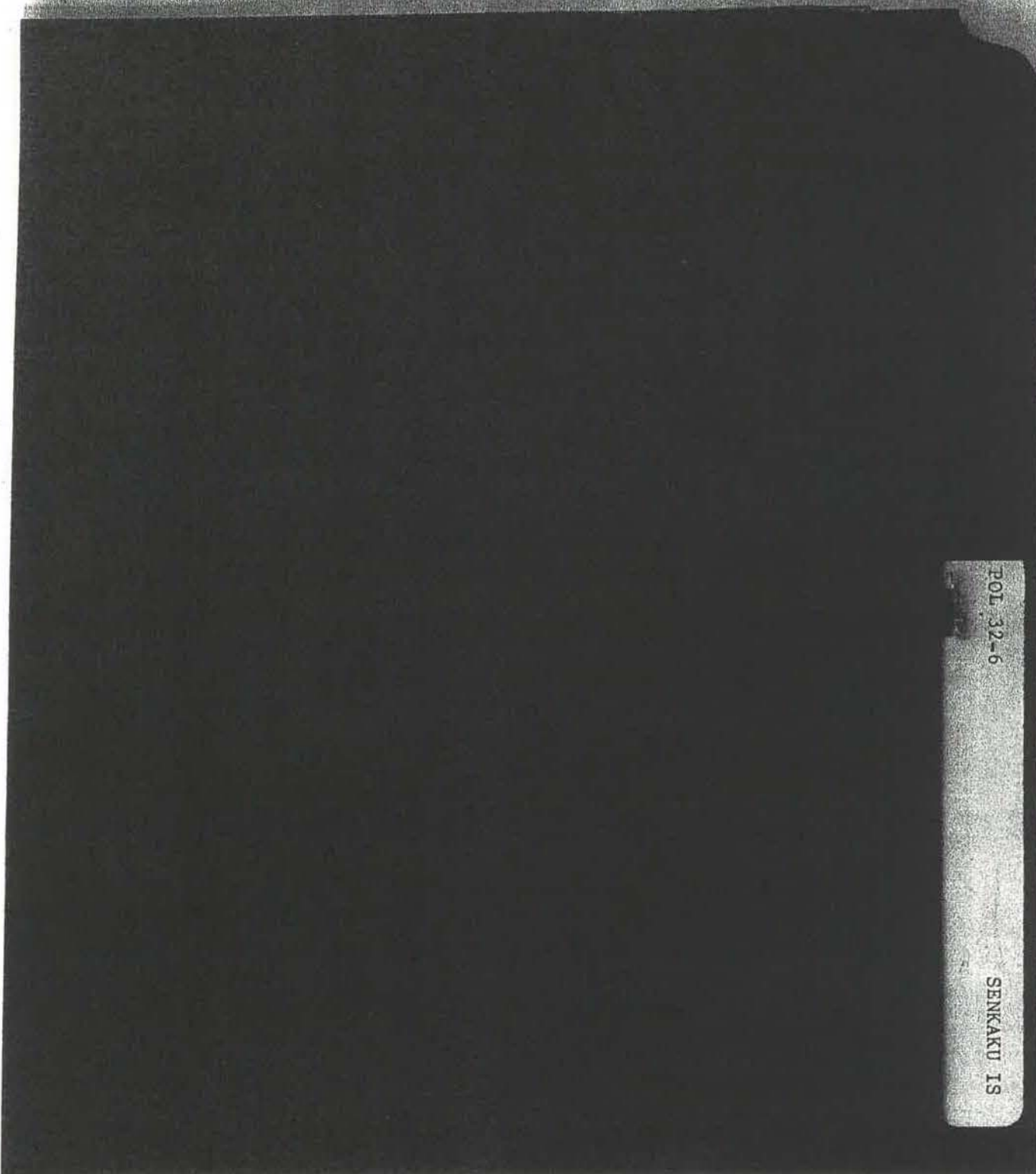


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*POL 32-6 Senkaku*  
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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 HONG K 00017 030940Z

12  
ACTION: EA-14

INFO OCT-01 IO-12 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-06 H-02 INR-06 L-03  
NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-14 USIA-12 SA-03  
E-11 INT-06 DEP-01 COM-08 TRSE-00 EUR-20 RSR-01 /135 W  
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P R 030735Z JAN 72  
FM AMCONSUL HONG KONG  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2682  
INFO AMEMBASSY TAIPEI  
AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
CINCPAC  
USMISSION USUN NY  
HICOMRY OKINAWA

C O N F I D E N T I A L HONG KONG 017

CINCPAC & HICOMRY FOR POLAD

SUBJ: PRC STATEMENT ON SENKAKUS

SUMMARY: PEKING'S MOST AUTHORITATIVE STATEMENT TO DATE ON THE SENKAKU ISSUE AVOIDS COMMITTING THE PRC TO ANY SPECIFIC COURSE OF ACTION AND HINTS THAT "RECOVERY" OF THE SENKAKUS WILL BE LEFT AS AN ADJUNCT TO PEKING'S RECOVERY OF TAIWAN. END SUMMARY

①

1. AMERICAN AND JAPANESE LEGISLATIVE ACTION ON THE OKINAWA REVERSION AGREEMENT HAS PROMPTED PEKING TO ISSUE ITS MOST AUTHORITATIVE AND DETAILED PRONOUNCEMENT THUS FAR ON THE SENKAKU (TIADYU) ISLANDS QUESTION. THIS WAS CONTAINED IN A FOREIGN MINISTRY STATEMENT OF DECEMBER 30 WHICH HAS BEEN RELEASED TOGETHER WITH A SUPPLEMENTARY NCNA ARTICLE. BOTH PIECES RELATE PEKING'S HISTORICAL CLAIMS TO THE SENKAKUS, ADDUCING A 1556 MING DYNASTY MILITARY APPOINTMENT, VARIOUS SINO-JAPANESE EXCHANGES IN THE MING AND CHING DYNASTIES AND AN 1879 NEGOTIATION IN WHICH BOTH SIDES REPORTEDLY AGREED THAT THE RYUKYUS CONSISTED OF THIRTY-SIX ISLANDS WHICH DO NOT INCLUDE THE SENKAKUS. THE TWO RELEASES

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ALSO ATTACK THE OKINAWA REVERSION AGREEMENT AS A FRAUD AND REITERATE FAMILIAR THEMES ABOUT THE REVIVAL OF JAPANESE "MILITARISM" WITH US COLLUSION. IN ADDITION, THE NCNA ARTICLE REITERATES CHINESE ATTACKS ON GOJ-GRC PLOTS TO SHELVE THE DISPUTE OVER THE SENKAKUS IN ORDER TO FACILITATE "PLUNDERING" UNDERWATER OIL RESOURCES AROUND THE ISLANDS.

2. THE FOREIGN MINISTRY STATEMENT ASSERTS THAT THE US-GOJ REVERSION AGREEMENT CANNOT IN THE LEAST ALTER PRC SOVEREIGNTY OVER THE SENKAKUS AND THAT THE CHINESE "PEOPLE" WILL ABSOLUTELY NOT TOLERATE ANY ENCROACHMENT ON THIS SOVEREIGNTY. THE STATEMENT DOES NOT, HOWEVER, COMMIT THE PRC TO ANY SPECIFIC COURSE OF ACTION AND HINTS THAT RECOVERY OF THE SENKAKUS WILL BE AN ADJUNCT OF EVENTUAL PRC RECOVERY OF TAIWAN. THIS IS IMPLIED BY THE ORDER IN WHICH THE TWO GOALS ARE STIPULATED AT THE END OF THE FOREIGN MINISTRY STATEMENT AND BY ITS CHARACTERIZATION OF THE ISLANDS AS "APPERTAINING TO TAIWAN."

3. THE STATEMENT REFRAINS FROM DEMANDING PRC RECOVERY OF THE SENKAKUS AS A PREREQUISITE FOR IMPROVEMENT IN PRC-GOJ RELATIONS. IT FOLLOWS RECENT UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPTS BY THE CHINESE TO GAIN ACCEPTANCE FOR THEIR CLAIM AMONG JAPANESE GROUPS VISITING PEKING, SUCH AS THE MEMORANDUM TRADE AGREEMENT NEGOTIATORS (HK 8500) AND THE SOCIALIST PARTY DELEGATION (HK 7965). INDEED, THE STATEMENT DOES NOT CITE ANY SENTIMENT AMONG THE JAPANESE PEOPLE FAVORING PEKING'S CLAIM TO THE SENKAKUS. ON THIS POINT, THE NCNA ARTICLE MERELY OBSERVES THAT PEKING WILL NOT LET US AND JAPANESE "REACTIONARIES" USE THIS ISSUE TO POISON PEOPLE-TO-PEOPLE RELATIONS BETWEEN CHINA AND JAPAN.

GP-4.  
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PAGE 01 HONG K 00663 280818Z

17  
ACTION EA-14

INFO OCT-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-06 H-02 INR-06 L-03 NSAE-00  
NSC-10 R-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-14 USIA-12 SA-03 CU-04  
NIC-01 A-01 M-03 OPR-02 OC-06 CCO-00 SY-03 IO-12  
RSR-01 /109 W

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R 280710Z JAN 72  
FM AMCONSUL HONG KONG  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2875  
INFO AMEMBASSY TAIPEI  
AMEMBASSY TOKYO

C O N F I D E N T I A L HONG KONG 663

SUBJ: SENKAKU DEMONSTRATION AT CONGEN CALLED FOR JANUARY 28

SUMMARY

STUDENTS HAVE ANNOUNCED PLANS TO STAGE SENKAKU DEMONSTRATION ON CONGEN GROUNDS JANUARY 28-29. LESS THAN 100 PERSONS ARE EXPECTED TO TAKE PART IN PEACEFUL OVERNIGHT VIGIL AND SMALL DEMONSTRATION NEXT DAY. END SUMMARY

1. HK PROTECTION OF TIAO YU TAO ACTION COMMITTEE HAS ANNOUNCED PLANS TO STAGE AN OVERNIGHT VIGIL ON CONGEN GROUNDS JAN 28-29. THESE DATES COMMEMORATE JAPANESE ATTACK ON SHANGHAI IN 1932 AND LAUNCHING OF SENKAKU MOVEMENT IN US IN 1971. GROUP PLANS TO DELIVER PROTEST LETTERS TO CONGEN AND TO JAPANESE CONSULATE. DEMONSTRATION IS PLANNED AS FIRST STEP IN SENKAKU CAMPAIGN WHICH WILL REACH CLIMAX ON MAY 15 WHEN ISLANDS REVERT TO JAPANESE CONTROL.

2. ACTION COMMITTEE IS PRO-PEKING FACTION OF HONG KONG SENKAKU MOVEMENT. TWO OTHER GROUPS PREVIOUSLY ACTIVE IN SENKAKU DEMONSTRATIONS (HONG KONG FEDERATION OF STUDENTS AND 70'S BI-WEEKLY GROUP) HAVE REFUSED TO PARTICIPATE IN

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VIGIL, BUT THEIR MEMBERS MAY JOIN DEMONSTRATION AS INDIVIDUALS. POLICE EXPECT APPROXIMATELY 100 PERSONS TO TAKE PART WITH HARD-CORE OF 25 REMAINING OVERNIGHT. DEMONSTRATION EXPECTED TO BE PEACEFUL.

3. POSTERS CALLING ON PUBLIC TO SUPPORT DEMONSTRATION APPEARED YESTERDAY IN SEVERAL PLACES IN HONG KONG AND KOWLOON. POSTERS CALL FOR UNIFICATION OF CHINA AND OPPOSITION TO TWO CHINAS, AMERICAN IMPERIALIST DECISION TO RETURN ISLANDS TO JAPAN, TIM AND TAIWANIZATION OF TAIWAN, BUT DO NOT MENTION PRC OR CALL FOR LIBERATION OF TAIWAN. POLICE HAVE TAKEN ACTION TO REMOVE MOST POSTERS, BUT SOME STILL REMAIN IN SCATTERED AREAS OF CITY.

4. DEMONSTRATION HAS NOT BEEN MENTIONED IN LEFTIST PRESS. RIGHT-WING NEWSPAPERS HAVE CARRIED SHORT ITEMS ON DEMONSTRATION. PRO-KMT NEW LIFE EVENING POST, JAN 27, CLAIMED THAT DEMONSTRATION IS ORGANIZED BY GROUP UNDER GUIDANCE OF LOCAL LEFTISTS. HK DEMONSTRATION IS PART OF CAMPAIGN ORGANIZED BY LEFTIST STUDENTS IN US WHO HAVE TRAVELED TO CHINA AND BEEN TRAINED IN UNITED FRONT TACTICS. PAPER STATES THAT PEOPLE IN HONG KONG ARE WARY OF DEMONSTRATION SINCE TRUE NATURE OF SENKAKU MOVEMENT HAS BEEN REVEALED.

5. COMMENT: SIMILAR DEMONSTRATION PLANNED FOR SEPT 18 FAILED TO MATERIALIZE. SENKAKU MOVEMENT IN HK HAS BEEN INACTIVE SINCE OCTOBER (A-3281). SO FAR SENKAKU MOVEMENT HAS FAILED TO ATTRACT PUBLIC SUPPORT. IF THIS DEMONSTRATION RECEIVES EXTENSIVE PRESS COVERAGE AND DOES ATTRACT PUBLIC PARTICIPATION WE MAY EXPECT FUTURE DEMONSTRATIONS IN EFFORT TO RALLY OTHER STUDENT GROUPS IN CAMPAIGN CLIMAXING MAY 15. GP-3  
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 By CA/NARA Date 9/15/08

ORIGIN/ACTION			DEPARTMENT OF STATE			POL 23-8 HK YR POL 32-6 SENKAKU IS FOR RM. USE ONLY		
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REP	AF		correct per dem 2-19-72			HANDLING INDICATOR		
REP	AF		A-33 3% OF STATE CONFIDENTIAL			RECEIVED DEPARTMENT OF STATE FEB 15 8 Action Assigned to [Signature] Action Taken [Signature]		
REP	AF		TO: 1972 FEB Department of State			ANALYSIS DATE: February 1972		
REP	AF		INFO: Amembassy Taipei BUREAU Amembassy Tokyo and FAC [Signature] AIRS			Office of Officer [Signature]		
REP	AF		FROM: Amconsul Hong Kong			Office Symbol [Signature]		
REP	AF		SUBJECT: Senkaku Islands Demonstration at Congen					
REP	AF		REF: Hong Kong 663, A-328, A-273, A-257					
ARMY	CIA	NAVY	SUMMARY. On January 28-29 members of the Protection of the Taio Yu Tai Action Committee staged two small demonstrations in front of the Congen and delivered protest letters to both the Japanese and American consulates. The demonstrations failed to attract public support and were poorly attended. They received negative coverage in the English and right-wing Chinese press and only brief mention in the leftist papers. Although other demonstrations may occur before the Senkaku Islands revert to Japanese control, the Senkakus have ceased to be an issue which arouses public interest or concern. END SUMMARY.					
OSD	USIA	NSA	On January 28-29 members of the Protection of the Taio Yu Tai Action Committee staged two small demonstrations at the Consulate General and delivered protest letters to both the Japanese and American consulates. The demonstrations failed to attract public support and were poorly attended. An overnight vigil originally planned as part of the demonstrations failed to come off. At 5:30 p.m. on January 28, approximately 30 demonstrators assembled on the Congen lawn. They set up banners, distributed leaflets, sang songs and held lengthy interviews with reporters who with police, outnumbered the protestors. At 7:30 p.m. the demonstrators, deterred by lack of support and cold weather, disbursed promising to return the next day.					
NSC	USSS		The following morning a group of 11 demonstrators marched to the Japanese Consulate where they presented a protest letter					
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Drafted by: HK/M:RFD			Contents and Classification Approved by: HK/M:DEScarborough					
Clearances: ADMIN:CRW/lds (in draft)								

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Hong Kong A-33  
 February 4, 1972  
 Page 2

and released balloons carrying a banner denouncing Japanese militarism. They then came to the Congen where they presented a protest note denouncing American imperialist aggression against Taiwan and interference in Chinese internal affairs. Upon leaving the building, the demonstrators released a balloon-borne banner which floated to the top of the flag pole. The banner, which was immediately removed, denounced American imperialism. At 2 p.m. approximately 40 members of the same group returned to the Congen lawn where they remained for 1-1/2 hours listening to speeches and singing songs. They then dispersed without incident.

Ideological differences which have divided the local Senkaku Movement were also evident among those who took part in the demonstration. At one point the demonstration was halted when one of the protestors leaped up and denounced the rest for chanting a slogan calling for US withdrawal from Taiwan. The man later said that he had been a member of the Action Committee but had quit when he found that the group was pro-communist. The Action Committee's pro-Peking stand on the Taiwan question and its call for the unification of China caused the two other groups previously active in the Senkaku Movement (Hong Kong Federation of Students and the 70's Bi-Weekly Group) to refuse to participate in this demonstration. While all of the demonstrators were young people, most appeared to be young workers and few university students took part.

The demonstrations received negative coverage in the English and right-wing Chinese press and only brief mention in the leftist papers. English language papers termed the demonstration a "fizzle" and a "washout". Reports in the pro-KMT Chinese press concentrated on dissension among the demonstrators, lack of public support and the fact that the protestors failed to carry out their plan for an overnight vigil. The Ta Kung Pao and Wen Hui Pao both carried brief reports which emphasized the slogans shouted by the demonstrators. The demonstrators themselves were given a critical reception by the reporters, mostly from pro-KMT papers, who covered the demonstration. At the end of the demonstration on Saturday several reporters were surrounded by demonstrators who complained about the critical coverage they received in the press.

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The failure of this demonstration to arouse support from the public and press will probably preclude student involvement in any future demonstrations staged by the Action Committee. The student Senkaku committees have indicated, however, that they still feel it necessary to dramatize their opposition to the return of the Islands to Japanese control and may attempt to sponsor a protest before the May 15 reversion date. The Action Committee could also stage further small demonstrations with a few hard core protestors. Neither group, however, will be able to arouse support among the general public as the Senkakus have become largely a dead issue.

