> So, according to Article IV of the 1952

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Sino-Japanese Treaty<sup>23</sup> which revoked all the treaties signed between the two countries before 1941; the Tiao-yü-t'ai Islands should be restored to Chinese sovereignty.

- (3) During Japanese occupation of Taiwan, there had been a Japanese Supreme Court case which ruled that the Tiao-yü-t'ai Islands are part of the Taipei Prefecture, not part of the Ryukyus. During the same period, permit to fish in the adjacent waters of the Tiao-yü-t'ai Islands had to be obtained from the Taipei district authority.<sup>24</sup> From these facts, we can infer that even the Japanese themselves delineated these islands as part of Taiwan.
- (4) With regard to the San Francisco Peace Treaty in 1951, the following points must be noted:
  - (a) In Article III, the trusteeship territory of the U.S. was not defined to the point of specificity required by international law, because the boundaries of the Ryukyu Islands, Daito Islands, etc., have never been legally defined. Without an attached grid map to the peace treaties, the islands that dot the East China Sea would easily become a point of dispute. The present Tiao-yü-t'ai affair is exactly a consequence of this vagueness in definition.
  - (b) The U.S. Department of State declares that the description contained in Article III "was intended to include the Senkaku Islands." Was that intention, we must ask, clearly conveyed to the Chinese, who should have been a necessary party to such territorial arrangements?
  - (c) Similarly, the intention of allowing Japan "residual sovereignty" over the Ryukyu Islands, etc., is not stated in the terms of the Treaty.
  - (d) Neither the Peking government nor the Taiwan government was signatories to this Peace Settlement, nor was any one of these governments represented in the Peace Conference held that year.<sup>25</sup> We cannot but question the fairness of such a settlement, where Chinese interests were not represented at all when one of the most important issues was Sino-Japanese relationship.
  - (e) The report of a sub-committee of the House Naval Affairs Committee published in August, 1945, recommended that the U.S. should, besides taking outright the Japanese-mandated islands and the outlying Japanese islands, assume "authority over strategic islands in the Pacific."<sup>26</sup> Could it be possible that, influenced by the attitude suggested in this report, the U.S. government, when marking out districts to be placed under its administration and trusteeship, have allowed strategic considerations to overshadow the rights of Allied Nations?
- (5) In the Sino-Japanese Treaty, which reiterated the terms in the San Francisco Treaty, signed between Japan and the Taiwan government (on behalf of China) seven months after the 1951 Peace Settlement, the Tiao-yü-t'ai Islands were not mentioned either. It must be remembered, however, that
  - (a) this Peace Treaty was made with two documents in the background--the Cairo Declaration of 1943, and the Potsdam Proclamation of 1945, which Japan accepted unconditionally on its surrender. By these two memorandums of the Allied Powers, Japanese territory was "limited to the islands of Honshu, Hokkaido, Kyushu, Shikoku and such minor islands as we determine."<sup>27</sup> If China had been represented in the 1951 Peace Conference, she would have had a chance to oppose the implication of "residual sovereignty" of Article III. As the facts appeared in 1952, the southern boundary of Japan was separated from the northeastern boundary of Taiwan by the U.S. administrative area of the Ryukyus. Any settlement of the boundary of Taiwan would then have to be made with the U.S., not with Japan.

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- (b) in a letter to U.S. Ambassador John Foster Dulles in 1951, Japanese Prime Minister Yoshida made it clear "that Japan ultimately desired political and commercial relations with mainland China and regarded the treaty with the Nationalists as an interim arrangement with the regime having 'the seat, the voice, and vote of China in the United Nations . . . and actual governmental authority over certain territory . . . and diplomatic relations with most of the members of the United Nations.'"<sup>28</sup> This being the attitude of the Japanese government at that time, we cannot help questioning the validity of this treaty as the sole determining force in such territorial dispute as the present issue.
- (6) Although the Chinese have allowed the Tiao-yü-t'ai Islands to be included in the U.S. Civil Administration of the Ryukyu Islands, the following circumstances must be taken into consideration:
- (a) "By the time of the Japanese Peace Treaty in 1951, the dimensions of the Communist threat in the western Pacific were apparent."<sup>29</sup> Here, the interests of the U.S. government and the Taiwan government were common insofar as Communism was their mutual enemy. In a sense, the entire eastern coastal seas of mainland China have been under the protection of the U.S. Seventh Fleet. What does it matter whether the Tiao-yü-t'ai Islands are included in the U.S. administrative area, so long as the livelihood of the Taiwan fishermen is not interfered with? To have the islands turned over to the Japanese would be a different question.
- (b) From the Chinese point of view, the Western practice of putting everything in black and white is not all-important.<sup>30</sup> To them, history, geography, and actual circumstances have combined to make their ownership of the islands a reality. For centuries, Chinese fishermen have frequented these islands uninterfered with and unchallenged by any other countries until the recent dispute started. Nor was China the only party which think that the Chinese own the islands, since, prior to Japanese protests, several American oil companies have entered into agreement with the Chinese to explore the area.<sup>31</sup>

In view of the factors listed above, we do not think that it is fair to subject the settlement of the current dispute to the implications of the above-mentioned treaties. Historical, geographical and actual circumstances should be taken into consideration in determining the question of the sovereignty of the Tiao-yü-t'ai Islands. We are not denying the validity of the Western concept of the Rule of the Law, for we believe that this concept was built on the basis of justice. But we must condemn the practice of using that concept to justify territorial aggrandizement at the expense of the sovereign rights of other nations. What, indeed, are such treaties backed by Might, but "scraps of paper"?

The sense of justice, however, we believe to lie in every man's heart. In such an important issue that touches not only China, and Japan, but also the United States and other countries in the world, full consideration of the long-term economic and political developments must be taken into account. The United States government is now faced with the dilemma of the "two Chinas"; this timely issue will give it an opportunity to make clear its position. It will also, we hope, give it an opportunity to think twice before committing the security of the western Pacific in the hands of the Japanese government.

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Fig. 2: Oil rush in Area between Taiwan and Korea

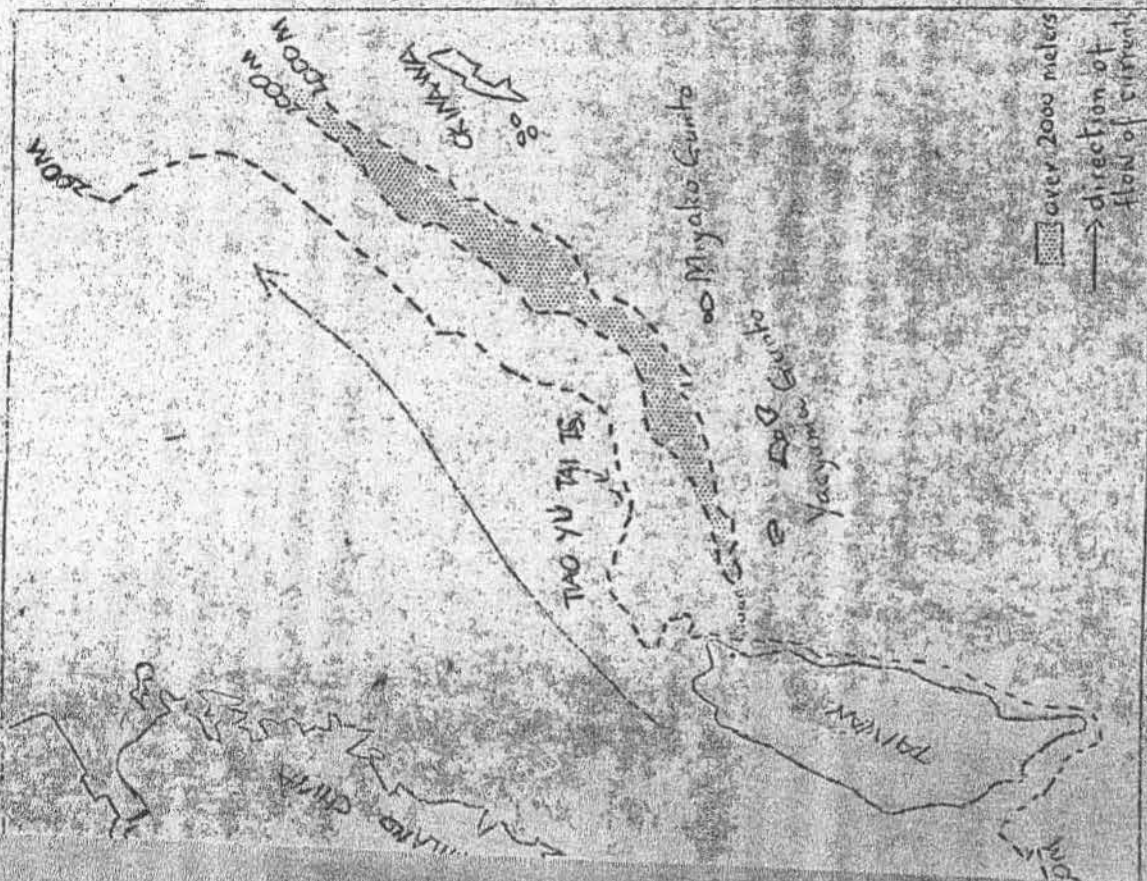


Fig. 1: Sea water depths near Taiwan and the Ryukyu Islands

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## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>U.N. Doc. A/CONF. 13/L.55).

<sup>2</sup>The Oil and Gas Journal, August 10, 1970, p. 83.

<sup>3</sup>Originally entitled "Offshore Oil Boom," in The Nation, March 8, 1971. Reprinted in the Tiao-yu Tai Special, March 1971, by the National Diao-yu Islands Action Committee - Berkeley Chapter.

<sup>4</sup>The Peking government was silent in the initial stages of the dispute, when the Taiwan government invoked the Geneva agreement to defend its claim of the Tiao-yu-t'ai Islands. Apparently, it is because the Taiwan government was still defending China's interests. Later, responding to the Japanese move for joint exploration of the seabed with Taiwan and South Korea, Peking claimed the islands as part of the Taiwan province of China (Jen Min Jih Pao, 12-29-70).

<sup>5</sup>Since the Ryukyu government, according to the Nixon-Sato Agreement (see note 10 below), is expected to be incorporated into the Tokyo government in 1972.

<sup>6</sup>In the 1403 edition of San Feng Hsiang Sung (a navigator's map of the early Ming Dynasty), the name Tiao-yu-t'ai first appeared. In Shih Liu-chiu Le (Summary Report of the Mission to the Ryukyus) by Ch'en Chook in 1534, the following passage appears:

On the tenth day of the fifth month, the south wind was very strong. The boat(s) went flying forth, but, being with the current, it remained quite stable. We passed the Ping-chia-shan, Tiao-yu-ssu, Wang-wei-ssu, Chih-wei-ssu [the last three are among the islands presently under dispute], one after another so quickly that our eyes could hardly take note of all of them. . . . In the evening of the eleventh day, we saw K'u-mi-shan [Kume], which belongs to the Ryukyus. Indirectly, Ch'en Chook is saying that the other islands he has previously mentioned -- the Tiao-yu-t'ai Islands included -- did not belong to the Ryukyus. In 1562, Kuo Yu-lin's report on his mission to the Ryukyus describes the Ch'ih-ssu (Ch'ih-wei-ssu) as the island marking the boundary of the Ryukyus. In 1785, the map of the Ryukyu Islands in Lin Tse-p'ing's San-Kuo tung-lan t'u-sho Liu-chiu pu-fun t'u specifies that the Yaeyama Gunto is administered by the Ryukyu government, but leaves the Tiao-yu-t'ai, Wang-wei-ssu and Ch'ih-wei-ssu unspecified -- implying that these islands do not belong to the Ryukyus.

<sup>7</sup>Chung-yang jiu pao (8-30-70). According to Mr. Tse She-ko, Director of the Chilung Fisheries Association, there was a dispute in 1940-41 between the Taipei Prefecture and the Okinawa Prefecture over the administrative rights to the fishing grounds around the Tiao-yu-t'ai Islands. The dispute was carried to the Tokyo Supreme Court. After an investigation lasting for a year, the court decided in favor of Taipei. Since then, fishing permits to the area have to be obtained from the Water Products Association (which later developed into the present Chilung Fisheries Association) in Cheelung.

<sup>8</sup>As declared in the Ryukyu government's "Declaration Claiming the Senkaku Gunto", printed in the Asahi Shimbun (9-10-70).

<sup>9</sup>The San Francisco Peace Treaty is a multilateral agreement between Japan and the Allied Powers (except U.S.S.R. and China) as a conclusion to the Second World War, which in effect ended six years before.

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<sup>10</sup>"Joint Communique, Nixon-Sato at Washington, 11-12-1969", U.S. State Department Bulletin (1969), pp. 551-559.

<sup>11</sup>Article III of the Peace Treaty reads as follows:

Japan will concur in any proposal of the United States to the United Nations to place under its trusteeship system, with the United States as the sole administering authority, Nansei Shoto south of 29 north latitude (including the Ryukyu Islands and the Daito Islands), Nanpo Shoto of Sofu Gan (including the Bonin Islands, Rosario Islands and the Volcano Islands), and Parece Vela and Marcus Island. Pending the making of such a proposal and affirmative action thereon, the United States will have the right to exercise all and any powers of administration, legislation and jurisdiction over the territory and inhabitants, of these islands, including their territorial waters.

In a letter from the U.S. Department of State in reply to a Chinese student's letter to Nixon (reprinted in Brief Report on Tiao-yu-t'ai - U.S. East Coast, No. 3, 3-8-70), the U.S. Government's opinion is: "As used in the Treaty, the term refers to all islands south of 29° north latitude which were under Japanese administration at the end of the Second World War and which were not otherwise specifically referred to in the Treaty. This description was intended to include the Senkaku Islands."

<sup>12</sup>See Note 10 above.

<sup>13</sup>see letter from Department of State referred to in note 11 above.

<sup>14</sup>The sources of our information are chiefly the following:

Ming Pao yueh-k'ian (a monthly journal published in Hong Kong), No. 58 (Oct., 1970), pp. 79-85;

United Quarterly, Research and Development Department, New York, February, 1971;

Peking Review, 1-11-70;

Jen-min jih-pao, 12-29-70;

The Guardian (Manchester, England), 12-18-70;

Asahi Shimbun (Japan), 9-10-70;

The New York Times, 1-30-71;

Shirley Jenkins, Our Far Eastern Record: The War Years, American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1946;

U.N. Treaty Series;

U.S. Department of State Bulletin.

<sup>15</sup>Chung-yang jih-pao, 9-13-70.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid.; also see "The Ryukyu Islands: Pawn of the Pacific," Ralph Braibanti, in American Political Science Review, XLVIII (Dec., 1954), pp. 981, and Payson J. Treat, Diplomatic Relations between the United States and Japan (Stanford, 1932), Vol. 2, pp. 101-3.

<sup>18</sup>Ming-pao yueh-k'ian, op. cit., p. 81.

<sup>19</sup>e.g., in the Annual Report of the Production of the Okinawa Prefecture, the 1965 Survey Report of the Temporary Situation of the State, the geological map of the Yaeyama Gunto, and the Statistics of the Ryukyus by the District Department of the Yaeyama Gunto.

<sup>20</sup>e.g., in the AndreschandAtlas, 4th edition (Germany, 1900), p. 140, and in The Encyclopaedia Britannica (Univ. of Chicago, 1940) Vol. 27, p. 60.

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<sup>21</sup>Ming-pao yueh-k'an, p. 81.

<sup>22</sup>Tiao-yu-t'ai Special, op.cit., p. 4.

<sup>23</sup>Article IV of the Sino-Japanese Treaty reads as follows:

It is recognized that all treaties, conventions and agreements concluded before December 9, 1941, between China and Japan have become null and void as a consequence of the war.

<sup>24</sup>Tiao-yu-t'ai Special, op. cit., p. 4.

<sup>25</sup>Statement by John Foster Dulles made on behalf of the U.S. Delegation at the second plenary session of the San Francisco Conference for the Conclusion and Signature of the Peace Treaty, p. 458.

<sup>26</sup>Study of Pacific Bases, A Report by the Subcommittee on Pacific Bases of the Committee on Naval Affairs, House of Representatives, Seventy-ninth Congress, 1st session, pp. 1014-1015.

<sup>27</sup>See Young Hum Kim, East Asia's Turbulent Century - With American Diplomatic Documents (New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1966), p.295 and pp. 297-8.

<sup>28</sup>See Douglas H. Mendel, Jr., "Japanese Policy and Views Toward Formosa," Journal of Asian Studies, Vol. 28, No. 3 (May, 1969), pp. 514-15.

<sup>29</sup>See Whitney T. Perkins, Denial of Empire: The U.S. and Its Dependencies (A. W. Sythoff-Leyden, 1962), p. 336.

<sup>30</sup>See Ralph Braibanti, op. cit., pp. 975-981, for another example of the difference between traditional Chinese diplomacy and the political and juridical concepts of Western international relations.

<sup>31</sup>The Oil And Gas Journal, August 24, 1970; also see Fig. 2, from Barry Weisberg's article in The Nation, op. cit.

