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527571

DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY  
STAFF COMMUNICATIONS DIVISION

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17318

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ACTION

DISTR OJCS(01) DJS SJCS(03) J5(02) NMCC(01) SECDEF(07) ASD/ISA(09)  
ASD/PA(01) CSA CSAF CNO CMC DIA(20) MCCC FILE(1)  
(045)

ADV DISTR SECDEF(05) DIA(03)

TRANSIT/102231Z/102309Z/000:38

DE RUEAMAF 0318 2532306

ZNR UUUUU ZOV STATE

PP RUEIKO RUEHTP RUAQADA

DE RUEHC 148490 2532300

ZNR UUUUU ZZH

P R 102231Z SEP 70

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO RUEIKO/AMEMBASSY TOKYO PRIORITY 0066

INFO RUEHTP/AMEMBASSY TAIPEI 5013

RUAQADA/HICOMRY

BT

UNCLAS STATE 148490

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DECLASSIFICATION SCHEDULE

DCSOPS/ACSFOR FILE COPY  
SP STANLEY R. GAYLORD

SUBJ: SENKAKU ISLANDS

1. IN ADDITION TO REFERENCE IN SEPT 10 NOON BRIEFING CARRIED  
IN TODAY'S WIRELESS FILES, FOLLOWING ANSWERS FROM PREPARED  
GUIDANCE WERE SUBSEQUENTLY MADE AVAILABLE TO JAPANESE  
REPORTERS FOR ATTRIBUTION TO DEPT, SPOKESMAN:

A. QUESTION: THERE HAVE BEEN NEWS REPORTS THAT THE REPUBLIC  
OF CHINA FLAG HAS BEEN RAISED OVER THE SENKAKU ISLANDS WHICH  
HAVE BEEN ADMINISTERED BY THE U S AS PART OF THE RYUKYU ISLANDS.  
WHAT IS THE U S POSITION REGARDING THE FUTURE DISPOSITION  
OF THE SENKAKU ISLANDS?

ANSWER: UNDER ARTICLE III OF THE PEACE TREATY WITH JAPAN,  
THE U S, HAS ADMINISTRATIVE RIGHTS OVER THE "NANSEI SHOTO,"  
THIS TERM AS USED IN THAT TREATY, REFERS TO ALL ISLANDS SOUTH  
OF 29 DEGREES NORTH LATITUDE, UNDER JAPANESE  
ADMINISTRATION AT THE END OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR, THAT WERE  
NOT OTHERWISE SPECIFICALLY REFERRED TO IN THE TREATY,  
THE TERM, AS USED IN THE TREATY, WAS INTENDED TO INCLUDE THE  
SENKAKU ISLANDS,  
UNDER THE TREATY, THE U'S GOVERNMENT ADMINISTERS THE SENKAKU  
ISLANDS AS A PART OF THE RYUKYU ISLANDS, BUT CONSIDERS  
THAT RESIDUAL SOVEREIGNTY OVER THE RYUKYUS REMAINS WITH

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JAPAN, AS A RESULT OF AN AGREEMENT REACHED BY PRESIDENT NIXON AND PRIME MINISTER SATO IN NOVEMBER 1969, IT IS ANTICIPATED THAT ADMINISTRATION OF THE RYUKYUS WILL REVERT TO JAPAN IN 1972.

B. QUESTION: WHAT WOULD THE U S POSITION BE IF A CONFLICT AROSE OVER SOVEREIGNTY OVER THE SENKAKU ISLANDS?

ANSWER: WITH RESPECT TO ANY CONFLICTING CLAIMS, WE CONSIDER THAT THIS WOULD BE A MATTER FOR RESOLUTION BY THE PARTIES CONCERNED.  
2. FOLLOWING ADDITIONAL GUIDANCE WAS PREPARED BUT NOT USED SINCE QUESTION NOT ASKED:

QUESTION: WHAT IS THE U S POSITIN REGARDING THE CONTINENTAL SHELF ADJACENT TO THE SENKAKU ISLANDS?

ANSWER: IN THE EVENT OF A DISPUTE OVER THE ADJACENT CONTINENTAL SHELF, THIS WOULD BE A MATTER FOR RESOLUTION BY THE PARTIES CONCERNED, ROGERS

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ACTION: STATE DEPT (ARMY ACS1)  
DISTR: OSA, DCSOPS, DCSLOG, CINFO, TJAG  
DA IN 527571

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DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY  
STAFF COMMUNICATIONS DIVISION

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P R 110850Z SEP 70  
FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4509  
INFO RUEADWD/DA  
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RUAQADA/HICOMRY  
RUEHTP/AMEMBASSY TAIPEI 2012  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L TOKYO 7213

DA FOR DDUSA/IA

SUBJ: SENKAKU ISLANDS

SUMMARY: DEPARTMENT SPOKESMAN RESPONSE IN SEPTEMBER 10  
NOON BRIEFING WITH JAPANESE CORRESPONDENT WHO RAISED  
QUESTION RE USG POSITION ON SENKAKUS RECEIVED WARM  
WELCOME IN JAPAN, BUT JAPANESE CONCERN REGARDING SENKAKU  
ISSUE CONTINUES TO INCREASE AND NEWS COVERAGE IS  
INCREASINGLY FLAMBOYANT. END SUMMARY.

1. FONOFF (SATO, NORTH AMERICAN AFFAIRS) HAS INDICATED  
SATISFACTION WITH DEPARTMENT SPOKESMAN RESPONSE SEPTEMBER  
10 TO SENKAKU QUESTION POSED BY JAPANESE NEWSMAN.  
INITIAL PRESS ACCOUNTS IN PM PAPERS SEPTEMBER 11 GAVE  
IMPORTANT COVERAGE TO REPORT OF DEPARTMENT OF STATE.  
2. ON SEPTEMBER 10 FONMIN AICHI QUESTIONED INTENSIVELY  
IN DIET FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE ON SENKAKU PROBLEM.  
ACCORDING TO FONOFF, AICHI RESPONDED THAT SENKAKU PROBLEM  
DOES NOT PRESENT TERRITORIAL ISSUE SINCE GOJ OF FIRM  
CONVICTION THAT SENKAKUS ARE PART OF RYUKYUS. AICHI  
REFERRED TO USCAR ORDINANCES WHICH CONFIRM GOJ POSITION.  
AICHI REPORTED THAT GOJ HAS MADE STRONG REPRESENTATION  
TO GRC REGARDING MUCH PUBLICIZED INTRUSION ON SENKAKUS  
BY CHINESE WHO RAISED RC FLAG AND INSCRIBED ON ROCKS QUOTE  
BANZAI PRESIDENT CHIANG KAI-CHEK UNQUOTE AND DESCRIBED  
INTRUSION TO GRC AS QUOTE UNFRIENDLY ACTION UNQUOTE. AICHI  
ALSO REPORTED THAT GOJ HAD APPROACHED USG TO TAKE  
APPROPRIATE ACTION TO INSURE PROTECTION JAPANESE CLAIM

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DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY  
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TO SENKAKUS. AICHI SESSION CARRIED PROMINENTLY JAPANESE PRESS SEPTEMBER 11.  
2. ON SEPTEMBER 10 AND 11 PRESS CARRIED UPI STORY DATED TAIPEI WHICH REPORTED THAT CONTROL YUAN BEGINNING TO BUILD GRC ARGUMENT TO EVIDENCE CHINESE CLAIM TO SENKAKUS.  
3. SEPTEMBER 11 PRESS CARRIED STORY DATED NAHA REPORTING THAT GRI HAD ISSUED STATEMENT CLAIMING QUOTE ABSOLUTE OWNERSHIP OF SENKAKU ISLANDS UNQUOTE AND REPORTING THAT GRI WOULD BEGIN APPROVING APPLICATIONS FOR OIL PROSPECTING RIGHTS IN SENKAKUS AREA.  
4. ON SEPTEMBER 11 SATO REPORTED TO EMBOFF THAT GOJ UNDER STRONG PRESSURE TO ASSURE JAPANESE PUBLIC THAT USG TAKING STRONG ACTION TO PRESERVE JAPANESE CLAIM. ACCORDINGLY, EMBOFF SENDING INSTRUCTION TO JAPANESE EMBASSY WASHINGTON TO REQUEST USG TAKE STRONG ACTION KEEP CHINESE OFF SENKAKUS BY CONSTANT PATROLLING AND TO REMOVE CHINESE FLAG AND SLOGANS ASAP. SATO EXPLAINED THAT OTHERWISE JAPANESE PUBLIC WOULD NOT APPRECIATE THAT USG DOING EVERYTHING IT CAN TO PRESERVE JAPANESE RIGHTS TO SENKAKUS.  
5. EMBOFF REPLIED THAT HE THOUGHT USG-GOJ PURPOSES RE SENKAKUS ARE IDENTICAL; NAMELY, TO PRESERVE JAPANESE CLAIM INTACT AND THAT THERE IS NO QUESTION THAT USG WILL TAKE WHATEVER ACTION IS APPROPRIATE TO CARRY OUT THAT PURPOSE. HOWEVER, IT IS NOT READILY APPARENT THAT DRASTIC ACTIONS BY USG OR GRI INVOLVING CONSTANT PATROLLING OF SENKAKUS AND EXCITING ENCOUNTERS WITH CHINESE ADVENTURERS SPONSORED BY CHINESE NEWSPAPERS NECESSARILY WOULD BE APPROPRIATE ACTION. SATO RETORTED THAT ABSENCE SUCH ENERGETIC ACTIONS BY USG, CHINESE MIGHT BE ENCOURAGED BY APPARENT USG ACQUIESCENCE IN CHINESE SEIZURE OF CONTROL OVER SENKAKUS. SATO INDICATED THAT GOJ DOES NOT BELIEVE RECENT CHINESE INTRUSION HAS ANY LEGAL EFFECT ON STATE OF POSSIBLY CONFLICTING CLAIMS TO SENKAKUS AND CONFIRMED THAT GOJ CONCERN LIES MOSTLY IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS AREA.

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ACTION: OSA  
DISTR: OCOFSA, DCSOPS, ACSI, CINFO  
DA IN 044891

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DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY  
STAFF COMMUNICATIONS DIVISION

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ZNY SSSSS ZDV STATE  
RR RUEHTP RUEIKG RUAOADA  
DE RUEHC 152599 2602019  
ZNY SSSSS ZZH

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CLASSIFICATION SCHEDULE

SECSTATE WASHDC  
RUEHTP/AMEMBASSY TAIPEI 4000  
INFO RUEIKG/AMEMBASSY TOKYO 0195  
RUAOADA/HICOMRY

SECRET STATE 152599

SUBJ: SENKAKU ISLANDS

REF: TAIPEI 4000

1. DURING CALL ON ASSISTANT SECRETARY GREEN ON ANOTHER MATTER, SEPTEMBER 1970, AMBASSADOR CHOW SHU-KAI, ON INSTRUCTIONS, MADE REPRESENTATION OF ROC VIEWS ON SENKAKU ISSUE, PARALLELLING THAT REPORTED REFTEL, ONLY ADDITIONAL POINTS MADE BY CHOW WERE TO POINT OUT QUOTE STRATEGIC UNQUOTE POSITION OF SENKAKUS, LYING CLOSER TO TAIWAN THAN TO OTHER ISLANDS IN RYUKUY CHAIN, AND QUOTE INTENSE GRILLING UNQUOTE WHICH FORMIN WEI TAO-MING HAS BEEN GIVEN ON THIS MATTER BY LEGISLATIVE YUAN AND CHINESE PRESS. CHOW REFERRED TO ROC RESERVATIONS CONCERNING US-J OKINAWAN REVERSION AGREEMENT AND SAID THAT ROC HAD AVOIDED AIRING ITS VIEWS PUBLICLY OUT OF CONCERN FOR FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH US. SENKAKUS, HOWEVER, QUOTE LAST STRAW UNQUOTE, AND CHOW REMARKED THAT ROC PUBLIC QUOTE CANNOT TAKE UNQUOTE DOJ ASSERTION OF SOVEREIGNTY. CHOW EXPRESSED HOPE THAT USG WILL GIVE SERIOUS CONSIDERATION TO ROC VIEWS AND HANDLE THIS ISSUE WITH UTMOST CARE. AT LATER POINT IN CONVERSATION, CHOW OFFERED PERSONAL OBSERVATION THAT HONORABLE USG OFFICIAL STATEMENTS ON THIS MATTER WOULD

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NOT GIVE APPEARANCE OF SUPPORTING GOJ CLAIM.