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*Pol 32-6 Senkaku Is*  
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SECRET 669

PAGE 01 TAIPEI 00629 080956Z

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ACTION: EA+13

INFO: OCT-01 SS-14 NSC-10 NSCE-00 INR-05 CIAE-00 NSAE-00

SA-01 PM-03 DODE-00 L-02 RSR-01 RSC-01 /051 W  
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RI 080938Z FEB 72  
FM AMEMBASSY TAIPEI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4777  
INFO AMCONSUL HONG KONG  
AMEMBASSY TOKYO

SECRET TAIPEI 0629

LINDIS

SUBJ: RENEWAL GRC REQUEST THAT US RETAIN ADMINISTRATION OF SENKAKUS

SUMMARY: IN TALK WITH AMBASSADOR GRC FONMIN CHOW ONCE AGAIN URGED THAT US NOT RETURN ADMINISTRATIVE CONTROL OF SENKAKUS TO JAPAN AT TIME OF OKINAWA REVERSION. CITING STRONG FEELINGS AMONG OVERSEAS CHINESE AND LOCAL UNIVERSITY STUDENTS, HE ASSERTED TROUBLE MAY BE BREWING HERE IN FORM OF DEMONSTRATIONS IN MAY. AMBASSADOR AGREED TO PASSION GRC REQUEST BUT HELD OUT NO HOPE OF CHANGE IN US PLANS. ALTHOUGH GRC'S PROBLEM IS REAL, WE ARE SURE FONMIN UNDERSTANDS DEFINITIVE NATURE OF REVERSION AGREEMENT, AND WE BELIEVE HIS APPROACH WAS MADE ON INSTRUCTIONS FROM HIGHER AUTHORITY. END SUMMARY.

1. DURING FEB 7 CONVERSATION WITH AMBASSADOR FONMIN CHOW RAISED QUESTION OF SENKAKUS REQUESTING THAT US FIND SOME WAY OF PREVENTING AT LEAST THEIR COMPLETE REVERSION TO JAPAN WHEN OKINAWA RETURNED MAY 15. CHOW SAID GRC WAS "BRACING FOR STORM" TROUBLE WAS ALREADY BREWING ON UNIVERSITY CAMPUSES AND HAD DEVELOPED CONSIDERABLE SINCE HE MENTIONED MATTER TO SECRETARY ROGERS AND MR. KISSINGER IN DECEMBER. HE ASKED THAT WE FIND SOME WAY OF HOLDING BACK THIS PARTICULAR GROUP OF ISLANDS, PERHAPS BY RETAINING THE AREA FOR US TARGET PRACTICE FOR A CERTAIN PERIOD. IF SENKAKUS GIVEN TO JAPAN,

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WE FELT CERTAIN THERE WOULD BE OUTCRY AMONG OVERSEAS CHINESE WHICH WOULD BE REFLECTED AMONG STUDENTS IN TAIWAN. POSSIBLE DEMONSTRATIONS DIRECTED AT AMERICAN AND JAPANESE EMBASSIES WOULD BE MOST EMBARRASSING ESPECIALLY DURING NATIONAL ASSEMBLY SESSION, ELECTIONS, AND CABINET REORGANIZATION.

2. IN RESPONSE TO FONMIN'S SPECIFIC REQUEST, AMBASSADOR AGREED TO REFER MATTER TO WASHINGTON BUT EMPHASIZED HE COULD NOT HOLD OUT ANY HOPE THAT US WOULD CHANGE PLANS. SENKAKSU WERE WITHIN THE AREA SPECIFIED FOR RETURN, OUR ACT WOULD NOT AFFECT US VIEWS ON QUESTION OF SOVEREIGNTY, WHICH WAS MATTER BETWEEN THE ROC AND JAPAN. CHOW ARGUED THAT US CONTINUED TO HAVE RESPONSIBILITY STEMMING FROM LONG TRUSTEESHIP, THAT U.S. WAS RESERVING OTHER AREAS FOR U.S. MILITARY USE, AND THAT GRC'S DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS WOULD HAVE NO REAL PROSPECT OF SUCCESS AFTER ISLANDS REVERTED TO JAPANESE CONTROL. DCM, WHO ALSO PRESENT, COMMENTED THAT ANY ATTEMPT TO CHANGE REVERSION TREATY ARRANGEMENTS APPROVED BY US SENATE AND JAPANESE DIET WOULD NOT ONLY BE HIGHLY ADVERSE DEVELOPMENT IN US-JAPAN RELATIONS, BUT WOULD SURELY BOOMERANG BADLY IN TERMS OF JAPANESE OPINION TOWARD GRC.

3. COMMENT: WE ARE REASONABLY CERTAIN CHOW SHU-KAI KNOWS THERE IS LITTLE IF ANY CHANCE OF REVERSAL OUR DECISION ON THE SENKAKUS. HOWEVER FEELINGS ON THIS ISSUE RUN HIGH AMONG STUDENTS, AND THE GOVERNMENT MAY HAVE A FAIRLY DIFFICULT TIME REGULATING POPULAR REACTIONS. FONMIN UNDOUBTEDLY ACTING ON INSTRUCTIONS FROM HIGHER LEVEL, AIMED AT ESTABLISHING FOR THE RECORD THAT GRC HAS REPEATEDLY REITERATED ITS POSITION AND REQUESTED REVERSAL OF US PLANS. GP-3  
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51  
ACTION EA-14

INFO OCT-01 CIAE-00 INR-06 NSAE-00 P-03 RSC-01 USIA-12

PRS-01 SA-03 PM-06 NSC-10 SS-14 L-03 AID-20 RSP-01

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R 180959Z FEB 72  
FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4440  
DA  
INFO HICOMRY NAHA  
CINCPAC  
AMEMBASSY TAIPEI  
AMCONSUL HONG KONG

CONFIDENTIAL TOKYO 1716

SUBJ: SENKAKUS

REF HICOMRY 160635Z FEB 72

SUMMARY: GOJ FONOFF, ON BASIS OF NEWSPAPER STORY REPORTED REFTEL, HAS RAISED WITH CHINESE EMBASSY TOKYO GOJ OBJECTIONS TO ACTION OF EXECUTIVE YUAN AND REPORTED PLANS OF ILAN DISTRICT OFFICE. END SUMMARY.

1. EMBASSY WAS INFORMED BY FONOFF FEB 18, 1972 THAT ON FEB 17 FONOFF EAST ASIA BUREAU CHIEF YOSHIDA CALLED IN GRC MINISTER NEW TO DISCUSS STORY REFERRED TO REFTEL. REPORTEDLY YOSHIDA REHEARSED GOJ LEGAL POSITION RESPECTING SENKAKUS, REQUESTED CONFIRMATION OF ACCURACY OF REPORT, AND SAID THAT IF REPORT ACCURATE "COMPLICATIONS WOULD BE CREATED". YOSHIDA REQUESTED, THEREFORE, THAT GRC PREVENT ANY LANDING OF CHINESE NATIONALS ON SENKAKUS. MINISTER NEW REPORTEDLY OFFERED TO CHECK ON ACCURACY OF NEWSPAPER STORY.

2. IN RESPONSE TO EMBOFF, FONOFF OFFICIAL (KATO) NO. AMERICAN AFFAIRS DIVI SAID THAT GOJ ITSELF HAD

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NOT CONFIRMED ACCURACY OF STORY.

3. FONOFF REPORTED ALSO THAT INSTRUCTIONS HAVE BEEN DESPATCHED TO GOJ ELEMENT OF PREPCOM TO CONTACT USCAR AND TO REQUEST THAT USCAR TAKE APPROPRIATE ACTION TO PREVENT ANY CHINESE INCURSION INTO SENKAKUS.

4. EMBOFF EXPRESSED SURPRISE THAT GOJ WOULD CONVOKE GRC MINISTER AND MAKE STRONG REPRESENTATIONS CONCERNING SENKAKUS WITHOUT PREVIOUS CONSULTATION WITH USG SINCE ADMINISTRATION OF SENKAKUS REMAINS PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY OF USG UNTIL OKINAWA REVERSION. EMBOFF POINTED OUT THAT USG ALREADY HAS LAUNCHED LOGICAL STEPS REPORTED REFTEL TO CONFIRM ACCURACY OF REPORTS AND THUS TO LAY BASIS FOR ANY OFFICIAL ACTION NECESSARY. EMBOFF REQUESTED THAT FONOFF BEAR IN MIND PRIORITY RESPONSIBILITY OF USG FOR SENKAKUS UNTIL REVERSION AND REQUESTED THAT GOJ CONSULT WITH USG BEFORE TAKING ANY FURTHER ACTION RESPECTING SENKAKUS.

5. SUBSEQUENTLY DIRGEN AMERICAN AFFAIRS BUREAU YOSHINO CALLED DCM TO APOLOGIZE FOR GOJ'S PRECIPITATE ACTION BUT POINTED OUT THAT SENKAKU SITUATION IS SUPER-SENSITIVE TO GOJ SINCE POWERFUL PRO-PRC FORCES IN JAPAN WILL NOT HESITATE TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF ANY TAIWAN-FOMENTED DIFFICULTIES ON SENDADUS TO UPSET DELICATE BALANCE WHICH GOJ STRIVING AT PRESENT TO MAINTAIN IN ITS RELATIONS BETWEEN GRC AND PRC. YOSHINO, IN FACT, ALREADY HAS BEEN CALLED ON CARPET BEFORE LDP COMMITTEE. GP-3.  
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ACTION EA-14

INFO OCT-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 INR-06 NSAE-00 P-03 R9C-01  
USIA-12 PRS-01 SA-03 PM-06 NSC-10 SS-14 L-03 AYD-20  
RFR-01 /095 W

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P R 190611Z FEB 72  
FM AMEMBASSY TAIPEI  
TO AMCONUNIT NAHA PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY TOKYO PRIORITY  
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 4864  
AMCONSUL HONG KONG  
CINCPAC

C O N F I D E N T I A L TAIPEI 0826

SUBJECT: GRC AND SENKAKUS

REF: A) HICOM OKINAWA RYIS 160635Z FEB 72  
B) TOKYO 1716

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: EMBASSY HAS MADE CLEAR TO FONOFF THAT EVEN PRESS TALK OF SENDING A SURVEY MISSION OR ESTABLISHING AN ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICE IN SENKAKUS IS PROVOCATIVE AND UN-HELPFUL FOR ROC/JAPANESE RELATIONS. FONOFF, WHILE INDICATING CLEARLY NO SUCH ACTION IS GOING TO OCCUR, REVEALED ITS GREAT RELUCTANCE TO APPEAR AS THE SUPPRESSOR OF NATIONALISTIC SENTIMENT. END SUMMARY.

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2. INTERNATIONAL EDITION OF KMT, CENTRAL DAILY NEWS, CARRIED STORY (REF A) SUGGESTING ILAN COUNTY MIGHT SEND SURVEY MISSION TO SENKAKUS. INTERNATIONAL EDITION IS NOT DISTRIBUTED DOMESTICALLY, AND ONLY LOCAL REFERENCE WAS FEB 1 ARTICLE IN CHINA TIMES WHICH STATED THAT MINISTRY OF EDUCATION WAS REVISING TEXTBOOKS TO INCLUDE SENKAKUS IN ILAN COUNTY.

3. DCM AND POLCONS RAISED QUESTION WITH FREDRICK CHIEN, FONOFF DIRECTOR NORTH AMERICAN AFFAIRS, WHO MADE FOLLOWING

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POINTS, WHICH HE SAID ALREADY CONVEYED TO JAPANESE CHARGE:

- A. STORY IN QUESTION WAS A LOCAL STORY FROM ILAN.
  - B. ROC CLAIMS SOVEREIGNTY OVER SENKAKUS.
  - C. ROC REALIZES THAT JAPAN ALSO CLAIMS THE SENKAKUS AND THAT REVERSION TO JAPAN IS SCHEDULED.
  - D. SINCE THERE IS A CONFLICT OVER SOVEREIGNTY AND THE TWO GOVERNMENTS ENJOY FRIENDLY RELATIONS, THE MATTER IS ONE BEST SOLVED THROUGH AMICABLE DIPLOMATIC NEGOTIATIONS.
  - E. IN LINE WITH FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH JAPAN GRC HOPES THAT NEITHER SIDE WILL PLAY UP THIS INCIDENT.
4. WE EMPHASIZED THAT ROC ATTEMPT TO SURVEY SENKAKUS OR ESTABLISH ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICE OR EVEN TALK OF SUCH MOVES COULD ONLY HAVE UNFORTUNATE CONSEQUENCES. CHIEN REPLIED, OFF THE RECORD, THAT ISSUE IS SO SENSITIVE THAT NO ONE IN GRC WILLING TO DENY STORY, BUT HE ADDED THAT HE REALIZED THIS SORT OF GUESTURING WAS PROVOCATIVE AND HE CLEARLY IMPLIED NO ACTION WILL FOLLOW.
5. COMMENT: WE ARE QUITE CERTAIN GRC DOES NOT ACTUALLY INTEND TO SEND SURVEY TEAM TO SENKAKUS'S MUCH LESS TO TRY TO ESTABLISH ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICE. WE ARE SLIGHTLY LESS CERTAIN THAT GRC FULLY APPRECIATES THAT EVEN TALK ALONG THESE LINES IN INTERNATIONAL PRESS IS PROVOCATIVE, ALTHOUGH WE HAVE MADE THIS EXTREMELY CLEAR TO FONOFF. GRC IS FACED WITH A REAL DILEMMA ON THE SENKAKUS ISSUE. ON THE ONE HAND OFFICIALS ARE QUITE AWARE OF REALITIES AND WANT TO MINIMIZE CONTROVERSY. ON THE OTHER HAND THE ISSUE HAS BECOME SO HIGHLY NATIONALISTIC THAT NO OFFICIAL RELISHES THE JOB OF ACTING AS A DAMPENER. GP-4.  
MCCONAUGHY

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*Pol 32-6 SENKAKU IS*



# Department of State TELEGRAM

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ACTION EA-14

INFO OCT-01 IO-12 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-06 H-02 INR-06 L-03

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FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
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INFO CINCPAC CAMP HM SMITH HAWAII  
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AMEMBASSY TAIPEI  
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UNCLAS TOKYO 2452

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

HICOMRY FOR POLAD

SUBJ: SENKAKU ISLANDS

1. THE FOLLOWING IS AN EMBASSY TRANSLATION OF STATEMENT ISSUED BY FONOFF MARCH 8 SETTING FORTH BASIS FOR JAPANESE POSITION THAT SENKAKU ISLANDS ARE JAPANESE TERRITORY.

2. BEGIN TEXT:

FROM 1885 ONWARD, THE GOVERNMENT OF JAPAN CONDUCTED SEVERAL INSPECTIONS OF THE SENKAKU ISLANDS, USING SUCH AGENCIES AS THE OKINAWA PREFECTURAL AUTHORITIES, HAVING CAREFULLY CONFIRMED NOT ONLY THAT THESE ISLANDS WERE UNINHABITED BUT ALSO THAT THERE WAS NO EVIDENCE THAT THE CHINESE CHING DYNASTY'S RULE EXTENDED THERE. THE GOVERNMENT OF JAPAN MADE A CABINET DECISION ON JANUARY 14, 1895, TO CONSTRUCT A MARKER ON THE ISLANDS AND FORMALLY INCORPORATED THEM INTO THE TERRITORY OF JAPAN.

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HISTORICALLY SINCE THAT TIME, THE SENKAKU ISLANDS HAVE CONSISTENTLY FORMED A PART OF THE NANSEI ISLANDS, WHICH ARE JAPANESE TERRITORY, AND WERE NOT INCLUDED IN TAIWAN AND THE PESCADORES ISLANDS WHICH JAPAN RECEIVED FROM THE CHINESE CHING DYNASTY UNDER ARTICLE II OF THE TREATY OF SHIMONOSEKI WHICH WENT INTO EFFECT IN MAY 1895.

ACCORDINGLY, IN THE SAN FRANCISCO PEACE TREATY ALSO, THE SENKAKU ISLANDS WERE NOT INCLUDED IN THE TERRITORY WHICH JAPAN RENOUNCED UNDER ARTICLE 2 OF THAT TREATY. RATHER THEY WERE PLACED UNDER THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE US AS A PART OF THE NANSEI ISLANDS IN ACCORDANCE WITH ARTICLE 3 OF THE TREATY AND ARE INCLUDED IN THE AREA THE ADMINISTRATIVE RIGHTS OVER WHICH ARE BEING RETURNED TO JAPAN BY THE JAPAN-US AGREEMENT CONCERNING THE RYUKYU AND DAITO ISLANDS (OKINAWA REVERSION AGREEMENT) SIGNED JUNE 17, 1971. THE ABOVE FACTS SHOW MOST CLEARLY THE STATUS OF THE SENKAKU ISLANDS AS JAPANESE TERRITORY.

MOREOVER, THE FACT THAT CHINA DID NOT CONSIDER THE SENKAKU ISLANDS TO BE A PART OF TAIWAN IS CLEAR FROM THE FACT THAT CHINA DID NOT IN THE PAST MAKE ANY PROTEST AGAINST THE SENKAKU ISLANDS BEING INCLUDED IN THE AREA PLACED UNDER US ADMINISTRATION IN ACCORDANCE WITH ARTICLE 3 OF THE SAN FRANCISCO PEACE TREATY. BOTH IN THE CASE OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE ROC AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PRC, THE TERRITORIAL RIGHTS OVER THE SENKAKU ISLANDS BECAME AN ISSUE FOR THE FIRST TIME ONLY AFTER MOVES TO DEVELOP OIL RESOURCES ON THE CONTINENTAL SHELF OF THE EAST CHINA SEA SURFACED IN THE LATTER HALF OF 1970.

FURTHERMORE, IT CANNOT BE SAID THAT ANY OF THE POINTS PRESENTED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF THE ROC AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PRC AS SO CALLED HISTORICAL, GEOGRAPHICAL AND GEOLOGICAL PROOF COMPRISE EVIDENCE HAVING VALIDITY UNDER INTERNATIONAL LAW THAT WOULD SUFFICE TO SUPPORT A CHINESE CLAIM TO TERRITORIAL RIGHTS OVER THE SENKAKU ISLANDS. END TEXT  
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*To Lt 32-6 Senkaku IS*  
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4852  
INFO CINCPAC  
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AMCONSUL HONG KONG  
AMEMBASSY TAIPEI  
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**C O N F I D E N T I A L** TOKYO 2453

CINCPAC FOR POLAD; HICOMRY FOR POLAD

SUBJ: SENKAKU ISLANDS

SUMMARY: FONMIN FUKUDA HAS REITERATED IN DIET MARCH 8 GOV POSITION THAT THERE NO DOUBT THAT SENKAKUS ARE JAPANESE TERRITORY AND FONOFF HAS RELEASED OFFICIAL STATEMENT SETTING FORTH BASIS FOR JAPANESE POSITION. END SUMMARY.