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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FM AMEMBASSY TAIPEI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2624  
INFO AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
AMCONSUL HONG KONG  
HICOMRY

UNCLAS TAIPEI 2247

SUBJECT: ARTILLERY TESTING SITE ON THE SENKAKUS

WOULD APPRECIATE GUIDANCE ON QUESTION TAKEN BY DEPARTMENT  
SPOKESMAN MAY 11 ON ARTILLERY TESTING SITE ON THE SENKAKUS.  
MCCONAUGHY

TAIPEI 2247 5/12/71

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ACTION EA-20

INFO OCT-01 6SO-00 CCO-00 USIE-00 PM-05 NSC-10 SS-20

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DELIVERY OPENING OF BUSINESS

SUBJ: SENKAKU JAPANESE PRESS REPORTS RE US GUNNERY RANGES

DA FOR DUSA; DOD FOR ISA

1. JAPANESE PRESS AND TV TODAY CARRIED REPORTS ATTRIBUTED TO FONOFF SOURCES THAT US HAS ASKED GOJ FOR RETENTION AFTER REVERSION OF TWO US NAVY GUNNERY RANGES IN SENKAKU. AREAS ARE REPORTEDLY CLEARLY DESIGNATED ON US MILITARY MAP OF OKINAWA INSTALLATIONS. MEDIA SPECULATES THAT ALTHOUGH US POSITION IS NOT RPT NOT TO BECOME INVOLVED IN SENKAKU SOVEREIGNTY DISPUTE, REQUEST FOR RETENTION OF GUNNERY RANGES MAY ADD SOME SUPPORT TO GOJ POSITION.

2. COMMENT: US NAVY DOES IN FACT HAVE GUNNERY RANGES AT KOBI AND SEKIBI IN SENKAKU (SHOWN ON UNCLASSIFIED MAP "US INSTALLATIONS AND FACILITIES IN THE RYUKYUS"), WHICH

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5-12-71



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ARE INCLUDED IN LIST OF SITES WHICH US HAS SUBMITTED TO  
GOJ FOR JOINT COMMITTEE DESIGNATION AS FACILITIES AND AREAS  
UNDER SOFA UPON REVERSION. JAPANESE PRESS OBVIOUSLY LEANING  
OVER BACKWARD TO SUGGEST THAT US INTENT TO RETAIN RANGES  
POST REVERSION UNDER TERMS OF US-GOJ SOFA SOMEHOW  
MEANS IMPLICIT US SUPPORT OF GOJ CLAIM TO SENKAKUS.  
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*POL 32-6 SENKAKU IS*

## DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: TAIPEI

INFO: Hong Kong, Tokyo

SUBJECT: Artillery Testing Site on Senkakus

REF: Taipei 2247 *POL 32-6 Senkaku Is*

1. Following guidance prepared for Department spokesman has not been used to date:

2. Question. Could you confirm report that US forces have an artillery testing site on Senkaku Islands?

3. Answer. US Navy does, in fact, have gunnery ranges at Kobisho and Sekibisho in Senkakus. ~~shown on unclassified map with installations and facilities in the Ryukyu Islands~~. They are used infrequently for training purposes.

4. Background: These ranges are included in a list of sites which US has submitted to Japan for Joint Committee designation as facilities and areas under SOFA upon reversion. We do not consider that this matter is related to question of sovereignty over Senkakus. End Background.

5. Question. Does US intend to retain these sites after reversion of Senkakus to Japan?

6. Answer. ~~Not a reversion question~~ If pressed: We are discussing with GJ possibility of continued US use of these practice sites after reversion. END

EA/ROC:MEMcDonnell:EA/J:HMcElroy

DRAFTING DATE

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APPROVED BY:

EA/ROC - Mr. Sho Smith

## CLEARANCES:

EA/P - Mr. Goshon

L/EA - Mr. Futterman

EA/ACA - Mr. Brown

EA/J - Mr. Erickson

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POL 32-6 SEN KAKU  
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APPROVED BY: S. S. ELIOT

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QUOTE

TAIPEI 2692

SUBJECT: SENKAKUS AND OKINAWA COMMENT ON GRC APPEAL  
FOR EXCLUSION OF SENKAKUS FROM REVERSION AGREEMENT.

REF: TAIPEI 2686

1. QUITE APART FROM MERITS OF CONFLICTING GOU AND GRC  
CLAIMS TO SOVEREIGNTY OVER SENKAKUS, AND NOTWITHSTANDING  
TARDINESS OF GRC DEMARCHE OF MAY 31, CASE FOR SEEKING FORMULA  
FOR DEFERMENT OF TRANSFER OF ADMINISTRATIVE CONTROL OVER  
SENKAKUS IS IMPRESSIVE ON PRACTICAL GROUNDS. GRC IS  
SUSTAINING SEVERE REVERSES AND DISAPPOINTMENTS FROM VARIOUS  
QUARTERS AND FINDS ITSELF IN A RATHER BELEAGUERED POSITION.  
SOME SORT OF PSYCHOLOGICAL BOOST TO MITIGATE THE SERIES OF  
DAMAGING BLOWS RECENTLY SUFFERED IS DESPERATELY NEEDED. AN  
ADDITIONAL SETBACK NOW ON THE SENKAKU ISSUE COULD FURTHER UNDER-  
MINE GRC PRESTIGE IN THE MINDS OF ITS NATIONALS OVERSEAS AND

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ENABLE PEKING TO ASSUME A MORE PLAUSIBLE POSE AS THE ONLY CHINESE GOVERNMENT CAPABLE OF HAVING ANY IMPACT IN DEFENSE OF CHINESE NATIONAL INTERESTS. THE LIKELIHOOD OF DEMONSTRATIONS AND DISORDERS AMONG CHINESE IN U.S. AND LOGALLY ON TAIWAN AS DESCRIBED BY GRC COMMINT IS PROBABLY OVERSTATED BUT THERE MAY BE A BASIS FOR ANTICIPATION OF SOME DISTURBANCES WHICH COULD PUT GRC MORE ON THE DEFENSIVE.

2. IT WILL BE NOTED FROM REE TEL THAT I GAVE NO ENCOURAGEMENT WHATEVER TO GRC TO HOPE THAT FAVORABLE ACTION COULD BE TAKEN ON ITS REQUEST. HOWEVER, IF WE ARE NOT YET FULLY COMMITTED TO INCLUSION OF SENKAKUS IN AGREEMENT, WE COULD STRIKE A TREMENDOUS BLOW IN A WORTHY CAUSE HERE BY ANNOUNCING A DEFERMENT OF DECISION ON THE QUESTION OF TRANSFER OF ADMINISTRATIVE CONTROL OF THE SENKAKUS AND SEPARATE IT OUT FROM THE RYUKYUS REVERSION AGREEMENT. SUCH ACTION COULD BE EXPLAINED ON A BASIS OF THE UNDESIRABILITY OF TRANSFERRING CONTROL BEFORE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE RIVAL CLAIMANTS HAVE BEEN ARRANGED AND WOULD BE BOLSTERED BY THE UNDOUBTED FACT THAT GEOGRAPHICALLY AND HISTORICALLY THE JAPANESE RELATIONSHIP TO THE SENKAKUS IS ON A DIFFERENT BASIS FROM ITS RELATIONSHIP TO THE REST OF THE ISLANDS COVERED BY THE DRAFT AGREEMENT.

3. I PRESUME THE DEPARTMENT WILL WISH TO INVITE THE COMMENTS OF EMBASSY TOKYO AND HICOMRY. I AM WELL AWARE THAT ANY CHANGE IN THE PROVISIONS OF THE AGREEMENT NOW WOULD POSE VERY DIFFICULT PROBLEMS FOR US IN JAPAN, BUT THE SUGGESTED ACTION IS PROBABLY THE ONLY HOPE FOR PREVAILING ON THE JAPANESE TO AGREE TO NEGOTIATE WITH THE GRC ON THIS ISSUE. FURTHERMORE, THE JAPANESE WILL KNOW THE PRESSING NEED AT THIS TRYING JUNCTURE FOR GESTURES TO BOLSTER GRC MORALE AND PRESTIGE.

GP-3 MCCONAUGHY UNQUOTE IRWIN

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**TELEGRAM** *B. 31*

INDICATE:

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## DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: Amembassy TAIPEI

INFO: Amembassy TOKYO  
" SEOUL  
Amconsul HONG KONG  
HICOMRY  
CINCPAC  
CINCPAC FOR POLADSUBJECT: GRC Representations on Reversion of Senkakus  
to JapanREF: (a) State 92888  
(b) Taipei 2666 *POL 32-6 Senkakus Is*  
(c) Taipei 2692 (NOTAL)

1. GRC Ambassador James Shen called June 4 on Assistant Secretary Green to raise issue of reversion of Senkakus to Japan.
2. Shen acknowledged receipt of our recent diplomatic note setting forth US position regarding status of Senkakus and our intention to turn over our rights to them to Japan (Ref A). He knew that US had reached basic understanding with Japan on terms of reversion agreement and would soon be submitting it to Senate. Nevertheless,

DRAFTED BY:

EA/ROC:MEMcDonnell

DRAFTING DATE

6/5/71

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APPROVED BY:

EA - Marshall Green

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## ACTION:

Shen said, he was under instructions from Foreign Minister Chow to inform US that reversion of Senkakus (he used Japanese name throughout conversation) would present GRC with serious situation. Referring to recent demonstrations by Chinese students against Senkaku reversion, he said GRC has reason to believe students are waiting for signing of Okinawa Reversion Agreement before staging new demonstrations. Feelings on subject in academic community in ROC and here were running high; community was using Senkakus as test of whether GRC can safeguard Chinese rights. If GRC failed, scholars would turn to Peking. Shen was therefore instructed to ask whether US as third party could think of way to avoid including Senkakus for the moment in Ryukyu reversion in order to give GRC time to work out some solution with Japan. If islands reverted, he said, GRC would be faced with fait

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## ACTION:

accompli difficult for GRC to handle at home and abroad. Shen said GRC was appealing to US on political, not legal grounds. US, he added, took over islands after Second World War/<sup>on</sup> behalf of allies, including GRC. US has strong moral obligation therefore to consider views of GRC.

3. Green said he would consider Shen's remarks and remarks of FonMin Chow to Ambassador McConaughy (Ref B). However, he did not want to give Ambassador impression that US can do otherwise than what it has said. US would imperil reversion agreement if it were now to exempt Senkakus, inclusion of which has been agreed upon. Reversion negotiations with Japanese have been narrowed to two or three remaining issues. Rapid conclusion of negotiations was necessary to allow Senate adequate time to consider agreement. US will return all rights acquired under Article 3 of Peace

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ACTION:

Treaty with Japan.

4. Green added that in talking earlier to former Ambassador Chow on this subject, he had commented that GRC should make its pitch to Japan, not US. Shen replied that Japan has already stated that matter was non-negotiable; once islands are turned over, Japan will certainly be even more rigid.

5. Then, indicating he was speaking without instructions, Shen suggested that US ask Japan to talk with GRC on Senkaku issue even though reversion negotiations essentially completed. Request might be made on basis that US was in difficult position vis-a-vis GRC.

6. Green replied he would consider suggestion. However, he made clear that he could not foresee US changing its basic stance on Senkaku reversion. If US were not to return a particular area, it would call into question

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ACTION:

sincerity of its negotiations. Green knew that dominant elements of LDP were sympathetic to GRC. As Green saw it, GRC problem is to demonstrate <sup>to Japan</sup> that there is something to talk about.

GP-3.

END

IRWIN

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OC/T - Please repeat Taipei 2692 to action addresses.

END

IRWIN

DRAFTED BY:

EA: MGreen:ej

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APPROVED BY:

S/S -

Mr. Elliot

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

EA

ROC

Return to EA S/S  
THROUGH  
June 7, 1971

TO: J - Ambassador Johnson LDX To WH-KISSINGER  
FROM: EA - Winthrop G. Brown JUNE 7.  
SUBJECT: Chronology of Events Relating to Status of  
the Senkaku Islands

PL + 4 Senkakus  
32-6

File  
JFK/Senkaku

In response to your request, there follows a  
chronology of events relating to the status of the  
Senkaku Islands:

1943 -- Cairo Declaration Strips Japan of Pacific  
Islands Seized or Occupied Since First World War

While the Cairo Declaration stated the "purpose" of  
the signatories that "all the territories Japan has  
stolen from the Chinese, such as Manchuria, Formosa, and  
the Pescadores, shall be restored to the Republic of  
China," it does not mention the Ryukyus or the Senkakus.

1945 -- Potsdam Declaration Limits Japanese Sover-  
eignty but Does Not Specify Senkakus

In the Potsdam Declaration of 1945, the signatories  
affirmed the terms of the Cairo Declaration shall be  
carried out and limited Japanese sovereignty to the four  
major islands of Japan and to "such minor islands as  
we determine." The Senkakus are not mentioned.

1951 -- US Acquires Administrative Rights to Senkakus  
Under Peace Treaty with Japan

Under Article 3 of the Peace Treaty, the US acquired  
administrative rights to "Nansei Shoto south of 29 degrees  
north latitude (including the Ryukyu Islands and the  
Daito Islands)."

The term "Nansei Shoto" was understood by the US and  
Japan on the basis of a 1939 Japanese map to include the  
Senkakus Islands which were being administered as a part  
of Okinawa prefecture. (The GRC note of March 15, 1971,  
acknowledges that the islands were included in Okinawa  
Prefecture after 1895.)

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EA/ROC: M E MC Donnell

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The US has been administering the Senkakus as part of the Ryukyus since the conclusion of the peace treaty.

1953 -- Civil Administration Proclamation No. 27  
Includes Senkakus in Ryukyuan Area Under US Administration

Proclamation No. 27 (US Civil Administration of the Ryukyu Islands, December 25, 1953) defined the territorial jurisdiction of the US Civil Administration of the Ryukyu Islands and the Government of the Ryukyu Islands as "all those islands, islets, atolls and rocks and territorial waters" within specific geographic coordinates that included the Senkaku Islands. (In an oral presentation on September 15, 1970 and in its note of March 15, 1971 the GRC took the position that it did not challenge the inclusion of the Senkakus in the US administration of the Ryukyus since it regarded our military presence in the Ryukyus as important to the maintenance of regional security.)

1968 -- ECAFE Geophysical Survey Indicates Possible  
Oil Deposits Under Yellow and East China Seas

The ECAFE survey, made by a group of scientists from the United States, Japan, the Republic of China, and South Korea, found that the continental shelf in the Yellow and East China Seas may be one of the richest oil reserves in the world. The Senkaku Islands lie in an area that gives promise of oil resources. Japanese interest in affirming sovereignty over the Senkakus probably was inspired by the possibility that it could thereby strengthen its claim to a portion of the continental shelf.

Fall of 1968 -- GOJ Requests USG to Remove Chinese  
from Senkakus

Japan protested that the United States was not taking adequate measures to protect Japan's residual sovereignty over the Senkakus. Japan objected to the presence of Chinese from Taiwan while they salvaged a stranded vessel.

At our request, the Government of the Republic of China (GRC) agreed to see to it that Chinese going there followed appropriate entry procedures.

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Spring of 1969 -- Ryukyuan Government Posts Signs Regarding Administrative Jurisdiction of Senkakus

The Government of the Ryukyu Islands posted signs on the Senkakus proclaiming them to be under administration of the Ryukyu Islands.

November 21, 1969 -- Nixon-Sato Communique Agreeing to Okinawan Reversion

The GRC insisted that it should be consulted on reversion but did not raise the specific question of the Senkakus.

July 17, 1970 - GRC Claims Natural Resources of Unspecified Area of Continental Shelf

The GRC announced that it could exercise its sovereign right over all natural resources in the seafloor and its subsoil in the vicinity of the coast of the Republic of China and beyond its territorial waters. The statement was preparatory to the announcement of large concession zones.

July 20, 1970 - Japan Claims Senkakus

In a note to the GRC (not revealed to us) the GOJ apparently asserted its claims to sovereignty over the Senkakus.

August, 1970 -- Japan States Claim Publicly

In a statement to the Upper House of the Diet, Foreign Minister Aichi stated that the GOJ consistently has claimed the Senkakus as part of Nansei Shoto and, therefore, of the area over which it has residual sovereignty.

July 28, 1970 -- GRC Assigns to Gulf Concession Area That Includes Senkakus

The GRC-owned China Petroleum Corporation signed a contract with Gulf for joint exploration and exploitation of an area of the continental shelf including the Senkakus.

August 21, 1970 -- GRC Ratifies 1958 Continental Shelf Convention With Reservation Applying to Senkakus

The GRC ratified the 1958 Convention on the Continental Shelf with a reservation providing that "in determining

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the boundary of the continental shelf of the Republic of China, exposed rocks and islets shall not be taken into account." In effect, the GRC was stating that, even if Japan should claim the Senkakus, sovereignty over them would not entitle Japan to a share of the shelf.

September 2, 1970 -- Taipei Journalists Plant Flag on Senkakus

A group of journalists from Taipei's China Times and the crewmen of their vessel planted the flag of the Republic of China on Uotsuri, the largest of the Senkaku Islands. The GRC said the act had not been done at its direction. The flag was removed a few days later with US approval, by a Ryukyuan patrol.

September 10, 1970 -- State Department Gives US Position on the Status of the Senkakus

In answer to a press question, the Department spokesman said the US intends to return the Senkakus to Japanese administration under the Nixon-Sato agreement but considers any conflicting claims to be a matter for resolution by the parties concerned.

September 15, 1970 -- Vice Foreign Minister Shen, in an oral presentation to Ambassador McConaughy, rejected Japan's claim to sovereignty and urged that the USG avoid statements on this subject. He did not assert a GRC claim or raise the question of reversion.

September 16, 1970 -- Mr. Green confirmed to Ambassador Chow Shu-kai that we consider the Senkakus to be part of the Ryukyus but take no position on the dispute between the GRC and the GOJ.

October 1970 -- The GOJ informed the GRC that the question of sovereignty over the Senkakus was not negotiable.

December 3, 1970 -- People's Republic of China Asserts Its Claim to Sovereignty Over the Senkakus

In NCNA statement, Peking protested the incorporation of the Senkakus into Japanese territory.