2. GREEN STATED USG POSITION ALONG LINES REF B, PARA 1,  
AND ASSURED CHON THAT WE HAVE TAKEN NOTE OF GOJ CONCERN.

GP-3, ROBERT

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ANNOTES

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ACTION: STATE DEPT (ARMY DCSOPS)  
DISTR: OSA, ACSI, CINFO, TJAG  
DA IN: 532127

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DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY  
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**CONFIDENTIAL**

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

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DE RUEAMAF 0352 2640915  
ZNY CCCCC ZOV STATE  
TP:463

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DE RUEHTP 4105 2640843  
ZNY CCCCC ZZH  
R 210825Z SEP 70  
FM AMEMBASSY TAIPEI  
TO RUAOADA/HICOMRY  
INFO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 951  
RUEIKO/AMEMBASSY TOKYO 1596  
BT  
C O N F I D E N T I A L TAIPEI 4105

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DECLASSIFICATION SCHEDULE

SUBJECT: TAIWANESE VIOLATION SENKAKU TERRITORIAL WATERS

REF: A, WCR1/LN 170532Z  
B, TAIPEI 4093

1. GRC MAY CLAIM THAT ALTHOUGH TAIWAN VESSELS HAVE LONG  
FISHED IN SENKAKU TERRITORIAL WATERS GRC/US ONLY RECENTLY HAS  
BEGUN TO TAKE ACTION AGAINST THEM, REQUEST REPORT  
PREVIOUS INCIDENTS OF TAIWAN BASED SHIPS' VIOLATIONS OF  
SENKAKU TERRITORIAL WATERS AS OPPOSED TO OTHER RYUKYU  
VIOLATIONS, EXEMPT

ARMSTRONG

BT  
ANNOTES  
TMP332

SP ALBERT GAULIN

NOTE: REF A IS NOT IDENTIFIED  
REF B IS DA IN 533907 (70) STATE DEPT (ARMY DCSLOG)  
ACTION: STATE DEPT (ARMY DCSLOG)  
DISTR : OSA, DCSOPS, ACSI, TJAG  
DA IN 533951

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DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY  
STAFF COMMUNICATIONS DIVISION

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ZNR UUUUU  
P 120550Z SEP 70  
FM HICOM OKINAWA RYIS  
TO RUEADWD/DA  
INFO RUEIKU/AMEMB TOKYO  
RUEHTP/AMEMB TAIPEI  
RUHHHQA/CINCPAC  
RUHHRGA/CINCUSARPAC  
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UNCLAS  
HCRI-LN

DA FOR ODCSOPS IA RA. STATE FOR ERICSON.

SUBJ: GRI STATEMENT ON SENKAKU ISLANDS

ON 10 SEP GRI ISSUED FIRST OFFICIAL STATEMENT

ON SENDAU ISLANDS ENTITLED: "CLAIM CONCERNING TERRITORIAL  
RIGHTS AND CONTINENTIAL SHELF DEVELOPMENT RIGHTS ON SENKAKU  
ISLANDS." STATEMENT WAS ADOPTED AT GRI DEPT DIRECTORS'

MEETING THAT DAY. UNOFFICIAL TRANSLATION FOLLOWS:

BEGIN TEXT: SENKAKU ISLANDS ARE SITUATED BETWEEN 25  
DEGREES 40 MINUTES AND 26 DEGREES NORTH AND BETWEEN 123 DEGREES  
20 MINUTES AND 123 DEGREES 45 MINUTES EAST. IT IS CLEAR  
BEYOND ANY DOUBT THAT THESE ISLANDS BELONG TO THE RYUKYU ISLANDS  
AND ARE INCLUDED IN THE AREA TO BE RETURNED TO JAPAN IN 1972  
FOR THE FOLLOWING WELL-KNOWN REASONS:

A. THE ISLANDS WERE DISCOVERED BY TATSUSHIRO KOGA IN 1884  
(NATIVE OF FUKUOKA PREFECTURE). FROM THEN UNTIL ABOUT 1917,  
KOGE GATHERED FEATHERS, TURTLE SHELL, SHELLFISH AND GUANO,  
AND ESTABLISHED A BONITO PROCESSING PLANT ON THE ISLAND.  
THE SURROUNDING WATERS HAVE BEEN USED AS FISHING GROUNDS BY  
OKINAWAN FISHERMEN.

B. ON BASIS OF JAPANESE CABINET DECISION ON 14 JAN 1895  
AND IMPERIAL ORDER NO. 13 OF 1 APRIL 1896, THE ISLANDS WERE  
RECOGNIZED AS JAPANESE TERRITORY UNDER ISHIGAKI-SON, YAEYAMA-  
GUN, OKINAWA PREFECTURE.

C. FOLLOWING SEPARATION OF OKINAWA PREFECTURE FROM JAPAN  
UPON EFFECTUATION OF JAPANESE PEACE TREATY, THIS TREATY AND  
U.S.-JAPAN AGREEMENT ON AMAMI ISLANDS PROVIDED THE BASIS FOR  
USCAR PROCLAMATION NO. 27, "GEOGRAPHICAL BOUNDRIES OF THE

DA IN 046537

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DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY  
STAFF COMMUNICATIONS DIVISION

RYUKYU ISLANDS," ARTICLE 1 OF THIS PROCLAMATION DEFINED AN AREA IN WHICH SENKAKU ISLANDS ARE SITUATED. THEREFORE, WITH REGARD TO THE CONTINENTAL SHELF LYING BETWEEN THE SENKAKU ISLANDS AND CHINA (CHUGOKU), WE ARE ABLE TO EXERCISE SOVEREIGNTY-LIKE RIGHTS OF EXPLORATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF COASTAL AND CONTINENTAL SHELF MINERAL RESOURCES, BASED UPON THE CONCEPTS OF THE CONVENTION ON CONTINENTAL SHELF WHICH HAS ALREADY BECOME CUSTOMARY INTERNATIONAL LAW. IN OTHER WORDS, ACCORDING TO THIS CONVENTION, DELIMITATION OF THE CONTINENTAL SHELF SHALL BE DETERMINED BY AGREEMENT AMONG THESE NATIONS. WHERE THERE IS NO AGREEMENT, INSOFAR AS NO OTHER JUST DELIMITATION CAN BE MADE ON BASIS OF SPECIAL CIRCUMSTANCES, THE CONVENTION PROVIDES THAT THE DELIMITATION SHALL BE FIXED AT MIDWAY.

IN THE FOREGOING MANNER, OUR CLAIM RESPECTS INTERNATIONAL LAW, AND POINTS TO THE HUMAN IDEAL OF INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION. OUR CLAIM IS SUFFICIENTLY GROUNDED IN THESE RESPECTS. END OF TEXT

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ACTION: DCSOPS  
DISTR : OCOFSA, OSA, DCSLOG, ACSI, TJAG, CIA, OSD/JCS  
DA IN 046537

PG 2

DATE

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DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY  
STAFF COMMUNICATIONS DIVISION

**CONFIDENTIAL**

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

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ACTION

DISTR CJCS(01) DJS(03) SJCS(03) J3(12) J5(02) SACS(03) NMCC(01)  
SECDEF(07) ASD:ISA(09) ASD:PA(01) ASD:SA(01) CSA CSAF CNO CMC  
DIA(20) MCCC FILE(1)  
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ADV DISTR SECDEF(05) DIA(03)  
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RR RUEHC RUEIKO RUAOADA  
DE RUEHTP 4093 2640515  
ZNY CCCCC ZZH  
R 210500Z SEP 70  
FM AMEMBASSY TAIPEI  
TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 944  
INFO RUEIKO/AMEMBASSY TOKYO 1595  
RUAOADA/HICOMRY  
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Return to OJ

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

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LIMITED OFFICIAL USE TAIPEI 4093

SUBJECT: FISHING VESSELS OFF SENKAKU ISLANDS <sup>SP</sup> ALBERT GAULIN

REF: TAIPEI 4083

1. TAIPEI NEWSPAPERS SEPTEMBER 21 REPORTED THAT CHINESE FISHING BOATS SAILING FROM EAST COAST TAIWAN TO OPERATE IN VICINITY OF TIAO YU TAI (SENKAKUS) WERE INTERFERED WITH AND CHASED BY PATROL BOATS OF THE RYUKYU GOVERNMENT, REPORTS SAY FISHERMAN'S ASSOCIATION OF SUAO DISTRICT HAVE APPEALED TO THE GRC TO TAKE STRONG MEASURES TO PROTECT THEM, EXEMPT

ARMSTRONG  
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ANNOTES  
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ACTION: STATE DEPT (ARMY DCSLOG)  
DISTR: OSA, DCSOPS, ACSI, TJAG  
DA IN 533907

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IN REPLY REFER TO

HCRI-LE

23 September 1970

## MEMORANDUM FOR RECORD

Incl #2

SUBJECT: Briefing at USCAR by GRI Staff Involved with Mining Rights in Senkaku

1. An informal briefing was held at USCAR LE Director's office on morning of 18 Sep 70. Present were:

Mr. Akira Kina, Chief, Commerce & Industry Division,  
Trade and Industry Dept, GRI

Mr. Shoichi Nakamura, Chief, Mining Sub-section, Trade  
& Industry Dept, GRI

LTC McNealy, Director, LE, USCAR

Mr Baker, EC, USCAR

Mr John Sheehan, LE, USCAR

Mr M. Harushima, LE, USCAR

2. At the beginning of the conference, LTC McNealy explained the purpose of the briefing was to provide USCAR staff with an informal update on the GRI processing of mining applications for the Senkaku area. The GRI officials replied that three applicants had filed for exploration and/or exploitation mining rights in the general area of Senkakus. Because of the particular requirements of the local Mining Law, a total of 24,841 separate applications are involved. This mass of submissions has thoroughly taxed the limited manpower resources of the GRI Mining Department. Despite use of extra and part-time employees, there is still a considerable lag in the completion of even the initial screening of the many applications. The GRI representatives further explained that the Mining Law provides that applications are entertained on a first-come-first-served basis and that when mining rights are subsequently recommended, they will follow the priority of their original filing. This is, of course, subject to the application being from an appropriate person or entity and otherwise being in accordance with local law.