1. AT MEETING OF LOWER HOUSE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON OKINAWA AND NORTHERN TERRITORIES MARCH 8, LDP DIETMAN FROM OKINAWA, KOKUBA, ASKED GOVERNMENT ABOUT STATUS OF SENKAKUS. FONMIN REPLIED THAT THERE NO DOUBT THAT SENKAKUS ARE JAPANESE TERRITORY. AS BASIS FOR THIS HE CITED FOLLOWING: (A) JANUARY 1895 CABINET DECISION INCORPORATING SENKAKUS INTO JAPAN, (B) SENKAKUS WERE NOT INCLUDED AS PART OF TAIWAN WHEN JAPAN TOOK OVER TAIWAN FROM CHINA UNDER TREATY OF SHIMONOSEKI IN MAY 1895, (C) AS A RESULT, UNDER SAN FRANCISCO PEACE TREATY, SENKAKUS WERE NOT INCLUDED IN AREAS RENOUNCED BY JAPAN UNDER ARTICLE 2, BUT WERE INCLUDED IN AREAS TO BE ADMINISTERED BY US UNDER ARTICLE 3 WHICH AREAS NOW BEING RETURNED TO JAPAN UNDER REVERSION AGREEMENT, (D) CHINA DID NOT

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PROTEST THIS TREATMENT OF SENKAKUS UNDER SAN FRANCISCO TREATY. (E) IT WAS ONLY AFTER OIL RESOURCES DISCOVERED IN EAST CHINA SEA THAT ROC AND PRC BEGAN TO PRESS THEIR CLAIMS TO SENKAKUS. FUKUDA ALSO NOTED THAT IT WOULD BE USEFUL IF FONOFF PUBLISHED STATEMENT ON TERRITORIAL STATUS OF SENKAKUS.

2. LATER MARCH 8, FONOFF INFO BUREAU DIRGEN WADA OFFICIALLY RELEASED STATEMENT (TEXT BY SEPTTEL) SETTING FORTH THESE ARGUMENTS AND ADDING THAT CHINESE CLAIMS TO SENKAKUS HAD NO VALID BASIS IN INTERNATIONAL LAW. SIMULTANEOUSLY, WADA QTE UNOFFICIALLY UNQTE MADE AVAILABLE FOR PRESS SCRUTINY VARIOUS INFORMATION CONCERNING JAPANESE POSITION. THIS INCLUDED FOLLOWING NATIONALIST AND COMMUNIST CHINESE MAPS ON WHICH SENKAKUS ARE INCLUDED IN JAPANESE TERRITORY: (A) MAP PUBLISHED IN OCTOBER 1965 BY GRC NATIONAL DEFENSE RESEARCH INSTITUTE AND CHINESE GEOGRAPHICAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE ENTITLED QTE WORLD MAP SERIES, VOL. 1, EAST ASIAN COUNTRIES UNQTE, (B) MAP IN VOLUME 4 OF OFFICIAL GRC MIDDLE SCHOOL GEOGRAPHY TEXTBOOK PUBLISHED IN JANUARY 1970, AND (C) MAP ISSUED BY MAP PUBLISHING SOCIETY IN PEKING IN NOVEMBER 1958 AS PART OF ITS QTE WORLD MAP SERIES UNQTE.

3. ACCORDING TO PRESS ACCOUNTS WADA INDICATED THAT IN LIGHT OF RECENT EVENTS GOJ FELT IT APPROPRIATE TIME TO STATE ITS POSITION CLEARLY. PRESS SAID THESE EVENTS INCLUDED (A) GRC ORDINANCE IN FEBRUARY 1972 INCLUDING SENKAKUS WITHIN ILAN COUNTY OF TAIWAN PROVINCE, (B) PRC STATEMENT IN UN SEABED COMMITTEE MARCH 3 SETTING FORTH ITS CLAIM TO SENKAKUS AND (C) MOVES BY PRO-PEKING JAPAN INTERNATIONAL TRADE PROMOTION ASSOCIATION TO START A PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN IN JAPAN SUPPORTING PRC CLAIM TO SENKAKUS. FIRST NORTH AMERICAN AFFAIRS DIV (SATO) TOLD EMBOFF MARCH 9 THAT GOJ BELIEVED QTE SYMPATHETIC UNQTE QUESTION IN DIET COMMITTEE OFFERED GOOD OPPORTUNITY TO PUT ITS POSITION ON RECORD IN GREATER DETAIL THAN IT HAD PREVIOUSLY.

4. COMMENT: IT APPEARS THAT RECENT MOVES BY GRC AND PRC TO REITERATE THEIR CLAIMS TO SENKAKUS LED GOJ TO CONCLUSION THAT IT COULD NOT BUT PUBLICLY PRESENT BASIS FOR ITS POSITION THAT SENKAKUS PART OF JAPAN. IT SEEMS CLEAR THAT GOJ ARRANGED FOR MATTER TO BE RAISED IN DIET COMMITTEE THUS PRESENTING IT WITH OPPORTUNITY TO PLACE ITS POSITION FORMALLY ON DIET RECORD AND TO RELEASE OFFICIAL FONOFF STATEMENT. THIS TACTIC PERMITTED GOJ TO ACHIEVE MAXIMUM PUBLICITY IN CONTROLLED ENVIRONMENT AND AVOID NECESSITY FOR

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By *AN* NARA Date *01/21/05*

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*POL 33-8*  
*XR POL 32-6 SENKAKU IS*

**TELEGRAM**

*XR POL 33 CHINA SEA*

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ACTION 10-13

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LIMITED OFFICIAL USE USUN 907

SUBJ: LOS: SENKAKU ISLANDS

REF: USUN 888 - *pol 33-8*

1. REPTEL DESCRIBES MARCH 10 PRC ATTACK AGAINST JAPANESE OVER SENKAKUS ISLANDS AS WELL AS JAPANESE AND US REPLIES. BEFORE US REP (PHILLIPS) MADE HIS STATEMENT, WE SHOWED JAPANESE DEL (IGUCHI) LANGUAGE WE WERE ORIGINALLY CONSIDERING USING IN OUR REPLY.

2. WE GAVE IGUCHI FOLLOWING LANGUAGE, WHICH WE HAD PREVIOUSLY RECEIVED AS CLEARED BY WASHINGTON:  
"IN CONNECTION WITH THE SENKAKUS, WE TAKE NO POSITION ON THE MERITS OF THE VARIOUS CLAIMS MADE BY THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA, JAPAN, AND THE PRC, NOR ARE WE IN A POSITION TO MAKE ANY RECOMMENDATION AS TO HOW THEY MIGHT BE RESOLVED OTHER THAN BY NEGOTIATION BETWEEN THE PARTIES CONCERNED OR BY THIRD PARTY ADJUDICATION."

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3. IGUCHI EXPRESSED DISMAY AND URGED US NOT TO USE THIS TEXT, SAYING IT WOULD BE TAKEN AS FAULTY CONTRADICTING THE JAPANESE POSITION THAT ISLANDS ARE JAPANESE AND MATTER NOT SUBJECT TO NEGOTIATION. HE SAID HE WOULD RELAY LANGUAGE TO TOKYO. IN THE EVENT, SINCE THERE WAS NO NECESSITY FOR GETTING INTO SPECIFICS ON SENKAKUS, WE MADE ONLY GNERAL STATEMENT DEPLORING INTRODUCTION OF SUCH MATTERS. WE MADE CLEAR BOTH TO IGUCHI AND ODA (ALSO JAPANESE DEL) HOWEVER THAT LANGUGAGE CONTAINED PARAGRAPH 2 REPRESENTED CLEARED WASHINGTON POTITION.

4. SUBSEQUENTLY, WE RECEIVED REQUEST FROM IGUCHI FOR COPY OF REMAINDER OF DEPARTMENT'S CONTINGENCY GUIDANCE. AFTER CHECKING WITH DEPARTMENT (MCINTYRE/ROTHENBERG TELCON), WE GAVE IGUCHI THE ADDITIONAL MATERIAL WHICH FOLLOWS:

BEGIN TEXT

PRESS GUIDANCE: PRC CHARGES IN SEABEDS COMMITTEE (IF ASKED)

QUESTION: WHAT IS THE USG REACTION TO THE ATTACK BY THE PRC DELEGATION IN THE UN SEABED COMMITTEE?  
ANSWER: THE US DELEGATE, JOH STEVENSON REPLIED AT THE TIME, REJECTING THE ACCUSATIONS OF AGGRESSION AND IMPERIALISM AND STRESSING BECAUSE OF THE VITAL IMPORTANCE OF THE COMMITTEE'S TASKS US INTENTION TO AVOID POLEMICS. AS MR. STEVENSON POINTED OUT, THE US RECORD IS GOOD IN SEEKING TO LEARN THE INTERESTS OF OTHER COUNTRIES AND RECONILING THOSE INTERESTS WITH OUR OWN. FAR FROM ACTING UNILATERALLY, THE US HAS CONSISTENTLY EMPHASIZED THAT THE ONLY ANSWER MUST BE AN INTERNATIONALLY AGREED ONE. ON THE QUESTION OF EXPLOITATION OF RESOURCES IN THE AREA, WE HAVE NOTED IN THE PAST THAT SOVEREIGN RIGHTS TO THE RESOURCES OF LARGE PORTIONS ON THE ONTINTENTAL SHELF IN THE YELLOW AND EAST CHINA SEAS AND THE TAIWAN STRAIT ARE IN COMPLICATED DISPUTE BETWEEN THE ROC, THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA AND JAPAN. IN ADDITION, THE PRC HAS ASSERTED A CLAIM TO A LARGE AND IMPRECISELY DIFINED AREA OF THE SHELF AND IT IS POSSIBLE THAT THE NORTH KOREANS MAY CONSIDER THEMSELVES TO HAVE A CLAIM. THE USG CANNOT TAKE ANY POSITION ON THESE CLAIMS SINCE WE ARE NOT DIRECTLY INVOLVED. WE RECOGNIZE THAT A COMPLICATED PATTERN OF OVERLAPPING CLAIM EXISTS

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BUT WE TAKE NO POSITION ON THEIR MERITS. IN VIEW OF THE CONFLICTING CLAIMS, THE DEPARTMENT HAS ADVISED THE APPROPRIATE AMERICAN COMPANIES OF THE DANGERS OF OPERATING IN THESE AREAS AND OF THE DESIRE OF THE USG TO AVOID ANY INCIDENT WHICH MIGHT PLACE AMERICAN LIVES AND PROPERTY IN JEOPARDY OR CREATE TENSIONS IN THE AREA. WE HAVE INFORMED THE COMPANIES THAT, UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES, WE CONSIDER IT INADVISABLE FOR THEM TO UNDERTAKE OPERATIONS IN THE DISPUTED AREAS.

QUESTION: WHAT ABOUT THE PRC CHARGE WITH RESPECT TO EMPLACEMENT OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS ON THE SEABEDS?

ANSWER: WE REJECT THIS CHARGE. THE US PLAYED A LEADING ROLE IN THE NEGOTIATIONS OF A TREATY SPECIFICALLY BANNING THE EMPLACEMENT OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS ON THE SEABEDS. THE US SENATE HAS RECENTLY GIVEN ITS ADVICE AND CONSENT TO US RATIFICATION. IN THE LIGHT OF THE CONCERN VOICED BY THE PRC REPRESENTATIVE, THE PRC MAY ALSO WISH TO ACCEDE TO THE TREATY.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
**AIRGRAM**

*Pol 32-6 Senkaku IS*

Original to be Filed in \_\_\_\_\_ Decentralized Files. FILE DESIGNATION **A-254**

HANDLING INDICATOR (Enclosures 1 & 2 are UNCLASSIFIED; Enclosures 3 & 4 are CONFIDENTIAL) NO.

TO : Department of State  
 INFO: HONG KONG, TAIPEI, USUN

**MAR 29 8 23 AM 1972**  
 RS/AN  
 ANALYSIS BRANCH  
 DATE: Mar. 17, 1972

FROM : Amembassy TOKYO  
 SUBJECT : Senkaku Islands  
 REF : TOKYO 2452 and TOKYO 2453

Following Foreign Minister Takeo FUKUDA's Statement of the Japanese position on the Senkaku Islands in the Diet (reftels) March 8, the Foreign Ministry released an official statement (enclosure one) and informally provided the press with certain other information on the islands (enclosures two and three). This airgram encloses Embassy translations of these documents.

In providing these documents, the Foreign Ministry asked that we consider the maps restricted information and that we not make them available to other foreigners or to non-official Americans. The Ministry explained that they had not officially released the maps but merely made them available for scrutiny by the Japanese press. However, it should be noted that at least one Japanese paper printed small photocopies of three of the maps.

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Enclosures: *att EP*  
 1. Official Foreign Ministry statement  
 2. Information on location and ownership of the Senkaku Islands  
 3. Information on maps of the Senkaku Islands  
 4. Maps (Department for EA/J only)

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Drafted by: *WCS* POL: DGBrown:ek  
 Drafting Date: 3/16/72 Phone No.: 275 Contents and Classification Approved by: POL: WCS  
 Clearances: POL: RWDuemling A/SA: CASchmitz

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Authority MAN 969044  
By CO-NARA Date 1/13/05

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Encl. 1, Tokyo A-254

Official Foreign Ministry Statement, March 8, 1972

From 1885 onward, the Government of Japan conducted several inspections of the Senkaku Islands, using such agencies as the Okinawa Prefectural authorities. Having carefully confirmed not only that these islands were uninhabited but also that there was no evidence that the Chinese Ching Dynasty's rule extended there, the Government of Japan made a Cabinet decision on January 14, 1895 to construct a marker on the islands and formally incorporated them into the territory of Japan.

Historically since that time, the Senkaku Islands have consistently formed a part of the Nansei Islands, which are Japanese territory, and were not included in Taiwan and the Pescadores Islands which Japan received from the Chinese Ching Dynasty under Article II of the Treaty of Shimonoseki which went into effect in May 1895.

Accordingly, in the San Francisco Peace Treaty also, the Senkaku Islands were not included in the territory which Japan renounced under Article 2 of that treaty. Rather they were placed under the administration of the U.S. as a part of the Nansei Islands in accordance with Article 3 of the treaty and are included in the area the administrative rights over which are being returned to Japan by the Japan-U.S. agreement concerning the Ryukyu and Daito Islands (Okinawa Reversion Agreement) signed June 17, 1971. The above facts show most clearly the status of the Senkaku Islands as Japanese territory.

Moreover, the fact that China did not consider the Senkaku Islands to be a part of Taiwan is clear from the fact that China did not in the past make any protest against the Senkaku Islands being included in the area placed under U.S. administration in accordance with Article 3 of the San Francisco Peace Treaty. Both in the case of the Government of the ROC and the Government of the PRC, the territorial rights over the Senkaku Islands became an issue for the first time only after moves to develop oil resources on the continental shelf of the East China Sea surfaced in the latter half of 1970.

Furthermore, it cannot be said that any of the points presented by the Government of the ROC and the Government of the PRC as so-called historical, geographical and geological proof comprise evidence having validity under international law that would suffice to support a Chinese claim to territorial rights over the Senkaku Islands.

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Encl. 2, Tokyo A-254  
Page 1Information on Location and Ownership of the Senkaku Islands  
On the Senkaku Islands

1. The Senkaku Islands <sup>is</sup> ~~are~~ the collective name for Uotsuri Island, ~~Kuba~~ Kuba Island (Kio Island), Kitakojima Island, <sup>M</sup>Minamikojima Island and Taisho Island (Akao Island), and Oki-no-Kita-Iwa Reef, Oki-no-Mi<sup>N</sup>ami-Iwa Reef and Tobise Reef, scattered about in the area from 25°40' to 26° North Latitude and from 123°30' to ~~124°~~ 124°40' East Longitude. The total area of the Senkaku Islands is 6.32 square kilometers.

The ~~Senkaku~~ Senkaku Islands are situated about 150 kilometers north of the Yaeyama Islands.

2. Following the Cabinet decision in January, ~~1895~~ 1895, the said Islands were incorporated into Yaeyama Gun, Okinawa Prefecture, Since ~~1896~~ 1896, and at the present time, <sup>They are</sup> ~~are~~ a part of Ishigaki City. According to the land register of Ishigaki City, the land number, land classification, land size and owners of the Senkaku Islands are as follows:

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 Page 2

Name of Island	Address	Classification	Land Size	Name of Owner
Minami-Kojima	#2390, Aza-Tonogi, Ishigaki City	Field	cho;tan;se;bu 32 7 3 10	1-46 Miebashicho, Naha City Zenji KOGA
Kita-Kojima	#2391, the same	"	26 1 0 0	"
Uotsuri Island (Yokon Is.)	#2392, the same	"	367 2 3 10	"
Kuba Island (Kio)	#2392, the same	"	88 1 3 10	"
Taisho Island (Akao)	#2394, the same	"	4 1 7 0.4	Government-owned

Oki-no-Kita Reef )  
 Oki-no-Minami Reef) No address  
 ■ Tobise Reef )

(Note) The names given in parenthesis under Uotsuri Island, Kuba Island and Taisho Island, do not appear in the land register.

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Information on Maps of Senkaku Islands

In the World Atlas, Volume 1, East Asia Nations, (1st edition published in October, 1965), published by the National Defense Research Academy and the China Geological Research Institute of Taiwan, and in the People's Middle School Geography Text-Book (first edition published in January, 1970), which is the Republic of China's state-prescribed text-book, the Senkaku Islands are clearly treated as territory of our country. (The above-mentioned World Atlas and textbook have been recalled since last year, and a revised edition, which treats the Senkaku Islands as territory of the Republic of China, has been issued.)

The "World Atlas" (published in November, 1958), published by the Map Publishing Company of Peking, also treated the Senkaku Islands as a Japanese territory.

List of Attached Maps

- Map #1 World Atlas, Vol. 1. East Asian Nations. 1st edition published in Republic of China in 1965.
- Map #2 National Middle School Geography Textbook, Vol. 4. Edited by National Compilation and Translation Office; 1st edition published in Republic of China, January 1970.
- Map #3 National Middle School Geography Textbook, Vol. 4. Edited by National Compilation and Translation Office. Revised edition published in Republic of China, January 1971.
- Map #4 World Atlas: Japan. Published by Editorial Section, Map Publishing Company, Peking, November 1958.

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# Department of State TELEGRAM

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5083  
INFO AMEMBASSY TAIPEI  
AMCONSUL HONG KONG

SECRET TOKYO 2882

SUBJ: SATO AND SENKAKUS

SUMMARY: PRIMIN SATO WOULD LIKE USG TO UNDERWRITE GOJ'S CLAIM TO SOVEREIGNTY OVER SENKAKUS, PARTICULARLY SINCE IT CAN BECOME MAJOR BONE OF CONTENTION WITH PRC. USG NON-INVOLVEMENT POSITION WAS REITERATED TO PRIMIN.

1. DURING MY FAREWELL CALL MARCH 21, SATO RAISED PROBLEM OF SENKAKU ISLANDS, EXPRESSING HOPE THAT USG WOULD MAKE CLEAR THEY JAPANESE TERRITORY. HE NOTED THAT SO LONG AS TAIWAN WAS ONLY OTHER CLAIMANT, PROBLEM MIGHT HAVE BEEN MANAGEABLE VIA DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS. HOWEVER, FACT THAT PRC IS VOICING STRONG CLAIM INCREASES COMPLICATIONS TREMENDOUSLY.