February 1971 -- GRC Claims Sovereignty Over Senkakus

The GRC publicly and for the first time asserted its own claim to the islands.

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March 15, 1971 -- GRC Asks US to Withhold Senkakus from Okinawa Reversion

In a diplomatic note, the GRC requested the United States to exclude the Senkaku Islands from the reversion of Okinawa to Japan. (This action evidently was prompted by the rising anti-Senkaku reversion movement in the US.)

April 12 -- In his farewell call on the President, Ambassador Chow Shu-kai raised the Senkaku issue. At the President's suggestion, Ambassador Chow reviewed the GRC's position with Mr. Kissinger, who listened without comment.

May 26, 1971 -- US Note Responding to the GRC States That US Intends to Turn Senkakus Over to Japan (attached)

May 31, 1971 -- Foreign Minister Chow Shu-kai, on instructions from President Chiang, reiterated the GRC request that we withhold the Senkakus when the Ryukyus are returned to Japanese administration.

June 4, 1971 -- Ambassador Shen Asks US to Persuade Japan to Discuss Status of Senkakus with GRC

In a representation to Mr. Green, Ambassador Shen reiterated the GRC request. Shen offered the personal suggestion, however, that the US try to persuade the Japanese to discuss the status of the Senkakus with the GRC. Mr. Green said that he would give Shen's suggestion some thought. (It is doubtful that the GOJ would agree to discuss the question of sovereignty over the Senkakus, given their previous position. GOJ reluctance probably is strengthened by the desire to avoid a dispute with the PRC over this issue.)

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INFO AMEMBASSY SEDUL  
AMEMBASSY TAIPEI  
AMCONSUL HONG KONG  
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SECRET TOKYO 05348

SUBJ: GRC REPRESENTATIONS ON REVERSION OF SENKAKUS TO JAPAN

REF: (A) STATE 99737 *Pol 32-6 SENKAKU IS*

(B) TAIPEI 2692 (NOTAL)

1. ASSISTANT SECRETARY GREEN'S COMMENTS TO AMBASSADOR SHEN IN REF (A) SUCCINCTLY SUM UP PROBLEMS INVOLVED IF WE WERE TO CHANGE US STANCE ON SENKAKUS REVERSION.
  2. UNFORTUNATELY AMBASSADOR SHEN LOST A REAL OPPORTUNITY TO IMPRESS UPON GOJ GRC VIEWS ON SENKAKUS, WHEN HE FAILED TO RAISE PROBLEM WITH SENIOR FONOFF OFFICIALS DURING RECENT VISIT HERE. FONOFF WAS PREPARED FOR DISCUSSIONS WITH SHEN IF HE HAD RAISED SENKAKUS QUESTION.
- SNEIDER

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## DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: HICOM OKINAWA RYIS

INFO: TAIPEI, TOKYO, CINCPAC, CINCUSARPAC

SUBJ: Senkakus-GOJ Survey Request

REF : HICOM OKINAWA RYIS 020630Z June 71  
State 099737 (NOTAL)  
DA 0321102 June 71

POL 32-6 SEN KAKU IS

## JOINT STATE-DEFENSE

1. Dissatisfaction of Chinese academic community on Taiwan and abroad with alleged lack of GRC forcefulness in asserting Chinese claim to Senkakus has apparently created genuine uneasiness within GRC, particularly fear of further demonstrations on this issue and encouragement they may give to future protests against government on other matters. ~~GRC, for example, has recently asked USC to try to persuade GRC to talk to GRC about Senkakus as a means of taking pressures off GRC.~~
2. In view of political sensitivity of Senkakus issue to GRC, of Tokai expedition in relation to signing of and timing/~~in relation to~~ reversion agreement, Department regards petroleum research by Tokai University in Senkakus to be inopportune in June and July. Visit would surely raise strong feelings among Chinese academic community in Taiwan, US and elsewhere

DRAFTED BY:

EA/ROC:MEMcDonnell:dk

DRAFTING DATE

6/8/71

TEL. EXT.

21321

APPROVED BY:

EA/ROC:TPShoeSmith

CLEARANCES:

EA/J - Mr. McElroy *W*Department of Army - Mr. Freimuth (info) *me*FORM DS-322  
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against GRC, US and Japan.

3. Embassy Tokyo requested to suggest postponement at this time, not ruling out possibility that research could be undertaken later this summer. If HICOMRY believes it necessary to respond ~~to this~~ directly to OBONTA, he should coordinate response with Embassy Tokyo.

GP-3

END

IRWIN

DRAFTED BY:

DRAFTING DATE

TEL. EXT.

APPROVED BY:

CLEARANCES:

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ACTION: AmEmbassy PARIS

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STATE

TOSEC 150

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM ALEXIS JOHNSON

SUBJECT: Okinawa Reversion

1. Claims. The claims issue is now settled in a manner that does not require any further negotiations with the GOJ. Septel contains details which Ericson can explain to Yoshino to extent necessary.
2. Use of \$65 Million Facility Improvement Item. New issue has cropped up this morning, arising out of Kennedy-Fukuda conversations, concerning which Kennedy just informed us, which involves ability of DOD to use \$65 million fund for "repairs and maintenance" as well as new construction. From Kennedy's telegram just received this morning, being repeated to Ericson, it appears that his agreement with Fukuda would permit such use, but this is not specific.

DRAFTED BY: J-U.Alexis Johnson;elm  
DRAFTING DATE: 6-8-71  
TEL. EXT.: 22471  
APPROVED BY: Under Secretary Johnson  
CLEARANCES: S/S- Mr. Elliott EA-Amb Brown

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*Pol 32-6 SENKAKUS IS*  
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ACTION EA-20

INFO OCT-01 SAL-02 CIAE-00 DDDE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-08 L-04

NSAE-00 NSC-12 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USTA-12 10-16

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R 091006Z JUN 71  
FM AMEMBASSY TAIPEI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2865  
INFO AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
AMCONSUL HONG KONG  
HICOMRY  
CINCPAC  
AMEMBASSY SEOUL

C O N F I D E N T I A L TAIPEI 2803

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

SEOUL FOR AMBASSADOR-AT-LARGE KENNEDY

SUBJECT: SENKAKUS DISPUTE

REFS: A. STATE 66171

B. TAIPEI 1751

*Pol 32-6 SEN KAKUS IS*  
*RP POL 23-8 CHUAT*

SUMMARY: WITH THE GRC'S ASSERTION OF A CLAIM TO THE SENKAKUS, A TROUBLESOME DISPUTE NOW EXISTS BETWEEN THE GRC AND JAPAN. GRC MIGHT HAVE GROUNDS FOR RAISING THE MATTER UNDER ARTICLE 11 OF 1952 BILATERAL TREATY OF PEACE WITH JAPAN, WHICH IS LINKED BY REFERENCE WITH ARTICLE 22 OF SAN FRANCISCO TREATY. EARLY U.S. CONCURRENCE IN SOME SUCH MOVE MAY BE THE BEST MEANS OF REMOVING THE U.S. FROM THE FIRING LINE AND PROPELLING THE JAPANESE INTO A PROPER NEGOTIATING POSTURE. END SUMMARY.

1. AN ABRASIVE ISSUE HAS ARISEN BETWEEN GRC AND JAPAN WITH RESPECT TO THE SENKAKU ISLANDS IN THE PAST FEW MONTHS, RESULTING FROM THE PEKING STATEMENTS OF DECEMBER 1971 AND WATER CHINESE STUDENT DEMONSTRATIONS IN THE US AND HONG KONG.

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THESE CAUSED THE GRC TO LODGE A FORMAL CLAIM TO THE SENKAKUS, DELIVERED TO THE GOV IN FEBRUARY 20, 1971. SINCE THAT TIME

THERE HAS BEEN AN UPSURGE OF CHINESE NATIONALIST FEELING ON THIS ISSUE IN TAIWAN AND AMONG OVERSEAS CHINESE, EVIDENCED BY A HEATED REACTION TO THE BRAY STATEMENT OF APRIL 9. THIS WAVE OF FEELING IN TAIPEI HAS LED TO PUBLIC CRITICISM OF THE GRC'S MANAGEMENT OF THE AFFAIR AND STRONG FEELING AGAINST THE GRC'S TWO STRONGEST FRIENDS, THE US AND JAPAN.

2. SINO-JAPANESE DISPUTE IS BASICALLY THAT (A) JAPAN CLAIMS THAT IT ACQUIRED THE SENKAKUS AS PART OF THE RYUKYUS OR NANSEI SHOTO, (B) THE GRC CLAIMS THE SENKAKUS CAME TO JAPAN WITH TAIWAN FOLLOWING THE TREATY OF SHIMONOSEKI. SO FAR AS WE KNOW, THE ISLANDS ARE NOT MENTIONED SPECIFICALLY IN ANY INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENT, AND APPARENTLY WERE IGNORED INTERNATIONALLY UNTIL THE AWAKENING OF INTEREST IN OIL EXPLORATIONS OF THE CONTINENTAL SHELF IN 1968.

3. THE US ASSUMED ADMINISTRATION OF ALL THE ISLANDS IN THE AREA STIPULATED IN THE TREATY, INCLUDING THE SENKAKUS, WITHOUT REFERENCE TO SOVEREIGNTY QUESTIONS. THE GENERAL ASSUMPTION THAT THEY WERE PART OF THE RYUKYUS WAS NOT CHALLENGED BY THE GRC UNTIL 1970. WE HAVE (A) TAKEN NO POSITION ON SOVEREIGNTY OVER THE SENKAKUS, (B) STATED THAT WE WOULD RETURN THEM TO JAPANESE ADMINISTRATION WITH THE REST OF THE RYUKYUS IN 1972, AND (C) SAID THAT "ANY DISPUTE OVER SOVEREIGNTY SHOULD BE SETTLED BY THE PARTIES THEMSELVES, OR, IF THEY WISH, BY THIRD PARTY ADJUDICATION."

4. A DISPUTE NOW EXISTS, AND HAS BEEN RECOGNIZED BY THE USG. SETTLEMENT HAS SO FAR BEEN BLOCKED BY JAPANESE REFUSAL TO DISCUSS SOVEREIGNTY WITH THE GRC. THE JAPANESE APPARENTLY ESTIMATE THAT OUR ASSURANCES THAT WE INTEND TO RETURN THE SENKAKUS TO THEM NEXT YEAR LEAVES THEM WITH NO NEED TO SHOW ANY FLEXIBILITY. THE GRC HAS SO FAR PREFERRED TO DISCUSS THE PROBLEM WITH THE US, APPARENTLY BECAUSE THEY FEEL THAT RAISING THE CASE WITH THE GOV WOULD ENHANCE THE JAPANESE CASE, AND BECAUSE THEY FEEL THAT CONTROL RATHER THAN THE SOVEREIGNTY DETERMINATION IS THE CRUX OF THE MATTER AT THIS STAGE. THE

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US THUS REMAINS AN INVOLUNTARY FACTOR IN THE DISPUTE.

5. THE BEST MEANS OF REMOVING THE US FROM THIS DISPUTE MAY BE TO GET THE CONTROVERSY INTO RECOGNIZED CHANNELS, SPECIFICALLY THE SAN FRANCISCO TREATY OF PEACE WITH JAPAN OF 1951 AND THE SINO-JAPANESE PEACE TREATY OF 1952. ON THE FACE OF IT, THE SENKAKUS DISPUTE APPEARS TO BE CLASSIFIABLE UNDER ARTICLE 11 OF THE LATTER TREATY AND, THROUGH THAT ARTICLE, BY REFERENCE, UNDER ARTICLE 22 OF THE SAN FRANCISCO TREATY.

6. ARTICLE 11 OF THE CHINA-JAPAN TREATY RECOGNIZES EXPLICITLY THE SAN FRANCISCO TREATY (PRESUMABLY ARTICLE 22) AS A BASIS FOR SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES. IT STATES IN PART THAT "ANY PROBLEM ARISING BETWEEN THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA AND JAPAN AS A RESULT OF THE EXISTENCE OF A STATE OF WAR SHALL BE SETTLED IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE RELEVANT PROVISIONS OF THE SAN FRANCISCO TREATY." ARTICLE 22 OF THE SAN FRANCISCO TREATY STATES THAT DISPUTES CONCERNING INTERPRETATION OR EXECUTION OF THE TREATY "NOT SETTLED BY REFERENCE TO A SPECIAL CLAIMS TRIBUNAL OR BY OTHER AGREED MEANS" SHALL "AT THE REQUEST OF ANY PARTY THERETO, BE REFERRED FOR DECISION TO THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE." IN LIGHT OF THE ABOVE TREATY PROVISIONS, THERE MAY BE GROUNDS FOR A POSITIVE EFFORT TO IMPEL THE JAPANESE TO NEGOTIATE MEANINGFULLY AND CONSTRUCTIVELY WITH THE GRC ON THE ISSUE.

7. SINCE ARTICLE 3 OF THE SAN FRANCISCO TREATY IS NOT INCLUDED IN THE CHINA/JAPAN TREATY, IT IS QUITE POSSIBLE THAT THE JAPANESE WILL AGAIN REFUSE TO DISCUSS WITH THE CHINESE AN AREA WHICH THEY CLAIM AS PART OF THE RYUKYUS. IN ANY CASE, WE BELIEVE THE CHINESE MAY BE ENTITLED TO RAISE THE QUESTION UNDER THEIR PEACE TREATY. IF THE JAPANESE SHOULD CONTINUE TO REFUSE TO DISCUSS THE MATTER WITH THE GRC, THE USG MIGHT CONSIDER TAKING THE POSITION WITH THE GOJ THAT INASMUCH AS A DISPUTE EXISTS AS TO AN AREA COVERED BY ARTICLES 2 AND 3 OF THE SAN FRANCISCO TREATY, IT WOULD SEEM APPROPRIATE THAT IN ACCORDANCE WITH ARTICLE 22 OF THE PEACE TREATY, THE MATTER EITHER BE NEGOTIATED OUT DIPLOMATICALLY WITH THE GRC, OR REFERRED TO THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE.

8. I RECOMMEND THAT EMBASSY BE AUTHORIZED TO SUGGEST PRIVATELY TO FONMIN THAT THE GRC CONSIDER REQUESTING BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS WITH THE JAPANESE IN THE CONTEXT OF THE CHINA-JAPAN TREATY

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PROVISIONS FOR SETTLING DISPUTES. IF GRC SHOULD DO SO, IT WOULD BE HELPFUL IF US COULD THEN PUBLICLY ENDORSE SUCH GRC-JAPANESE DISCUSSIONS. IF FOR ANY SUFFICIENT REASON GRC CANNOT RAISE THE CASE UNDER ITS TREATY WITH JAPAN, PERHAPS DEPARTMENT COULD CONSIDER THE LEGAL SOUNDNESS AND PROPRIETY OF OUR RAISING THE SENKAKUS NEGOTIATING PROBLEM WITH JAPAN UNDER ARTICLE 22 OF THE SAN FRANCISCO TREATY WHILE WE STILL HAVE ADMINISTRATIVE CONTROL, OR AT LEAST MAKING A STATEMENT THAT THE TREATY PROVIDES A MECHANISM FOR DEALING WITH THE DISPUTE.

9. PRESSURE IS STRONG ON THE GRC TO PRODUCE RESULTS ON THE SENKAKUS, AND FONMIN CHOU IS BEARING THE BRUNT OF IT. THE ANTI-AMERICAN FEELING GENERATED IN APRIL WAS A NEW DEVELOPMENT HERE WHICH WE MUST MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO COUNTER. THERE IS URGENT NEED TO CONSIDER THIS AND OTHER WAYS TO REMOVE THE US FROM A DISPUTE WHICH BASICALLY DOES NOT INVOLVE US, AND WHICH SEEMS TO AUGUR GREATER DIFFICULTIES FOR THE FUTURE UNLESS WE CAN GET THE GOJ TO THE CONFERENCE TABLE WHERE IT BELONGS WITH THE GRC. GPF-3  
MC CONAUGHY

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MEMORANDUM

June 11, 1971

TO: EA/ROC - Mr. Thomas Shoesmith

FROM: L/EA - Robert I. Starr

SUBJECT: The Senkakus Dispute and Article 22 of the 1951 Treaty of Peace with Japan

PS/K

The Problem

Our Embassy in Taipei has suggested (Taipei 2803) that the GRC may have grounds for raising their claim to the Senkakus under Article XI of the 1952 Treaty of Peace Between the Republic of China and Japan (138 U.N.T.S. 3 (1952)). The Embassy considers that Article XI provides a linkage to Article 22 of the Treaty of Peace with Japan signed at San Francisco on September 8, 1951 (TIAS 2490), and that in light of these provisions there may be grounds for a positive effort by the USG to impel the GOJ to negotiate meaningfully and constructively with the GRC.

PL 32-6 SENKAKUS IS

The Embassy has recommended that it be authorized to suggest to the GRC that it consider requesting bilateral discussions with the GOJ in the context of the dispute settlement provisions of the 1952 Treaty of Peace Between the Republic of China and Japan. Alternatively, the Embassy has suggested that the Department consider the possibility of our raising the Senkakus negotiating problem with Japan under Article 22 of the San Francisco Treaty while we still have administrative control, or at least making a statement that this Treaty provides a mechanism for dealing with the dispute.

PL 32-6 - SENKAKUS IS

The Embassy's message raises two principal questions:

1. On what legal basis, if any, may the GRC raise the Senkakus issue with the GOJ?
2. What should be the US attitude in the matter?