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HCRI-LE

23 September 1970

SUBJECT: Briefing at USCAR by GRI Staff Involved with  
Mining Rights in Senkaku

3. LTC McNealy stated that the briefing had been extremely useful particularly insofar as it gave USCAR a much better idea about the status of the actual processing. Mr Nakamura specifically indicated that he did not feel that GRI would be in a position to make any recommendations until the middle of 1971, although they are making every effort to shorten the time. It was pointed out categorically at this point by LTC McNealy that the offshore seabed areas were under the administration of the Ryukyuan Property Custodian, whose interest therein had been well established with the GRI. In this context, Mr. Nakamura was reminded that GRI Mining Law required approval of the Civil Administrator for any prospecting or any exploration within the areas under the control or administration of the U.S. and this would apply to offshore Senkaku areas. Both USCAR and GRI officials then agreed that it would be useful to maintain close coordination on the Senkaku mining situation with a view to facilitating these necessary clearances at the appropriate time.

4. In closing, Mr. Kina stated that GRI was clearly interested in preserving the GRI administration over the Senkaku Islands and requested USCAR assistance in protecting these GRI interests. LTC McNealy answered that he was aware of GRI concerns.



RICHARD K. McNEALY  
LTC, JAGC  
Director, Legal Affairs Dept

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STAFF COMMUNICATIONS DIVISION

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R 260155Z SEP 70  
FM HICDM OKINAWA RYIS  
TO RUEADWD/DA  
INFO RUEIKO/AMEMB TOKYO  
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SUBJECT TO GENERAL DECLASSIFICATION  
SCHEDULE OF EXECUTIVE ORDER 11652  
AUTOMATICALLY DOWNGRADED AT TWO  
YEAR INTERVALS  
DECLASSIFY ON: 31 Dec 76

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C O N F I D E N T I A L  
HCRI-LN

DA FOR ODCSOPS IA RA. STATE FOR ERICSON.  
SUBJ: SENKAKUS: TAIWANESE VIOLATIONS (U)

A. TAIPEI 4105 (NOTAL)

B. HCRI-LN 160030Z JUL 70 (NOTAL)

1. (C) REF A REQUESTS RECORD OF GRI POLICE PATROLS  
IN SENKAKUS TO COUNTER GRC CLAIM THAT ACTION ONLY  
RECENTLY TAKEN AGAINST TAIWANESE FISHERMEN, FOLLOWING  
IS LIST OF PATROLS TO SENKAKU ISLANDS SINCE MID-1968:

- 9 THRU 30 AUGUST 1968
- 11 THRU 16 JUNE 1969
- 13 THRU 19 SEPTEMBER 1969
- 10 THRU 15 JULY 1970 (GRI CHARTERED BOAT)
- 15 SEPTEMBER 1970
- 17 SEPTEMBER 1970

EXCEPT AS NOTED, ALL PATROLS MADE BY GRI POLICE BOAT "CHITOSE."  
ON EVERY PATROL TAIWANESE FISHERMEN WERE WARNED TO LEAVE AREA.

2. (C) REF B. REPORTS ERECTION DURING JULY 70 CHARTER BOAT  
PATROL OF CONCRETE SIGNS IN CHINESE, JAPANESE AND ENGLISH ON  
SEVEN OF SENKAKU ISLANDS WARNING TRESPASSERS THAT THE SENKAKUS,  
INCLUDING THEIR TERRITORIAL WATERS, ARE RYUKYUAN TERRITORY  
AND TRESPASSERS WILL BE SUBJECT TO CRIMINAL PROSECUTION.  
EMBASSY MAY WISH TO BRING THESE SIGNS TO ATTENTION OF GRC.

3. (C) NEW, LARGER GRI POLICE PATROL BOAT, "OKINAWA," EXPECTED  
ARRIVE OKINAWA MID-OCTOBER. WITH INCREASED CAPABILITIES  
PROVIDED BY THIS ADDITIONAL VESSEL, GRI INTENDS INSTITUTE  
MORE REGULAR PATROLS OF SENKAKU AREA. GP-4

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ACTION: DCSOPS  
DISTR: OSA, ACSI, TJAG, OSD/JCS, CIA  
DA IN 061471

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STAFF COMMUNICATIONS DIVISION

**SECRET**

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ACTION  
DISTR CJCS(01) DJS(03) SJCS(03) J3(12) J5(02) SACSA(03) NMCC(01)  
SECDEF(07) ASD:ISA(09) ASD:PA(01) ASD:ISA(01) CSA:CSAF:CNO:CMC  
DIA(20) MCCC FILE(1)  
(064)

DV DISTR SECDEF(05) DIA(03)  
TRANSIT/260525Z/260709Z/001144TOR2690704

DE RUEAMAF 0590 2690702

ZNY SSSSS ZOV STATE

TP1662

RR RUEHC RUEIKO RUHHHQA RUAQADA

DE RUEHTP 4208 2690545

ZNY SSSSS ZZH

R 260525Z SEP 70

FM AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 990

INFO RUEIKO/AMEMBASSY TOKYO 1599

RUHHHQA/CINCPAC

RUAQADA/HICOMRY

BT

S E C R E T TAIPEI 4208

SUBJECT: SENKAKUS.

REF: TAIPEI 4105

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

1. FREDRICK CHIEN, DIRECTOR OF NORTH AMERICAN AFFAIRS, MOFA, CALLED IN POLCOUNS SEPT. 23 AND DELIVERED "ORAL STATEMENT" ON INSTRUCTIONS FROM ACTING FONMIN GIVING GRC "BASIC POSITION" ON SENKAKUS (WHICH HE REFERRED TO BY CHINESE NAME, TIAO YU T'AI, THROUGHOUT). SUMMARY OF STATEMENT FOLLOWS:

2. SENKAKUS HAVE BEEN VISITED FOR MANY, MANY YEARS BY CHINESE FROM TAIWANI FISHERMEN, THOSE SEEKING BIRD EGGS AND AS A REFUGE IN STORMS. THERE HAS BEEN A LONG TRADITION, AND THESE VISITS HAVE BEEN CONDUCTED WITH NO INTERVENTION. THE GRC THEREFORE, DOES NOT ACCEPT OR CONSENT TO RECENT ACTION BY THE GOVERNMENT OF THE

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RYUKYU ISLANDS IN INTERFERING, WITH CONCURRENCE OF USG,  
WITH NORMAL VISITS OF CHINESE FISHING VESSELS TO SENKAKUS.

3. AFTER CONVERSATION BETWEEN AMBASSADOR CHOW SHU-KAI  
& ASSISTANT SECRETARY GREEN ON SEPT. 17, MR. SHOESMITH  
REMARKED TO AMBASSADOR CHOW THAT THE SENKAKU ISSUE IS  
"DIFFICULT TO HANDLE," HE APPARENTLY FINDS IT CURIOUS  
THAT GRI PERMITS ITS VESSELS TO INTERFERE WITH NORMAL  
VISITS OF CHINESE VESSELS TO SENKAKUS, IN RECENT WEEKS.  
THERE HAVE BEEN MANY COMPLAINTS FROM FISHERMEN AND OTHERS,  
NOT ONLY ABOUT THE EVENTS OF SEPT. 16 AND 17, WHICH HAVE ALREADY  
BEEN DISCUSSED WITH U.S., BUT IN PARTICULAR A CHINESE FISHING  
VESSEL FROM KEELUNG, THE DAH FENG (6671/7364), WHICH WAS  
FISHING IN WATERS SURROUNDING SENKAKUS WAS BOARDED ON SEPT. 15 BY A  
JAPANESE SHIP, THE CH'YEN SUI-WAN (0578/2979/0029), WHICH  
HAULED DOWN THE CHINESE FLAG FROM THE MAST AND TOOK IT  
AWAY. THE FLAG WAS RETURNED ON SEPT. 16. (POLCOUNS ASKED  
IF IT WERE FISHING IN SENKAKU TERRITORIAL WATERS, CH'YEN  
REPEATED "IN VICINITY OF SENKAKUS.")

4. THE GRC CANNOT REMAIN SILENT ON THIS SUBJECT, SINCE  
THE GRI ACTIONS IN THE SENKAKUS, PRESUMABLY WITH THE  
CONCURRENCE OF THE U.S., HAVE AROUSED CONSIDERABLE CONCERN  
ALL SECTORS IN TAIWAN. ALL PARTIES INVOLVED SHOULD  
BE EXTREMELY CAUTIOUS NOT TO TAKE ANY MOVE THAT COULD  
BE CONSIDERED PROVOCATIVE. AN EXAMPLE OF THE LATTER WAS  
THE ACTION OF THE GRI AUTHORITIES, WITH THE CONCURRENCE  
OF THE U.S., IN REMOVING A CHINESE FLAG  
HOISTED BY A CHINESE NATIONAL ON ONE OF THE SENKAKUS,  
AND PAINTING OUT THE CHARACTERS "LONG LIVE PRESIDENT  
CHIANG" WITH BLACK PAINT (CH'YEN REPEATED "WITH BLACK  
PAINT" TWICE). BOTH THESE ACTIONS ARE TO BE CONSIDERED  
PROVOCATIVE, AND HAVE HAD IRRITATING IMPACT ON THE REPUBLIC  
OF CHINA. CH'YEN SAID THAT HE HOPED THAT THE POLCOUNS  
WOULD CONVEY THIS MESSAGE TO USG AND THAT IT WILL EXERCISE,  
AND INSTRUCT THE GRI TO EXERCISE, RESTRAINT OVER THE SENKAKU  
ISSUE. END OF SUMMARY.

5. POLCOUNS SAID THAT HE HAD NOT HEARD OF AN INCIDENT  
IN SENKAKU WATERS OF SEPT. 15, AND WOULD REPORT IT. HE  
POINTED OUT THAT FAR FROM THERE HAVING BEEN NO "INTERVENTION,"  
OUR FILES, WHICH WERE ADMITTEDLY INCOMPLETE, SHOWED THAT  
THERE HAD BEEN A NUMBER OF CASES BETWEEN 1965 AND 1970

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IN WHICH THE AUTHORITIES IN THE RYUKYU ISLANDS HAD "INTERVENED" TO PREVENT VIOLATION OF THE TERRITORY AND TERRITORIAL WATERS OF THE SENKAKUS OF FISHERMEN AND OTHERS; CH'EN SAID THAT THE GRC IN THESE INSTANCES HAD MERELY "TAKEN NOTE" OF U.S. ACTION, WHICH DID NOT DENOTE ACQUIESCENCE. THE ISSUE, HE CONTINUED, WAS THAT OF RICE BOWL OF CHINESE NATIONALS, AND THE GRC CANNOT REMAIN DIFFERENT.

6. POLCOUNS SAID THAT HE PRESUMED THAT THE DIFFICULTY THAT MR. SHOESMITH HAD REFERRED TO WAS THAT THE U.S., WHICH IS NEUTRAL IN THE DISPUTE BETWEEN CHINA AND JAPAN OVER THE SENKAKUS, FINDS ITSELF DRAWN INTO THE DISPUTE BY BOTH PARTIES. THE PRESS IN BOTH TOKYO AND TAIPEI HAS NOT HELPED--JAPANESE REFERENCE TO 100 CHINESE SHIPS ENTERING THE SENKAKUS, AND A TAIPEI REFERENCE TO TWO JAPANESE SELF-DEFENSE WARSHIPS IN THE SENKAKUS--ARE BOTH EXAGGERATED, AND DO NOT SERVE TO RELAX TENSION. WE STILL HOPE THAT CHINESE FISHING VESSELS WILL AVOID FISHING IN RYUKYUAN WATERS AND THUS REDUCE OPPORTUNITIES FOR INCIDENTS.