2. COMPOUNDING THAT PROBLEM, OF COURSE, IS LIKELIHOOD OF OIL RESERVES IN SENKAKU AREA. TAIWAN HAS GRANTED CONCESSIONS, SUCH AS THAT TO CLINTON OIL CO., WHOSE ROBERT ANDERSON HAS DISCUSSED SUBJECT SEVERAL TIMES WITH SATO (WITH A VIEW TO WORKING OUT SOME SORT OF BILATERAL AGREEMENT ON COMMERCIAL LEVEL). MEANWHILE, JAPANESE FIRMS HAVE FILED APPLICATIONS TO GOJ FOR CONCESSION AREAS OVERLAPPING TAIPEI-GRANTED CONCESSIONS.

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Department of State

TELEGRAM

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3. I SET FORTH TO SATO CLEAR USG POSITION THAT IN RETURNING GEOGRAPHICALLY DEFINED AREAS VIA OKINAWA REVERSION AGREEMENT WE MERELY RETURNING CUSTODY TO AUTHORITIES ADMINISTERING THEM WHEN WE TOOK THEM OVER, BUT WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO UNDERLYING CLAIMS TO SOVEREIGNTY THAT OTHERS MIGHT HAVE. CLEARLY USG HAS NO DESIRE TO GET IN MIDDLE OF DISPUTANTS. EVEN THOUGH HE MIGHT HAVE WISHED OTHERWISE, SATO ACKNOWLEDGED USG POSITION IS QTE LOGICAL UNQTE AND QTE CLEAR UNQTE. GP-3.  
MEYER

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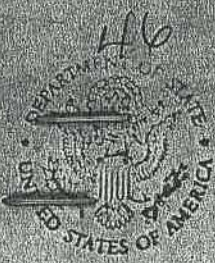
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*POL 32-6 SENKAKU IS*

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 920

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ACTION EA-14

INFO OCT-01 SSO-00 CCO-00 INRE-00 NSCF-00 OMB-01 TRSE-00  
SA-03 E-11 USIE-00 CIAE-00 PM-06 H-02 INR-06 L-03  
NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-0 PRS-01 SS-14 COM-08 IO-12  
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AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 1 OF 2 TOKYO 3000

DA FOR DUSA

DOD FOR ISA

SUBJECT: SENKAKUS

REF: A. TOKYO 2882  
B. TOKYO 2452

*POL 32-6 SENKAKU IS*

SUMMARY: GOJ CONTINUES ACTIVE IN SENKAKU ISSUE. FONMIN FUKUDA AND FONOFF CONTINUE TO ELICIT PRESS INTEREST BY RESOUNDING DECLARATIONS OF GOJ LEGAL POSITION, GENTLE REPUKES TO USG, AND PRESS LEAKS DESIGNED TO STIMULATE SPECULATIVE CURIOSITY. EMBASSY BELIEVES THAT GOJ ACTION MAY BE RESULT OF PRESUCCESSION JITTERS BY FUKUDA AND/OR OF UNIFIED LDP POLICY TO BUILD STONGER GOJ POSITION FOR NEGOTIATIONS WITH PRC. END SUMMARY.

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1. JAPANESE NEWS MEDIA ARE GIVING IMPORTANT COVERAGE TO ISSUE OF SENKAKUS IN WAKE OF FOREIGN MINISTRY STATEMENT OF GOJ LEGAL POSITION REPORTED REF B AND TO STATEMENTS MADE BY, OR ATTRIBUTED TO, FOREIGN MINISTER FUKUDA IN PRESS CONFERENCES AND DIET.

2. RECENT SPATE OF GOJ ACTIVITY BEGAN WITH PUBLICATION MARCH 22 IN RESPONSE TO UN SEABEDS DEBATE OF FOREIGN MINISTRY RESTATEMENT OF GOJ LEGAL CLAIM TO SOVEREIGNTY OVER SENKAKUS. MOST NEWSPAPERS, INCLUDING ALL ENGLISH LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS, RAN ARTICLES AND EDITORIALS SUPPORTING GOJ POSITION AND WITH LITTLE ATTENTION PAID TO ASPECTS OF CHINESE CLAIM.

3. FOLLOWING WIDE PUBLIC ATTENTION GIVEN TO GOJ RESTATEMENT, GOJ THEN LAUNCHED OFFENSIVE TO ELICIT USG STATEMENT SUPPORTING JAPANESE LEGAL POSITION. ACCORDING TO FOREIGN OFFICE, JAPANESE EMBASSY WASHINGTON WAS INSTRUCTED TO APPROACH DEPARTMENT TO INVITE OUR PUBLIC SUPPORT. ON MARCH 21 PRIME MINISTER SATO ASKED AMBASSADOR MEYER DURING HIS FAREWELL CALL IF USG COULD PROVIDE FORTHCOMING STATEMENT (REPORTED REF A).

4. APPARENTLY, SENKAKU ISSUE WAS DISCUSSED IN CABINET CONFERENCE MARCH 21, FOLLOWING WHICH FOREIGN MINISTER FUKUDA TOLD PRESS THAT GOJ WAS IN PROCESS OF NEGOTIATING WITH USG FOR SUCH STATEMENT. FUKUDA'S REMARK FELL ON ALERT EARS, AND HE RECEIVED SEVERAL SETS OF QUESTIONS DURING DIET INTERPELLATIONS BEFORE OKINAWA SPECIAL COMMITTEE IN UPPER HOUSE. IN REPLY TO QUESTION FROM JSP DIET MAN NARAZAKI, WHO ASKED WHETHER JAPANESE GOVERNMENT PROPOSED TO START NEGOTIATIONS WITH USG TO CONFIRM GOJ JURISDICTION IN SENKAKUS, FUKUDA SAID QUOTE NO UNQUOTE AND EXPLAINED THAT THERE IS NO DOUBT IN ANY QUARTER THAT THE SENKAKUS ARE A PART OF JAPAN. SHORTLY AFTER DIET SESSION, FUKUDA APPARENTLY WAS VISITED BY PRESS AGAIN, AND IT APPEARS THAT HE TOOK THE OCCASION TO MENTION THAT THE USG NEUTRAL POSITION ON THE SENKAKU SOVEREIGNTY SEEMS TO HIM QUITE

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EXTRAORDINARY GIVEN FACT THAT USG WOULD BE USING CERTAIN ISLANDS IN SENKAKU GROUP FOR AIR-TO-GROUND RANGE AND THAT USG EVENTUALLY MIGHT HAVE TO TAKE A POSITION ON SENKAKU'S IF IT CONTINUED TO USE THE RANGE.

5. ON MARCH 22, FONOFF BACKGROUNDER REFERRED TO STATEMENT APPARENTLY ISSUED BY STATE DEPARTMENT ON MARCH 21 (STATEMENT NOT YET RECEIVED BY EMBASSY TOKYO) TO EFFECT THAT US REMAINS NEUTRAL IN DISPUTE AMONG CLAIMANTS FOR SOVEREIGNTY OVER SENKAKU'S, AND INDICATED GOJ UNHAPPINESS WITH RESTATEMENT WELL-KNOWN USG POSITION. BACKGROUNDER, WIDELY REPORTED IN PRESS ON MARCH 23, INDICATED THAT GOJ HAD MADE STERN REPRESENTATION TO USG TO SHOW RESTRAINT IN OUR PUBLIC STATEMENTS WHICH MIGHT IMPAIR JAPAN'S CLAIM TO SENKAKU'S. BACKGROUNDER WAS GIVEN ADDED IMPETUS BY REPLY FUKUDA MADE BEFORE OKINAWA SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO QUESTION POSED BY JSP DIET MAN KAWAMURA. FUKUDA REPORTEDLY SAID THAT HE WISHED REGISTER STRONG PROTEST TO USG IF TI DOES NOT CLEARLY RECOGNIZE JAPANESE TERRITORIAL RIGHTS IN SENKAKU'S. FUKUDA WENT ON TO COMPLAIN THAT USG HAD BEEN WILLING TO RETURN ADMINISTRATIVE RIGHTS OVER SENKAKU'S TO JAPAN IN REVERSION TREATY BUT THEN DECLARES THAT TERRITORIAL RIGHTS SHOULD BE DECIDED AMONG PARTIES. WHEN ASKED FOR EXPLANATION OF FUKUDA'S DIET REMARKS, FONMIN REP (KATO) ADMITTED MYSTIFICATION.

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*POL 32-6 SENKAKU IS*

# Department of State TELEGRAM

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NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-14 RSR-01 NSCE-00 IO-12

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AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 2 OF 2 TOKYO 3000

6. FONOFF SPOKESMAN WADA'S WEEKLY BRIEFING FOR FOREIGN PRESS CORP MARCH 23 WAS DEVOTED ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY TO SENKAKUS. GOJ RELEASED ENGLISH VERSION (TEXT SEPTEL) OF ITS EARLIER STATEMENT ON SENKAKUS (REF B). US NEWSMAN WHO WAS PRESENT TOLD EMBOFF THAT ON OFF-THE-RECORD PORTION WADA WAS HARSHLY CRITICAL OF US POSITION ON SENKAKUS. STORIES BY AMERICAN NEWSMAN WILL BE ON THE WIRES SOON.

7. SUBSEQUENT TO WADA'S BRIEFING, PRIMIN SATO TOLD CABINET PRESS GROUP MARCH 23 THAT HE HAD DISCUSSED SENKAKUS WITH AMBASSADOR DURING LATTER'S FAREWELL CALL AND HAD PRESSED STRONGLY FOR POSITIVE US SUPPORT FOR JAPAN'S CLAIM TO SENKAKUS. ACCORDING TO PRESS, SATO SAID AMBASSADOR REPLIED THT US RETURNING ADMINISTRATIVE RIGHTS TO ISLANDS WITH REVERSION BUT REFUSED TO GO BEYOND THIS STATEMENT.

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8. AMBASSADOR LAST EVENING HIT FUKUDA ON SENKAKU ISSUE, STRESSING OUR POSITION. DCM FOLLOWED UP TODAY WITH YOSHINO.

9. COMMENT: FUKUDA'S UNPREDICTABLE RESPONSES ON THE SENKAKU'S ISSUE MIGHT WELL BE RESULT OF HIS ANXIETY REGARDING SUCCESSION TO PRIME MINISTER AND HIS CONSEQUENT DETERMINATION TO ESTABLISH HIMSELF AS FIRM SPOKESMAN FOR JAPANESE POSITION ON SENKAKU'S AND AS ONE NOT AFRAID TO CHALLENGE USG. IN SENKAKU'S ISSUE, FUKUDA CAN BE REASONABLY CERTAIN TO BE ABLE TO ATTRACT ALMOST UNIVERSAL BACKING IN JAPAN FOR ENERGETIC ADVANCEMENT OF GOJ TERRITORIAL POSITION. POLITICAL WATER HAD ALREADY BEEN TESTED FOR FUKUDA BY ISSUANCE OF FONOFF LEGAL POSITION ON SENKAKU'S LAST WEEK, WHICH RECEIVED WIDE ACCLAIM IN JAPAN.

10. IT ALSO CONCEIVABLE THAT GOJ ACTIVITY IN SENKAKU'S ISSUE MAY BE DESIGNED TO ESTABLISH TERRITORIAL ISSUE OF SENKAKU'S AS OBSTACLE IN NORMALIZING RELATIONS BETWEEN JAPAN AND MAINLAND CHINA AND GIVE LDP POPULAR RATIONALE FOR GOING SLOW IN APPROACHES TO PRC.

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INFO OCT-01 CIAE-00 PM-06 H-02 INR-06 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10

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R 231010Z MAR 72  
FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5153  
INFO DOD  
DA WASHDC  
CINCPAC CAMP HM SMITH  
HICOMRY NAHA RYUKYUS  
COMUSJAPAN  
AMCONSUL HONG KONG  
AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

UNCLAS TOKYO 3001

DA FOR DUSA

DOD FOR ISA

SUBJECT: SENKAKUS

*Pol 32-6 SEN KAKU IS*

REF: TOKYO 3000

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1. HERewith IS FOREIGN OFFICE STATEMENT ISSUED MARCH 23 MENTIONED REFTEL.

2. BEGIN TEXT

THE POSITION OF THE GOVERNMENT OF JAPAN ON THE SENKAKU ISLANDS

AFTER 1885 THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT CARRIED OUT A SERIES OF CAREFUL ON-THE-SPOT SURVEYS OF THE SENKAKU ISLANDS THROUGH THE ASSISTANCE OF THE OKINAWA PREFECTURAL AUTHORITIES AND BY OTHER MEANS. HAVING THUS ASCERTAINED CAREFULLY THAT THE ISLANDS WERE NOT ONLY UNINHABITED BUT WITHOUT ANY TRACE OF CONTROL BY CHINA (CHING DYNASTY), THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT TOOK CABINET DECISION

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ON JANUARY 14, 1895, TO SET UP POSTS ON THE SENKAKU ISLANDS TO MANIFEST JAPAN'S TERRITORIAL SOVEREIGNTY AND THEREBY FORMALLY INCORPORATED THESE ISLANDS INTO THE TERRITORY OF JAPAN.

SINCE THEN THE SENKAKU ISLANDS HAVE BEEN CONSISTENTLY A PART OF JAPAN'S TERRITORY OF NANSEI SHOTO. NATURALLY, THESE ISLANDS ARE NOT INCLUDED IN THE ISLANDS OF FORMOSA AND THE PESCADORES, WHICH WERE CEDED TO JAPAN UNDER ARTICLE 2 OF THE SINO-JAPANESE PEACE TREATY WHICH ENTERED INTO FORCE IN MAY, 1895, AT THE TIME OF THE SAN FRANCISCO PEACE TREATY, THEREFORE, THE SENKAKU ISLANDS WERE NOT RENOUNCED BY JAPAN UNDER ARTICLE 2 OF THE TREATY BUT WERE PLACED UNDER THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE UNITED STATES TOGETHER WITH OTHER ISLANDS OF NANSEI SHOTO IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PROVISIONS OF ARTICLE 3. NOW THE ADMINISTRATION OVER THE SENKAKU ISLANDS AND OVER THE OTHER ISLANDS ON NANSEI SHOTO IS TO BE RETURNED TO JAPAN UNDER THE AGREEMENT BETWEEN JAPAN AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA CONCERNING THE RYUKYU ISLANDS AND THE DAITO ISLAND SIGNED ON JUNE 17, 1971. ALL THESE FACTS TESTIFY IN THE clearest possible manner TO THE STATUS OF THE SENKAKU ISLANDS AS A TERRITORY OF JAPAN.

FOR A LONG TIME SINCE THE ENTRY INTO FORCE OF THE SAN FRANCISCO PEACE TREATY CHINA RAISED NO OBJECTION TO THE FACT THAT THE SENKAKU ISLANDS ARE INCLUDED IN THE AREA PLACED UNDER THE UNITED STATES ADMINISTRATION IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PROVISIONS OF ARTICLE 3 OF THE TREATY. IN FACT, NEITHER THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA NOR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA HAD TAKEN UP THE QUESTION OF SOVEREIGNTY OVER THE ISLANDS UNTIL THE LATTER HALF OF 1970 WHEN MOVEMENTS RELATING TO EXPLOITATION OF OIL RESOURCES DEPOSITED IN THE EAST CHINA SEA CONTINENTAL SHELF SURFACED. ALL THIS CLEARLY INDICATES THAT CHINA HAD NOT UNTIL RECENTLY REGARDED THE SENKAKU ISLANDS AS A PART OF FORMOSA.

NONE OF THE ALLEGED HISTORICAL, GEOGRAPHICAL AND GEOLOGICAL ARGUMENTS SET FORTH BY THE GOVERNMENTS

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OF THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA AND THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC  
OF CHINA ARE ACCEPTABLE AS VALID UNDER INTERNATIONAL  
LAW TO SUBSTANTIATE CHINA'S TERRITORIAL CLAIM OVER  
THE SENKAKU ISLANDS. END TEXT.  
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*Pol 32-6 Senkaku Is*  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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INR-06 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-14

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FM AMEMBASSY TAIPEI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5183  
INFO AMCONSUL HONG KONG  
CINCPAC  
HICOMRY  
AMEMBASSY TOKYO

C O N F I D E N T I A L TAIPEI 1506

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

SUBJECT: TENSION OVER SENKAKUS QUESTION; CONVERSATION  
OF FONMIN WITH AMBASSADOR.

REF: A) TOKYO 3000  
B) TOKYO 3001

*Pol 32-6 Senkaku Is*

BEGIN SUMMARY: FONMIN CHOW SHU-KAI TOLD AMBASSADOR THAT NATIONAL ASSEMBLY IS HEATEDLY DISCUSSING SENKAKUS IN LIGHT OF RECENT JAPANESE PUBLIC DEBATE AND REPORTEDLY WILL ISSUE A MANIFESTO BEFORE ADJOURNMENT. FEELING IN ROC IS RUNNING HIGH ON SUBJECT, PARTICULARLY AMONG STUDENTS, AS RESULT OF CURRENT GOJ AGITATION OF THE ISSUE. FONMIN REQUESTED THAT USG: (1) URGE GOJ TO REFRAIN FROM PLAYING UP DISPUTE PUBLICLY IN JAPAN AND DE-EMPHASIZE SENKAKUS IN REVERSION CELEBRATIONS; AND (2) RETAIN FOR INDEFINITE PERIOD THE TWO SMALLEST ISLETS IN THE GROUP WHERE IT HAS THE RIGHT TO HOLD GUNNERY PRACTICE. AMB INFORMED CHOW THAT USG POSITION ON SOVEREIGNTY HAS NOT CHANGED; US NEITHER SUPPORTS NOR OPPOSES POSITION OF ANY CLAIMANT.  
END SUMMARY

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1. I CALLED ON FONMIN CHOW SHU-KIAI TODAY AT HIS REQUEST TO HEAR HIS REVIEW OF CURRENT AGITATION OF THE SENKAKUS QUESTION.

2. CHOW EXPRESSED REGRET THAT FEELINGS WERE RUNNING HIGH IN BOTH JAPAN AND TAIWAN OVER THE SENKAKUS. FORTUNATELY MEETINGS OF NATIONAL ASSEMBLY AND PARTY RELATED TO PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION AND AMENDMENTS TO CONSTITUTION HAVE HELD THE PRINCIPAL SPOTLIGHT, KEEPING ISSUE FROM BOILING UP HERE AT THE MOMENT. NATIONAL ASSEMBLY IS NOW ENGAGED IN HEATED DISCUSSION OF THE SUBJECT AND REPORTEDLY WILL ISSUE A MANIFESTO ON THE SENKAKUS ISSUE BEFORE ADJOURNMENT MARCH 25.