Discussion

1. It would be difficult for the GRC to make a persuasive legal case for the proposition that the Senkakus dispute comes under Article XI of the 1952 Treaty of Peace Between

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the Republic of China and Japan and, through that article by reference, under Article 22 of the 1951 San Francisco Treaty of Peace with Japan.

Article XI of the 1952 Peace Treaty reads:

"Unless otherwise provided for in the present Treaty and the documents supplementary thereto, any problem arising between the Republic of China and Japan as a result of the existence of a state of war shall be settled in accordance with the relevant provisions of the San Francisco Treaty." (emphasis added).

It is of interest to note that paragraph 1(c) of the Protocol to the 1952 Peace Treaty provides for the exclusion of Articles II and 18 of the San Francisco Treaty from the operation of Article XI of the 1952 Peace Treaty. No mention is made in the Protocol of Article 22 of the San Francisco Treaty. Thus, the GRC might argue that the "relevant provisions of the San Francisco Treaty", referred to in Article XI, may include the dispute settlement provisions of Article 22.

Alternatively, the GRC might argue that its claim to the Senkakus involves a dispute with the GOJ within the meaning of Article XII of the 1952 Peace Treaty, and accordingly, that the GOJ is obliged to settle the dispute by negotiation or by other pacific means. Article XII provides:

"Any dispute that may arise out of the interpretation or application of the present Treaty shall be settled by negotiation or by other pacific means."

The GRC's claim in this regard would rest on Article IV of the 1952 Peace Treaty, which provides:

"It is recognized that all treaties, conventions and agreements concluded before December 9, 1941, between China and Japan have become null and void as a consequence of the war." (emphasis added).

To the extent that the GRC's legal claim to the Senkakus rests on Article IV (because of the abrogation of the Treaty of Shimonoseki of 1895 by which China ceded Formosa to Japan, as a result of which abrogation Formosa has reverted to the Republic of China, the GRC might argue that the Senkakus

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dispute arises as a "consequence of the war" within the meaning of Article IV and, accordingly, that its dispute with Japan involves the interpretation or application of Article IV.

Japan might be expected to reject the GRC claim, whether based on reference to Article 22 of the 1951 San Francisco Treaty or on the 1952 Peace Treaty. The GOJ would presumably contend that the question of the legal status of the Senkakus is not a "problem arising between the Republic of China and Japan as a result of the existence of a state of war" within the meaning of Article XI of the 1952 Peace Treaty.

Japan might also point to the Exchange of Notes regarding the 1952 Peace Treaty. Exchange of Notes No. 1 expressed the understanding that:

"...the terms of the present Treaty shall, in respect of the Republic of China, be applicable to all the territories which are now, or which may hereafter be, under the control of its Government."

On the basis of that Exchange of Notes, Japan might reject GRC efforts to invoke the San Francisco Treaty on the theory (rather tenuous in our opinion) that the Senkakus were not then, nor thereafter, "under the control" of the GRC.

Although the GRC may not have a persuasive legal case for raising the Senkakus dispute with Japan under Article 22 of the San Francisco Peace Treaty, the GRC's claim of entitlement to negotiate with the GOJ in light of Articles IV and XII of its Treaty of Peace with Japan would rest on rather firm ground.

Moreover, Article VI(a) of the 1952 Peace Treaty provides:

"The Republic of China and Japan will be guided by the principles of Article 2 of the Charter of the United Nations in their mutual relations."

Among the principles of Article 2 of the UN Charter is the following:

"3. All Members shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered."

Then too, Article 33(1) of the Charter provides:

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"1. The parties to any dispute, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, shall, first of all, seek a solution by negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means of their own choice."

Thus, the GRC is not without legal argument under its 1952 Treaty of Peace with Japan, or more generally in accordance with the UN Charter principle of peaceful settlement of disputes, to call upon the GOJ to settle the Senkakus dispute by negotiation or by other pacific means including third party adjudication.

2. It is open to serious doubt whether, as our Embassy in Taipei has suggested, the USG may properly raise the Senkakus issue with Japan under Article 22 of the San Francisco Treaty, or at least point to that Treaty as providing a mechanism for dealing with the dispute.

The US has made it clear to the parties involved that we believe a dispute exists between the GRC and GOJ regarding sovereignty over the Senkakus, and that it is the firm policy of the USG to take no position on the merits of the dispute. At GRC insistence we have, however, asked the GOJ to agree to discuss the matter with the GRC in view of the pressures being generated on the GRC by result of this issue.

Since the USG has made it clear that we believe a dispute exists between the GRC and GOJ, and that we wish to take no position on the merits of the dispute, it would be difficult for the USG to invoke Article 22 of the San Francisco Peace Treaty. Article 22 was intended only to provide for settlement of disputes between parties to that Treaty. Since the GRC is not a party to the Treaty, it cannot directly invoke Article 22 vis-a-vis Japan. For these reasons there would appear to be no legal basis for the USG to take the position that the San Francisco Treaty provides a mechanism for dealing with the dispute.

There are other considerations which may also bear upon the question of the appropriate USG posture in this matter. Perhaps the most important consideration is our relationship with Japan, which President Nixon has called "vital to the kind of world we both want." In his report on United States Foreign Policy, 1969-1970, Secretary Rogers expressed this thought more fully when he said:

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"Our future relationship with Japan will be the most important single factor bearing on the success of U.S. policy in East Asia."

Japan obviously attaches great significance to the impending return of Okinawa, including the Senkakus. Agreement to negotiate the status of the Senkakus, as the GRC has requested, might entail grave domestic political repercussions for the GOJ (Agreement merely to "discuss" the matter with the GRC might be less objectionable to the GOJ).

Then too, there is the position of the PRC to consider. The PRC has strongly reasserted its claim to the Tiaoyu-Tu, or Senkakus, and warned Japan not to interfere with China's claim to the islands. If we press the GOJ to negotiate with the GRC, we run the risk of aggravating unnecessarily the state of both the USG's and GOJ's relations with Peking. It is difficult to imagine any conceivable benefit in terms of our relations with the GRC that would justify such a risk, the full consequences of which may not even be calculable at this time.

Concurrence: L/EA - Mr. Futterman

cc: EA/ACA - Mr. Jenkins  
EA/J - Mr. Ericson

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L/EA:RStarr:cyf:x28900

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ACTION: AmEmbassy TOKYO

PRIORITY

INFO: AmEmbassy TAIPEI

STATE

EXDIS

FOR THE CHARGE FROM ALEXIS JOHNSON

SUBJECT: Senkaku Problem

REF: London 5381

1. Trust you will promptly follow up and report what Aichi has done or plans to do to carry out his promise (reftel) that he would "do his best with GRC." If necessary, he should be urged to do this as soon as possible and, in any event, before June 17.
2. FYI at noon briefing on June 17 Department's spokesman will, in response to query, make following statement:

QUOTE The United States Government is aware that a dispute exists between the Governments of the Republic of China and Japan regarding the sovereignty of the Senkaku Islands. The United States believes that a return of administrative

DRAFTED BY:

J-U. Alexis Johnson:elm

DRAFTING DATE

6-14-71

TEL. EXT.

22471

APPROVED BY:

Under Secretary Johnson

CLEARANCES:

S/S- Mr. Curran RTCS/PRS Mr. Bray Bray

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rights over those Islands to Japan, from which those rights were received, can in no way prejudice the underlying claims of the Republic of China. The United States cannot add to the legal rights Japan possessed before it transferred administration of the Islands to the United States, nor can the United States by giving back what it received diminish the rights of the Republic of China. END QUOTE

3. GRC will be informed before statement is made and GOJ should, of course, also be informed. Request views of Taipei and Tokyo on timing of informing both Governments. No rpt no action should be taken to inform Governments until Department's instructions received.  
END.

ROGERS.

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S/AL		White House	✓✓ 2/3 added per BTC 6/14
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PAGE 01 TOKYO 05721 151717Z

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ACTION SS-45

INFO: OCT-01 / 046 W

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PRR 150510Z JUN 71  
FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9516  
INFO AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

SECRET TOKYO 5721

EXDIS:

CORRECTED COPY (REFERENCE 'A')

FOR UNDERSECRETARY JOHNSON FROM CHARGE

**SUBJECT: SENKAKUS PROBLEM**

REF: (A) STATE 104962  
(B) STATE 102728

1. YOSHINO INFORMED ME THAT FOMMINA AICHI HAVING RETURNED JUNE 13, MET LATE JUNE 14 WITH GRC AMBASSADOR PENG TO DISCUSS SENKAKUS PROBLEM IN FULFILLMENT OF HIS PROMISE TO THE SECRETARY.

2. AICHI SPOKE TO AMBASSADOR PENG ABOUT HIS CONVERSATION WITH SECRETARY ROGERS, MENTIONING US CONCERNS ABOUT THE SENKAKUS PROBLEM AND THE VIEWS OF THE US WITH RESPECT TO THESE ISLANDS AS SET FORTH IN FINAL PARA SECRETARY'S MESSAGE (REF B). AICHI AT SAME TIME REITERATED THAT THIS DOES NOT AFFECT LEGAL POSITION OF GOV. ON SENKAKUS ISSUE. HE SAID THAT IN VIEW OF FRIENDLY RELATIONS BETWEEN JAPAN AND GRC, GOV. INTENDED TO TREAT SENKAKUS PROBLEM WITH UTMOST CARE AND PLAY DOWN ISSUE. HE URGED GRC TO DO LIKEWISE IN INTERESTS OF STRENGTHENING RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES.

3. FOR RECORD, AICHI ALSO EXPRESSED REGRET RE: GRC JUNE 11 STATEMENT. PENG INFORMED AICHI THAT HE WOULD REPORT CONVERSATION TO GRC.

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4. REI PARA 32 (REF. A) RECOMMEND THAT TAIPEI AND  
TOKYO BE INFORMED JUNE 16.  
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A		CIA	✓ EUC 6-15-71
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E	✓ 16-17	Treasury	✓ 30
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INR	✓ 18-19	OPIC	
IO		CIEP	✓ 31
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Pol 32-6 SEN KAKU J

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 729

PAGE 01 TAIPEI 02921 151011Z

17  
ACTION SS-45

INFO OCT-01 1046 W

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RI 150948Z JUN 71  
FM AMEMBASSY TAIPEI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2910  
AMEMBASSY TOKYO

SECRET TAIPEI 2921

EKDIS

SUBJECT: SENKAKUS

REF: A. TOKYO 5721 B. STATE 104962

CONCUR RECOMMENDATION PARA 4/REF A. BELIEVE WE SHOULD IMPRESS  
ON BOTH GRC AND GOV IMPORTANCE OF AVOIDING LEAKS BEFORE OUR  
ANNOUNCEMENT IS MADE. GP-1  
MORELL

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PRINCIPALS			GEOGRAPHIC BUREAUS	
S	✓ 4		AF	
U	✓ 5		ARA	
J	✓ 6		EA ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ 13-17	
D			EUR	
O			NEA	
C	✓ 10		OTHER AGENCIES	
S/AL			White House ✓ ✓ 4/3	
S/CPR			Secret Service	
S/PC			Vice President	
S/PRS	✓ 18		Defense	
U/PW			State Rep	
FUNCTIONAL BUREAUS			MIL REP	
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PAGE 01 TOKYO 05749 150948Z

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ACTION EA-20

INFO OCT-01 SSD-00 CCO-00 PM-05 CIAE-00 INR-08 NSAE-00

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FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9638  
INFO AMEMBASSY TAIPEI IMMEDIATE  
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HICOMRY

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DELIVER OPENING OF BUSINESS

DA FOR DUSA

DOD FOR ISA

SUBJ: SENKAKUS-GOU SURVEY REQUEST

REF: (A) TOKYO 5608

1. EMBASSY WOULD APPRECIATE RESPONSE REFTELI ASAP.

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By 1112 NARA Date 1-10-83

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PAGE 01 TAIPEI 02922 151010Z

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ACTION EA-20INFO: OCT-01 CU-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-08 L-04  
NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 OPR-02  
SY-03 O-03 RSR-01 /101 W  
----- 11455JPIR 150948Z JUN 71  
FM AMEMBASSY TAIPEI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2917  
INFO AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
AMCONSUL HONG KONG  
HICOMRY  
CINCPAC

C O N F I D E N T I A L T A I P E I 2922

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

SUBJECT: SENKAKUS REVERSION

1. HSU CHI-TUNG, DEAN OF OVERSEAS CHINESE STUDENTS OVERSEAS CHINESE AFFAIRS COMMISSION, TOLD EMBASSY LOCAL EMPLOYEE ON JUNE 15 THAT STUDENTS AT NATIONAL TAIWAN AND TAIWAN NORMAL UNIVERSITIES (BOTH IN TAIPEI) WERE AGITATING ON SENKAKUS. HSU DID NOT PROVIDE DETAILS, BUT ADDED THAT HE WOULD VISIT THE TWO UNIVERSITIES AFTERNOON OF JUNE 15 TO ASSESS OVERSEAS CHINESE STUDENT ACTIVITY AND LEARN WHAT HE COULD ABOUT STUDENTS' PLANS.
2. PROFESSOR WU CHEN-TS'AI INFORMED DIXIE WALKER THAT THERE MIGHT BE TROUBLE FROM STUDENTS ON JUNE 17.
3. WEI WILL TRY TO FIND OUT WHAT BASIS EXISTS FOR THESE STATEMENTS, BUT EDITORIALS REPORTED SEPTEL LEAD IN DIRECTION FURTHER ACTIVITY. GP-3.  
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INFO: TAIPEI, CINCPAC, COMUSF J, HICOM OKINAWA RYIS

SUBJECT: Senkakus-GOJ Survey Request

REF: (A) Tokyo 5608; (B) Tokyo 5749 — POL 32-6 SENKAKU IS

Provided Hicom perceives no objections, concur Ref A.

GP-3

END

11 15 June 71

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ROGERS

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J

DRAFTED BY: EA/ROC:MEMcDormell:bds	DRAFTING DATE 6/15/71	TEL. EXT. 21321	APPROVED BY: EA/ROC - Thomas P. S. Smith
CLEARANCES: EA/J - Mr. McElroy DA - Mr. Freimuth (substance)			

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By 1/10 NARA Date 1-10-03SECRET JUN 17 23 34  
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INFO: AmEmbassy SEOUL  
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STATE

SEOUL TOKEN — 69  
REF: STATE 104962

SUBJECT: Senkaku Islands Issue

1. Following are instructions for informing GOJ and GRC of statement to be made at noon press briefing June 17 (reftel).
2. FOR TOKYO: You should inform GOJ at anytime on June 16.
3. FOR TAIPEI: We have been in touch with Ambassador David Kennedy, with whom Chiang Ching-kuo raised the subject, to ask if he would personally like to use this information with GRC in order to help his negotiations. We told him that you were being instructed to inform Foreign Ministry not before 1400 hours June 16 Taipei time. If we or Ambassador Kennedy have not been in touch with you to modify these

DRAFTED BY: J-JIGetz:elm	DRAFTING DATE 6-15-71	TEL. EXT. 20356	APPROVED BY: EA-Ambassador Green
CLEARANCES: EA/J-Mr. Ericson (draft) EA/ROC-Mr. Shoemaker S/PRS (Subs.)	EA-Ambassador Brown J-Ambassador Johnson S/S- Mr. Curran		

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instructions before that time, you should proceed as soon as feasible after that time. If Ambassador Kennedy so requests, you should also inform Chiang Ching-kuo in whatever terms Ambassador Kennedy suggests.

4. Ambassador Shen will be informed here morning June 16 Washington time.

END

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NARA Date 1-10-95



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PAGE 01 TAIPEI 02941 161154Z

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ACTION EA-20

INFO OCT-01 SY-03 OPR-02 O-03 NIC-01 CU-05 AID-28 FBO-01

OC-08 ECO-00 PER-05 SCB-04 SCA-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00

NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SSD-00 USIE-00 PM-05 NSC-10 SS-20

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P R 161122Z JUN 71

FM AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2919

INFO AMEMBASSY TOKYO PRIORITY

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

AMEMBASSY BANGKOK

HICOMRY

CINCPAC

C O N F I D E N T I A L TAIPEI 2941

CINCPAC FOR ROLAD

SUBJECT: DEMONSTRATIONS OVER SENKAKUS REVERSION

REF: TAIPEI 2922

1. WE HAVE RECEIVED FURTHER INDICATION FROM CAS (PCT 112026) AND OTHER SOURCES THAT WE CAN EXPECT LARGE-SCALE DEMONSTRATIONS ON JUNE 17 OVER SIGNATURES OF RYUKYU REVERSION AGREEMENT.

2. MOFA DIRECTOR NORTH AMERICAN AFFAIRS SAID THAT NATIONAL TAIWANESE UNIVERSITY STUDENTS HAVE HELD MEETINGS THAT THEY INTEND A PARADE AND WILL PROBABLY COME TO AMERICAN AND JAPANESE EMBASSIES. STUDENTS ARE TO WEAR UNIFORMS WITH IDENTIFICATION TAGS AND ID CARDS (TO ENABLE SECURITY AUTHORITIES TO IDENTIFY ANY WHO GET OUT OF HAND). NTU AUTHORITIES ARE STILL TRYING TO DISSUADE STUDENTS FROM DEMONSTRATING AND HAVE ALREADY SUCCEEDED IN POSTPONING DEMONSTRATION FROM AFTERNOON

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PAGE 02: TAIPEI 02941 161154Z

OF JUNE 16 TO MORNING OF JUNE 17 CHIEN SAID THAT PRESENT INDICATIONS ARE THAT "SEVERAL THOUSAND" STUDENTS WILL PARTICIPATE.