7. CH'EN CONCLUDED BY SAYING THAT AT A FURTHER DATE HE INTENDED TO TAKE EXCEPTION TO THE CURRENT U.S. ADMINISTRATION OF THE SENKAKUS, BUT HE WAS NOT PREPARED AT PRESENT TO DO SO.

COMMENT: CH'EN MAY BE PREPARING TO TAKE A MORE AGGRESSIVE LINE ON THE SENKAKUS. IF HE DOES, HE WILL PROBABLY FOLLOW THE LINE THAT THE GRC HAS NEVER RECOGNIZED U.S. ADMINISTRATION OF THE ISLANDS EVEN TACITLY. WHILE THIS IS PATENTLY NOT THE CASE, THE INFORMATION REQUESTED FROM HICOMRY (REF A) ON PREVIOUS INCIDENTS OF VIOLATIONS OF WATERS OF THE SENKAKUS AND OTHER RYUKYU ISLANDS BY GRC VESSELS WOULD BE USEFUL IN COUNTERING SUCH ARGUMENTS.

9. IF CH'EN SHOULD GO SO FAR AS TO TAKE EXCEPTION TO U.S. ADMINISTRATION OF THE SENKAKUS, WE BELIEVE THAT NEGOTIATING RECORD OF THE MUTUAL DEFENSE TREATY OF 1954 MAY CONTAIN CHINESE ACCEPTANCE OF U.S. ADMINISTRATION IN MORE SPECIFIC TERMS THAN CONTAINED IN THE ARTICLE 6 OF TREATY. WOULD APPRECIATE DEPT'S CHECKING RECORD AND INFORMING US.

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10. CHINESE PRESS HAS COOLED DOWN SOMEWHAT ON THIS ISSUE. BUT ENGLISH LANGUAGE CHINA NEWS EDITORIAL OF SEPT 23 (POUCHED) SAYS THAT THE JAPANESE (SIC) ACTION IN DRIVING CHINESE FISHERMEN AWAY FROM THESE "VOLCANIC FLY SPECKS" THE FIRST AGGRESSIVE MOVE OF THE NEW MILITARIST JAPAN. WE NOTE, HOWEVER, THAT A PLANNED VISIT TO THE RYUKYUS BY THREE NATIONAL ASSEMBLYMEN HAS BEEN POSTPONED.

11. FOOTNOTE: REGIONAL MAP PROCUREMENT OFFICER INFORMS US THAT LARGE AND HANDSOME GEOLOGICAL MAP OF CHINA PREPARED BY GRC FOR INTERNATIONAL TOPOGRAPHICAL MEETING IS BEING CLASSIFIED BECAUSE SENKAKUS WERE OMITTED, GP#3

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**S E C R E T**

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DISTR CJCS(05) DJS(03) J5(02) NMCC SECDEF(05) ASD/ISA(05) ASD/PA(01)  
GC(01) CSA CSAF CNO CMC DIA(20) MCCC FILE(1)  
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ADV DISTR SECDEF(05) DIA(03)  
TRANSIT/ Z/010204Z/ TOR2740203  
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ZNY SSSSS ZOV STATE  
PP RUEHTP RUEIKO RUMJDH RUHHQA RUADADA  
DE RUEHC 161340 2740035  
ZNY SSSSS ZZH  
P R 302337Z SEP 70  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO RUEHTP/AMEMBASSY TAIPEI PRIORITY 5170  
INFO RUEIKO/AMEMBASSY TOKYO 0539  
RUMJDH/AMCONSUL HONG KONG 3960  
RUHHQA/CINCPAC  
RUADADA/HICOMRY  
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LIMDIS

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

SUBJECT: SENKAKU ISLANDS

REF: (A) TOKYO 7767; (B) STATE 150567; (C) TAIPEI 4105

1. WE SHARE EMBASSY TOKYO'S CONCERN FOR APPARENT ESCALATION OF SENKAKU ISSUE ON BOTH SIDES AND AGREE IT IMPORTANT TO PREVENT IF POSSIBLE GOJ-GRC CONFRONTATION, PARTICULARLY SINCE WE LIKELY BE CAUGHT IN MIDDLE. WE ALSO AGREE THAT WE CANNOT PERMIT BY OUR ACTIONS OR INACTIONS ANY DOUBT AS TO EITHER OUR INTENTION TO CONTINUE TO EXERCISE FULL ADMINISTRATIVE AUTHORITY OVER SENKAKUS AS PART OF RYUKYUS OR TO RETURN ADMINISTRATIVE AUTHORITY OVER NANSEI SHOTO INCLUDING SENKAKUS TO JAPAN AS AGREED IN NIXON-SATO COMMUNIQUE OF NOVEMBER 21, 1969, WE ARE, THEREFORE, INCLINED AGREE WITH EMBASSY TOKYO'S RECOMMENDATIONS FOR REPRESENTATIONS TO BOTH SIDES ALONG LINES REFTEL PARAS 4-8, GIVING PARTICULAR EMPHASIS:

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STAFF COMMUNICATIONS DIVISION

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OF IMPORTANCE WE ATTACH TO AVOIDANCE ACRIMONIOUS DISPUTE BETWEEN  
OUR TWO CLOSE ALLIES,

WE WOULD APPRECIATE, HOWEVER, HAVING EMBASSY TAIPEI'S ASSESSMENT  
OF THE SITUATION, PARTICULARLY ITS READING OF GRC ATTITUDE AND  
INTENTIONS. WE SUSPECT GRC POSTURE MAY BE AT LEAST IN PART FOR  
DOMESTIC CONSUMPTION AND THAT IT DOES NOT INTEND TO CONDONE  
ACTIONS BY CHINESE FISHERMEN OR OTHERS WHICH WOULD POSE OVERT  
CHALLENGE TO US ADMINISTRATIVE AUTHORITY. (WE HOPE THAT GRC  
DOES NOT INTEND TO RENEW ITS RESERVATIONS AS TO USG UNILATERAL  
RIGHT TO RETURN RYUKYUS TO JAPAN AND USG POSITION ON RESIDUAL  
SOVEREIGNTY OR, AS INDICATED REF C PARA 7, TO CHALLENGE OUR  
ADMINISTRATION OF SENKAKUS, SINCE THIS WOULD BE MOST UNPROFITABLE  
EXERCISE.) WE WOULD ALSO APPRECIATE EMBASSY TAIPEI'S COMMENTS ON  
EMBASSY TOKYO'S RECOMMENDATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS AS TO SUBSTANCE  
AND MANNER OF SUCH EFFORT AS WE MIGHT MAKE TO ENCOURAGE RESTRAINT  
AND ACCOMMODATION ON BOTH SIDES. GP-3, IRWIN

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NOTE: A IS DA IN 540292 (70) STATE DEPT (ARMY ACSI)  
B IS DA IN 529973 (70) STATE DEPT (ARMY ACSI)  
C IS DA IN 533951 (70) STATE DEPT (ARMY ACSI)

ACTION: STATE DEPT (ARMY DCSOPS)  
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E RUEAMAF 0209 2751018  
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MJB270JDA554  
RR RUEHQ RUEHTP  
DE RUMJDH 3995 2750845

ZNY SSSSS ZZH  
R 020830Z OCT 70

FM AMCONSUL HONG KONG  
TO RUEHQ/SECSTATE WASHDC 9336  
INFO RUEHTP/AMEMBASSY TAIPEI 3210  
RUEIKO/AMEMBASSY TOKYO 3004  
RUHHQA/CINCPAC

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LIMDIS

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

SUBJECT: SENKAKU ISLANDS

REF: TOKYO 7767, HK A-272, OCT 1, 1970

1. WE AGREE WITH REPTEL THAT PEKING MAY FIND SOME  
SATISFACTION IN THE DISPUTE BETWEEN THE GOJ AND GRC  
OVER THE SENKAKU ISLANDS AND PARTICULARLY OVER THE  
LIKELIHOOD THAT THE USG WILL FIND ITSELF CAUGHT  
IN A DIFFICULT POSITION BETWEEN ITS TWO ALLIES.  
NONETHELESS, THE PRC MAY BE IN SOMETHING OF A  
DILEMMA OVER HOW BEST TO REACT PUBLICLY TO THIS  
SITUATION AND PRC MEDIA HAVE THUS FAR REPRAINED  
FROM MENTIONING THE CONTROVERSY, SINCE THE GRC'S  
CLAIMS REGARDING THE CONTINENTAL SHELF APPEAR TO BE  
AN EXTENSION OF ITS POSITION THAT IT IS THE SOLE  
LEGITIMATE GOVERNMENT OF CHINA. THIS CONTROVERSY

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MUST TOUCH SENSITIVE NERVES IN PEKING. ALTHOUGH THE PRC HAS NOT, TO OUR KNOWLEDGE, TAKEN A POSITION ON THE CONTINENTAL SHELF CONVENTION OF 1958, WE PRESUME IT SHARES TAIPEI'S INTEREST IN FENDING OFF ANY JAPANESE ENCROACHMENTS ON CHINESE CLAIMS TO THE SHELF. FURTHERMORE, AUTHORESS HAN SU-YIN AFTER HER RECENT TRIP TO THE MAINLAND, ASSERTED THAT PEKING BELIEVES THAT THE SENKAKUS ARE PART OF CHINA (FOH-12136). AT THE SAME TIME, HOWEVER, PEKING OBVIOUSLY CANNOT ACCEPT TAIPEI'S RIGHT TO ASSERT THOSE CLAIMS.

2. THUS FAR, PEKING HAS CHOSEN TO MEET THIS PROBLEM BY REMAINING SILENT, BUT IT MAY DECIDE BEFORE LONG TO ISSUE PROPAGANDA BLASTS WARNING BOTH THE GRC AND THE JAPANESE AWAY FROM THE AREA. IF SO, PEKING WOULD PROBABLY CHARACTERIZE JAPANESE EFFORTS AS FURTHER PROOF OF THE GOJIS "WILD AMBITION TO ANNEX TAIWAN" AND ACCUSE THE U.S. OF FOSTERING JAPANESE AGGRESSION. PEKING WOULD PROBABLY ALSO ASSERT THAT TAIPEI HAS NO RIGHT TO THE RESOURCES WHILE AT THE SAME TIME, PERHAPS, SKIRTING THE SPECIFIC QUESTION OF SOVEREIGNTY OVER THE SENKAKUS. AS DID A HONG KONG PRO-COMMUNIST PAPER IN DISCUSSING THE ISSUE (REFAIR), ALTHOUGH MINOR CHINESE COMMUNIST HARASSING ACTIVITIES AGAINST OIL COMPANIES OPERATING OFF THE CONTINENTAL SHELF CANNOT BE RULED OUT, WE BELIEVE THAT PEKING WILL MOST LIKELY AVOID AN ACTION WHICH COULD LEAD TO A DIRECT CONFRONTATION WITH THE GRC, GOJ, OR USG. GP-1

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

65769

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FM AMEMBASSY TAIPEI  
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INFO RUEIKO/AMEMBASSY TOKYO 161  
RUMJDH/AMCONSUL HONG KONG 1412  
RUAOADA/HICOMRY

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C O N F I D E N T I A L TAIPEI 4377

SUBJECT: SENKAKUS

REF: A: TOKYO 7767 D: TAIPEI 4308  
B: STATE 163140 E: STATE 150567  
C: TAIPEI 4105 F: TAIPEI 4000

1. SUMMARY: RECENT ACTIONS BY GRC LEAD US TO BELIEVE THAT IT HAS NOT ONLY COOLED OFF SOMEWHAT ON SENKAKUS, BUT HAS TAKEN ACTIONS TO RESTRAIN ITS MORE ENTHUSIASTIC NATIONALS, WHILE PRESS AND LEGISLATIVE BODIES LIKELY TO REMAIN SENSATIONAL ON THIS SUBJECT, BELIEVE THAT VIOLATIONS OF SENKAKUS' TERRITORIAL WATERS FROM TAIWAN IN NEAR FUTURE NOW MUCH LESS LIKELY, WE AGREE WE SHOULD CAUTION GRC AGAINST PROVOCATIVE INTRUSIONS SENKSKU WATERS, BUT BELIEVE OUR MAIN EFFORT SHOULD BE DIRECTED AT GETTING GOJ AND GRC TO START TALKING ABOUT ALL ASPECTS OF PROBLEM.