3. CHOW DEPLORED THE INFLAMMATORY STATEMENTS OF PRIME MINISTER SATO AND FONMIN FUKUDA TO THE DIET, AND THE GAIMUSHO'S PREPARED STATEMENT OF MARCH 23 (REF B1). HE SAID HE IS GOING HIS UTMOST TO MAKE MODERATION AND RESTRAINT PREVAIL HERE, BUT HE CAN BE SUCCESSFUL ONLY TO EXTENT THE JAPANESE PRACTICE THE SAME VIRTUES THEMSELVES. UNFORTUNATELY, THE OUTLOOK FOR DEFUSING THE ISSUE IN JAPAN DOES NOT SEEM BRIGHT, WITH VARIOUS CONTENDERS FOR SATO'S LDP MANTLE MAKING STRONG STATEMENTS ON THIS SUBJECT, AND WITH BIG REVERSION CELEBRATIONS PLANNED FOR MAY 15 IN TOKYO AND NAHA. HE THOUGHT IT UNLIKELY THAT THE JAPANESE WOULD HOLD TIGHT REIN. CHOW SAID HE THOUGHT THE ISSUE COULD BE EXPLOSIVE. THE UNIVERSITY STUDENTS IN TAIWAN ARE QUITE AROUSED ON THIS SUBJECT AND SHOWING DISSATISFACTION WITH THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, THE LEGISLATIVE YUAN AND THE CONTROL YUAN. THE GRC BADLY NEEDS A QUIET PERIOD WITH NO NEW PROVOCATIONS TO EXCITE THE STUDENTS. HE PARTICULARLY HOPED THAT DEMONSTRATIONS COULD BE AVOIDED, AND THAT PERIOD OF PRESIDENTIAL RE-INAUGURATION HERE IN MID-MAY WOULD NOT BE MARRIED BY ANY REGRETTABLE INCIDENT OR TENSIONS.

4. CHOW SAID HE HAD TWO REQUESTS TO MAKE: FIRST, HE HOPED THAT THE US WOULD URGE THE GOJ TO SHOW MODERATION AND RESTRAINT IN ALL ASPECTS OF ITS HANDLING OF THE ISSUE. SECOND, HE HOPED THAT THE US COULD PROLONG ITS ADMINISTRATIVE CONTROL OVER THE TWO TINY ISLETS IN THE GROUP WHICH IT

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HOLDS FOR US TARGET PRACTICE. GRC HOPED THAT GOJ WOULD EMPHASIZE ITS OVERALL SUCCESS IN REGAINING THE RYUKYUS AND OMIT OR PLAY DOWN THE SENKAKUS. HE THOUGHT THAT BOTH THE GRC AND GOJ HAD MORE IMPORTANT MATTERS TO DEAL WITH IN THIS DIFFICULT TIME AND SHOULD NOT BE DISTRACTED AND SUBJECTED TO STRAIN BY SUCH A RELATIVELY MINOR SUBJECT AS OWNERSHIP OF A FEW ROCKS STICKING OUT OF THE SEA.

5. CHOW SAID THAT HE WOULD MAKE A STRONG BUT AMICABLE PRESENTATION TO JAPANESE AMBASSADOR UYAMA, WHOM HE HAS AN APPOINTMENT TO SEE THIS AFTERNOON. HE SAID HE WOULD REQUEST UYAMA TO ADVISE THE GOJ TO DAMP THE ISSUE DOWN. HE HOPED THE US COULD REINFORCE THIS ADVICE.

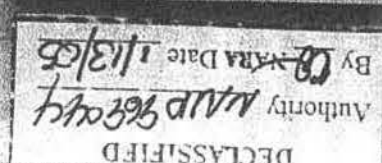
6. I CONFIRMED THAT USG HAS NOT CHANGED ITS NONCOMMITTAL POSITION ON SOVEREIGNTY CLAIMS, AND NOTED THAT AMBASSADOR MEYER HAS RECENTLY REAFFIRMED OUR STAND TO

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MCCONAUGHY

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*PO L 32-6 SENKAKU IS*



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ACTION EA-14

INFO OCT-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00  
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INRE-00 1089 W

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5192  
INFO AMEMBASSY TAIPEI PRIORITY  
USUN NEW YORK 1278  
AMCONSUL HONG KONG  
CINCPAC  
HICOMRY NAHA  
COMUSJAPAN

C O N F I D E N T I A L TOKYO 3077

SUBJ: SENKAKUS DISPUTE

REF: TOKYO 3000

*PO L 32-6 SENKAKU IS*

1. SENKAKUS ISSUES HAS RECEIVED MAJOR PUBLIC ATTENTION OVER PAST FEW DAYS, STOKED BY VARIETY OF STATEMENTS BY GOVERNMENT AND POLITICAL FIGURES. HOWEVER, MORNING PRESS MARCH 25 REPORTS ONLY THAT JSP HAS CLIMBED ABOARD THOUGH ASSERTION OF JAPANESE SOVEREIGNTY IS BALANCED WITH SUGGESTION THAT JAPAN AND CHINA COULD WORK TOGETHER FOR DEVELOPMENT OF CONTINENTAL SHELF RESOURCES.
2. FONOFF PRESS SPOKESMAN WADA PRIVATELY OBSERVED TO DCM THAT THIS IS FIRST ISSUE IN LONG TIME ON WHICH MEDIA HAVE STRONGLY SUPPORTED GOVERNMENT POSITION. ANOTHER FONOFF CONTACT NOTED THAT ISSUE HAS ALSO BROUGHT TEMPORARY SEMBLANCE OF UNITY TO FRAGMENTED LDP. SUCH DOMESTIC POLITICAL PAYOFFS NOTWITHSTANDING, WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT GOJ'S ULTIMATE TARGET IN VENTILATING

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ISSUE IS CHINA.

3. WE HAVE APPROACHED FONOFF AT SEVERAL LEVELS SUGGESTING  
TIME HAS COME TO COOL IT. OUR CONTACTS WERE INITIALLY  
RESPONSIVE AND WE HOPE TO REPORT SOME PROGRESS BY EARLY  
NEXT WEEK. GP-4.  
MEYER

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HONG KONG*

OUTGOING TELEGRAM  
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IMMEDIATE TOKYO

*Defense Dept.*

IMMEDIATE TAIPEI, HONG KONG, RUEKJCS/DOD, RUEADWD/DA,  
RUHHHQ/CINCPAC, RUAADA/HICOMRY, RUMMOPA/COMUSJ, USUN NEW YORK

*naha*

SUBJ: SENKAKUS DISPUTE

*32-6 SEN KAKU IS*

REF: TOKYO 3000 - *POL*

*GREEN  
JUSHINN  
ERICSON*

1. AMBASSADOR USHIBA CALLED ON ASST SECRETARY GREEN MARCH 23 TO REQUEST USG TO AVOID ANY STATEMENTS WHICH MIGHT INFLAME EMOTIONS IN JAPAN OVER THIS SENSITIVE TERRITORIAL ISSUE.

2. PRETEXT FOR USHIBA DEMARCHE WAS WORDING OF "NEW" USG STATEMENT ON SENKAKUS WHICH USHIBA UNDERSTOOD USG NOW USING IN RESPONSE TO PRESS INQUIRIES ON THIS SUBJECT. GUIDANCE REFERRED TO BY USHIBA WAS PRESS GUIDANCE IN Q AND A FORM GIVEN TO OKAWARA DURING MARCH 17 MEETING AT DEPARTMENT. Q AND A SHEET, DATED MARCH 13, 1972 IS UPDATE AND MINOR ELABORATION OF GUIDANCE USED TO RESPOND TO PRESS INQUIRIES ON APRIL 9, 1971. TO DATE, DEPARTMENT HAS NOT HAD OCCASION TO USE MARCH 13 GUIDANCE AND WE AGREED WITH USHIBA THAT IN RESPONDING TO FUTURE PRESS INQUIRIES CONCERNING USG POSITION ON SENKAKUS WE WOULD ESSENTIALLY ADHERE TO LINE TAKEN IN APRIL 9 GUIDANCE.

3. USHIBA SAID THAT ALTHOUGH GOJ WOULD OF COURSE LIKE US SUPPORT ON SENKAKUS, GOJ IS UNDERSTANDS US POSITION AND ONLY WANTS THAT US SPOKESMEN AVOID STATEMENTS THAT WOULD UNDERCUT JAPANESE POSITION. HE OPTED IN PARTICULAR

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## OUTGOING TELEGRAM

Continuation Sheet

FORM DS 322A (OCR)

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ONLY ASKS THAT US SPOKESMEN AVOID STATEMENTS THAT WOULD UNDERCUT JAPANESE POSITION. HE OBJECTED IN PARTICULAR TO MENTION OF EXISTENCE OF "DISPUTE" OR "CONFLICTING CLAIMS TO SOVEREIGNTY" OVER SENKAKUS, SINCE GOJ OFFICIAL POSITION IS THAT THERE NO LEGAL BASIS FOR ANY CLAIMS TO SOVEREIGNTY OVER SENKAKUS BY ANY OTHER COUNTRY THAN JAPAN.

4. AMBASSADOR GREEN INFORMED USHIBA THAT NO QUESTIONS HAVE AS YET BEEN RAISED AT DEPARTMENT PRESS BRIEFINGS CONCERNING US RETENTION OF NAVY BOMBING RANGES IN SENKAKUS BUT US MUST BE PREPARED TO RESPOND TO INQUIRIES IF NEED ARISES. USHIBA REFERRED TO Q AND A ON THIS SUBJECT IN MARCH 13 PRESS GUIDANCE AND SAID GOJ FEELS USG IS INCONSISTENT WHEN IT SAYS RETENTION OF GUNNERY RANGES DOES NOT IMPLY SUPPORT FOR GOJ POSITION. USHIBA SAID US REQUEST FOR RETENTION OF RANGES "QUITE NATURALLY" WAS INTERPRETED IN THIS MANNER BY JAPANESE. JAPANESE ARE THEREFORE PERPLEXED WHEN US INSISTS IT TAKE NO POSITION ON THIS ISSUE. THIS AND OTHER RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN US-JAPAN RELATIONS HAVE RESULTED IN FEELING IN JAPAN THAT "US SUDDENLY IS VERY COLD TO JAPAN". AMBASSADOR GREEN ASSURED USHIBA USG FEELS IT VERY IMPORTANT TO COORDINATE WITH JAPAN ON ALL STATEMENTS CONCERNING SENKAKUS. GREEN POINTED OUT, HOWEVER, OBVIOUS DANGERS IN PRESS TO~~STORIES~~ IN JAPAN (QUOTING FOREIGN OFFICE SOURCES) TO EFFECT THAT GOJ FEELS US RETENTION OF GUNNERY RANGES IS INDICATIVE OF US SUPPORT FOR JAPANESE POSITION. USHIBA SAID US POSITION IS WELL UNDERSTOOD AND AGREED THAT THE LESS SAID ABOUT ALL ASPECTS OF SENKAKUS PROBLEM THE BETTER FOR BOTH US AND JAPAN.

5. THE FOLLOWING IS PRESS GUIDANCE NOW ON FILE WITH DEPARTMENT SPOKESMAN TO BE USED IN RESPONDING TO ALL QUESTIONS CONCERNING SENKAKUS. IT SUPERCEDES ALL PREVIOUS GUIDANCE. EMBASSY SHOULD CONFINE ITS REMARKS ON ALL ASPECTS OF SENKAKUS ISSUE TO THIS WORDING. JAPANESE EMBASSY HAS BEEN INFORMED OF WORDING CONTAINED IN THIS STATEMENT.

6. "Q. WHAT IS THE US POSITION ON THE RECOGNITION OF THE SENKAKU ISLANDS? IS IT JAPANESE, PART OF THE RYUKYUS, BELONGS TO CHINA, OR WHAT?

A. THE U.S. HAS CONSISTENTLY MAINTAINED THAT IN THE EVENT A SITUATION ARISES WHERE THERE ARE CONFLICTING CLAIMS IN THIS AREA, ANY SUCH CLAIMS WOULD PREDATE OUR CONNECTION WITH THE RYUKYUS AND SHOULD BE SETTLED BY THE PARTIES THEMSELVES. NOW, THE BACKGROUND OF THIS IS THAT UNDER ARTICLE III OF THE TREATY OF PEACE WITH JAPAN, THE U.S.

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FORM DS 322A (OCR)

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ACQUIRED ADMINISTRATIVE RIGHTS OVER -- WITH APOLOGIES FOR THE PRONUNCIATION -- 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 WORLD WAR II, AND WHICH WERE NOT OTHERWISE SPECIFICALLY REFERRED TO IN THE TREATY. UNDER THE PROVISIONS OF THE OKINAWA REVERSION TREATY THE UNITED STATES WILL RETURN TO JAPAN ON MAY 16, 1972 THE ADMINISTRATIVE RIGHTS TO NANSEI SHOTO WHICH IT ACQUIRED UNDER THE TREATY OF PEACE WITH JAPAN. THE U.S. EXERCISES FULL AUTHORITY OVER THESE ISLANDS AND WILL CONTINUE TO DO SO UNTIL REVERSION.

7. Q. DOES THE U.S. INTEND TO RETAIN U.S. NAVY GUNNERY RANGES AFTER REVERSION OF THE SENKAKUS TO JAPAN?

A. THESE RANGES ARE INCLUDED IN A LIST OF SITES WHICH THE U.S. WILL RETAIN AFTER REVERSION AS DESIGNATED IN THE OKINAWA REVERSION TREATY. WE DO NOT FEEL THAT THE DESIGNATION OF THESE RANGES IN ANY WAY AFFECTS OUR BASIC POSITION ON THE SENKAKUS ISSUE AS PREVIOUSLY DESCRIBED."

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*POL 32-6 SENKAKU IS*

Department of State

TELEGRAM

CONFIDENTIAL 279 POSS DUPE

PAGE 01 TOKYO 03124 271036Z

14  
ACTION EA-14

INFO OCT-01 10-12 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-06 H-02 INR-06 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-14 USIA-12 OMB-01

SA-03 RSB-01 /090 W

021573

R 270835Z MAR 72  
FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5213  
INFO AMEMBASSY TAIPEI  
USUN NY 1280  
AMCONSUL HONG KONG  
CINCPAC  
HICOMRY  
COMUSJAPAN

C O N F I D E N T I A L TOKYO 3124

SUB: SENKAKUS DISPUTE

REF: TOKYO 3077

*POL 32-6 SENKAKU IS*

SUMMARY: FONOFF CONSENSUS IS THAT WHILE SENKAKUS ISSUE REMAINS VERY IMPORTANT TO JAPAN, AND USG PUBLIC POSITION SOMEWHAT IMPROVED BUT STILL NOT AS FORTHCOMING AS GOJ WOULD HOPE, ISSUE SHOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO ESCALATE. END SUMMARY.

1. AT OUR REQUEST, KIUCHI (HEAD OF ASIAN REGIONAL POLICY DIVISION, FONOFF) TOOK SOUNDINGS WITH ALL FONOFF BUREAUS INVOLVED IN SENKAKUS ISSUE AND GAVE US FRANK PERSONAL ASSESSMENT OF WHERE THINGS NOW STAND. KIUCHI MENTIONED HAVING TOUCHED BASE WITH ASIAN BUREAU DIRGEN YOSHIDA, HASHIMOTO OF CHINA DESK, UN AFFAIRS DIRGEN KAGEI, AMERICAN AFFAIRS ASSISTANT DIRGEN TACHIBANA AND LEGAL AFFAIRS DIV HEAD KUMAGAI. IN ADDITION, YOSHIDA DISCUSSED ISSUE WITH FONMIN FUKUDA AND TOGETHER THEY SHARED CONCERN OVER IMPORTANCE OF ISSUE BUT REACHED NO CONCLUSIONS ON APPROPRIATE NEXT STEPS.

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**TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 TOKYO 03124 271036Z

2. KIUCHI DESCRIBED FONOFF CONSENSUS AS FOLLOWS: AFTER LONG DISCUSSIONS WITH USG ON ISSUE, BEGINNING DURING OKINAWA REVERSION NEGOTIATIONS, FONOFF RECOGNIZES THAT TWO SIDES MUST SIMPLY AGREE TO DISAGREE. FONOFF UNDERSTANDS IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT FOR USG TO CHANGE POSITION. MOST RECENT DEPARTMENT GUIDANCE IS SLIGHTLY MORE HELPFUL FROM GOJ POINT OF VIEW, PARTICULARLY SINCE PHRASE QTE IN EVENT SITUATION SHOULD ARISE UNQTE HAS REPLACED LANGUAGE WHICH SUGGESTED THAT SOVEREIGNTY IS ALREADY IN QUESTION. NATURALLY GOJ WOULD HAVE WISHED FOR EVEN GREATER CHANGE. BE THAT AS IT MAY, FONOFF IS DEFINITELY NOT DESIROUS OF ESCALATING DIFFERENCES WITH USG. FONOFF AND GOJ WILL THEREFORE ATTEMPT TO DAMPEN ISSUE THROUGH UNCONTROLABLE EVENTS IN DIET OR AT UN MAY REQUIRE FURTHER PUBLIC STATEMENTS.

4. KIUCHI NOTED THAT TACHIBANA HAS BEEN CHARGED WITH ASSURING GREATER COORDINATION WITHIN FONOFF ON THIS ISSUE. PARENTHETICALLY HE REGRETTED THAT SOME OFF-THE-RECORD REMARKS DURING PAST WEEK HAD BEEN RATHER INTEMPERATE.

5. IN RESPONSE TO EMBOFFS QUESTION, KIUCHI SAID GOJ DOES NOT EXPECT SENKAKUS ISSUE TO HAVE SIGNIFICANT EFFECT ON GOJ RELATIONS WITH PEKING. OPPOSITION PARTIES MAY EXPLOIT THIS ASPECT OF PROBLEM AND THOUGH GOJ WOULD BE WILLING TO DISCUSS SENKAKUS DURING ANY FUTURE CONTACTS WITH PEKING, SOVEREIGNTY OVER TERRITORY IS NOT NEGOTIABLE.

6. IN CONTRAST TO KIUCHI'S DEMURRER, ARTICLE IN TOKYO SHIMBUN MARCH 27 ALLEGES FONOFF IS CAREFULLY ASSESSING PRC POSITION. ARTICLE STATES THAT FONOFF HAS STUDIED VARIOUS PRC STATEMENTS AND IS ASSEMBLING EVIDENCE TO SUPPORT JAPANESE CLAIMS AND REFUTE THOSE OF CHINESE, WHICH FONOFF CONSIDERS QTE GROUNDLESS UNDER INTERNATIONAL LAW UNQTE. ARTICLE CHARACTERIZES FONOFF EFFORTS AS QTE FULL SCALE PREPARATIONS UNQTE SINCE QTE THERE IS STRONG POSSIBILITY THAT OWNERSHIP OVER SENKAKU ISLANDS WILL DEVELOP INTO SERIOUS CONTROVERSY BETWEEN JAPAN AND CHINA IN FUTURE UNQTE.