3. JAPANESE EMBASSY CONFIRMS MUCH OF ABOVE BUT HAD NOT HEARD OF DEMONSTRATIONS AT JAPANESE EMBASSY AND THOUGHT THAT ONLY TOKEN NUMBER OF DEMONSTRATORS WOULD PARTICIPATE. JAPANESE AMBASSADOR ITAGAKI CALLED ON FOMMON CHOW JUNE 15 TO PROTEST MOFA STATEMENT OF JUNE 11 AND TO EXPRESS HOPE THAT GRE WOULD KEEP LID ON ISSUE.

4. HSU CHI-TUNG TOLD EMBASSY THIS MORNING THAT NATIONAL TAIWANI AND TAIWANI NORMAL UNIVERSITY STUDENTS WILL DEMONSTRATE AT US AND JAPANESE EMBASSIES MORNING APRIL 17 APPROXIMATELY 0900 LOCAL TIME. HSU SAID HE UNABLE TO ESTIMATE NUMBERS AND UNAWARE WHETHER STUDENTS FROM OTHER UNIVERSITIES WILL JOIN IN DEMONSTRATIONS. HSU ADDED THAT ATTEMPTS BEING MADE TO DISSUADE OVERSEAS CHINESE STUDENTS FROM DEMONSTRATING OFF-CAMPUS AND THAT AUTHORITIES MOVING TO CONTROL CONTENT OF SLOGANS BEING PREPARED BY STUDENTS. EMBASSY OFFICERS VISITED NATIONAL TAIWANI UNIVERSITY AND TAIWANI NORMAL UNIVERSITY. BOTH CAMPUSES QUIET WITH POSTERS AT NTU EXHORTING SUPPORTERS TO "PRESERVE THE TIAOYUTAI MOVEMENT."

5. FRENCH CHIEN, DIRECTOR NORTH AMERICAN AFFAIRS MOFA, CALLED CHARGE LATE THIS AFTERNOON TO CONFIRM THAT DEMONSTRATIONS WOULD BEGIN SHORTLY AFTER 0900 JUNE 17, AND THAT DEMONSTRATORS WOULD INCLUDE ONLY "REPRESENTATIVES OF THEIR CLASSES" FROM TAIWANI UNIVERSITY. HE SAID HE EXPECTS A TOTAL OF SOME 300 TO 400 STUDENTS, AND ADDED THAT TWO OR THREE REPRESENTATIVES WOULD ASK TO SEE THE ACTING CHIEF OF MISSION TO PRESENT LETTER OF PROTEST.

6. CHARGE TELEPHONED VICE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS TSAI WEI-PING TODAY TO DISCUSS IMPENDING DEMONSTRATIONS AND ASK MOFA'S ASSURANCE THAT EVERY EFFORT WOULD BE MADE TO PROTECT EMBASSY AND OTHER US FACILITIES. TSAI SAID THAT MOFA HAD ALREADY BEEN IN TOUCH WITH UNIVERSITIES ASKING THAT THEY PERSUADE STUDENTS TO CALM DOWN. HE SAID REPORTS BACK INDICATED THAT STUDENTS ARE "COOLING DOWN". HE ALSO STATED THAT MOFA HAD BEEN IN TOUCH WITH SECURITY AND POLICE AUTHORITIES

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AND WILL TAKE ALL NECESSARY MEASURES TO KEEP DEMONSTRATIONS  
UNDER CONTROL. THIS CONFIRMED BY FRED CHIEN IN LATE AFTERNOON  
CONVERSATION WITH CHARGE.

7% ALL US AGENCIES NOTIFIED OF SCHEDULED DEMONSTRATIONS. WE  
ARE CONFIDENT THAT CHINESE AUTHORITIES WILL DO EVERYTHING  
POSSIBLE TO KEEP PLANNED DEMONSTRATIONS  
UNDER CONTROL. GR-3.  
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PAGE 01 TOKYO 05791 160700Z

12:  
ACTION! SS-45:

INFO OCT-01 CCO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /046 W 122608

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FMI AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9564  
INFO AMEMBASSY TAIPEI IMMEDIATE

SECRET TOKYO 5791

EXDIS

DELIVER: OPENING OF BUSINESS

SUBJECT: SENKAKU ISLANDS ISSUE

REF: (A) STATE 106745  
(B) STATE 104962

1. DURING MEETING SIXTEENTH WITH FONMIN AICHI ON ANOTHER MATTER, (SEPTEN) CHARGE GAVE HIM TEXT OF US STATEMENT ON SENKAKUS SET FORTH PARA 2, REF (B). HE STRESSED ABSOLUTE NEED TO MAINTAIN SECRECY ABOUT STATEMENT UNTIL ISSUED BY DEPT SPOKESMAN. NOON. JUNE 17.

2. AICHI, AFTER READING STATEMENT, REACTED FAVORABLY, BUT WITHHELD COMMENT ON ITS SPECIFICS. HE AGREED TO KEEP STATEMENT SECRET UNTIL ITS RELEASE. AICHI DID ASK WHETHER STATEMENT IN ANY WAY AFFECTED JAPAN'S LEGAL POSITION ON THIS ISSUE. CHARGE REFERRED TO MESSAGE FROM SECRETARY TO AICHI ON THIS POINT.

3. AICHI ALSO MENTIONED HIS CONVERSATION JUNE 14 WITH GRC AMBASSADOR PENG, STATING THAT HE HAD ACTUALLY ARRANGED FOR THIS MEETING WHILE STILL IN LONDON.

4. CHARGEI URGED GOV. TO AVOID ANY COMMENTS ON USG STATEMENTS WHICH WOULD FURTHER INFLAME SENKAKUS ISSUE. HE STRESSED IMPORTANCE, FROM VIEWPOINT OF BOTH GOV. AND US, TO AVOID PROVOKING FURTHER PROBLEMS FOR GRC. AICHI UNDERSTOOD THIS NEED VERY FULLY.

~~SNEIDER~~

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 INFO: Amembassy TOKYO  
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JOINT STATE/USIA

MESSAGE

REF: Taipei 2946

Following is ~~XXXXXXXX~~ text from Bray noon briefing reOkinawa Reversion and Senkaku issue:

QTE I was volunteered by a high State/Dept official in this room yesterday afternoon as the source of a STATEMENT ON THE RECORD with respect to the Senkaku Islands; it is as follows:

"The United States Government is aware that a dispute exists between the governments of the Republic of China and Japan regarding the sovereignty of the Senkaku Islands. The United States believes that a return of administrative rights over those islands to Japan ~~from~~ from which those rights were received can in no way prejudice the underlying claims of the Republic of China. The United States

DRAFTED BY: EA/P:HGosho:eb	DRAFTING DATE 6/17/71	TEL. EXT. 22538	APPROVED BY: EA/P - Henry Gosho
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## CLEARANCES:

 USIA/IAF - Mr. Izenberg (subs)  
 EA/J - Mr. Ericson  
 S/PRS - Mr. ~~McDonnell~~

 EA/ROC - Miss McDonnell  
 EA/ACA - Mr. Kilpatrick

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CONTINUATION SHEET PAGE 2

cannot add to the legal rights Japan possessed before it  
 administration  
 transferred/~~administrate~~ of the islands to the United  
 States nor can the United States by giving back what it  
 received diminish the rights of the Republic of China."

Q. Are these islands ~~XXX~~ included in the turn over agree-  
 ments signed today?

A. That is correct.

Q. Are these the ones where some oil is possibly involved?

A. I gather, Lou, that the islands are located on the  
 North Asian Continental Shelf near areas where preliminary  
 seismic surveys have indicated the possibility of petroleum  
 deposits.

Q. Has the Government of the Republic of China made any  
 representations or offered any demarche about this?

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CONTINUATION SHEET PAGE 3

A. Without wishing to get further into definitions in this room let me say that we have kept the Government of the Republic of China informed of our intentions with respect to the Senkakus and have informed the Republic of China that reversion will not effect the legal rights of either Japan or the Government of the Republic of China in the matter over the sovereignty of the Senkakus. Now, for your background in the non-technical sense of the word, I gather that the GRC issued a statement on this subject late last week.

Q. You have to excuse my fundamental inability to understand this quasi-legal language which you have put forward, really...  
what does this all mean...~~XXXXXX~~ are we standing aside and saying to the Nationalist Chinese and the Japanese 'you quarrel over it; we have nothing to do about it.'

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CONTINUATION SHEET PAGE 4

A. What we are saying is that we are <sup>returning</sup> ~~returning~~ to the Japanese Gov't the administrative rights that we acquired over these islands and that the question of sovereignty is not thereby affected; the question of sovereignty is one to be worked out between the claimants.

Q. Hasn't the Mainland Chinese Gov't also made claim to the ~~sovereignty~~ sovereignty of the Senkakus and if so there is no reference in your statement to their claim?

A. You are correct.

Q. Am I correct that they have made claim to it or am I correct that there is no reference to their claim in the statement?

A. I think that I can recall some public statements by the Peoples Republic of China with respect to the Senkakus; I don't recall the precise language. You are correct \_

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CONTINUATION SHEET PAGE 5

that my statement makes no reference beyond the Govern-  
ment of the Republic of China and the Japanese.

Q. Doesn't the US recognize that the PRC might have a  
legal claim to the islands?

A. I'm just not going to get any further into this.  
I'm sorry.

Q. Is there a US military facility or any US facilities  
on the Senkaku Islands?

~~XXXXXX Yes, you know that these are a small group of islands~~

A. Yes, ...

~~XXXXXX According to your question, Dan, you~~

~~may not believe that which are approximately 100 miles~~

~~off the Northeast coast of the island of Taiwan, they~~

~~are not inhabited~~ however, the US Navy has gunnery ranges

at Kobisho and Sekibisho in the Senkakus...the gunnery  
ranges are infrequently used for training purposes

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CONTINUATION SHEET PAGE 6

and are the only facilities that the United States will  
 retain on the Senkaku Islands.

Q. In April didn't you issue a statement warning American  
 Oil companies to stay away from the Senkakus because of  
 these conflicting claims by the Mainland Chinese and  
 everybody else?

A. I hesitate only because I can't recall whether it was  
 warning them to stay away from the Senkakus or other areas  
 in the East China Seas. It's worth checking the transcript.

~~Q. You said that there are the only resources that we  
 will retain, were there others that were not retained?  
 A. I don't know. I assume that this is covered  
 in that press release that we handed out yesterday.  
 Sorry, I just don't know. I'll take the question.~~

Q. Referring to that press release, do you know

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CONTINUATION SHEET PAGE 7

the acreage of the 88 installations that the United States is retaining?

A. I'll take the question.

Q. Have you any comment on the demonstrations in Tokyo that accompanied the signing of the Treaty?

A. No sir.

END

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POL 32-6 SENKAKUS

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PAGE 01 TAIPEI 02946 170327Z

22:  
ACTION: EA-20INFO: OCT-01 P-03 PRS-01 INR-08 RSR-01 RSC-01 SSO-00 /035 W  
000374P 170308Z JUNI 71  
FM AMEMBASSY TAIPEI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2923  
USIA WASHDC PRIORITY

UNCLAS TAIPEI 2946

JOINT EMBASSY/USIS MESSAGE

REQUEST TELEGRAPHIC TRANSMISSION TEXT QUESTIONS AND  
ANSWERS ON RYUKYU REVERSION AND TIAOYUTAI ISSUE FROM  
BRAY NOON BRIEFING. PLEASE SEND PRIORITY TO ARRIVE  
TAIPEI 17 JUNE BEFORE 2000 HOURS YOUR TIME.  
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PAGE 01 HONG KI 04033 180426Z

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 ACTION EA-20

INFO OCT-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-08 L-04 NSAE-00

NSC-10 PL-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 NIC-01 O-03

OPR-02 SY-03 SAL-02 RSR-01 /099 W 011067

RI 180400Z JUN 71  
 FM AMCONSUL HONG KONG  
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1259  
 INFO AMEMBASSY TAIPEI  
 AMEMBASSY TOKYO

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE HONG KONG 4033

SUBJ: SENKAKU ISLAND DEMONSTRATION

1. ABOUT 30 YOUNG STUDENTS DEMONSTRATED ON CONSULATE GENERAL GROUNDS JUNE 17 AGAINST USG DECISION TO HAND SENKAKU ISLANDS BACK TO JAPANESE ADMINISTRATIVE CONTROL. GROUP DEMONSTRATED FOR AN HOUR IN TYPHOON FREDA'S POURING RAIN AND DISPERSED QUIETLY.

2. DEMONSTRATION RECEIVED SOME COVERAGE JUNE 18 PRESS WHICH REPORTED THAT GROUP HAD FIRST VISITED JAPANESE CONSULATE GENERAL WHERE THEY HANDED OVER PROTEST NOTE.  
 DEAN

Hong Kong 4033

6/18/71

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By 1m2 NARA Date 1-10-85

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Department of State

TELEGRAM

POL 32-6 SENKAKU

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INDICATE:

☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

## DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: Amembassy, TAIPEI

INFO: HICOM OKINAWA RYIS  
Amembassy, TOKYO  
CINCPAC

SUBJECT: Senkakus: Aerial Photography

REF: HICOM OKINAWA RYIS 170905Z Jun 71

Embassy's views requested. Department tends believe GRC is unlikely to find aerial photographic survey of Senkakus as embarrassing or objectionable as it would find surface expedition by Tokai research team. We would be prepared to concur in request of Lyon Associates if Embassy agrees.

END

GP-3

DRAFTED BY:

EA:ROC: MEMcDonnell

DRAFTING DATE

6/18/71

TEL. EXT.

21321

APPROVED BY:

EA/ROC: Mr. Shoosmith

CLEARANCES:

DOD/Army - Mr. Freimuth (sub)

EA/J: ~~Mr. Noonan~~ Mr. Noonan

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FORM 4-68 DS-322

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By me NARA Date 1-10-05

44 *60L 32-6 SENKAKU*  
Department of State *TS*  
**TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 TOKYO 05953 190434Z

18  
ACTION EA-20

INFO OCT-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-08 L-04 NSAE-00

NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 E-15 COM-08

TRSE-00 TRSY-11 RSR-01 /122 W

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RI 190410Z JUN 71  
FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9658  
INFO AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE TOKYO 5953

SUBJ: JAPANESE REACTION TO DEPARTMENT STATEMENT ON SENKAKUS

1. JUNE 18 EVENING EDITIONS SOME TOKYO PAPERS FRONT PAGED  
REPORTS FROM THEIR WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENTS THAT DEPARTMENT  
SPOKESMAN AT JUNE 17 PRESS BRIEFING STATED THAT RETURN TO JAPAN  
OF ADMINISTRATIVE RIGHTS OVER SENKAKUS WOULD NOT PREJUDICE  
ROC'S CLAIMS TO SOVEREIGNTY. NO EDITORIAL REACTION, HOWEVER,  
IN JUNE 19 MORNING PAPERS.

2. IN RESPONSE TO LOW LEVEL QUERY, FONOFF AMERICAN AFFAIRS  
BUREAU OFFICIAL TOLD EMBOFF THAT NEITHER FONOFF NOR CABINET  
SECRETARIAT PLANNING TO COMMENT ON BRAY STATEMENT. HOWEVER,  
AT PRESS CONFERENCE FOR FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS EVENING JUNE  
18, FONMIN AICHI REPORTDLY SAID THAT: (A) SENKAKUS NO LONGER  
ISSUE BETWEEN US AND JAPAN AND, (B) JAPAN WILL DO WHAT IS  
NECESSARY TO PREVENT ROC CLAIMS TO SNEKAKUS FROM IRRITATING  
THE FRIENDLY RELATIONS BETWEEN ROC, JAPAN AND US.  
HE ADDED THAT THE OKINAWA REVERSION AGREEMENT HAS  
NO EFFECT ON THIS ISSUE AND THAT THERE HAS BEEN NO  
CHANGE IN JAPANESE SOVEREIGNTY OVER THE SENKAKUS.

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POL 32-6 SENKAKU

## DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: Amembassy TAIPEI

SUBJ: *Pol 32-6 Senkakus*  
Senkakus: Aerial PhotographyREF : Hicom Okinawa Ryis 170905Z Jun 71;  
State 109963

In view of June 30 contract deadline for Lyon Associates,  
Embassy's views needed asap.

END

ROGERS

DRAFTED BY: <i>MEM</i> EA/ROC:MEMcDonnell	DRAFTING DATE 6/22/71	TEL. EXT. 21321	APPROVED BY: EA/ROC:TPShoSmith
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CLEARANCES:

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FORM DS-322  
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By 1112 NARA Date 1-10-05

*32* *POL 32-6 SENKAKU*  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 TAIPEI 03012 211330Z

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ACTION: NONE-00

INFO: OCT-01: EA-15: L-04: CIAE-00: DODE-00: INR-08: NSAE-00: P-03

RSC-01: USIA-12: PRB-01: RSR-01: CU-05: PM-05: 1056 W  
029798

RI 211006Z JUN 71  
FM AMEMBASSY TAIPEI  
TO USIA WASHDC  
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 2948

UNCLAS TAIPEI 3012

USTAC

FOR: IOR/M: IEA

1. STATEMENT ON SOVEREIGNTY OF TIAOYUTAI (SENKAKU) ISLANDS MADE BY SPOKESMAN CHARLES BRAY AT JUNE 17 STATE DEPARTMENT BRIEFING WAS FEATURED ON FRONT PAGE MOST MAJOR PAPERS IN TAIPEI JUNE 18 AFTERNOON AND JUNE 19 MORNING. EDITORIAL COMMENT APPEARED IN TAIPEI'S THREE LARGEST-CIRCULATION DAILIES.