2. PROBLEM OF SENKAKUS IS DIVIDED INTO THREE SEPARATE PROBLEMS: WHICH HAVE BECOME ENTANGLED; VIOLATIONS OF TERRITORY AND WATERS OF SENKAKUS; AND MORE BASIC PROBLEMS

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OF SOVEREIGNTY OVER THE SENKAKUS, AND RIGHTS TO THE CONTINENTAL SHELF;

SHORT-TERM PROBLEM OF VIOLATIONS IS ONE WHICH APPARENTLY BEGAN IN 1968 WHEN GRC BEGAN ACTIVE PATROLLING OF SENKAKUS. IF GRC, TAIWANESE FISHERMEN, AND JAPANESE DCM IN TAIPEI (REF. C AND D) ARE TO BE BELIEVED, TAIWANESE FISHERMEN HAVE FISHED THESE WATERS FOR MANY YEARS WITHOUT INTERFERENCE, OUR OWN RECORDS, AND THOSE SO FAR PROVIDED BY TOKYO AND HICOMRY, SHOW NO INCIDENTS BEFORE THE SUMMER OF 1968, WHICH IS MORE LIKELY DUE TO LACK OF PATROLLING THAN LACK OF VIOLATIONS.

4. SINCE SEPTEMBER INTRUSIONS, GRC HAS TAKEN TWO LINES: FIRST, A FAIRLY HARD LINE WITH USG IN DIPLOMATIC CONVERSATIONS, WITH PRESS TAKING A TOUGHER LINE WITH JAPAN, SECOND, UNPUBLICIZED EFFORT TO PUT A STOP TO FURTHER INCIDENTS OVER THE SENKAKUS. IT HAS TAKEN FOLLOWING STEPS:

A. DURING WEEK SEPT. 23, MOFA DIRECTOR OF NORTH AMERICAN AFFAIRS, FREDRICK CHIEN, INFORMED POLCOUNS THAT HIS OFFICE HAD SENT REPRESENTATIVE TO TAIWANESE FISHERMEN'S GROUP, WHICH HAD SUBSEQUENTLY COMPLAINED THAT MOFA WAS INTERFERING WITH THE FISHERMEN'S LIVELIHOOD. THIS VISIT CONFIRMED BY AP STRINGER, WHO SUBSEQUENTLY VISITED GROUP. CHIEN LEFT SUBSTANCE OF CONVERSATION TO BE INFERRED, AS HE DID WHEN POLCOUNS NOTED FACT THAT PROPOSED VISIT OF THREE NATIONAL ASSEMBLYMEN TO THE SENKAKUS HAD BEEN CALLED OFF DUE TO "TROUBLE WITH HIGH-PRESSURE SYSTEM."

B. CHINA YOUTH CORPS STUDENTS AT TAIWAN UNIVERSITY APPARENTLY PLANNED FOR OCTOBER 2 A DEMONSTRATION OVER SENKAKUS IN FRONT OF JAPANESE EMBASSY. WHEN TIME FOR DEMONSTRATION ARRIVED, REPORTERS FOUND ONLY PRESS AND UNUSUAL NUMBER OF POLICE AT JAPANESE EMBASSY. MEMBER KMT STANDING COMMITTEE KUO CHI INFORMED US THAT KMT HAD "DISCOURAGED" ORGANIZERS.

C. MOFA HAS CONFIRMED TO US THAT RAISING OF CHINESE FLAG ON SENKAKUS SEPT. 5 WAS UNAUTHORIZED BY GRC. AP STRINGER TELLS US THAT CHINA TIMES WAS GIVEN SEVERE DRESSING DOWN BY MOFA FOR ITS FLAG-PLANTING FEAT.

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4. IN INTERPELLATION SEPT. 30 BEFORE LEGISLATIVE YUAN COMMITTEE, VICE MINISTER FOREIGN AFFAIRS TSAI WEI-PING, STATED THAT SINCE SENKAKUS UNDER U.S. "TRUST," GRC SHOULD PROPERLY DISCUSS MATTER WITH U.S. AND NOT WITH JAPAN. HE CONTINUED, HOWEVER, THAT SINCE JAPAN IS FRIENDLY TO ROC, GRC WILL NOT REFUSE TO HOLD "INFORMAL TALKS" WITH GOJ ON THIS ISSUE.

5. THIS RECORD, THE FACT THAT THERE HAVE BEEN NO INCIDENTS SINCE SEPT. 17, AND THAT END OF FISHING SEASON IN SENKAKUS APPROACHING (ALL INCIDENTS REPORTED TO US SINCE 1968 HAVE OCCURRED JULY-SEPTEMBER) LEADS US TO BELIEVE THAT GRC HAS MADE AN EFFECTIVE EFFORT TO FORESTALL FURTHER INCIDENTS OVER SENKAKUS, WHILE PERMITTING RATHER STRIDENT PRESS COVERAGE TO CONTINUE (WHICH SO FAR HAS NOT ATTACHED U.S. ROLE IN RYUKYUS) AND TAKING FAIRLY HARD LINE PRIVATELY WITH US. WE BELIEVE LATTER MAY HAVE BEEN NECESSARY TO MAKE FORMER EFFECTIVE, AS SUGGESTED PARA 2 REF. B.

6. USG BECOMES INVOLVED IN PROBLEM FOR THREE REASONS: GRC AND GOJ ARE OUR ALLIES AND WE WANT THEM TO MAINTAIN AMICABLE RELATIONS; MORE DIRECT USG INVOLVEMENT ARISES FROM FACT THAT WE HAVE TAKEN POSITION THAT GOJ HAS RESIDUAL SOVEREIGNTY OVER SENKAKUS AND FROM OUR RESPONSIBILITIES AS ADMINISTERING AUTHORITY. IF WE CAN AVOID PROBLEMS ARISING FROM THIRD POINT, WE WILL BE IN BETTER POSITION TO REGAIN IMPARTIALITY ON SOVEREIGNTY ISSUE AS IN REF. E AND F, AND REMAIN IMPARTIAL ON CONTINENTAL SHELF ISSUE.

7. RECENT GRC ACTIONS SUGGEST IT MAY WISH AVOID CONFRONTATION WITH USG ON SENKAKU INTRUSIONS. IF GRC AND GOJ COULD WORK OUT ARRANGEMENT FOR CHINESE FISHING ON BASIS CUSTOM OR COMITY, THE ASPECT OF PROBLEM IN WHICH USG MOST DIRECTLY INVOLVED WOULD BE SOLVED.

8. GRC, BY NOT CLAIMING SOVEREIGNTY OVER SENKAKUS, HAS LEFT DOOR OPEN TO CONCEDE GOJ SOVEREIGNTY EVENTUALLY; PRINCIPAL GRC INTEREST IS IN UNDERSEA RIGHTS; AND GRC MAY BE PLANNING TO USE SOVEREIGNTY ISSUE IN BARGAINING ON UNDERSEA RIGHTS.

9. GRC IS PREPARED TALK WITH GOJ; BUT GOJ SO FAR IS NOT



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PREPARED TALK WITH GRC,

10. WE THEREFORE SUGGEST WE MAKE FOLLOWING REPRESENTATIONS TO GRC AND GOJ AT FOREIGN MINISTER LEVEL (WE CAN PUT OUR APPROACH IN CONTEXT RESPONSE GRC DEMARCHE - TAIPEI 4000 AND STATE 163140.)

A. TELL GRC IT WOULD BE MOST UNFORTUNATE AND NOT IN GRC INTERESTS TO CHALLENGE USG ADMINISTERING AUTHORITY OVER SENKAKUS; THAT WE WELCOME RECENT GRC EFFORTS TO PREVENT FISHING AND ANY OTHER INTRUSIONS AND HOPE IT WILL CONTINUE THESE EFFORTS; THAT WE WILL ACCEPT FOR PERIOD WE ARE ADMINISTERING POWER, ANY FISHING ARRANGEMENT GOJ AND GRC AGREE TO; AND THAT WE ARE URGING GOJ TO DISCUSS ALL ASPECTS SENKAKU PROBLEM WITH GRC;

B. TELL GOJ WHAT WE ARE SAYING TO GRC, AND URGE GOJ TO START TALKING ASAP TO GRC SO AMICABLE SOLUTION CAN BE FOUND TO ALL THREE ASPECTS OF PROBLEM. WE ASSUME WE WILL NOT GIVE ANY SUPPORT TO APPARENT GOJ POSITION THAT IT IS UNWILLING TO DISCUSS ISSUE OF SOVEREIGNTY OVER SENKAKUS; CERTAINLY PROSPECTS FOR AMICABLE SOLUTION WILL BE POOR IF GOJ WERE TO INSIST UPON GRC CONCEDING SOVEREIGNTY ISSUE AS PRECONDITION ANY TALKS. GR-3  
ARMSTRONG

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ACTION: STATE DEPT (ARMY DCSOPS)  
DISTR : DCSLOG,ACSI  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L

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SUBJECT TO GENERAL DECLASSIFICATION  
SCHEDULE OF EXECUTIVE ORDER 11652  
AUTOMATICALLY DOWNGRADED AT TWO  
YEAR INTERVALS  
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TALKING PAPER

OPS IA RA  
Mr. Mills/mes/50221  
20 Oct 70

SUBJECT: Territorial Dispute Over Senkakus

1. Background. Under Article 3 of the Treaty of Peace with Japan, the US has administrative rights over "Nansei Shoto." This term, as used in the treaty, refers to all islands, south of 29 degrees north latitude, which were under Japanese administration at the end of World War II. The US thus administers the Senkakus as a part of the Ryukyus; like other parts of the Ryukyus, the Senkakus will revert to Japan in 1972.

2. Dispute. The GRC has never formally accepted the US policy of recognizing Japan's residual sovereignty over the Ryukyus. Now that the USG has announced its intention of returning the Ryukyus to Japan in 1972, the GRC has started to press for a separate Ryukyus-Taiwan boundary settlement, including a claim to sovereignty over the Senkakus. The problem has been brought to the fore by recent Taiwanese fishing in waters immediately offshore of the Senkakus, by GRI patrols denying fishing privileges to the Taiwanese and by GRI entertainment of applications by US oil companies to conduct explorations there. The boundary issue between

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Japan and Taiwan has become even more important in view of recent oil discoveries in the adjacent continental shelf. The ROK is also interested in mineral resources in the continental shelf, and it has issued exploration leases in the waters adjacent to the Senkakus.

3. US Position. Although the US recognizes Japan's residual sovereignty over "Nansei Shoto," including the Senkakus, it is the USG position that the Treaty of Peace is not necessarily the final determinant of the sovereignty issue. Any dispute which might arise regarding sovereignty over the Senkakus or the adjacent continental shelf should be resolved between the claimants or through third-party adjudication--for example by the International Court of Justice.