7. COMMENT: FONOFF SEEMS GENUINELY COMMITTED

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TO MOVING ISSUE OFF FRONT PAGES. HOWEVER, TERRITORIAL  
ISSUE STRUCK RESPONSIVE CORD AMONG JAPANESE PUBLIC AND  
ANY FUTURE CHALLENGES WILL ONCE AGAIN EVOKE STRONG  
REACTION.  
MEYER

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By *CB-NARA* Date *1/13/05*

OUTGOING TELEGRAM  
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

*POL 32-6 SENKAKU IS*

*46*

FORM DS 322 (OCR)  
27 MAR 72 21 06  
051921 272106Z MAR 72 IRWIN

051921

*H6A 51921*

CONFIDENTIAL

EA/J:JWSHINN:RD  
3/27/72 EXT 23152  
EA/J:RAERICSON

EA/P:ROSEN

PRIORITY TOKYO, TAIPEI PRIORITY

PRIORITY HONG KONG, USUN PRIORITY, RUHHQA/CINCPAC PRIORITY,  
RUAQADA/HICOMRY PRIORITY, RUEKJCS/DOD PRIORITY, RUEADWD/DA PRIORITY,

*Naha*

*Defense Dept.*

SUBJ: SENKAKUS DISPUTE

RAE  
JWSK  
AR

REF: STATE 051240 - *POL 32-6 SENKAKU IS*

1. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF SENKAKUS Q AND A PORTION OF MARCH 24 NOON PRESS BRIEFING AT DEPARTMENT. EMBASSY SHOULD NOTE THAT WORDING OF ANSWERS BY DEPARTMENT SPOKESMAN DEPART SLIGHTLY FROM PRESS GUIDANCE TRANSMITTED REFTEL. IN RESPONDING TO PRESS INQUIRIES, EMBASSY SHOULD ADHERE CLOSELY TO WORDING OF LETTER.

2. Q. THE JAPANESE FOREIGN MINISTER ON TUESDAY EXPRESSED MISGIVINGS ABOUT THE AMERICAN POSITION ON THE SENKAKUS. TWO QUESTIONS: COULD YOU TELL US WHAT THE AMERICAN POSITION IS, AND HAS THERE BEEN ANY DISCUSSION BETWEEN THIS GOVERNMENT AND JAPAN ON SOVEREIGNTY OF THOSE ISLANDS?

A. WELL, IT SEEMS TO ME THAT THIS MATTER WAS DISCUSSED AT SOME LENGTH AS PART OF A RANGE OF ISSUES OF THIS KIND LAST APRIL, AND YOU MIGHT WANT TO LOOK AT THE TRANSCRIPT THERE TO REFRESH YOUR MEMORY. THE ESSENCE OF OUR POSITION IN THIS MATTER IS THAT IN THE EVENT THAT A SITUATION SHOULD ARISE IN WHICH THERE ARE CONFLICTING CLAIMS, THOSE CLAIMS, IN EFFECT, PREDATE OUR CONNECTION WITH THE RYUKYUS AND SHOULD BE SETTLED BY THE PARTIES CONCERNED.

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PAGE

3. Q. ARE YOU TAKING THE POSITION, THEN, THAT SOVEREIGNTY OVER SENKAKUS IS A MATTER OF INTERNATIONAL CONSIDERATION, THE POSITION TAKEN REGARDING TAIWAN SOME TIME AGO?

A. {ASIDE}, AS I RECALL. LET ME LEAVE IT THAT WE ACQUIRED ADMINISTRATIVE RIGHTS TO THE SENKAKUS UNDER THE PEACE TREATY. WE ARE RETURNING ADMINISTRATIVE RIGHTS TO THE GOVERNMENT OF JAPAN AS PART OF THE OKINAWA REVERSION.

4. Q. BUT I'M TALKING ABOUT SOVEREIGNTY.

A. THAT IS AS FAR AS I INTEND TO EXPRESS MYSELF ON THIS SUBJECT.

5. Q. WE HAVE NO POSITION, THEN, ON SOVEREIGNTY?

A. I HAVE SAID THAT OUR POSITION WITH RESPECT TO CLAIMS IN CONFLICT SHOULD BE SETTLED BY THOSE CONCERNED -- WHICH SEEMS TO ME TO EXPRESS A POSITION." 44  
SEEMS TO ME TO EXPRESS A POSITION."

6. NOTE: PARA 6 OF PRESS GUIDANCE TRANSMITTED REFTTEL REFERS TO REVERSION AS TAKING PLACE ON MAY 16, 1972. THIS SHOULD BE CORRECTED TO READY\* MAY 15, 1972. 44

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM  
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

*Pol 32-6 Senkakus*

FORM DS 322 (OCR) 29 MAR 72 20 53

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ATK 053707 292053Z MAR 72 ROGERS

CONFIDENTIAL

EA/J:JWSHINN:RD  
3/29/72 EXT 23152  
EA/J:RAERICSON

EA/ROC: MISS MCDONNELL

PRIORITY TAIPEI

ROUTINE TOKYO, HONG KONG ROUTINE, RUHHQA/CINCPAC,  
RUAADA/HICOMRY

SUBJ: SENKAKUS DISPUTE

REF A. STATE 051240  
REF B. TAIPEI 1506  
REF C. TOKYO 3077

IN EVENT YOU FEEL IT ADVISABLE TO MAKE FURTHER REPRESENTA-  
TIONS TO CHOW CONCERNING SENKAKUS ISSUE, YOU MAY INFORM  
HIM OF FOLLOWING: {A} AS REPORTED REF C, EMBASSY TOKYO  
HAS ALREADY IMPRESSED UPON GOJ NECESSITY FOR PLAYING  
DOWN PUBLICITY OVER THIS SENSITIVE ISSUE. {B} ALL OF  
SENKAKUS GROUP, INCLUDING S\*ISLETS ON WHICH US GUNNERY  
RANGES SITUATED, WILL BE RETURNED TO JAPAN AS PROVIDED  
UNDER TERMS OF THE REVERSION TREATY. {C} US LEGAL POSI-  
TION RE SENKAKUS REMAINS UNCHANGED. 44

RAE *RS*  
JWS *JWS*  
MCDONNELL

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*POL 32-6 Senkaku Is.*



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PAGE 01 HONG K 02187 310626Z

15  
ACTION EA-14

INFO OCT-01 IO-12 SA-03 OMB-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-06 H-02  
INR-06 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-14  
USIA-12 RSR-01 1090 W

059891

R 310510Z MAR 72  
FM AMCONSUL HONG KONG  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3353  
INFO AMEMBASSY TAIPEI  
AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
CINCPAC  
USUN NEW YORK 231  
HICOMRYU

*Hong Kong 2187  
3/3/72*

C O N F I D E N T I A L HONG KONG 2187

CINCPAC, HICOMRYU FOR POLAD

SUBJ: PRG-JAPAN: SENKAKU DISPUTE

SUMMARY: PEKING HAS STRONGLY REBUTTED RECENT JAPANESE STATEMENTS CLAIMING SOVEREIGNTY OVER THE SENKAKU (TIAOYU) ISLANDS AND EXPRESSED ALARM OVER REPORTS OF JAPANESE PLANS TO PATROL THE AREA. NO DIRECT COUNTER ACTION, HOWEVER, IS THREATENED. END SUMMARY.

1. NCNA (MARCH 30) SHARPLY DENOUNCED RECENT JAPANESE STATEMENTS CLAIMING SOVEREIGNTY OVER THE SENKAKU (TIAOYU) ISLANDS. TAKING UP SPECIFIC POINTS OF THE JAPANESE OFFICIAL STATEMENT ISSUED ON MARCH 8, NCNA CHARGED THAT THE 1885 JAPANESE SURVEY OF THE AREA CAME AFTER "SEVERAL CENTURIES" OF CHINESE JURISDICTION OF THE AREA AND THE "INCORPORATION" OF THE ISLANDS AS JAPANESE TERRITORY WAS IMPOSED UPON THE WEAKENED CHING DYNASTY SHORTLY BEFORE THE TREATY OF SHIMONOSEKI IN 1895. NCNA CHARGED THAT AFTER WORLD WAR II THE US HAD "UNILATERALLY DECLARED" THAT IT ENJOYED "ADMINISTRATIVE RIGHTS" OVER THE ISLANDS AND THAT THE TRANSFER OF THESE RIGHTS TO JAPAN UNDER THE "OKINAWA REVISION FRAUD" IS LIKEWISE "ILLICIT."

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PAGE 02 HONG K 02187 310626Z

2. COMMENTING ON A JAPANESE PRESS REPORT, NCNA SAYS THAT IF JAPAN DARED TO PATROL THE WATERS AROUND THE ISLANDS OR TO HOIST THE JAPANESE FLAG, IT WOULD BE OPPOSED BY THE CHINESE AND JAPANESE PEOPLE.

3. COMMENT: THE STATEMENT OF INTENTION TO RECOVER THE ISLANDS AGAIN FOLLOWS REASSERTION OF DETERMINATION TO EVENTUALLY LIBERATE TAIWAN. THE WARNING RAISED AGAINST "PATROLLING" DOES NOT IMPLY THAT DIRECT COUNTER ACTION WOULD BE TAKEN. ALTHOUGH STRONGLY WORDED, THE ARTICLE, UNLIKE THE GOVERNMENT STATEMENT, DOES NOT BRING IN THE THEME OF JAPANESE "MILITARISM." GP-4  
OSBORN

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*Pol 32-6 Senkaku*  
**TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 TAIPEI 01854 141012Z

12  
ACTION EA-14

INFO OCT-01 PM-06 NSC-10 SS-14 RSC-01 L-03 CIAE-00 DODE-00

INR-06 NSAE-00 P-03 USIA-12 PRS-01 COA-02 RSR-01 SA-03

OMB-01 /078 W

031935

R 140937Z APR 72  
FM AMEMBASSY TAIPEI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5338  
HICOMRY  
INFO CINCPAC  
AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
AMCONSUL HONG KONG

C O N F I D E N T I A L TAIPEI 1854

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

SUBJECT: SENKAKUS

1. MOFA (CHIEN) HAS RAISED WITH EMBASSY APRIL 13 KYODO REPORT STATING THAT OKINAWA PATROLS INTERCEPTED TWO ROC FISHING VESSELS APRIL 11 AND 12 OFF SENKAKUS. CHIEN SAID THAT KYODO REPORTED THAT FISHERMEN HAD STATED THAT THEY WERE SEEKING REFUGE BECAUSE OF STORMY WEATHER BUT WERE ORDERED TO LEAVE BY JAPANESE VESSELS.

2. CHIEN MADE FOLLOWING POINTS: A) IT IS AN ESTABLISHED INTERNATIONAL RULE THAT SHIPS MAY SEEK REFUGE INSIDE TERRITORIAL WATERS IN CASE OF DISTRESS OR EMERGENCY. B) FISHERMEN FROM TAIWAN HAVE BEEN FISHING IN THE SENKAKUS AREA FOR MANY YEARS WITHOUT DIFFICULTY. BUT OKINAWAN POLICE NOW FIND IT NECESSARY TO ORDER THE FISHERMEN TO DEPART. GRC CANNOT ACCEPT SUCH TREATMENT. C) GRC CONSIDERS SENKAKUS AND RYUKYUS TO BE UNDER US ADMINISTRATION AND THERE-

FORE IS MAKING REPRESENTATION TO THE US. HE REQUESTED THAT USG PREVAIL ON OKINAWAN POLICE TO EXERCISE RESTRAINT IN SUCH ACTIVITIES IN ORDER TO KEEP TENSIONS DOWN. THE GRC

*TAIPEI 1854*

*4/14/72*

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PAGE 02 TAIPEI 01854 141012Z

CONSIDERS THE ACTION OF THE OKINAWAN POLICE PROVOCATIVE AND UNCALLED FOR.

3. EMBOFF REPLIED THAT HE HAD NOT SEEN KYODO REPORT (AP EXTRACTS CARRIED IN ENGLISH-LANGUAGE CHINA POST APRIL 13; REPORTS NOT CARRIED IN CHINESE-LANGUAGE PRESS), BUT WOULD REPORT GRC'S REQUEST TO THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE AND ASK US AUTHORITIES IN OKINAWA FOR AVAILABLE INFORMATION. HE REMINDED CHIEN THAT GRC VESSELS HAD BEEN ASKED TO LEAVE SENKAKUS TERRITORIAL WATERS SEVERAL TIMES IN THE PAST FEW YEARS AND SAID THAT HE HOPED, PARTICULARLY IN LAST FEW DAYS OF US ADMINISTRATION OF RYUKYUS, THAT GRC WOULD

TRY TO MINIMIZE POSSIBILITY OF INCIDENTS.

4. FOR HICOMRY; WOULD APPRECIATE ANY INFORMATION AVAILABLE ON THIS CASE. GP-3.  
MCCONAUGHY

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By *CD-KRA* Date *1/13/05*



*Pol 32-6 Senkaku Is*  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 TAIPEI 01921 190916Z

15  
ACTION EA-14

INFO OCT-01 COA-02 PM-06 SA-03 CIAE-00 INR-06 NSAE-00 P-03  
RSC-01 USIA-12 PRS-01 SSA-01 1050 W  
..... 067005

R 190900Z APR 72  
FM AMEMBASSY TAIPEI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5370  
INFO AMCONSUL HONG KONG  
AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
CINCPAC  
HICOMRY  
DA (DAMO-IAR)

C O N F I D E N T I A L TAIPEI 1921

SUBJECT: SENKAKUS

①

REF: HICOMRY 180100Z APR 72

EMBOFF PASSED INFORMATION REFTEL TO MOFA (CHIEN), WHO  
THANKED US. CHIEN ADDED THAT GRC HAD  
HEARD NOTHING FROM FISHING VESSELS AND HE IMAGINED  
THAT INCIDENT HAD BEEN INFLATED BY JAPANESE PRESS.  
EMBOFF SAID THAT HE HOPED FURTHER INCIDENTS COULD BE  
AVOIDED. GP-3  
MCCONAUGHY

TAIPEI 1921  
4/19/72

*Handwritten initials/signature*

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By *QARA* Date *1/13/85*

*POL 32-6 Senkaku Is.  
XR INCO FISH China*



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 TAIPEI 02125 010736Z

10  
ACTION EA-14

INFO OCT-01 PM-06 L-03 CIAE-00 INR-06 NSAE-00 P-03 RSC-01

USIA-12 PRR-01 RSR-01 /048 W ----- 022170

R 010656Z MAY 72  
FM AMEMBASSY TAIPEI  
TO HICOMRY  
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 5462  
AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
AMCONSUL HONG KONG  
COMUS JAPAN  
CINCPAC  
DA//DUSA (IA), DAMO-IAR, DAIO//

C O N F I D E N T I A L TAIPEI 2125

SUBJECT: SENKAKUS

REF : HICOMRY 300211Z APR 1972

WE BELIEVE THAT IF WE INFORM MOFA OF PRECAUTIONARY MEASURES MENTIONED PARA 2 REFTEL, CHANCE OF UNAUTHORIZED VISIT BY ROC FISHING VESSELS TO SENKAKUS WATER PRIOR TO REVERSION MIGHT BE SUBSTANTIALLY REDUCED. REQUEST AUTHORIZATION TO PASS ON THIS INFORMATION. GP-3. MCCONAUGHY

*Taipei 2125  
5-1-72  
OG  
379*

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By *CB-ARA* Date *1/13/05*



*POL 32-6 Senkaku Is*  
*XR POL 23-8 China*  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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*XR POL 13-2 China*

CONFIDENTIAL 071

PAGE 01 TAIPEI 02203 040844Z

12  
ACTION EA-14

INFO OCT-01 PB-06 L-03 CIAE-00 INR-06 NSAE-00 P-03 RSC-01  
USIA-12 PRS-01 RSR-01 SA-03 CU-04 /055 W  
048830

R 040821Z MAY 72  
FM AMEMBASSY TAIPEI  
TO HICOMRY  
INFO SEESTATE WASHDC 5487  
AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
AMCONSUL HONG KONG  
DAYDUSA (IA) DAMO-IAR, DAIO  
CINCPAC  
COMUS JAPAN

C O N F I D E N T I A L TAIPEI 2203

NOFORN

SUBJECT: SNEKAKUS (UT)

REFS A) HICOM OKINAWA RYIS/HGRE-LN 020500Z MAY 72  
B) HICOMRY 300211Z APR 72  
C) TAIPEI 2125

*POL 32-6 Senkaku Is*  
*XR INCO FISH China*

1. EMBASSY INFORMED MOFA (CHIEN) THAT DUE TO POSSIBLE ATTEMPT BY JAPANESE RIGHTISTS TO LAND ON SENKAKUS PRIOR TO REVERSION GRI POLICE WILL PATROL CLOSELY SENKAKUS DURING REVERSION PERIOD AND WILL MAKE SWEEP MAY 14. EMBOFF EXPLAINED THAT ABOVE INFORMATION WAS CLASSIFIED, AND HE PARTICULARLY WANTED TO AVOID PUBLICITY WHICH COULD BE PLAYED UP BY PRESS BOTH IN TOKYO AND TAIPEI.

2. CHEN SAID THAT HE APPRECIATED BEING INFORMED OF PATROLS AND THAT HE UNDERSTOOD REASONS FOR AVOIDING PUBLICITY. HE ADDED THAT JAPANESE COUNSELOR ITO HAD CALLED ON HIM MAY 1 TO INFORM HIM THAT GOJ HAD REPORTS THAT GROUP FROM TAIWAN MIGHT ATTEMPT LANDING MAY 15. ITO ALSO MENTIONED POSSIBLE LANDING BY JAPANESE RIGHTIST EXTREMISTS IN TERMS SIMILAR TO THOSE REF B.

*Taipei*  
*2203*  
*5-4-72*

*RG*  
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Authority *NAIP 969044*  
By *OP-ARA* Date *1/13/05*



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TELEGRAM

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PAGE 02 TAIPEI 02203 040844Z

3. CHIEN SAID THAT GRC/KMT HAD HELD HIGH LEVEL MEETING APRIL 29 ON POSSIBLE STUDENT DEMONSTRATIONS OVER SENKAKUS REVERSION. CHIEN, WHO ATTENDED MEETING, SAID THAT GRC INTELLIGENCE SERVICES AND KMT SEC GEN CHANG PAO-SHU WERE SERIOUSLY CONCERNED ABOUT POSSIBILITY OF DISTURBANCES. OTHERS ATTENDING MEETING, HOWEVER, SAID THERE WAS NO EVIDENCE OF STUDENT INTEREST IN SENKAKUS QUESTION LIKE THAT LAST YEAR.