2. FOCUSING ON STUDENT DEMONSTRATIONS IN TAIPEI AGAINST AMERICAN RETURN OF TIAOYUTAI TO JAPAN, CHINA TIMES (220,000 - PRIVATELY OWNED) ON JUNE 18 OBSERVED: "NO ONE COULD EVER REGARD THEIR PEACEFUL ACTIVITIES AS UNREST OR DISSATISFACTION WITH NATIONAL GOVERNMENT. AS MATTER OF FACT, SINCE GOVERNMENT IS ENCOURAGING YOUTH TO PARTICIPATE IN NATIONAL AFFAIRS, BREAK PAST SILENCE, AND EXPRESS THEIR VIEWS, ACTIVITIES OF TAIWAN UNIVERSITY STUDENTS IN CONDUCTING PEACEFUL DEMONSTRATIONS TO EXPRESS THEIR VIEWS ON TIAOYUTAI QUESTION ARE JUST THE WAY FOR THEM TO PARTICIPATE IN NATIONAL AFFAIRS."

3. "WE REGARD THE DEMONSTRATION... AS CONSTITUTING JUSTIFIABLE PROTEST WHEN NATIONAL INTEREST WAS BEING COMPROMISED, AND IT DESERVES OUR SUPPORT. THEIR EXPRESSION OF GOOD SENSE, FINE DISCIPLINE, SELF-RESPECT, SELF-STRENGTHENING ALSO DESERVES OUR APPLAUSE."

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*Taipei 3012*  
*6-21-71*

*Pol 32-6*

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TELEGRAM

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PAGE 02 TAIPEI 03012 211330Z

4. ON JUNE 19, OFFICIAL CENTRAL DAILY NEWS (190,000 - KMT OFFICIAL) HAILED EDITORIALY THAT "PATRIOTIC CHINESE STUDENTS IN PROTESTING AGAINST UNITED STATES AND JAPAN FOR THEIR ACTIONS DETRIMENTAL TO OUR TERRITORIAL RIGHTS STAGED DEMONSTRATIONS AT HOME AND ABROAD OTHER DAY AGAINST STATE DEPARTMENT AND BOTH U.S. AND JAPANESE EMBASSIES IN TAIPEI..."

5. PAPER CONTINUED: "REPUBLIC OF CHINA HAS GONE THROUGH GREAT MANY DIFFICULTIES IN NATION BUILDING. OUR YOUTH HAVE ALSO GROWN UP GENERATION AFTER GENERATION AMIDST DIFFICULTIES. THIS ESPECIALLY TRUE OF YOUTHS OF THIS GENERATION WHO HAVE SUFFERED MUCH AS RESULT OF CHINESE COMMUNIST REBELLION IN HAVING FAMILIES SEPARATED. BUT THEIR DEEP CONCERN FOR NATIONAL AFFAIRS IS GENUINE AND THEIR VIEWS LOGICAL AND CALM. UNLIKE THEIR FELLOW YOUTHS OF UNITED STATES AND JAPAN WHO ARE IMMATURE, SUPERFICIAL, RASH AND EMOTIONAL, EASILY UTILIZED BY OTHERS..."

6. IN A JUNE 19 EDITORIAL INDEPENDENT UNITED DAILY NEWS (280,000 - PRIVATELY OWNED) ALSO SUPPORTED STUDENT DEMONSTRATION AGAINST TRANSFER OF TIAOYUTAI ISLETS, SAYING:

7. "PRIVATE TRANSFER OF RYUKYU ISLANDS TOGETHER WITH TIAOYUTAI ISLETS BY UNITED STATES TO JAPAN, IN VIOLATION OF JUSTICE AND LAW, HAS EVOKED ANGER AND CONDEMNATION OF CHINESE PEOPLE EVERYWHERE..."

8. "OUR GOVERNMENT HAS REPEATEDLY ISSUED STATEMENTS REGARDING SOVEREIGNTY OF TIAOYUTAI ISLETS EITHER IN FORM OF PROTESTS OF U.S. AND JAPANESE GOVERNMENTS OR OUTRIGHT DEFENSE OF OUR RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES. UNFORTUNATELY, GOVERNMENTS OF UNITED STATES AND JAPAN DID NOT MAKE ANY REASONABLE AND LAWFUL ACTIONS TO SHOW RESPECT FOR OUR SOVEREIGNTY OVER ISLETS... SUCH POWER POLITICS AND EXPEDIENCY HAVE NOT ONLY COMPROMISED OUR SOVEREIGN RIGHTS OVER THE TIAOYUTAI ISLETS BUT ALSO DISTURBED PEACE AND UNITY IN ASIAN-PACIFIC REGION..."

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PAGE 03: TAIPEI 03012 211330Z

9. "OUR GOVERNMENT'S CLEARLY EXPRESSED ATTITUDE THAT TRANSFER OF ISLETS WAS UTTERLY UNACCEPTABLE TO US HAS LEGALLY DENIED LAWFULNESS OF TRANSFER. IT NATURALLY DENIED LAWFULNESS OF JAPANESE ACCEPTANCE OF ISLETS.

10. "BUT SOVEREIGNTY OVER TIAOYUTAI WOULD NOT IN ANY WAY BE CHANGED BY TRANSFER OF ADMINISTRATIVE RIGHTS. DESPITE UNREASONABLE AND ILLEGAL ACTIONS OF U.S. AND JAPANESE GOVERNMENTS. WE WISH TO WARN THE TWO GOVERNMENTS THAT SUCH ILLEGAL TRANSFER, ASIDE FROM USHERING IN LONG RANGE CONTROVERSIES FOR THE THREE COUNTRIES CONCERNED, WILL NOT CREATE EFFECTIVELY AN ACCOMPLISHED FACT..."  
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By 1110 NARA Date 1-10-83

INDICATE:

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 Classification on 23 JUN 71  
 Department of State  
**TELEGRAM**

POL 32-6 SENKAKU

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## DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: Amembassy TAIPEI

INFO: Amembassy TOKYO  
HICOMRY

SUBJECT: OKINAWA SURVEY

REF: A. TAIPEI 3047  
B. HICOMRY 170905Z June 71  
C. STATE 109963

1. Appreciate considerations described ref a. However do not believe USG should intercede to prevent completion of Lyon Associates contract with GRI at this late stage in view of possible costs involved and likely reaction on Okinawa. Army informing Hicomry via septel.

2. Dept inclined to think this operation using small Piper Aircraft unlikely draw much attention. However, Embassy may wish inform MOFA in advance pointing out that this operation completes commercial mapping contract signed year and a half ago between GRI and private company and has no effect on GRC position with respect to Senkaku issue.

ROGERS

END

DRAFTED BY: HM

EA/J:HMMcElroy:bd

DRAFTING DATE

6/23/71

TEL. EXT.

23152

APPROVED BY:

EA - Ambassador Brown

CLEARANCES:

EA/GRC - Miss MacDonnell (draft)

Army - Mr. Freimuth (subs)

EA/J - Mr. Ericson

CONFIDENTIAL

Classification

FORM DS-322  
4-68

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Authority NND969044  
By ma NARA Date 1-10-95

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POL 33-6 SENKAKUS

Department of State

TELEGRAM

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PAGE 01 TAIPEI 03047 230342Z

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ACTION EA-20

INFO OCT-01 PM-05 NSC-10 SS-20 RSC-01 INR-08 CIAE-00 NSA-02

DODE-00 RER-00 /068 W

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R 230025Z JUNI 71  
FM AMEMBASSY TAIPEI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2965  
INFO AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
AMCONSUL HONG KONG  
HICOMRY  
CINCPAC

C O N F I D E N T I A L T A I P E I 3047

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

SUBJECT: SENKAKUS AERIAL PHOTOGRAPHY.

STATE 109963

1. WE BELIEVE IF GRC SHOULD LEARN OF SURVEY, PARTICULARLY  
IF IT LEARNS THROUGH THE PRESS, IT WOULD FIND IT BOTH  
EMBARRASSING AND OBJECTIONABLE. GRC FISHING VESSELS NOW  
LIKELY TO BE IN AREA AND MAY WELL OBSERVE LYON ASSOCIATES  
LOW-FLYING PIPER AZTEC.

2. WE HOPE THAT WASHINGTON WILL FIND IT FEASIBLE TO  
DELAY THIS MINOR PROJECT TILL TIME WHEN THE GRC  
OR THE JAPANESE CAN DO IT WITHOUT REFERENCE TO US.  
FROM OUR POINT OF VIEW, TIMING CLEARLY IS NOT PROPITIOUS.

GP-3  
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Taipei 3047  
6-23-71

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By 1112 NARA Date 1-10-95

46 POL 32-6 SENKAKU IS  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 TAIPEI 03069 231009Z

12  
ACTION: SS-45

INFO: OCT-01 /046 W

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R 230932Z JUN 71  
FM AMEMBASSY TAIPEI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2976  
INFO AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
AMCONSUL HONG KONG  
AMEMBASSY SEOUL  
HICOMRY

SECRET TAIPEI 3069

EXDIS:

SUBJECT: CHANG CHUN VISIT TO TOKYO.

REF: TOKYO 5791

HONG KONG PLEASE PASS AMBASSADOR KENNEDY.

1. FOREIGN MINISTER CHOU SHU-KAI AND JAPANESE AMBASSADOR ITAGAKI REVEALED TO CHARGE IN SEPARATE CONVERSATIONS LAST NIGHT THAT CHANG CHUN WOULD BE DISCUSSING QUESTION OF SENKAKUS DURING VISIT TO JAPAN AND MAY ALSO GET INTO QUESTION OF OFFSHORE OIL. ITAGAKI EMPHASIZED, HOWEVER, THAT TALKS WITH CHANG WOULD ONLY INVOLVE QUESTION OF HOW TO APPROACH THESE PROBLEMS AND WOULD NOT INVOLVE ANY NEGOTIATIONS.

2. FOREIGN MINISTER CHOU SAID THAT HE LOOKED ON THESE TALKS AS A RECONNAISSANCE WHICH WOULD LAY GROUNDWORK FOR DISCUSSIONS HE HOPED TO HAVE WITH FOREIGN MINISTER AICHI DURING MEETINGS IN MANILA MIDDLE OF NEXT MONTH. CHOU ADDED THAT HE HOPED DISPUTE WITH JAPAN OVER THE SENKAKUS COULD BE KEPT LESS VISIBLE IN THE FUTURE, SINCE PAST HISTORY OF CHARGES AND COUNTER-CHARGES HAVE HELPED NEITHER SIDE.

3. CHINESE HERE OBVIOUSLY REMAIN UNHAPPY OVER REVERSION OF SENKAKUS TO JAPANESE ADMINISTRATION BUT ARE PLEASED

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By 1ma NARA Date 1-10-05

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PAGE 02 TAIPEI 03069 231009Z

WITH SECRETARY ROGERS' EFFORTS IN URGING THAT JAPANESE  
TAKE INITIATIVE IN DISCUSSING SENKAKUS ISSUE WITH GRC.  
VICE PREMIER CHIANG, IN DISCUSSING ROGERS' LETTER TO  
AICHI WITH CHARGE, INDICATED HE CONSIDERED SECRETARY'S  
INITIATIVE SIGNIFICANT AND HELPFUL. IT NOW SEEMS CLEAR  
THAT SECRETARY'S LETTER AND AICHI/PENG TALK JUNE 14 HAVE  
SET STAGE FOR CHANG CHUN TO HAVE USEFUL DISCUSSIONS IN TOKYO.  
(FRED CHEN SAYS TALKS SCHEDULED FOR SOMETIME AROUND JULY 12.)  
GP-1  
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Classification	SECRET	S/S	9
Post	TAIPEI	S/S - Screener	42, 43, 44
Serial No.	3069	S/S - CMS	45
Date	JUNE 23, 1971	S/S - O	11
		DOO-BD	12
PRINCIPALS		GEOGRAPHIC BUREAUS	
S	✓ 4	AF	
U	✓ 5	ARA	
J	✓ 6	EA	✓ 23
D		EUR	
O		NEA	
C	✓ 10	OTHER AGENCIES	
S/AL	✓ 13	White House	✓ 2, 3
S/CPR		Secret Service	
S/PC		Vice President	
S/PRS	✓ 14	Defense	
U/PW		State Rep	
FUNCTIONAL BUREAUS		MIL REP	
A		CIA	✓ 0952 RS 423/71
A/OPR		ACDA	
A/SY		AID	
CU		AID/VN	
DG		AID/EA	
E		Treasury	
H		BNDD	
INR	✓ 15-16	OPIC	
IO		CIEP	
L		USIA	✓ 24
P		OTHER	
PM	✓ 17-18		
SCI			

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TELEGRAM

POL 32-6 SENKAKU IS

SECRET 506

PAGE 01 TAIPEI 03192 301119Z

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ACTION EA-18

INFO OCT-01 SS-20 PM-08 DODE-00 NSC-10 NSCE-00 CIAE-00

NSAE-00 INR-07 LF-02 SAL-02 PRS-01 USIA-04 RSR-01

RSC-01 1070 W

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R 301005Z JUNI 71  
FM AMEMBASSY TAIPEI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3028  
INFO AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
AMCONSUL HONG KONG  
/HICOMRY  
CONCPAC

SECRET TAIPEI 3192

LIMDIS NORONI

CONCPAC FORI POLADI

SUBJECT: JAPANESE POSITION ON SENKAKUS.

REF: STATE 108253 *je v 326*

SUMMARY: GOV. IN RESPONSE TO GRC REQUEST FOR NEGOTIATIONS ON SENKAKUS, HAS TAKEN POSITION THAT IF GRC ACKNOWLEDGES JAPANESE SOVEREIGNTY OVER ISLANDS, DISCUSSIONS CAN BE HELD ON RELATED ISSUES. FONMIN CHOW SHU-KAI REPORTEDLY INTERPRETED GOV. POSITION AS: "NOT TOTALLY EXCLUDING POSSIBILITY OF TALKS FOREVER." JAPANESE MIGHT CONSIDER THAT OPENING QUESTION OF SOVEREIGNTY ALSO OPENS QUESTION OF WHICH IS "REAL" CHINESE GOVERNMENT. END SUMMARY.

1. ACCORDING JAPANESE EMBOFFI (YOSHIDA) FONMIN CHOW SHU-KAI CALLED IN JAPANESE AMBASSADOR ON JUNE 19 TO PROPOSE NEGOTIATIONS ON STATUS OF SENKAKUS. CHOW, IN RESPONSE TO JAPANESE QUERY, INFORMED AMBASSADOR THAT EITHER "NEGOTIATIONS" OR "DISCUSSIONS" ACCEPTABLE TO GRC.

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PAGE 02 TAIPEI 03192 301119Z

2. JAPANESE AMBASSADOR RESPONDED TO CHOW'S REQUEST ON JUNE 25, AND MADE FOLLOWING POINTS: 1) STATUS OF SENKAKUS DETERMINED BY ARTICLE 3 OF THE SAN FRANCISCO TREATY. 2) IF GRC WILLING TO RECOGNIZE JAPAN'S TERRITORIAL SOVEREIGNTY OVER THE SENKAKUS, GOU WILLING TO DISCUSS RELATED ISSUES IN AN EFFORT TO MAINTAIN CORDIAL RELATIONS. HOWEVER, GOU REALIZES THIS POSITION MAY BE CONSIDERED INCONCEIVABLE BY GRC. 3) JAPAN IS CONCERNED THAT (A) GREAT HARM WILL OCCUR FOR BOTH PARTIES IF NATIONALS OF THE RESPECTIVE COUNTRIES BECOME INFLAMED AND ENGAGE IN MUTUAL RECRIMINATIONS, AND (B) THAT PEKING WILL TAKE OPPORTUNITY PRESENTED BY THIS ISSUE TO DISRUPT FRIENDLY GOU-GRC RELATIONS FOR ITS OWN PURPOSES. 4) JAPAN ADVISES THAT BOTH PARTIES REFRAIN FROM ATTACKING EACH OTHER'S POSITION, AND TAKE MEASURES TO PREVENT UNTOWARD INCIDENTS FROM OCCURRING AS RESULT OF SENKAKUS DISPUTE. SHOULD ANY INCIDENT OCCUR, THE TWO SIDES SHOULD CONSULT ON HOW TO COPE WITH IT.

3. ACCORDING TO YOSHIDA, CHOW READ THE JAPANESE STATEMENT AND REPLIED MILDLY, STATING ONLY THAT HE INTERPRETS JAPANESE REPLY TO HIS DEMARCHE AS "NOT TOTALLY EXCLUDING POSSIBILITY OF TALKS FOREVER."

4. YOSHIDA COMMENTED THAT JAPANESE CONSIDER CHOW WAS "ARMED WITH DEPARTMENT'S JUNE 17 STATEMENT" (REFTELI) WHEN HE PROPOSED NEGOTIATIONS TO JAPANESE AMBASSADOR. EMBOFFI RESPONDED THAT STATEMENT REITERATED POSITION WE HAVE MAINTAINED THROUGHOUT DISPUTE.

5. YOSHIDA SAID THAT JAPANESE, IN TAKING THIS POSITION ON SENKAKUS, HAD TO CONSIDER THAT OPENING THE QUESTION OF SOVEREIGNTY ALSO OPENED QUESTION OF WHICH "AUTHORITY" TO DEAL WITH AND WHICH IS "REAL" CHINESE GOVERNMENT. OBVIOUSLY EMBARRASSED, YOSHIDA IMMEDIATELY RETRACTED STATEMENT AND ASKED NOT TO BE QUOTED.