4. US Problem. The Senkakus territorial dispute has placed the USG in a difficult position with respect to its allies. Until reversion of the Ryukyus in 1972, the USG will continue to use its good offices to attempt to get the claimants to resolve the issue amicably. Meanwhile, the USG will probably be subjected to increasing pressure from all claimants to support their respective positions. Some evidence of this is already apparent from the GOJ's proposal that the Senkakus be specifically listed in the reversion agreement, as a definitive part of "Nansei Shoto."

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But Seoul and Taipei are themselves engaged in a separate dispute of their own over another area where Japan is a relatively late entrant in the competition.

Japanese Ambassador M. H. Kanayama lodged a protest at the South Korean Foreign Ministry on Friday following a Korean concession deal with American oilman Wendell Phillips and reiterated a three-month-old demand for talks on a wide range of continental shelf disputes between the two countries.

Charging that the Korean concession zones cut into projected Japanese exploration areas and that the Phillips concession overlaps an entire Japanese exploration zone, the Japan Oil Development Corporation has announced that it will dispatch its survey boats into the Japanese waters in November, a year ahead of schedule.

Returning to Taiwan after consultations here, Japanese Ambassador Osamu Itagaki issued a statement Saturday reaffirming Japanese territorial claims over the disputed Senkaku Islands north of Taiwan and underlining Japanese plans to develop the offshore oil resources there despite a series of leases allocated this summer to Pacific Gulf, American Oil and Clinton International.

The Japanese Ministry of International Trade and Industry announced plans on Thursday to post an eight-man geological survey team on Okinawa "to establish mining rights" on the Senkakus and process concession applications.

#### U.S. Administration

The Senkakus have been administered by the United States since World War II as part of the Ryukyuan island chain centering in Okinawa. When a conflict over the rocky, uninhabited island developed between Tokyo and Taipei, the United States indicated that they would be returned to Japan under the Okinawa reversion agreement along with the rest of the Ryukyus.

Ryukyuan government patrol boats "acting with U.S. concurrence" ordered Taiwanese fishing craft to leave the Senkaku area in a series of incidents two weeks ago.

In contrast to the rest of the Ryukyuan chain, the Senkakus lie on the continental shelf area where oil is believed to exist, and possession of the islands could be crucial in establishing Japanese claims to a position on the shelf in the complex legal struggle over oil rights now unfolding.

The current Pacific oil rush dates back to geological studies in 1968 and 1969 conducted by the Economic Commission

# the East China Sea Becomes a Three-Nation Issue

for Caltex, Clinton and Amoco suddenly got their leases. The Taipei concession zones stretch northward for more than 525 miles at a distance of 100 miles from the mainland. The northern concession held by Clinton International overlaps with South Korean concessions to Caltex, Wendell Phillips and Gulf.

Viewed in their entirety, the areas involved in disputes be-

between the United States form an unbroken, irregularly shaped territory on both sides of the Korean peninsula. The distance is 840 miles. The area has an area of 100,000 square miles.

Political Class

Despite the concession announcements, Japan has

hoped initially that a political clash with Nationalist China over the Senkakus could be avoided. But statements on the islands by Vice President C. K. Yen on Sept. 25 and Foreign Minister James Shen on Tuesday have put a chill on the hitherto warm relations between Taipei and Tokyo.

In addition to Caltex and Wendell Phillips, Gulf and Royal Dutch Shell have received Korean concessions.

Caltex is collaborating with Seoul and Taipei in exploring one area where it also has been given an overlapping concession zone by South Korea and is expected to play an important behind-the-scenes role in mediating the conflict. Imperial Oil and Standard Oil of California are also seeking to negotiate joint ventures with Japanese oilmen.

The current clashes with

arouse strong nationalist emotions here directed not only at the two neighboring countries but at the "encirclement" of the Japanese oil industry by the international oil companies. At the same time, Japan is heavily dependent at present on technical cooperation with foreign companies in carrying out its own exploration activities and lacks significant elements of technology in ocean-

ography and deep-water drilling. The availability of oil nearby at favorable prices would be a bonanza for Japan, which currently imports nearly \$1 billion worth of oil yearly, almost all from the Middle East. Preliminary studies suggest that the East China Sea deposits will yield oil with a low sulfur content, a potential boon in dealing with pollution.

# Oil Rush in the East China Sea Becomes a Thro

By Seth A. ...

TOKYO—A long-festering battle over exploration rights in the East China Sea and offshore islands has ballooned into a major diplomatic issue between Japan and Korea. Nationalist China also has been active in the area.

With abundant oil concessions being granted on the three southern islands, the area is being explored for oil. Concessions in a 100-square-mile area contain massive underground deposits.

Communist China has remained silent so far, but disturbed Western diplomats point out that most of the contested areas are part of the continental shelf extending from the Chinese mainland and fear that sooner or later Peking will also assert its own claims.

Japan is seething over abrupt recent moves by South Korea and Nationalist China granting concessions to U.S. companies in disputed waters before negotiations requested by Japan could get underway. But Seoul and Taipei are themselves engaged in a separate dispute of their own over another area where Japan is a relatively late entrant in the competition.

... as a natural gas field. ... estimated possible deposits of 10 billion tons in the area surrounding the Senkakus alone. ... the new findings suggest that the deposits found in some cases prove to be more than 700 feet deep, far beyond the marine drilling levels now being attempted in the Gulf of Mexico. Then this summer Pa-

... suddenly got their leases. ... The Taipei concession zone stretch northward for more than 525 miles at a distance of 100 miles from the mainland. The northern concession, held by Clinton, overlaps with South Korean concessions to Caltex, Wendell Phillips, and Gulf. ... Viewed in their entirety, the areas involved in disputes be-

... form an unbroken, roughly shaped territory. ... both sides of the Senkakus. ... 440 miles. ... the area has an area of 100,000 square miles. ... Despite the concession announcements, Japan has

hoped initially that a political clash with Nationalist China over the Senkakus could be avoided. But statements on the islands by Vice President C. K. Yen on Sept. 25 and Foreign Minister James Shen on Tuesday have put a chill on the hitherto warm relations between Taipei and Tokyo. In addition to Caltex and Wendell Phillips, Gulf and Royal Dutch Shell have received Korean concessions.

Caltex is collaborating with Standard Oil of California in exploring one area where it also has been given an overlapping concession zone by South Korea and Japan. It is expected to play an important behind-the-scenes role in mediating the conflict. Imperial Oil and Standard Oil of California are also seeking to negotiate joint ventures with Japanese oilmen. The current clashes with me-

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DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY  
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REFSI TAIPEI 4377, 4000 NOTAL, 4318, 3530 NOTAL

1. ACTING GRC FONMIN JAMES SHEN SAID 15 SEPT HIS GOVERNMENT EXPECTED JAPANESE AMBASSADOR TO RETURN EARLY IN OCTOBER WITH INSTRUCTIONS FOR FURTHER DISCUSSIONS OF SENKAKU ISSUE WITH GRC (REF B). JAPANESE DGM IN TAIPEI SUBSEQUENTLY TOLD OUR CHARGE THAT AMBASSADOR RETURNED WITHOUT INSTRUCTIONS, EXPLAINING THAT (A) GOJ REGARDED ISSUE OF JAPANESE SOVEREIGNTY OVER SENKAKUS AS NONNEGOTIABLE AND (B) THAT WHILE GOJ IS WILLING TO DISCUSS QUESTIONS OF CONTINENTAL SHELF WITH GRC, GOJ HAS NOT YET BEEN ABLE TO DEFINE ITS POSITION ON SHELF ISSUE (REF C). IT APPEARS THAT JAPANESE ARE TRYING TO RESOLVE INTERNAL DIFFERENCES REGARDING GEOGRAPHIC AND LEGAL RELATIONSHIPS OF SENKAKUS WITH OTHER RYUKYU ISLANDS (REF D).

2. EMBASSY TOKYO IS REQUESTED TO DETERMINE FROM APPROPRIATE GOJ OFFICIALS WHETHER JAPANESE POSTPONEMENT OF DISCUSSIONS WITH GRC HAS ANY OTHER MEANING AND, IF NOT, WHEN THEY ARE LIKELY TO BE PREPARED TO TALK AND ON WHAT ISSUES.

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DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY  
STAFF COMMUNICATIONS DIVISION

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

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3. INFORMATION ABOUT JAPANESE INTENTIONS AND THINKING WILL ASSIST DEPARTMENT TO DETERMINE TENOR OF REPRESENTATIONS THAT US MIGHT USEFULLY MAKE TO GRC AND GOJ AS SUGGESTED IN REF. A.  
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ANNOTES  
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Oct 14  
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Army or US

Date

Army - Mr. Furumata

DRAFT CABLE

TO : Amembassy TOKYO  
Amembassy TAIPEI  
HICOMRY

INFO : CINCPCAC

REF : A) TAIPEI 4377  
B) TOKYO 7767

SUBJECT: Senkaku Islands

CLASSIFIED BY  
EXCLUDED FROM THE GENERAL  
DECLASSIFICATION SCHEDULE

1. Dept concerned over Senkaku problem and considers important that GOJ and GRC reach early and amicable resolution this issue. We are gratified by GRC effort to control incursions but it does not appear that parties are moving to resolve impasse. Accordingly Embassies Taipei and Tokyo requested to approach host govts at appropriately high level to make following representations.
2. For Taipei. Embassy should inform GRC of importance USG attaches to amicable resolution of Senkaku issue by GRC and GOJ. Embassy should inform GRC that USG welcomes recent GRC efforts to prevent fishing and other incursions and that it hopes these efforts will continue; that it would be unfortunate---and not in GRC interests---to challenge USG in carrying out its responsibilities as administering authority; that USG intends to carry out these responsibilities and in this connection, authorities in Okinawa will soon have substantially improved patrolling capability; and that USG is urging GOJ to discuss all aspects of Senkakus problem with GRC.

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3. For Tokyo. Embassy should inform GOJ of substance para 2 above and urge GOJ discussions with GRC to reach amicable resolution on all aspects Senkakus problem. If appropriate Embassy should express hope that GOJ will avoid preconditions which might prevent initiation of discussions with GRC, i.e., refusal to discuss Senkaku Islands sovereignty.

4. Dept believes that some form of agreement providing Chinese access to Senkaku fishing area would remove one source of possible future confrontation with both GOJ and ourselves. (Although apparently under control for the moment, fishing incursions are likely to follow past pattern by recurring next spring). Such agreement might be between <sup>govts</sup> involved or between fisheries associations in Taiwan and Okinawa. In either case, success would depend in large part on Okinawan acceptance. Before pursuing matter further with GOJ and GRC, would appreciate HICOMRY views on prospects for Okinawan acceptance of such arrangements.

5. Dept is also concerned over impending GRI action on applications for offshore exploration concessions which we understand will overlap with concessions already granted by GRC and will extend well beyond Senkaku territorial waters. GRI grant of such concessions will face USG with choice among acquiescence, veto or prolonged delay, the latter of which might be least unpalatable from USG view. USG delay or veto

is also concerned over impending GRI action on  
... CONFIDENTIAL exploration concession. ... which  
... will overlap with concessions already granted by  
would however appear likely to embarrass GOJ. It would  
... seem less embarrassing for GOJ and USG, if GRI action could  
... be delayed until reversion (or until GOJ and GRC work problem  
... out). Request Tokyo and Hicomry views on possibilities for  
... inducing GRI delay.