4. COMMENT: WE HAVE SEEN NO EVIDENCE IN TAIWAN OF INTENT TO LAND ON SENKAKUS OR DEMONSTRATE OVER REVERSION. SOME OFFICIALS REMAIN NERVOUS ABOUT STUDENTS BUT OTHERS, INCLUDING SOME POLICE AND UNIVERSITY FACULTY MEMBERS, DOUBT THAT DEMONSTRATIONS WILL OCCUR. IN ANY CASE, GRC SECURITY SERVICES ARE ALERT TO POSSIBILITY. GP-3.  
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By CO-NARA Date 1/13/05



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*Pol 32-b Senkaku Is.*  
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PAGE 01 HONG K 03073 051020Z

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ACTION EA-14

INFO OCT-01 SA-03 OMB-01 NSC-10 CIAE-00 DODE-00 INR-06  
NSAE-00 P-03 RSC-01 USIA-12 PRS-01 PM-06 RSR-01 /059  
060092

R 050840Z MAY 72  
FM AMCONSUL HONG KONG  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3634  
INFO AMEMBASSY TAIPEI  
AMEMBASSY TOKYO

*Hong Kong 3073*  
*5/5/72*

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE HONG KONG 3073

SUBJ: PRC-JAPAN: SENKAKU ISLANDS

1. NCNA (MAY 4) HAS REPRINTED THE FULL TEXT OF A LONG ARTICLE BY JAPANESE HISTORIAN KIYOSHI INOUE CLAIMING THAT THE SENKAKU (TIAOYU) ISLANDS RIGHTFULLY BELONG TO CHINA AND ADDUCING EXTENSIVE HISTORICAL EVIDENCE IN SUPPORT OF THIS POSITION. THE ARTICLE, COPIES OF WHICH ARE BEING POUCHED TO THE DEPARTMENT AND TO TAIPEI, IS TAKEN FROM THE FEBRUARY, 1972 ISSUE OF THE "PROGRESSIVE" JAPANESE JOURNAL, "JAPAN-CHINA CULTURAL EXCHANGE."

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2. COMMENT: THE CHINESE HAVE NO DOUBT BEEN HARD PUT TO FIND SUPPORT FOR THEIR SENKAKU CLAIM FROM ELEMENTS WITHIN JAPAN AND NCNA ARTICLES ON THIS SUBJECT HAD BEEN VAGUE AND FUZZY IN THEIR PORTRAYALS OF THE JAPANESE PUBLIC'S ATTITUDE. THIS IS THE FIRST CLEAR-CUT EXPRESSION OF JAPANESE SUPPORT THAT NCNA HAS FEATURED (ALTHOUGH HONG KONG COMMUNIST PUBLICATIONS HAVE PREVIOUSLY REFERRED TO IT) AND THE CHINESE DOUBTLESSLY WANT TO CAPITALIZE ON IT TO THE MAXIMUM.

DECON 5/5/73.  
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Authority *NND 96044*  
By *CO-ARA* Date *1/13/05*

*POL 32-6 Senkaku Is*  
*XR POL 19 RYU IS.*



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CONFIDENTIAL 171

PAGE 01 HONG K 03360 191007Z

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ACTION EA-14

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-06 H-02 INR-06 L-03  
NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-14 USIA-12 IO-12  
NIC-01 T-03 OMB-01 E-11 COM-08 INT-08 RSR-01 /138 W  
..... 040053

*Hong Kong 3360*  
*5-19-72*

R 190900Z MAY 72  
FM AMCONSUL HONG KONG  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3752  
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY TAIPEI  
AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
CINCPAC

C O N F I D E N T I A L HONG KONG 3360

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

SUBJ: PEKING ON OKINAWA REVERSION AND SENKAKU CLAIM

SUMMARY: PEKING HAS WEIGHED IN WITH A RITUAL DENUNCIATION, IN A "PEOPLE'S DAILY" ARTICLE, OF THE TERMS OF THE REVERSION OF OKINAWA. THE ARTICLE ALSO ATTACKED THE INCLUSION OF THE SENKAKU (TIAOYU) ISLANDS IN THE REVERSION AS A "SERIOUS ENCROACHMENT ON CHINA'S TERRITORY AND SOVEREIGNTY" BUT IT DID NOT COMMIT THE PRC TO ANY COURSE OF ACTION ON THE ISSUE. THERE ARE NO SIGNS THAT PEKING INTENDS TO INSTIGATE A CRISIS OVER THE SENKAKUS BUT ONE COULD EVENTUATE IN THE FUTURE IF THE JAPANESE BEGAN EXPLOITING UNDERSEA OIL FROM AROUND THE ISLAND. END SUMMARY

1. IN THE PRC'S FIRST DIRECT COMMENT ON THE ACTUAL MAY 15 REVERSION OF OKINAWA TO JAPANESE RULE, AN AUTHORITATIVE "PEOPLE'S DAILY" COMMENTATOR ARTICLE OF MAY 18 DENOUNCED THE TERMS OF THE REVERSION AND EXPRESSED SUPPORT FOR THE JAPANESE PEOPLE'S DEMAND THAT OKINAWA BE "REALLY AND COMPLETELY RETURNED TO JAPAN". CHARGING THAT THE REVERSION TERMS MERELY LEGALIZE US "OCCUPATION" AND PROMOTE JAPANESE MILITARY EXPANSION, "COMMENTATOR" RIDICULED THE IDEA OF

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PAGE 02 HONG K 03360 191007Z

OKINAWA BECOMING AN "ISLAND OF PEACE." IT ASSERTED THAT THE ISLAND WOULD BE AN AGGRESSIVE STRONGHOLD OF THE US AND JAPANESE REACTIONARIES FOR THREATENING THE PEACE AND SECURITY OF THE PEOPLE OF ASIAN COUNTRIES BUT IT DID NOT SPECIFY ANY THREAT TO THE PRC.

2. THE ARTICLE REITERATED PEKING'S OPPOSITION TO HAVING THE SENKAKU (TIAOYU) ISLANDS INCLUDED AS PART OF THE "REVERSION ZONE," AND TERMED THIS A "SERIOUS ENCROACHMENT ON CHINA'S TERRITORY AND SOVEREIGNTY." IT WARNED THE GOV THAT PRC SOVEREIGNTY OVER THESE ISLANDS, "APPERTAINING TO TAIWAN, BROOKS NO ENCROACHMENT" AND SAID THAT THE PLOT TO ANNEX CHINA'S TERRITORY "WILL NEVER SUCCEED."

3. THE "COMMENTATOR" ARTICLE STAYS WITHIN THE PARAMETERS OF STATEMENTS THAT PEKING HAS ISSUED IN THE PAST CONCERNING THE THEN PROSPECTIVE REVERSION OF THE SENKAKUS AND IT DOES NOT COMMIT THE PRC TO ANY SPECIFIC COURSE OF ACTION TO ENFORCE ITS CLAIMS. FURTHERMORE, IT DOES NOT DEMAND RESOLUTION OF THE SENKAKU ISSUE AS A REQUISITE FOR NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS WITH JAPAN. IN FACT, THE ARTICLE IS Milder than some in the past since it does not reiterate phrases about the PRC's intention to "LIBERATE" TAIWAN AND "RECOVER" THE SENKAKU WHICH HAD BEEN A STANDARD PART OF RECENT PRC STATEMENTS ON THE SUBJECT (HK 2187, 0037). PEKING NO DOUBT FELT COMPELLED TO WEIGH IN WITH SOME REMARKS ON THE OCCASION, IN PART TO KEEP FROM FALLING BEHIND TAIPEI ON THIS ISSUE. WE NOT, HOWEVER, THAT IT WAITED UNTIL THREE DAYS AFTER THE REVERSION BEFORE COMMENTING, THOUGH NENA HAD EARLIER REPORTED ANTI-REVERSION DEMONSTRATIONS IN JAPAN (MAY 16) AND THE SENKAKU DEMONSTRATION IN WASHINGTON (MAY 15). PARTICULARLY IN VIEW OF THIS AND PREVIOUS PRC STATEMENTS ON THE SENKAKUS, WE ESTIMATE THAT PEKING HAS NO INTENTION OF CREATING A CRISIS OVER THE SENKAKU ISSUE IN THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE. INDEED, ITS CONTINUED PORTRAYAL OF THE ISLANDS AS APPERTAINING TO TAIWAN STILL LEAVES THE IMPRESSION THAT THEIR "RECOVERY" WILL BE COINCIDENT WITH THAT OF TAIWAN, AT SOME VAGUE TIME IN THE FUTURE. SHOULD, HOWEVER, THE JAPANESE BEGIN TO UTILIZE THE SENKAKU FOR ACTUAL EXPLOITATION OF UNDERSEA OIL RESOURCES, A SERIOUS CONFRONTATION WITH THE CHINESE WOULD PROBABLY EVENTUATE.

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By M. NARA Date 10-17-03

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June 16, 1972

Honorable John V. Tunney  
United States Senate  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator Tunney:

POL 32-6

Secretary Rogers has asked me to answer your inquiry of May 19, 1972 concerning the status of the Tiao Yu Tai or Senkaku Islands.

Under Article 3 of the Treaty of Peace with Japan the United States acquired administrative rights over "Nansei Shoto," including the Ryukyu Islands, 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.

On May 15, 1972 the United States relinquished to Japan all of the rights and interests over the territories, including the Senkaku Islands, which we had been administering under Article 3 of the Treaty of Peace.

We have consistently maintained that by returning administrative authority over these islands to Japan, the United States has not added to or subtracted from legal rights to the Senkakus, which, of course, predate our connection with the Ryukyus.

Please let me know if we can be of further assistance in this matter.

Sincerely yours,

Clearance: [initials]  
EA/J - Mr. Levin  
ROC - Miss McDonnelly  
EA - [initials]  
H - MR. SCHNEIDER

David M. Abshire  
Assistant Secretary for  
Congressional Relations

EA/J:JWShinn:bé  
ext., 23152 - 612/72

POL 32-6  
XR POL 32-6  
SENKAKU IS

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By *CR-NARA* Date *1/13/05*

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*46*  
*POL 32-6 SENKAKU IS*  
*XR POL 33 CHINA SEA*  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 563

PAGE 01 TOKYO 06699 240602Z

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ACTION EA-14

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 INT-08 COA-02 SCI-05 CIA-04 NSA-02

OMB-01 L-03 SS-14 NSC-10 DODE-00 INR-06 P-03 RSC-01

USIA-12 PRS-01 T-03 RSR-01 /111 W  
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R 240512Z JUN 72  
FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7202  
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

C O N F I D E N T I A L TOKYO 6699

SUBJECT: SENKAKU OIL EXPLORATION

SUMMARY: EMB RECEIVED REPORT FROM UPI CORRESPONDENT JUNE 23 THAT GOJ UPSET BY PRESENCE OF GULF OIL OPERATED GERMAN SURVEY SHIP V.S. POLLUX IN SENKAKU AREA. GERMAN EMB OFFICER NOTED THAT GOJ HAD INDICATED ITS DISPLEASURE TO FRG OVER ACTIVITIES OF POLLUX. GULF OFFICIAL CONFIRMED TO EMB THAT SHIP WAS CONTINUING SURVEY DESPITE PROTESTS. LATER TOLD EMB OFF THAT MITI OFFICIAL HAD AGREED AFTER-NOON JUNE 23 THAT IT WAS BEST FOR POLLUX TO CONCLUDE REMAINING TWO WEEKS OF SURVEY WITHOUT INTERFERENCE FROM GOJ. END SUMMARY.

1. EMBASSY RECEIVED WORD FROM UPI CORRESPONDENT ON JUNE 23 THAT GOJ UPSET BY FAC THAT GERMAN VESSEL OPERATING UNDER CONTRACT TO GULF OIL IS CURRENTLY CONDUCTING PETROLEUM SURVEY IN SENKAKU AREA OF EAST CHINA SEA.

2. GLEN LEDINGHAM, VICE PRESIDENT FOR EXPLORATION AND PRODUCTION OF GULF OIL CO ASIA CONFIRMED TO EMB THAT GERMAN VESSEL V.S. POLLUX HAS BEEN OPERATING IN SENKAKU AREA SINCE JUNE 6 DOING SEISMIC SURVEY WORK. LEDINGHAM MAINTAINED HOWEVER THAT THIS

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**TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 TOKYO 06699 240602Z

SHOULD CAUSE NO CONCERN SINCE VESSELS OPERATING WELL OUTSIDE TWELVE MILE LIMIT OF SENKAKU ISLANDS IN INTERNATIONAL WATERS. LEDINGHAM SAID HOWEVER THAT HE WELL AWARE OF GOJ CONCERN AND KNEW THAT GOJ HAD "PROTESTED" SHIP'S PRESENCE TO GERMAN AND ROC EMBASSIES IN TOKYO.

3. EMBOFF THEN SPOKE WITH HELMUT WEGNER, POLITICAL COUNSELOR OF THE GERMAN EMB IN TOKYO, WHO SAID THAT GOJ HAD NOT PROTESTED TO FRG BUT HAD ONLY INDICATED THAT GOJ HAD SOVEREIGNTY OVER AREA AND THAT IT FELT THAT SHIP'S PRESENCE IN THE EAST CHINA SEA WAS UNDESIRABLE AT THAT TIME.

4. GERMAN FONOFF, ACCORDING WEGNER, HAD NOT INITIALLY BEEN SYMPATHETIC TO JAPANESE REQUEST AND HAD SOUGHT MORE INFORMATION ON BACKGROUND OF SITUATION FROM GERMAN EMB IN WASHINGTON (THROUGH CONSULTATIONS WITH DEPT OFFICIALS). GOJ AGAIN EXPRESSED ITS CONCERN TO GERMAN EMBASSY TOKYO ABOUT A WEEK AGO NOTING THAT JAPANESE RIGHTS IN SENKAKU SHELF AREA EXCLUDED RIGHT OF SURVEY OF ANY OTHER NATION. IT THEN WAS DECIDED BETWEEN THE GER EMB AND JAPANESE FONOFF THAT GOJ WOULD SEND TELEGRAM TO THE MASTER OF THE POLLUX SAYING THAT GOJ DID NOT RECOGNIZE THAT SHIP WAS IN PROCESS OF "INNOCENT PASSAGE" THROUGH SENKAKU AREA. WEGNER SAID HE THOUGHT THAT GERMAN FONOFF HAD ALSO ADVISED OWNERS OF THE SHIP THAT IT SHOULD LEAVE AREA AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

5. IN LATER CONVERSATION, LEDINGHAM TOLD EMB THAT PROBLEM NOW APPEARED TO BE SOLVED. LEDINGHAM SAID HE HAD MET IN AFTERNOON OF JUNE 23 WITH SOSUKE HANAOKA, CHIEF OF THE OIL DEVELOPMENT DIVISION OF MITI'S MINERAL OIL AND COAL MINING BUREAU, AND THAT AFTER EXTENDED DISCUSSION, HANAOKA HAD AGREED THAT IT WAS BEST FOR GULF TO FINISH SURVEY (WHICH GULF ESTIMATES WILL TAKE ABOUT TWO MORE WEEKS) WITHOUT INTERFERENCE BY GOJ. LEDINGHAM SAID HE HAD POINTED OUT TO HANAOKA THAT SINCE GULF WAS INVOLVED IN OTHER DISCUSSIONS WITH JAPANESE FIRMS (READ

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PAGE 03 TOKYO 06699 240602Z

SIBERIAN DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS) GULF WAS LIKELY TO BE MORE COOPERATIVE WITH GOJ THAN IF SURVEY DONE BY OTHERS. GULF ALSO USED ARGUMENT THAT IN PAST CASE OF DISPUTED OIL AREA OF NORTH SEA SURVEYS BY NETHERLANDS AND DENMARK HAD NOT PREJUDICED GERMAN CLAIMS TO CERTAIN SECTIONS OF DISPUTED AREA. LEDINGHAM SAID HOWEVER THAT HE HAD HAD TO AGREE TO INFORM GOJ IN WRITING THAT GULF WAS ENGAGED IN "ACADEMIC SURVEY" OF AREA.

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*46* OUTGOING TELEGRAM *POL 32-6 SENKAKU IS*  
DEPARTMENT OF STATE *XR POL 33 CHINA SEA*

FORM DS 32210CR3

28 JUN 72 22 46

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117062 282246Z JUN 72 IRWIN

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EA/ROC: MEMCDONNELL; EA/J: SPDAWKINS: LP  
L/28/72 EXT. 21321  
EA: AHUMMEL

E/ORF/FSE - MR. MAU  
EA/ROC - MR. HOROWITZ

EA - MR. BARDACH *HB*  
L/OA - MR. PITMAN

ROUTINE TOKYO

ROUTINE TAIPEI, SEOUL, BONN, HONG KONG, RUHHHQ/CINCPAC

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

HONG KONG FOR DEP ASST SEC BARGER

SUBJ: JAPANESE CONCERN WITH GULF OPERATIONS NEAR SENKAKUS

REF.: (A) STATE 114109; (B) TOKYO 6699; (C) TOKYO 6837

1. L.D. LOMBARDI, EXPLORATION COORDINATOR FOR GULF, INFORMED DEPTOFFS JUNE 27 OF DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN LEDINGHAM AND HANAOKA OF MITI. ON JUNE 23, LEDINGHAM HAD BELIEVED HIMSELF SUCCESSFUL IN WORKING OUT AGREEMENT WITH MITI THAT WOULD PERMIT GULF TO CONTINUE SEISMIC WORK EAST OF SENKAKUS. AS CONDITION OF JAPANESE CONCURRENCE, GULF WAS PREPARED TO GIVE MITI LETTER SAYING THAT SURVEY WORK WAS ACADEMIC; THAT IT WOULD NOT, IN OPINION OF GULF, WEAKEN JAPAN'S CLAIM TO THE AREA; AND THAT GULF WOULD NOT UNDERTAKE FURTHER PETROLEUM EXPLORATION WORK THERE WHEN THE PRESENT SEISMIC WORK HAS ~~WAS~~ FINISHED (I.E., IT WOULD NOT DRILL UNLESS JURISDICTIONAL ISSUES RESOLVED.).

2. LEDINGHAM TOLD BY HANAOKA JUNE 26 THAT HIS SUPERIORS COULD NOT PROCEED ON THAT BASIS; INSTEAD THEY ASKED THAT DEPT CONVEY GULF'S REPLY THROUGH DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS. HANAOKA ASKED ADDITIONALLY THAT GULF PROVIDE SEISMIC DATA RESULTING FROM SURVEY. FYI: LOMBARDI SAID GULF WILLING PROVIDE SUCH DATA ON CONFIDENTIAL BASIS (PRESUMABLY WITHOUT ROC KNOWLEDGE). LOMBARDI GAVE DEPT PAPER RESPONSIVE TO GOJ REQUESTS AND ASKED US TO TRANSMIT IT TO GOJ.

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AH *not*  
MEM/SPD  
RX FM *not*  
HB *mem*  
HEH *not*  
PITMAN *not*

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**OUTGOING TELEGRAM**

Continuation Sheet

FORM DS 322A (OCR)

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3. DEPARTMENT INFORMED GULF JUNE 28 THAT WE DO NOT WISH TO PASS GULF PAPER TO GOJ BUT THAT WE WILL DO WHATEVER WE CAN TO REOPEN DIRECT CONTACT FOR GULF WITH MITI. INITIAL REACTION NOT NEGATIVE.