6. YOSHIDA ALSO SUGGESTED THAT GRC'S NEXT MOVE WOULD BE ATTEMPT TO HAVE US PUT PRESSURE ON JAPAN. HE ALSO ASKED WHETHER OUR POLICY IN RESTRICTING SURVEY OPERATIONS WAS PART OF ATTEMPT TO BRING PRC BACK TO WARSAW TALKS, TO WHICH EMBOFFI GAVE NEGATIVE REPLY.

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TELEGRAM

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PAGE 03: TAIPEI 03192 304119Z

7. AMBASSADOR ITAGAKI COMMENTED JUNE 29 THAT SENKAKUS  
HAVE NOW BECOME JAPANESE, NOT US, PROBLEM SINCE BEGINNING  
DISCUSSIONS WITH GRC. GP-1  
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NND 969044

By

1702

NARA Date 1-10-03



Pol 32-6 Senkakus Is  
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TELEGRAM

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PAGE 01 TAIPEI 03255 050458Z

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ACTION EA-20

INFO OCT-01 PM-09 CIAE-00 DODE-00 INR-08 NSAE-00 P-03

RSC-01 USIA-12 PRSL-01 NIC-01 SS-20 NSC-10 NSP-01 1087 W  
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R 050439Z JUL 71

FM AMEMBASSY TAIPEI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3061  
INFO HICOMRY  
AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
AMCONSUL HONG KONG

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE TAIPEI 3255

SUBJECT: ROC NAVAL PATROL OF SENKAKUS

1. CHINA NEWS AGENCY, CHINA POST, CHINA NEWS, AND LIEN HO PAO (LATTER BASING STORY ON DEFENSE MIN SOURCES) REPORTED THAT TWO ROC SHIPS (DD-1 NO. 1 AND PATROL TRANSPORT PE-4 NO. 3) PATROLLED WATERS NEAR SENKAKUS FOR THREE AND HALF HOURS ON AFTERNOON JUNE 29. SHIPS ENROUTE HOME AFTER VISIT TO CHINHAEE KOREA, WITH 800 OFFICERS AND CADETS ON TRAINING CRUISE. REPORTS SAID SHIPS FOUND TWO JAPANESE FISHING VESSELS IN AREA.

2. ARTICLES NOTED THIS WAS FIRST CRUISE CONDUCTED BY ROC WARSHIPS SINCE US "TRANSFERRED RYUKYUS" AND SENKAKUS TO JAPAN "ON JUNE 17, DISREGARDING COMPLETELY OPPOSITION OF CHINESE GOVERNMENT." ARTICLES REITERATED THAT GOVERNMENT HAS MADE VERY CLEAR THAT SENKAKUS BELONG TO ROC AND ARE UNDER FULL SOVEREIGN POWER OF GOVERNMENT OF ROC.

3. COMMENT: "PATROL" BETTER DESCRIBED MILEAGE-WISE AS MINOR DEVIATION ENROUTE TO TAIWANI FROM KOREA. GESTURE PRESUMABLY FOR BENEFIT OF STUDENTS HERE AND ELSEWHERE AS WELL AS FOR INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY I.E. JAPAN AND US. SOMEWHAT SURPRISING THAT LOCAL PRESS DID NOT CARRY EVEN MORE EXTENSIVE COVERAGE. EXEMPT

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TAIPEI 3255  
7/5/77

July 5  
1971  
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Pol 32-6 Senkaku Is  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 TAIPEI 03280 070321Z

92  
ACTION EA-20

INFO OCT-01 PM-04 NSC-04 SS-20 RSC-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00

INR-08 NSAE-00 P-02 USIA-12 PRS-01 NIC-00 RBR-01 /074 W  
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R 070314Z JUL 71  
FM AMEMBASSY TAIPEI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3068  
INFO AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
AMCONSUL HONG KONG  
HICOMRY  
CINCPAC

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE TAIPEI 3280

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

SUBJECT: ROC NAVAL PATROL OF SENKAKUS.

REF: TAIPEI 3255

ADM. SOONG CHANG-CHIH, CINC. CHINESE NAVY, HAS INFORMED  
EMBASSY THAT GRC "PATROL" OF SENKAKUS WAS REQUESTED BY THE  
CMDR. OF CHINESE SHIPS ON MIDSHIPMEN'S CRUISES AS THEY RETURNED  
FROM KOREA. SOONG SAID THAT HE AUTHORIZED A SLIGHT DEVIATION OF  
COURSE TO ENABLE THE CHINESE SHIPS TO BYPASS THE SENKAKUS BUT  
INSTRUCTED THEM THAT IN NO CASE WERE THE SHIPS TO APPROACH  
CLOSER THAN SIX NAUTICAL MILES TO THE SENKAKUS. EXEMPT  
MC CONAUGHY

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TAIPEI 3280  
7/7/71

July  
7  
1971



DECLASSIFIED  
 Authority *MD 969039*  
 By *CU* NARA Date *9/15/08*



Pol 23-8 HK  
 Department of State

TELEGRAM

XR Pol 32-6 Senkaku Is

CONFIDENTIAL 388

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II  
 ACTION EA-20

INFO: OCT-01 EUR-20 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-09 H-02 INR-08 L-04  
 NSAE-00 NSE-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USTA-12 GU-05  
 OPR-03 10-16 NIC-01 RSR-01 1137 W 083238

R 080830Z JUL 71  
 FM AMCONSUL HONG KONG  
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1445  
 INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON  
 AMEMBASSY TAIPEI  
 DIA

CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL HONG KONG 4562

SUBJ: SENKAKU DEMONSTRATION ERUPTS IN VIOLENCE

SUMMARY: SENKAKU ISLAND DEMONSTRATION ON JULY 7 DISPERSED BY POLICE WITH SIX PEOPLE INJURED AND TWENTY ONE ARRESTED. THERE WAS SOME VIOLENCE AND CARS WERE STONED, THREE VEHICLES BURNED, APPROXIMATELY 3,000 PEOPLE WERE PRESENT, NOT ALL DEMONSTRATORS. DEMONSTRATION ORGANIZED BY STUDENT ORGANIZATIONS AND POLICE DO NOT BELIEVE THERE IS ANY OUTSIDE POLITICAL BACKING TO THIS AND PREVIOUS SENKAKU DEMONSTRATIONS. STUDENTS PROMISE MORE DEMONSTRATIONS ON THIS ISSUE ON JULY 4 AND JULY 6 SMALL DEMONSTRATIONS HELD BEFORE CONSULATE ON SENKAKU ISSUE. THESE FOR FIRST TIME SHOWED BANNERS PROTESTING "TWO CHINAS" AND TAIWAN INDEPENDENCE. END SUMMARY

1. STUDENT ORGANIZED DEMONSTRATION PROTESTING US RETURN OF SENKAKU (TIAO YU TAI) ISLANDS TO JAPAN WAS HELD EVENING OF JULY 7 IN VICTORIA PARK WITH SIX INJURED, TWENTY ONE ARRESTED, MANY VEHICLES STONED AND THREE MOTORCYCLES DESTROYED BY FIRE. FOLLOWING DEMONSTRATION, STUDENTS HELD PRESS CONFERENCE TO ACCUSE POLICE OF "BRUTALITY, AND TO MAKE PLANS FOR FUTURE DEMONSTRATIONS.

2. DEMONSTRATIONS HAD BEEN PLANNED AND PUBLICIZED FOR MORE THAN MONTH IN ADVANCE AND WAS HELD ON JULY 7 ANNIVERSARY OF JAPANESE ATTACK ON MARCO POLO BRIDGE. VICTORIA PARK SITE (ON HONG KONG

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HONG KONG 4562 7/8/71



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TELEGRAM

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ISLAND) CHOSEN AFTER IT WAS SUGGESTED BY COMMISSIONER OF POLICE WHO WANTED TO GET DEMONSTRATORS OUT OF CENTRAL DISTRICT AND AWAY FROM US AND JAPANESE CONSULATES. POLICE HAD AGREED TO USE OF PARK CONTINGENT UPON URBAN COUNCIL PERMISSION BUT THIS WAS DENIED AT LAST MOMENT. STUDENT ORGANIZERS DECIDED TO PROCEED AS PLANNED BUT HOPED TO AVOID CONFRONTATION WITH POLICE.

3. POLICE DO NOT BELIEVE EITHER CHINESE COMMUNISTS OR NATIONALISTS INVOLVED IN DEMONSTRATIONS. POLICE ALSO NOTED MANY OF "TROUBLE MAKERS" WERE NOT STUDENTS BUT "YOUNG THUGS" WHO IN HONG KONG ARE ALWAYS QUICK TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF ANY BREAKDOWN OF PUBLIC ORDER TO FLAUNT AUTHORITIES. THREE MAJOR ORGANIZERS OF DEMONSTRATION WERE HK FEDERATION OF STUDENTS, A GROUP FROM CHONG KIN EXPERIMENTAL COLLEGE AND ANOTHER GROUP FROM "70'S BI-WEEKLY" MAGAZINE. POLICE SAY SOME EXPATRIATE FACULTY MEMBERS WITH RADICAL POLITICAL BELIEFS WERE SEEN IN VICINITY OF DISTURBANCE AND IT IS BELIEVED THEY MAY HAVE SPURRED STUDENTS TO ACTION.

4. AS REPORTED IN TA KUNG PAO, DEMONSTRATION FEATURED BANNERS READING "OPPOSE TWO CHINAS, OPPOSE TAIWAN INDEPENDENCE!" AS WELL AS USUAL "DOWN WITH AMERICAN IMPERIALISM!" "DOWN WITH JAPANESE IMPERIALISM!"

5. COMMUNIST AND NON-COMMUNIST PRESS ALL REPORTED INCIDENT. COMMUNIST PRESS MADE NO EDITORIAL COMMENT, NON-COMMUNIST PRESS GENERALLY DEPLORED INCIDENT, SAYING POLICE TOO QUICK TO ACT, URBAN COUNCIL SHOULD HAVE GIVEN PERMISSION TO USE PARK (AND THUS MAKE DEMONSTRATION LEGAL), AND STUDENTS DAMAGE OWN CAUSE BY RESORT TO VIOLENCE. NON-COMMUNIST CHINESE PAPERS AGREE SENKAKU DEMONSTRATIONS ARE "PATRIOTIC" AND WORTHY CAUSE.

6. TWO OTHER SENKAKU DEMONSTRATIONS HAVE ALSO TAKEN PLACE BEFORE US CONSULATE GENERAL RECENTLY. ON SUNDAY JULY 4 ABOUT 40 YOUTHS PARADED IN CONSULATE PARK, SHOUTED SLOGANS, AND HANDED LETTER TO CONSULATE CALLING ON JAPAN AND US TO STOP "AGGRESSION" IN SENKAKU ISLANDS. BANNERS NOT ONLY ATTACKED US AND JAPAN, BUT ALSO OBJECTED TO "TAIWAN INDEPENDENCE" AND "TWO CHINAS." POLICE SAY THIS IS FIRST APPEARANCE OF SUCH SLOGANS, AND IDENTIFY ORGANIZERS AS COMING FROM EXPERIMENTAL COLLEGE.

7. AT NOON OF JULY 6 ABOUT 60 YOUTHS CAME TO US CONSULATE WITH BANNERS ATTACKING "AMERICAN IMPERIALISM", "JAPANESE MILITARISM" AND

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"BRITISH IMPERIALIST COLONIALISM". THEY SANG SONGS, SHOUTED SLOGANS, AND LEFT AFTER HALF HOUR WITHOUT INCIDENT. TWELVE OF DEMONSTRATORS HAD JUST BEEN FOUND GUILTY IN COURT OF "UNLAWFUL ASSEMBLY" AND FINED OVER FOR HK\$100 DOLLARS FOR MAY 4 DEMONSTRATION OUTSIDE CITY HALL.

B. APPEARANCE OF BANNERS RAISING ISSUES OF "TWO CHINAS" AND "TAIWAN INDEPENDENCE" SHOWS EFFORTS OF STUDENT LEADERS TO ENLARGE SCOPE OF SENKAKU DEMONSTRATIONS. STUDENTS HAVE PROMISED FURTHER DEMONSTRATIONS, AND HK POLICE BELIEVE THEY WILL LIVE UP TO PROMISES. GP-3  
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POL 32-6 SENKAKU IS

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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ACTION EA-20

INFO OCT-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-09 H-02 INR-08 L-04 NSAE-00

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FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 174  
INFO AMCONSUL HONG KONG  
AMEMBASSY TAIPEI  
HICOMRY

CONFIDENTIAL TOKYO 6880

SUBJ: SENKAKUS

IN RECENT CONVERSATION WITH EMBOFFI FONOFFI CHINA DIV DEP CHIEF  
WATANABE SAID THAT CHINESE DID NOT RPT NOT RAISE SENKAKU QUESTION  
EITHER IN JULY 1 MEETING IN SEOUL BETWEEN PRESIDENTIAL  
SECRETARY CHANG CHUN AND PRIMIN SATO NOR IN JULY 13 MEETING IN

MANILA BETWEEN FONMIN CHOU SHU-KAI AND FORMER FONMIN AICHI.  
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Pol 32-6 Senkakus

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 HONG K 04741 170433Z

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ACTION EA-20

INFO OCT-01 IO-16 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-09 H-02 INR-08 L-04  
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FM AMCONSUL HONG KONG  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1492  
INFO AMEMBASSY MANILA  
AMEMBASSY SAIGON  
AMEMBASSY SEOUL  
AMEMBASSY TAIPEI  
AMEMBASSY TOKYO

C O N F I D E N T I A L HONG KONG 4741

SUBJECT: PRC ASSERTS CLAIM TO SPRATLEY AND PARACEL ISLANDS

SUMMARY: NOT TO BE OUTDONE BY THE GRC, PEKING HAS ASSERTED ITS CLAIM TO THE SPRATLEY AND PARACEL ISLANDS IN A SPEECH BY THE PLA CHIEF OF STAFF ON JULY 16 WHICH ALSO ROUTINELY ATTACKS THE "PLOTS" OF U.S. AND JAPANESE "REACTIONARIES" IN ASIA.  
END SUMMARY

1. NCNA JULY 16 RELEASED AN ARTICLE GIVING EXTRACTS FROM A SPEECH MADE THAT DAY IN PEKING BY PLA STAFF CHIEF HUANG YUNG-SHENG CONDEMNING "U.S. AND JAPANESE REACTIONARIES FOR THEIR PLOTS OF AGGRESSION" AND WARNING THE PHILIPPINE GOVT THAT IT MUST IMMEDIATELY STOP ITS "ENCROACHMENTS ON CHINA'S TERRITORY." HUANG, WHO WAS SPEAKING AT A BANQUET GIVEN BY THE DPRK AMBASSADOR, ATTACKED THE RECENT VISITS TO NORTH ASIA BY VICE PRESIDENT AGNEW AND DEFENSE SECRETARY LAIRD AND OBSERVED THAT THE "UNITED FRONT" OF ASIAN PEOPLES AGAINST THE U.S. AND JAPANESE "REACTIONARIES" IS CONSTANTLY DEVELOPING AND EXPANDING.

2. HUANG WENT ON TO SAY THAT "IN CONFORMITY WITH U.S. IMPERIALISM'S NEED TO PUSH ITS POLICY OF AGGRESSION IN ASIA, THE PHILIPPINE GOVT RECENTLY CLAMORED THAT THE NANSHA ISLANDS WERE

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HONG KONG 4741 7/7/71

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By me NARA Date 1-10-03

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PAGE 02 HONG K 04741 170433Z

DISPUTED ISLANDS AND ANNOUNCED THAT IT HAD SENT TROOPS TO OCCUPY SEVERAL PRINCIPAL ISLANDS OF THE NANSHA ISLANDS." HUANG TERMED THIS A "GRAVE INFRINGEMENT UPON CHINA'S SOVEREIGNTY OVER ITS TERRITORY." HE ALSO CHARGED THAT THE "SAIGON PUPPET CLIQUE" HAD "CLAMORED" ITS CLAIMS TO THE NANSHA AND HSISHA ISLANDS. HUANG ASSERTED THAT THE PRC HAD "INDISPUTABLE LEGITIMATE SOVEREIGNTY" OVER ALL THESE ISLANDS AND WOULD TOLERATE NO ENCROACHMENT. HE DEMANDED THAT THE PHILIPPINE GOVT WITHDRAW ALL ITS TROOPS FROM NANSHA IMMEDIATELY.

3. COMMENT: CHINESE COMMUNIST MAPS HAVE SHOWN THE NANSHA (SPRATLEY) AND HSISHA (PARACEL) ISLANDS AS PART OF PRC TERRITORY. PEKING HAS OFTEN DRAWN ATTENTION TO ITS CLAIM TO THE HSISHA ISLANDS BY "SERIOUS WARNINGS" AGAINST U.S. AIR AND NAVAL INTRUSIONS BUT IT HAS NOT FREQUENTLY AIRED ITS CLAIM TO THE NANSHA ISLANDS. IN DOING SO NOW, IT OBVIOUSLY FEELS OBLIGED TO BE AS ASSERTIVE AS THE GRC HAS RECENTLY BEEN IN COUNTERING FOREIGN ENCROACHMENTS ON "CHINA'S" TERRITORY. INTERESTINGLY, THE ACCOUNT OF HUANG'S SPEECH MAKES NO EXPLICIT MENTION OF THE GRC'S PART IN THE DISPUTE WITH THE PHILIPPINES NOR ANY REFERENCE TO NATIONALIST INSTALLATIONS IN THE AREA.