6. Army concurs.

EA/J:HMcElroy:bd

Richard A. Ericson

EA/GRC-

L/EA- Mr Greenwald

Army- Mr Freimuth

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DECLASSIFICATION SCHEDULE

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OPS IA RA

DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY Mr. Mills/vms/50221  
OFFICE OF THE DEPUTY CHIEF OF STAFF FOR MILITARY OPERATIONS  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20310

MEMORANDUM FOR: DEPUTY UNDER SECRETARY OF THE ARMY (INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS)  
SUBJECT: Territorial Dispute Over Senkakus

1. This is in reference to Mr. Freimuth's memorandum of 14 October, with which he forwarded for comment the inclosed draft message on this subject.
2. We concur with the inclosed message as being a most appropriate diplomatic initiative to overcome the difficult issues bearing on USG's current responsibility for administering the Senkakus as part of the Ryukyuan archipelago.

1 Incl  
STATE DEPT Draft Message

  
CLARKE T. BALDWIN, JR.  
Brigadier General, GS  
Director, International and  
Civil Affairs, ODCSOPS

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Mr. Mills/vms/50221

OPS IA RA

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SUBJECT: Territorial Dispute Over Senkakus

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1 Incl  
STATE DEPT Draft Message

CLARKE T. BALDWIN, JR.  
Brigadier General, GS  
Director, International and  
Civil Affairs, ODCSOPS

700

Army - Mr. Freeman

DRAFT CABLE

TO : Amembassy TOKYO  
 Amembassy TAIPEI  
 HICOMRY

INFO : CINCPAC

REF : A) TAIPEI 4377  
 B) TOKYO 7767

SUBJECT: Senkaku Islands

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1. Dept concerned over Senkaku problem and considers important that GOJ and GRC reach early and amicable resolution this issue. We are gratified by GRC effort to control incursions but it does not appear that parties are moving to resolve impasse. Accordingly Embassies Taipei and Tokyo requested to approach host govts at appropriately high level to make following representations.

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in carrying out its  
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authority; that

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3. For Tokyo, Embassy should inform GOJ of substance para 2 above and urge GOJ discussions with GRC to reach amicable resolution on all aspects Senkakus problem. If appropriate Embassy should express hope that GOJ will avoid preconditions which might prevent initiation of discussions with GRC, i.e., refusal to discuss Senkaku Islands sovereignty.

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is also concerned over expanding GRI action on

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will overlap with con...  
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out). Request Tokyo and Hicomry views on possibilities for  
inducing GRI delay.

6. Army concurs.

EA/J:HMMcElroy:bd

Richard A. Ericson

EA/GRC-

L/EA- Mr Greenwold

Army- Mr Freimuth

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DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY  
STAFF COMMUNICATIONS DIVISION

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TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 5108  
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BY  
**C O N F I D E N T I A L** TOKYO 8347

SUBJ: SENKAKUS

REF: A, STATE 168794; B, TAIPEI 4318; C, TOKYO 7989

SUMMARY: EMBASSY CONSIDERS THAT GOJ MOVING AS FAST AS IT CAN TO DEVISE NEGOTIATING POSITION WITH GRC OVER SENKAKU ISSUE; HOWEVER, COMPLEXITIES IN ISSUE WILL PREVENT GOJ FROM COMPLETING NEGOTIATING POSITION FOR SEVERAL WEEKS. END SUMMARY.

1. CONVERSATIONS WITH VARIOUS GOJ OFFICIALS CONCERNED WITH SENKAKUS PROBLEM DURING LAST FEW DAYS HAVE MADE IT VERY CLEAR THAT COMPLEXITIES OF DEVELOPING OPENING POSITION FOR JAPAN TO PUT FORWARD IS EXCLUSIVE REASONING FOR DELAY IN STARTING TALKS WITH GRC; DURING COURTESY CALL BY POL COUNSELOR OCTOBER 13, FONOFF TREATIES BUREAU DIRECTOR GENERAL IKAWA REMARKED THAT GOJ CANNOT MAKE FORMAL AGREEMENT WITH GRC, LEST THIS STIMULATE CHICOMS TO INJECT THEMSELVES INTO DISPUTE

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AND POSSIBLY TO CLAIM ENTIRE SHELF UNDER NATURAL PROLONGATION THEORY, IKAWA SEEMED INCLINED ACCEPT INEVITABILITY OF EVENTUAL CHICOM INVOLVEMENT IN QUESTION; BUT SAID THAT FONOFF HAS NOTHING TO INDICATE WHAT POSITION PEKING MIGHT TAKE ON SHELF, OR PROBABLE TIMING OF CHICOM MOVE, AT ANY RATE, IKAWA INDICATED PREFERENCE FOR SOME KIND OF INFORMAL UNDERSTANDING WITH GRC ON RIGHTS TO OIL DEPOSITS IN SHELF, BUT SEEMED GENUINELY PERPLEXED AS TO FORM AND MODALITIES; IKAWA REMARKED THAT FONOFF IS COMING UNDER PRESSURE FROM JAPANESE OIL COMPANIES AND, PARTICULARLY, FROM QUOTE OKINAWAN NATIONALISTS UNQUOTE TO TAKE EARLY, FIRM STAND,

2. DURING LUNCHEON CONVERSATION SAME DATE, HEAD OCEAN RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT SECTION, MITI (HANAOKA) EXPRESSED TO EMBOFF VIEW THAT SENKAKUS AND REST OF RYUKYUS DESERVED FULL WEIGHT IN DRAWING ANY BOUNDARY LINE BETWEEN JAPAN AND CHINA ON CONTINENTAL SHELF; DEMARCATION, THEREFORE, SHOULD BE EQUIDISTANT BETWEEN SENKAKUS AND TAIWAN AND BETWEEN RYUKYUS AND CHINESE CONTINENT ALONG ENTIRE LENGTH CHINA COAST; HANAOKA SAID;

5. WHILE WE HAVE NOT RAISED QUESTION WITH FISHERIES AGENCY, WE ASSUME THAT IT ALSO FOLLOWING THIS MATTER WITH SOME INTEREST AND SOME CONCERN FOR REPERCUSSIONS ITS EVOLUTION MIGHT HAVE ON FISHERY COOPERATIVES AGREEMENT WITH CHICOMS, WHICH MUST BE RENEWED JUNE 1972;

4. ON OCTOBER 14 HEAD LEGAL AFFAIRS DIVISION FONOFF (KURIYAMA) CONFIRMED THAT GOJ AMBASSADOR TO GRC RETURNED TAIPEI WITHOUT INSTRUCTIONS SINCE GOJ POSITION THAT TERRITORIAL ISSUE NOT NEGOTIABLE ALREADY CONVEYED TO GRC AND SINCE GOJ EXPERIENCING DIFFICULTIES IN ELABORATING NEGOTIATING INSTRUCTION FOR CONTINENTAL SHELF ISSUE, ACCORDING TO KURIYAMA, PRINCIPAL DIFFICULTY OF CONTINENTAL SHELF ISSUE IS THAT OF DETERMINING PROPER LEGAL POSITION RESPECTING AMOUNT OF INFLUENCE EXERTED BY UNINHABITED ISLAND GROUP, CONSIDERATION COMPLICATED BY FACT THAT JAPAN-KOREA CONTINENTAL SHELF DEMARCATION DISCUSSIONS ALSO WILL INVOLVE UNINHABITED

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ISLAND; KURIYAMA DID NOT INDICATE THAT ANY INTERNAL DIFFICULTIES EXISTED REGARDING GEOGRAPHIC AND LEGAL RELATIONSHIPS OF SENKAKUS WITH OTHER RYUKYU ISLANDS AS SUGGESTED REF (A); GOJ, IN FACT, APPEARS TO REGARD GRC POSITION RE TERRITORIAL ISSUE AS ONE ADOPTED BY GRC ONLY FOR NEGOTIATING PURPOSES ON CONTINENTAL SHELF;

5. RE TIMING, EMBASSY CONSIDERS IT EXTREMELY DOUBTFUL THAT GOJ POSITION COULD BE ESTABLISHED WITHIN NEXT THREE OR FOUR WEEKS;

6. EMBASSY HAS IMPRESSION THAT, WHILE GOJ MAY BE WILLING TO HEAR INFORMALLY GRC REPRESENTATIONS RE TERRITORIAL ISSUE, GOJ WILL BE PREPARED TO RESPOND SUBSTANTIALLY ONLY TO ISSUE OF CONTINENTAL SHELF;

7. KURIYAMA MENTIONED THAT TREATIES BUREAU CONSIDERING POSSIBILITY DEFUSING CHINESE FISHERMEN PROBLEM ALONG IDEA FLOATED BY ITO (REF B) AND DESPITE OBSTACLES INDICATED BY TOGO (REF C), EMBOFF POINTED OUT TO KURIYAMA THAT IN ANY ACCOMMODATION WITH FISHERMEN PRIOR TO REVERSION GRI (ERGO USG) WOULD BE INVOLVED.

8. RE KOREAN DEMARCATION, KURIYAMA MENTIONED THAT KOREANS HAVE RESPONDED FAVORABLY TO GOJ REQUEST THAT BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS BE STARTED SOON; PRELIMINARY DISCUSSIONS NOW REPORTEDLY UNDER WAY, AND SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES WILL BEGIN TO BE JOINED IN NOVEMBER; IKAWA TOLD POL COUNSELOR ( PARA 1, SUPRA) THAT GOJ DOES NOT EXPECT SERIOUS PROBLEMS WITH THESE NEGOTIATIONS AND DOES NOT BELIEVE FORMAL GOJ-ROK AGREEMENT DEMARCATING SHELF BETWEEN JAPAN AND KOREA WOULD PROVOKE CHICOM REACTION,

SNEIDER

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TO RUEHTP/AMEMBASSY TAIPEI 5355

INFO RUEIKO/AMEMBASSY TOKYO 0706

RUHHQA/CINCPAC

RUAOADA/HICOMRY

BT

**CONFIDENTIAL**

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE STATE 172760

SUBJECT: SENKAKUS

REFS: (A) TAIPEI 4208

(B) TAIPEI 4138, AUGUST 17, 1968

(C) TAIPEI 4024, AUGUST 8, 1968

1. PARA 9 REF (A) SUGGESTED THAT NEGOTIATING RECORD OF 1954 MUTUAL DEFENSE TREATY WITH GRC MIGHT CONTAIN CHINESE ACCEPTANCE OF US ADMINISTRATION IN MORE SPECIFIC TERMS THAT IN ARTICLE 6 OF TREATY, WHAT MATERIALS WE HAVE BEEN ABLE TO CONSULT DO NOT RPT NOT ELUCIDATE THE QUESTION; THE ONLY RELEVANT STATEMENT IS IN DULLES TESTIMONY BEFORE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE IN WHICH HE STATES THAT "ISLAND TERRITORIES OF US" INCLUDES RYUKYUS, SUCH A STATEMENT IS SOME EVIDENCE OF PROPER INTERPRETATION OF TREATY, BUT UNFORTUNATELY IS NOT RPT NOT OUT OF MOUTH OF CHINESE, NOR MADE IN THEIR PRESENCE.