4. EMBASSY THEREFORE INSTURCTED TO INFORM FOREIGN MINISTRY THAT:

(A) THE USG IS AWARE OF GOJ CONCERN, AS EXPRESSED BY JAPANESE EMBASSY WASHINGTON, ABOUT SEISMIC SURVEY WORK PRESENTLY BEING CONDUCTED BY GULF CHARTER SURVEY SHIP POLLUX.

(B) THE USG HAS TALKED INFORMALLY REPEAT INFORMALLY WITH GULF OFFICIALS IN WASHINGTON. THEY GIVE EVERY INDICATION THAT THEY UNDERSTAND GOJ CONCERN AND WANT TO AVOID ANY ACTION THAT WOULD RUN COUNTER TO THE WISHES OF THE GOJ.

(C) HOPEFULLY, GULF AND JAPANESE OFFICIALS WILL BE ABLE TO WORK OUT PRACTICAL DETAILS RELATING TO SEISMIC SURVEYS IN THE AREA OF THE SENKAKUS IN A WAY THAT MEETS THE DESIRES OF THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT.

5. FOLLOWING PARAS FOR USE BY EMBASSY ONLY REPEAT ONLY IF QUERIED:

(A) ON MAY 15, 1972 THE UNITED STATES RELINQUISHED TO JAPAN ALL OF THE RIGHTS AND INTERESTS OVER THE TERRITORIES INCLUDING THE SENKAKU ISLANDS, WHICH WE HAD BEEN ADMINISTERING UNDER ARTICLE 3 OF THE TREATY OF PEACE.

(B) WE HAVE CONSISTENTLY MAINTAINED THAT BY RETU-RNING ADMINISTRATIVE AUTHORITY OVER THESE ISLANDS TO JAPAN, THE UNITED STATES HAS NOT ADDED TO OR SUBTRACTED FROM LEGAL RIGHTS TO THE SENKAKUS, WHICH, OF COURSE, PREDATE OUR CONNECTION WITH THE RYUKYUS.

6. NOTE: PARA 5(B) ABOVE REFLECTS SLIGHT REVISION OF PRESS GUIDANCE ON SENKAKUS ISSUE TRANSMITTED IN PARA 6 OF STATE 051240. POSTS SHOULD SUBSTITUTE WORDING CONTAINED IN 5(B) FOR SENTENCE IN PARA 6 READING QUOTE THE US HAS CONSISTENTLY MAINTAINED THAT IN THE EVENT A SITUATION ARISES WHERE THERE ARE CONFLICTING CLAIMS IN THIS AREA, ANY SUCH CLAIMS WOULD PREDATE OUR CONNECTION WITH THE RYUKYUS AND SHOULD BE SETTLED BY THE PARTIES THEMSELVES UNQUOTE. COMPLETE TEXT OF PRESS GUIDANCE NOW ON FILE WITH DEPARTMENT SPOKESMAN WILL BE TRANSMITTED TO FIELD SHORTLY.  
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*POC 32-6 Senkaku Is.*



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 TAIPEI 03252 290940Z

17  
ACTION EA-14

INFO OCT-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00  
CCO-00 INRE-00 PM-06 IH-02 INR-06 L-03 INSC-10 P-03  
RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-14 T-03 E-11 COM-08 INT-08 OPTG-12  
SCI-05 RSR-01 EUR-20 /129 W

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0 290921Z JUN 72  
FM AMEMBASSY TAIPEI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5947  
INFO AMCONSUL HONG KONG  
AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMEMBASSY SEOUL  
AMEMBASSY TOKYO IMMEDIATE

C I O N F I D E N T I A L TAIPEI 3252

HONG KONG PLEASE PASS DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY BARGER

SUBJECT: GUIDANCE ON SENKAKUS

REF: STATE 117062

*Pol 32-6 Senkaku Is.  
XR Pol 33 China Sea*

1. EMBASSY CONCERNED THAT REVISED GUIDANCE ON SENKAKUS (REFTEL, PARA 5) RUNS RISK OF BEING INTERPRETED BY ROC AS AN UNFAVORABLE MODIFICATION OF THE US POSITION AND COULD SERVE TO REVIVE ONE ASPECT OF THE SENKAKUS ISSUE WHICH ROC HAS BEEN CONTENT TO PUT ASIDE AT LEAST FOR TIME BEING. OUR OWN FEELING IS THAT NEW GUIDANCE, PARTICULARLY USE OF TERM "LEGAL RIGHTS", IS A DEPARTURE FROM THE NEUTRAL STANCE TO WHICH WE ARE PUBLICLY COMMITTED. TO AVOID FURTHER COMPLICATIONS, FROM THE CHINESE SIDE OF THE ARGUMENT, COULD WE NOT EITHER RETAIN ORIGINAL FORMULATION OR SUBSTITUTE PHRASE "THE EXISTING CLAIMS" FOR "LEGAL RIGHTS".

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6-29-72*

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*Pol 32-6 SEN KAKU TS*

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PAGE 01 TOKYO 07002 031230Z

47  
ACTION EA-14

INFO OCT-01 E-11 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-06 H-02 INR-06 L-03  
NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-14 USIA-12 COM-08  
INT-08 IO-12 COA-02 SCI-05 OPIC-12 EUR-00 RSR-01 /192 W  
116355

R 030851Z JUL 72  
FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7346  
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMCONGEN HONG KONG  
AMEMBASSY SEOUL  
AMEMBASSY TAIPEI  
CINCPAC

C O N F I D E N T I A L TOKYO 7002

SUBJECT: JAPANESE CONCERN WITH GULF OPERATIONS NEAR SENKAKUS

REF: STATE 117062

SUMMARY: EMBASSY INFORMED FONOFF JUNE 30 OF USG ATTITUDE ON CONVEYING THROUGH DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS GULF POSITION RE SEISMIC SURVEY ACTIVITIES OF US POLLUX NEAR SENKAKUS. FONOFF OFFICIAL INITIALLY SYMPATHETIC TO IDEA OF RETURNING DISCUSSION TO GULF MITI CHANNELS; HOWEVER, TOLD EMBOFF ON JULY 3 THAT MITI AND FONOFF NOW CONSIDERING ASKING JAPANESE EMB IN WASHINGTON TO SEEK ORAL STATEMENT FROM USG RE GULF POSITION. GULF REP LEDINGHAM INFORMED EMBASSY JULY 3 THAT HE WAS ORDERING POLLUX TO RESUME SEISMIC SURVEY.

1. EMBOFF MET JUNE 30 WITH OGURA, DEP CHIEF OF FONOFF, CHINA DIV., AND AS INSTRUCTED INFORMED FONOFF THAT (1) USG WAS AWARE OF GOJ CONCERN ABOUT SEISMIC WORK PRESENTLY BEING DONE BY POLLUX; (2) THAT USG HAD TALKED INFORMALLY WITH GULF OFFICIALS, WHO GAVE EVERY INDICATION THAT THEY WANTED AVOID ANY ACTION WHICH WOULD BE COUNTER TO WISHES OF GOJ; AND (3) THAT HOPEFULLY GULF AND GOJ WOULD BE ABLE TO WORK OUT PRACTICAL DETAILS. OGURA WAS SYMPATHETIC TO US POINT OF VIEW BUT SAID THAT CONSULTATION BETWEEN MITI AND FONOFF

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*Pol 32-6 SEN KAKU TS  
XK Pol 33 CHINA SEA*

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WOULD OBVIOUSLY BE REQUIRED BEFORE ANY DECISION COULD BE MADE.

2. EMBOFF AGAIN DISCUSSED PROBLEM WITH OGURA JULY 3. OGURA SAID MITI SOMEWHAT CONCERNED ABOUT DEALING DIRECTLY WITH GULF ON A GOVERNMENT TO FOREIGN COMPANY BASIS. OGURA NOTED THAT ONE OF THE AVENUES NOW BEING CONSIDERED WAS TO REQUEST THAT THE JAPANESE EMB IN WASHINGTON SEEK AN ORAL STATEMENT FROM DEPARTMENT ENUMERATING ASSURANCES GULF PREPARED TO MAKE (PARA 1, REFTEL). OGURA SAID HOWEVER IT HAD NOT YET BEEN DEFINITELY DECIDED TO DO THIS. EMBOFF AGAIN POINTED OUT THAT USG CONVERSATION WITH GULF HAD BEEN ON INFORMAL BASIS AND THAT IN EMBOFF'S PERSONAL VIEW USG WOULD BE RELUCTANT TO OFFER ORAL STATEMENT OF GULF'S POSITION BASED ON INFORMAL DISCUSSION BETWEEN GULF AND DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS.

3. FOLLOWING CONVERSATION WITH OGURA, LEGINGHAM OF GULF OIL-ASIA CONTACTED EMB TO REPORT THAT TAKAHASHI OF MITI'S OIL DEVELOPMENT DIVISION HAD TOLD HIM THAT GOJ MIGHT ASK USG FOR "ORAL ASSURANCES" REGARDING GULF'S POSITION. ACCORDING LEGINGHAM HOWEVER, TAKAHASHI GAVE IMPRESSION THAT PERHAPS SURVEY WOULD BE OVER BY THE TIME GOJ FINISHED DISCUSSING ISSUE AND PROBLEM WOULD DISAPPEAR. ON THAT BASIS, LEGINGHAM TOLD EMBOFF THAT HE WOULD TODAY (JULY 3) ORDER POLLUX TO LEAVE KEELUNG HARBOR (ROC) AND TO RESUME SURVEY WORK EAST OF SENKAKUS.

4. OGURA HAS PROMISED TO INFORM EMB AS SOON AS GOJ COMES TO DEFINITE DECISION (PROBABLY WITHIN NEXT DAY OR TWO) ON WHAT ACTION IT SHOULD TAKE AT THIS POINT.

5. FYI - SOSUKE HANAKA HAS NOW BEEN REPLACED AS HEAD OF OIL DEVELOPMENT DIV. BY ITARU TOYOSHIMA. MOVE APPARENTLY UNCONNECTED WITH PRESENT DISCUSSION OF SENKAKU ISSUE.

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ACTION EA-14

INFO OCT-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 INR-06 NSAE-00 P-03 RSG-01  
USIA-12 PRS-01 E-11 COM-08 TRSE-00 OMB-01 INT-08  
OPIC-12 RSR-01 /079 W  
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R 310655Z AUG 72  
FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8555  
INFO AMEMBASSY SEOUL  
AMEMBASSY TAIPEI  
AMCONSUL OSAKA

CONFIDENTIAL TOKYO 9310

SUBJECT: JAPANESE CONCERN WITH GULF OPERATIONS NEAR SENKAKUS  
REF: TOKYO 7002 - *POL 32-6 SENKAKU IS*

1. GULF OIL ASIA V.P. GLEN LEDINGHAM TOLD EMBOFF AUG 30 HE UNDERSTOOD THAT GERMAN SEISMIC SURVEY VESSEL V. S. POLLUX, FORMERLY CHARTERED BY GULF FOR SURVEY IN SENKAKU AREA, HAD NOW BEEN CHARTERED BY SHELL TO DO SURVEY WORK IN KOREAN WATERS. LEDINGHAM ADDED THAT HE WOULD NOT BE SURPRISED IF VESSEL SAILED INTO DISPUTED WATERS CLAIMED BY KOREA, SINCE THIS VESSEL ONE OF FEW AVAILABLE WILLING TO WORK IN DISPUTED WATERS. HE DID NOT KNOW FOR SURE HOWEVER WHAT AREA WOULD BE SURVEYED.

2. LEDINGHAM SAID THAT BECAUSE OF THE VESSEL'S PREVIOUS IDENTIFICATION WITH GULF, HE HAD FELT THAT IT WAS NECESSARY TO INFORM MITI IN WRITING ON AUG 29 THAT GULF SURVEY OF SENKAKU AREA WAS FINISHED, AND THAT GULF'S CONTRACT FOR USE OF SURVEY VESSEL HAD TERMINATED. HE ADDED THAT HE HAD HAD NO RESPONSE FROM MITI.

3. COMMENT: NEITHER GULF NOR EMBASSY HEARD ANYTHING FURTHER FROM GOJ AFTER OUR APPROACH TO FONOFF REPORTED REFTEL, AND GULF QUIETLY COMPLETED ITS SURVEY IN SENKAKU AREA SEVERAL WEEKS AGO. GULF CLEARLY VERY RELUCTANT TO STIR SLEEPING DOGS AT THIS POINT, BUT FORESEES POSSIBILITY THAT VESSEL WILL HAVE TO PASS THROUGH SENKAKU AREA ON

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ITS WAY TO KOREAN SURVEY AREA, AND CLEARLY WANTS NO MISUNDERSTANDINGS  
EITHER ON PART OF GOJ OR USG THAT GULF RESUMING ITS SURVEY ACTIVI-  
TIES IN SENKAKUS, OR SURVEYING IN OTHER DISPUTED AREAS.  
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XR POL 19 CHICOM  
XR POL 32-6 SENKAKU IS

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ACTION EA-14

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 IO-12 ACDA-19 GAC-01 NIC-01 CIAE-00  
DODE-00 PM-08 H-02 INR-06 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03  
RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-14 USIA-12 T-03 OMB-01 EB-11 AID-20  
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FM AMCONSUL HONG KONG  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4980  
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY TAIPEI  
AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
USMISSION GENEVA  
USMISSION USUN NY

C O N F I D E N T I A L HONG KONG 7039

DISTO

SUBJ: CHOU EN-LAI CONTINUES TO COMMENT ON TAIWAN

REF: HK 6448 - POL CHICOM-CHINAT  
XR POL 15-1 CHICOM

SUMMARY: IN A RECENT CONVERSATION WITH TAIWANESE AND  
OVERSEAS CHINESE, CHOU EN-LAI AGAIN ENUNCIATED A CONCILIATORY  
LINE ON THE EVENTUAL LIBERATION OF TAIWAN. HE ALSO SAID  
THAT THE PRC WOULD NOT INTERFERE WITH TAIWAN'S FOREIGN  
TRADE. END SUMNLRY

1. PARIS CHANG, ROC NATIONAL FROM TAIWAN WHO IS A  
PROFESSOR AT PENN STATE (PLEASE PROTECT), RECENTLY  
RETURNED FROM A ONE-MONTH VISIT TO CHINA. CHANG WAS  
INCLUDED WITH A GROUP OF "COMPATRIOTS" FROM TAIWAN, THE  
UNITED STATES, HONG KONG AND MACAU, WHO WERE RECEIVED BY  
PREMEIR CHOU EN-LAI AFTER PRC NATIONAL DAY, OCTOBER 1.

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DURING FIVE-HOUR CONVERSATION, CHOU CONCENTRATED ON THE QUESTION OF TAIWAN AND, AS WAS PREVIOUS GROUPS INTERESTED IN THE SUBJECT (REFTEL), CHOU ENUNCIATED A CONCILIATORY LINE ON EVENTUAL LIBERATION OF THE ISLAND. ACCORDING TO CHANG, CHOU EMPHASIZED THAT THERE WOULD BE A LONG TRANSITION PERIOD BEFORE REUNIFICATION AND THAT THE PRC WOULD FOLLOW FLEXIBLE AND MODERATE POLICIES.

2. ASKED WHY THE PRC HAD NOT SOUGHT VIS-A-VIS JAPAN TO CUT OFF TAIWAN'S EXTERNAL TRADE, CHOU REPLIED THAT THIS WOULD HARM THE PEOPLE'S WELFARE AND THAT UNLESS TRADE WAS A FACADE FOR SUPPORTING "TWO CHINAS," PEKING WOULD NOT INTERFERE WITH TAIWAN'S FOREIGN TRADE. WHEN THE QUESTION OF THE OFFSHORE ISLANDS WAS RAISED, CHOU SAID THAT THE PRC DID NOT WANT TO CAPTURE THEM AS THIS WOULD CRYSTALLIZE A "TWO CHINAS" SITUATION AND END THE CIVIL WAR. CHOU SAID THAT THE PRC HAD ATTACKED QUEMOY IN 1958 BUT IN REALITY DID NOT WANT TO OCCUPY IT AT THAT TIME. DULLES, HE SAID, HAD WANTED CHIANG KAI-SHEK TO ABANDON THE ISLANDS, BUT THE NATIONALIST LEADER HAD REFUSED. THERE IS A TACIT UNDERSTANDING ON THE QUESTION OF THE OFFSHORE ISLANDS, THE PREMIER SAID, BETWEEN THE PRC AND THE NATIONALISTS.

3. CHOU EXPRESSED DISTRUST OF CHIANG CHING-KUO. WHEN SOMEONE MENTIONED THAT CCK HAD BEEN EDUCATED IN RUSSIA, CHOU ADDED THAT HE WAS ALSO SON-IN-LAW TO A RUSSIAN. PARIS CHANG SAID THAT VICE FOREIGN MINISTER MA WEN-PO LATER COMMENTED THAT FORMER ROC FOREIGN MINISTER CHOW SHU-KAI'S POLICY OF RAPPROACHMENT WITH THE SOVIET BLOC SEEMED TO HAVE DROPPED. MA SUGGESTED THAT CHOW WAS FOLLOWING CCK'S INSTRUCTIONS IN THIS CAMPAIGN, BUT THAT CHOW HAD BEEN "STEPPED ON" BY LEADERS IN THE KMT, PERHAPS INCLUDING THE GIMO. CHANG SAID THAT SHOU DID NOT DISCUSS THE US AND TAIWAN, BUT MA HAD SAID THAT IN THE SHEBGHAI COMMUNIQUE THE US HAD "LEFT A TAIL" ON THE QUESTION OF TAIWAN, PRESUMABLY MEANING THAT THE US HAD NOT TOTALLY FORECLOSED THE POSSIBILITY OF AN INDEPENDENT TAIWAN.

4. CHOU SAID THAT TANAKA HAD BEEN IMPOLITIC IN RAISING THE QUESTION OF THE SENKAKUS AND IN REQUESTING THAT IT BE SETTLED IN THE JOINT SINO-JAPANESE JOINT STATEMENT. CHOU

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SAID HE TOLD TANAKA THIS WAS A SMALL MATTER WHICH SHOULD BE DISCUSSED LATER. HOWEVER, CHOU ALSO TOLD TANAKA THAT THE PRC'S POSITION ON THE SENKAKUS HAD BEEN MADE CLEAR AND THAT THE ONE THING CHINA WOULD NOT TOLERATE WOULD BE FOR JAPAN TO ENTER JOINT VENTURES WITH OTHERS TO EXPLOIT THE OIL RESOURCES AROUND THE SENAKUS. GDS.  
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	"	DOD	RUEKTES
	"	DA	RUEADWD
	"	COMUSJ	RUADTKA

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