4. HUANG'S REFERENCES TO THE "AGGRESSIVE" PLOTS OF THE U.S. AND JAPANESE REACTIONARIES SOUND ROUTINE. IT IS NOTABLE THAT NCNA DID NOT IN THIS INSTANCE CARRY THE FULL TEXT OF HIS SPEECH. THE RELEASE OF ONLY EXTRACTS WAS PROBABLY FOR THE PURPOSE OF HIGHLIGHTING HIS REMARKS ABOUT THE NANSHA ISLANDS BUT IT COULD ALSO REPRESENT A DESIRE TO PLAY DOWN WHAT HE HAD TO SAY ABOUT U.S. "IMPERIALISM."

GP-4

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

SECRET - EXDIS

MEMORANDUM

July 19, 1971

TO: EA/ROC - Mr. Thomas P. Shoesmith  
FROM: L/EA - Robert I. Starr *RS*  
SUBJECT: The Senkakus Dispute

Our Embassy in Taipei reports that during a recent conversation with Ambassador McConaughy, Vice Premier Chiang Ching-Kuo expressed appreciation for our initiative in asking the GOJ to discuss the Senkakus matter with the GRC, but noted the GRC's "subsequent shock to find that Japanese not prepared to discuss sovereignty question." Chiang Ching-Kuo "hoped we could convince Japanese to abandon their evasive posture." (Taipei 3388)

I think we should be extremely cautious about getting more deeply involved in this matter by asking the GOJ specifically to discuss with the GRC the issue of sovereignty over the Senkakus.

In State's 102728 Secretary Rogers asked our Embassy in London to deliver a personal message to Foreign Minister Aichi (who was in London at the time) referring to their earlier discussion in which Aichi offered to discuss this subject with the GRC "if that appeared necessary", and urging the GOJ to give "most serious consideration to discussing this issue" with the GRC prior to signature of the Reversion Agreement. The Secretary's personal message also included the following:

"In informing the Republic of China of the meaning of what has taken place between our Governments, I would hope you would note your Government's understanding that, in the view of the United States, the inclusion of the Senkakus Islands in the territories defined in Article I of the agreed minutes is without prejudice to the claims of either side to those islands..."

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*L: L/EA: R1 Starr + J. Evans :cdy*

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*PET (Top Secret file)*

*POL 32-6 Senkakus Islands*

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London subsequently reported (London's 5381) that Aichi said he considered the Senkakus problem to be a bilateral one between the U.S. and Japan. He expressed concern that the matter not embarrass U.S. relations with the GRC, and he promised to handle the matter in a "highly political manner".

If we now prod the GOJ on the "sovereignty" issue, as requested by the GRC, the GOJ may question continued USG adherence to our stated intention not to take sides on the GRC-GOJ dispute. The importance of not taking sides in the GRC-GOJ dispute is all the more critical in view of President Nixon's announced intention "to seek the normalization of relations between the two countries [the U.S. and the PRC] and also to exchange views on questions of concern to the two sides."

We have already made it clear to the GRC and the GOJ sides that we believe a dispute exists between them regarding the Senkakus. If the GRC should again raise the Senkakus matter along the lines of Chiang Ching-Kuo's recent conversation with Ambassador McConaughy, I suggest we be prepared to reply that we have made our position on this matter quite clear in discussions with both the GOJ and GRC, and that we continue to adhere to that position.

cc: EA/J - Mr. Ericson  
EA/ACA - Mr. Jenkins

L:L/EA:RISTARR & JAEVANS:cdj:7/19/71 Ex. 28900

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Is Japa  
problem  
not  
ROC-Japa  
problem



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POL 32-6 SEN KAKU *JS*

## DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: Amembassy TAIPEI

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SUBJ: US Approach to GOJ re Senkakus

REF : Taipei 3388

1. Department does not believe that it would be useful to make any further US approach to GOJ beyond effort already made by Secretary to persuade GOJ to discuss Senkaku Islands with GRC. Ambassador may so inform CCK on appropriate occasion if he believes response is necessary.

END

ROGERS

DRAFTED BY:

EA/ROC:MEMcDonnell:dk

DRAFTING DATE

7/21/71

TEL. EXT.

21321

APPROVED BY:

EA - Ambassador Brown

CLEARANCES:

L/EA - Mr. Starr *hew* S/S - Mr. Miller *um*  
 EA/J - Mr. Ericson *hew*  
 EA/ROC - Mr. Shoosmith *hew*

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SENKAKU IS

August 3, 1971

Honorable James V. Stanton  
United States House of Representatives  
Washington, D. C. 20515

Dear Mr. Stanton:

The Secretary has asked me to reply to your letter of July 16, concerning the reversion of the Tiaoyutai Islands to Japan.

The Senkaku Islands, or the Tiaoyutai Islands as they are known in Chinese, are a small group of uninhabited islets located in the East China Sea approximately 100 nautical miles northeast of Keelung, Taiwan. Under Article III of the 1951 Treaty of Peace with Japan, the United States acquired administrative rights over "Nansei Shoto" south of 29 degrees north latitude. This term was understood by the United States and Japan to include the Senkaku Islands, which were under Japanese administration at the end of the Second World War and which are not otherwise specifically referred to in the Treaty.

As a result of an agreement in principle reached by President Nixon and Prime Minister Sato of Japan in 1969, the United States is expected to return to Japan in 1972 the administrative rights to Nansei Shoto it acquired under the Treaty. A detailed agreement setting up provisions for the reversion of the Ryukyu Islands, including the Senkakus, was signed simultaneously June 17, 1971 in Tokyo and Washington.

The United States Government is aware that a dispute exists between the Governments of the Republic of China and Japan regarding the sovereignty of the Senkaku Islands. The United States believes that a return of administrative rights over those islands to Japan, from which those rights were received, can in no way prejudice the underlying claims of the Republic of China. The United States cannot

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By MRA Date 1-10-95



add to the legal rights Japan possessed before it transferred administration of the islands to us, nor can the United States, by giving back what it received, diminish the rights of the Republic of China. The United States considers that any conflicting claims to the Senkaku Islands are a matter for resolution by the parties concerned.

If I may be of any further assistance to you, please do not hesitate to call on me.

Sincerely yours,

*GW*  
David M. Abshire  
Assistant Secretary for  
Congressional Relations  
*GW*

*Wen*  
EA/ROC:MEMcDonnell:dk

Clearances:

EA/J - Mr. McElroy *Wen*  
L/EA - Mr. ~~Barmon~~ Starr *Wen*  
EA - Mr. Barmon *Wen*  
EA/ROC - Mr. Shoensmith *Wen*  
H - Mr. Prentice *Wen*

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FROM AND TYPE OF DOCUMENT

EA - MR. BARNON

DATE DUE

7/29/71

DATE REC'D

7/27/71

DATE

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NO.

7111140

SUBJECT

STANTON LTR. TO S REGARDING TURNING OVER OF  
 TIAO YU TAI ISLANDS TO JAPAN.  
 ACTION: PREPARE REPLY FOR SIGN. BY MR. ABBINER.  
 FOR S/S-S WHEN SIGNED BY H.

DATE EA - ROC

DATE

DATE

DATE

ANSWERED

7/27/71

NO REPLY NECESSARY

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FORM 12-63 DS-1563

DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
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(To Remain With Correspondence)

CONTROL NO.

7111140

ROC

TO

EA - Mr. Barmon

DATE

7/26/71

SUBJECT Stanton (MC) letter to S of 7/16/71 regarding turning over of  
Tiao Yu Tai Islands to Japan.**ACTION**

\*Prompt handling is essential. Return basic correspondence with reply. If delayed call telephone extension below.

For appropriate action.

For direct reply. Comeback copy required \_\_\_\_\_

XXX Prepare reply.

A response for signature by the H - Mr. Abshire

Clear with \_\_\_\_\_

Prepare a \_\_\_\_\_ to \_\_\_\_\_

Refer to White House request of \_\_\_\_\_

XX Due in H by 7/29 - please mark comeback copy for S/S-S when signed by H.

For your information.

REMARKS

TO

Mr. Weiss (w/att)

Parker W. Borg, x21522  
SECRETARY STAFF

EXT.

50240

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SE MKAKU JS



MEMBER OF CONGRESS  
20TH DISTRICT, OHIO

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AREA CODE 202, 225-8871

**Congress of the United States**  
**House of Representatives**  
Washington, D.C. 20515

MERCHANT MARINE AND

DISTRICT OFFICE:  
FEDERAL COURT HOUSE  
215 SUPERIOR AVENUE  
CLEVELAND, OHIO 44114  
AREA CODE 216, 522-4927

MICHAEL A. SWEENEY  
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

July 16, 1971

The Honorable William Rogers,  
Secretary of State  
U.S. Department of State  
2201 C Street  
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Secretary Rogers:

I today received a communication from a distinguished group of Americans with a Chinese background concerning the situation that exists with regard to the Tiao Yu Tai Islands. They point out that these islands have historically been a part of Taiwan. However, our government now proposes to give the islands to Japan under the treaty for the return of Okinawa.

What justification can there be for such an action in light of the past history of the Tiao Yu Tai Islands and in light of our treaty commitments to the Republic of China? Furthermore, what justification can there be for the State Department position that the governments of China and Japan can settle the jurisdiction of the islands by direct negotiation, after we have already given the islands to Japan?

I urge that you give further consideration to this question so that a more fair and equitable settlement might be arrived at.

Sincerely,

0016226

James V. Stanton  
Member of Congress

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NARA Date 1-10-95

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is assigned to

EA

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TO: Department of State  
 INFO: LONDON, TAIPEI  
 FROM: Amconsul Hong Kong  
 SUBJECT: Hong Kong Student Demonstrations on the  
 Senkaku Islands  
 REF: HONG KONG 4562, 2426, 1090

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RS/AN  
 ANALYSIS BRANCH

DATE: Sept. 9, 1971

## SUMMARY

Hong Kong student groups plan to stage a demonstration on the Senkaku issue on September 18, to be preceded by an all-night vigil in front of the American Consulate General. Two peaceful demonstrations on the Senkakus were held in August, and a three-day hunger strike ended Sept. 4. The "Defend the Taio Yu Tai Movement" in Hong Kong has been strongly anti-Japanese in content, but attacks on the U.S. have recently sharpened, centered on the U.S. "Two China Policy." This may mark a broadening in the focus of the Movement and the emergence of new and perhaps pro-Communist elements which may attempt to use the Movement for their own purposes. END OF SUMMARY

The Hong Kong Protection of Tiao Yu Tai Action Committee has applied to the police for a permit to hold a demonstration on the Senkaku Islands issue on September 18 at Victoria Park. The committee also intends to sponsor an all-night vigil in front of the American Consulate General on September 17. The demonstration will follow up a three-day hunger strike by six members of the Hong Kong United Front for the Protection of the Tiao Yu Tai which ended Sept. 4. The Front, organized by the 70's Bi-Weekly, a radical student newspaper, has cooperated with the Action Committee in staging past demonstrations. In this airgram the term "Tiao Yu Tai Movement" (or "Movement") is used.

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loosely to comprise the Front and the Action Committee.

Before beginning their fast, members of the Front delivered letters to the New China News Agency and the Central News Agency addressed to Premier Chou En-lai and President Chiang Kai-shek urging both governments to take action against Japan's claim to the Islands. A letter was also sent to the Congen protesting the "U.S. Two China Policy." At a press conference following completion of the strike, the protestors stated that if the two Chinese governments did not take effective action against the Japanese claim to the Senkakus they would stage an indefinite hunger strike next year in front of the Bank of China, NCA offices and the Taiwan travel service.

After the July 7 demonstration which ended in violence (HK 4562) a peaceful demonstration was held in Victoria Park on August 13. The possibility of a violent confrontation between police and the 5,000 demonstrators who attended was averted when the police agreed to accept a last minute application for a demonstration permit. Although the demonstration was peaceful, things nearly got out of hand when a small group of radicals burned a replica of a Japanese naval flag.

On August 23, 500 students held a rally at Hong Kong University where demonstrators tore up a Japanese rising sun symbol. This rally passed a resolution denouncing the U.S. Two China Policy and sent 24 persons to the Congen to demonstrate against the "U.S. Japanese plot to introduce two Chinas."

The "Tiao Yu Tai Movement" in Hong Kong has concentrated on the two major themes of "defense of Chinese sovereignty" and opposition to "Japanese militarism." These themes have seemed relatively safe in that they directly challenge neither the Hong Kong Government nor the authorities in Peking and Taipei. The Senkaku issue has seemed uniquely "Chinese" in that it involves an expression of Chinese nationalism which transcends KMT or PRC affiliation. Doubtless, young Chinese in Hong Kong have long felt the urge to emulate their peers elsewhere, or to assert membership in the demonstration generation. They have been able to use the Senkakus issue to express their pent-up feelings as Chinese without running afoul of the local authorities or giving their allegiance to either Chinese government.

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 TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2866  
 INFO AMEMBASSY TAIPEI  
 AMCONSUL HONG KONG

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INDEX: PBORJA, CH, TW.

SUBJ: SENKAKU ISLANDS QUESTION IN PRC-JAPAN RELATIONS

SUMMARY: IN PRESS CONFERENCE ON RETURN FROM PEKING,  
 JSP-ORIENTED MISSION STATED THE CHINESE HAD MENTIONED  
 SENKAKU ISLANDS AS PROBLEM FOR GOVERNMENT-TO-GOVERNMENT NEGOTIATIONS  
 BUT NOT HINDRANCE ON PEOPLE-TO-PEOPLE LEVEL. END SUMMARY.

1. TWENTY MEMBER MISSION TO CHINA BY JSP AND SOHYO  
 AFFILIATED JAPAN-CHINA DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS RESTORATION  
 PEOPLES COUNCIL, LED BY YOKOHAMA MAYOR ASUKATA,  
 RETURNED TO TOKYO NOV 23 AND HELD AIRPORT PRESS CONFERENCE.  
 CHIEF POINTS AS FOLLOWS.

2. ASUKATA SAID HE RECEIVED IMPRESSION FROM CHINESE  
 THAT WHILE GRC-JAPAN TREATY WOULD CREATE PROBLEM FOR  
 GOVERNMENT-TO-GOVERNMENT NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN PRC AND  
 JAPAN, IT NEED NOT BE ABROGATED BEFORE SUCH NEGOTIATIONS  
 BEGIN.

3. ASUKATA SAID CHINESE EXPRESSED STRONG OPPOSITION TO  
 /PLOT OF JAPANESE AND AMERICAN MONOPOLY CAPITAL TOWARD  
 MONOPOLIZATION OF SENKAKU ISLANDS. ASUKATA HAD  
 IMPRESSION THAT SENKAKU ISSUE COULD NOT BE SIDESTEPED

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INI GOVERNMENT-TO-GOVERNMENT NEGOTIATIONS BUT THAT  
CHINESE FELT RESTORATION OF RELATIONS ON PEOPLE-TO-  
PEOPLE LEVEL SHOULD NOT BE HAMPERED BY SENKAKU ISSUE.

4. COMMENT. WE AGREE WITH FONOFF THAT ASUKATA STATE-  
MENTS WERE TOO FUZZY TO WARRANT ANY CLEAR DEDUCTIONS.  
AS TO WHETHER ANY FLEXIBILITY EXISTS IN PRC POSITION ON  
SENKAKUS. HOWEVER, FONOFF HAS IMPRESSION THAT IN RECENT  
WEEKS PRC HAS REFRAINED FROM CATEGORICAL PRONOUNCEMENTS  
CONCERNING SOVEREIGNTY OVER SENKAKUS. GP-3  
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AMEMBASSY TOKYO

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SUBJ: SENKAKU ISLANDS IN PRC-JAPAN RELATIONS

REF: TOKYO 11734

1. THE PRC HAS INDIRECTLY RESTATED ITS CLAIM TO SOVEREIGNTY OVER THE SENKAKU ISLANDS IN TWO RECENT ATTACKS ON JAPAN'S CLAIM TO THE ISLANDS (NCNA, NOVEMBER 6, 26). IN THE MOST RECENT ONE, PEKING LINKED JAPAN'S CLAIM TO THE ISLANDS TO ALLEGED JAPANESE MILITARY EXPANIONISM IN AN ARTICLE PRAISING THE DEMONSTRATIONS IN JAPAN AGAINST THE OKINAWAN REVERSION "FRAUD." PUTTING ITS WORDS IN THE MOUTHS OF UNNAMED "JAPANESE PEOPLES," THE ARTICLE SAID THAT THE SATO GOVERNMENT, IN COLLUSION WITH THE US, WAS "SCHEMING TO ANNEX CHINA'S SACRED TERRITORY" UNDER PROVISIONS OF THE REVERSION AGREEMENT. "THIS CLEARLY SHOWS THAT THE ALLEGED DESIRE OF SATO AND COMPANY TO 'IMPROVE JAPAN-CHINA RELATIONS' IS SHEER HYPOCRISY. IT IS THE FIRST STEP TAKEN BY JAPANESE MILITARISM TO OPENLY COMMIT MILITARY AGGRESSION AND CONQUER TERRITORY IN ASIA."

2. JAPANESE CONGEN OFFICER HAS TOLD US THAT CHINESE PRESSED THE ASUKATA MISSION TO AGREE TO AN ENDORSEMENT OF THE PRC CLAIM TO THE SENKAKUS IN THE JOINT STATEMENT SIGNED NOVEMBER 20

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AND THAT THE JAPANESE RESISTED. CONGEN OFFICER ADDED THAT  
ASIDE FROM TINY MAOIST GROUPS THERE ARE NO JAPANESE POLITICAL  
ELEMENTS THAT COULD SUBSCRIBE TO PEKING'S POSITION ON THIS  
ISSUE AND THAT PEKING THUS CANNOT HOPE TO CAPITALIZE ON IT  
WITHIN JAPAN AS IT TRIES TO DO ON ISSUES THAT DIVIDE THE  
JAPANESE POLITICALLY. GP-3.  
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