2. REFS (B) AND (C) PROVIDE EVIDENCE OF PREVIOUS CHINESE DA IN 551651

PAGE 1

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DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY  
STAFF COMMUNICATIONS DIVISION

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ACQUIESCENCE IN OUR ADMINISTRATION OF SENKAKUS AND MAY BE HELPFUL IN FUTURE DISCUSSIONS, PERHAPS YOU MAY HAVE SOMETHING OF A SIMILAR NATURE IN WRITING FROM THE CHINESE,

3. A FURTHER, ALBEIT NOT RPT NOT VERY PERSUASIVE; ARGUMENT BASED ON THE MUTUAL DEFENSE TREATY IS AVAILABLE, IT MAY BE POSSIBLE TO CITE THE FACT THAT THERE IS NO RPT NO US DEFENSE COMMITMENT IN THE EVENT OF AN ATTACK ON THE SENKAKUS AS SOME EVIDENCE THAT THEY WERE NOT RPT NOT CONSIDERED CHINESE TERRITORY, OF COURSE; THE SAME MAY BE SAID OF THE OFFSHORES, OVER WHICH WE DO RECOGNIZE CHINESE SOVEREIGNTY, SO THAT THIS ARGUMENT IS WEAK, CASE OF SENKAKUS MAY BE DISTINGUISHED FROM THAT OF OFFSHORSS FOR THESE PURPOSES SINCE SENKAKUS LIE EAST OF FORMOSA AND RELATIVELY MUCH FURTHER AWAY FROM MAINLAND THAN OFFSHORES, NOR WERE SENKAKUS NECESSARILY TOO INSIGNIFICANT TO BE INCLUDED AS CHINESE TERRITORY SINCE SOME OF PESCADORES, PROTECTED BY TREATY, ARE OF SIZE COMPARABLE TO SENKAKUS, IRWIN

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CLASSIFIED BY \_\_\_\_\_  
EXCLUDED FROM THE GENERAL  
DECLASSIFICATION SCHEDULE

NOTE: A IS DA IN 537867 (70) STATE DEPT (ARMY ACSI)  
REFS B AND C NOT IDENTIFIED

ACTION: STATE DEPT (ARMY ACSI)  
DISTR : OCOFSA, OSA, DCSOPS, ACSFOR, CINFO, TJAG  
DA IN 551651

PAGE 2

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DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY  
STAFF COMMUNICATIONS DIVISION

VZCZCSCD935 QS#C567 DAIN 092271 2990953  
RQTCZYUW RUEAAIA0687 2990953-CCCC--RUEADWD.  
DE RUEIKO 8684D 2990925  
ZNY CCCCC ZZH  
260902Z OCT 70

FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 5287  
INFO RUEHTP/AMEMBASSY TAIPEI 2051  
RUMJSL/AMEMBASSY SEOUL 2472  
RUADADA/HICOMRY  
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DECLASSIFICATION SCHEDULE

RG59

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ TOKYO 8684  
DOD FOR ISA; DA FOR IDUSA

SUBJ: SENKAKUS AND CONTINENTAL SHELF

1. ON OCTOBER 26, 1970 FONOFF LEGAL AFFAIRS DIVISION  
HDAD KURIYAMA TOLD EMBOFF THAT GOJ AMBASSADOR IN  
TAIPEI CALLED ON GRC DEPT FOREIGN MINISTER UNDER  
INSTRUCTIONS SENT FROM TOKYO CONCERNING SENKAKUS AND  
CONTINENTAL SHELF. AMBASSADOR REPORTED  
THAT HE TOLD GRC THAT GOJ HOPED TO SOLVE CONTINENTAL  
SHELF ISSUE BY QUIET BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS. HE  
REFERRED TO EXTENSIVE GRC EXPLORATION ZONES ANNOUNCED  
LAST WEEK, IN WHICH TIP OF NORTHERNMOST ZONE IS  
LOCATED OFF NORTHERN KYUSHU, INDICATED THAT THE  
GOJ DID NOT FIND SUCH EXTENSIVE CLAIMS ACCEPTABLE, AND  
REQUESTED GRC FLEXIBILITY IN DELIMITATION SUCH ZONES  
TO ALLOW FOR POSSIBLE COMPROMISE. GOJ AMBASSADOR  
ALSO REPORTED TO HAVE SAID THAT GOJ IS NOT PREPARED  
TO DISCUSS GRC CLAIMS TO SENKAKUS SINCE GOJ  
ASSERTS THAT THERE NO QUESTION REGARDING SENKAKUS  
OWNERSHIP. AMBASSADOR REPRESENTED THAT SENKAKUS  
WERE NOT COVERED UNDER JAPANESE PEACE TREATY ARTICLE 2,  
BUT WERE COVERED UNDER ARTICLE 3, GIVING USG PRESENT  
ADMINISTRATIVE RIGHTS.

2. GRC DEPT FOREIGN MINISTER REPORTEDLY REPLIED  
THAT WHILE HE WAS NOT THEN IN POSITION TO REJECT

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DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY  
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OUTRIGHT GOJ CONTINENTAL SHELF CLAIM AND WOULD HAVE TO CHECK WITH HIS MINISTER, THE CONTINENTAL SHELF IN QUESTION CLEARLY IS PROLONGATION CHINESE MAINLAND AND THAT DEEP OCEAN TRENCH BETWEEN SHELF AND RYUKYU ISLANDS CLEARLY ESTABLISHES THAT JAPAN WOULD HAVE NO CLAIM TO ANY PART OF SHELF. DEPUTY MINISTER ALSO ARGUED THAT SENKAKUS WERE INCLUDED UNDER ARTICLE 2 SINCE SENKAKUS ACQUIRED BY JAPANESE AS RESULT SINO-JAPAN WAR.

3. GOJ AMBASSADOR WAS NOT INSTRUCTED TO TABLE ANY SPECIFIC FORMULAS FOR APPORTIONING CONTINENTAL SHELF.

4. GOJ APPARENTLY REGARDS GRC TENTATIVE RESPONSE TO GOJ DEMARCHE AS UNDULY RIGID AND AS AUGURING BADLY FOR EARLY SUBSTANTIVE TALKS ON CENTRAL ISSUES. KURIYAMA SAID HE COULD NOT PREDICT NEXT STEPS AND INDICATED THAT GRC HAS GIVEN GOJ NO INDICATIONS THAT GRC ATTEMPTING DEFUSE POSSIBILITY CONFRONTATIONS IN SENKAKUS. IN FACT, KURIYAMA SAID THAT GOJ

EMBASSY TAIPEI REPORTEDLY HAS DISCOVERED THAT GULF EXPLORATION CONCESSION INCLUDES SENKAKUS LAND AREAS AND AREAS WITHIN TERRITORIAL WATERS OF SENKAKUS.

5. RESPECTING KUREAN CONTINENTAL SHELF ISSUE, KURIYAMA SAID THAT HE AND DEPUTY DIRECTOR GENERAL EAST ASIA BUREAU KANAZAWA LEAVING FOR SEDUL NOVEMBER 3 TO SUPPORT GOJ EMBASSY IN INITIAL DISCUSSIONS ROK.

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ACTION: STATE DEPT (ARMY DCSOPS)  
DISTR: OSA, DCSLOG, ACSI, CINFO, ACSC-E, TJAG  
DA IN 092271

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DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY  
STAFF COMMUNICATIONS DIVISION

VZCZCSCD341 OS#E691 DAIN 112344 3162335  
RATCZYUW RUEKJCS9596 3162329-CCCC--RUEADWD.  
ZNY CCCCC  
R 122329Z NOV 70  
FM JCS  
INFO RUEADWD/DA  
R 122124Z NOV 70  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO RUEIKO/AMEMBASSY TOKYO 1007  
RUADADA/HICOMRY  
INFO RUHHHQA/CINCPAC  
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DECLASSIFICATION SCHEDULE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 185690  
SUBJ: SENKAKUS ISLANDS

1. ALTHOUGH INITIATION GOJ-GRC TALKS HELPFUL, DEPT CONCERNED ABOUT LONGER RANGE PROSPECTS FOR RESOLVING SENKAKU PROBLEMS.
2. DEPT SHARES BELIEF THAT SOME KIND OF INFORMAL ARRANGEMENT TO FACILITATE CHINESE ACCESS TO SENKAKU FISHING AREA WOULD REMOVE ONE SOURCE OF POSSIBLE FUTURE CONFRONTATION (ALTHOUGH APPARENTLY UNDER CONTROL FOR THE MOMENT, FISHING INCURSIONS ARE LIKELY TO FOLLOW PAST PATTERN BY RECURRING NEXT SPRING). SUCH ARRANGEMENT MIGHT BE WORKED OUT BETWEEN GOVTS INVOLVED OR BETWEEN FISHERIES ASSOCIATIONS IN TAIWAN AND OKINAWA. IN EITHER CASE, SUCCESS WOULD DEPEND IN LARGE PART ON OKINAWAN ACCEPTANCE. WOULD APPRECIATE HICOMRY VIEWS ON PROSPECTS FOR OKINAWAN ACCEPTANCE OF SUCH ARRANGEMENTS.
3. DEPT IS ALSO CONCERNED OVER IMPENDING GRI ACTION ON APPLICATIONS FOR OFFSHORE EXPLORATION CONCESSIONS WHICH WE UNDERSTAND WILL OVERLAP WITH CONCESSIONS ALREADY GRANTED BY GRC AND WILL EXTEND WELL BEYOND SENKAKU TERRITORIAL WATERS. GRI GRANT OF SUCH CONCESSIONS WILL FACE USG WITH CHOICE AMONG ACQUIESCENCE, VETO OR PROLONGED DELAY, THE LATTER OF WHICH MIGHT BE LEAST UNPALATABLE FROM USG VIEW. USG DELAY OR VETO WOULD HOWEVER APPEAR LIKELY TO EMBARRASS GOJ AND USG APPROVAL OR ACQUIESCENCE LIKELY TO EMBARRASS GRC. IT WOULD SEEM PREFERABLE IF GRI ACTION COULD BE DELAYED UNTIL REVERSION (OR UNTIL GOJ AND GRC WORK PROBLEM OUT). REQUEST TOKYO AND HICOMRY VIEWS ON POSSIBILITIES FOR INDUCING GRI DELAY, PARTICULARLY ON POSSIBILITY ENLISTING GOJ SUPPORT FOR INDUCING SUCH DELAY.
4. ARMY CONCURS.

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STAFF COMMUNICATIONS DIVISION

5. DEPT APPRECIATES EXCELLENT REPORTING THIS SUBJECT. IRWIN  
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ACTION: DCSOPS  
DISTR : OSA, DCSLOG, ACSI, TJAG  
DA IN 112344

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RQTCZYUW RUEAAIA0127 3180622-CCCC--RUEADWD.  
DE RUEIKD 9219D 3180550  
ZNY CCCCC ZZH

R 140500Z NOV 70  
FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 5566  
INFO RUEKJCS/DOD  
RUEADWD/DA  
RUAQADA/HICOMRY  
RUHHQA/CINCPAC  
RUMJSL/AMEMBASSY SEOUL 2491  
RUEHTP/AMEMBASSY TAIPEI 2070  
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DECLASSIFICATION SCHEDULE

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Return to [initials]  
(Senkakus)

RG 59

C O N F I D E N T I A L TOKYO 9219  
SUBJECT: SENKAKUS  
REF: (A) STATE 185690; (B) SEOUL 5091; (C) TAIPEI 4696; (D)  
TOKYO 8684  
DOD FOR ISA; DA FOR DUSA

1. ON NOVEMBER 13, 1970 EMBOFF MET WITH CHIEF LEGAL AFFAIRS DIVISION (KURIYAMA) AND DEPUTY HEAD CHINA DIVISION (WATANABE) TO DISCUSS CONTINENTAL SHELF DEVELOPMENTS.
2. DURING CONVERSATIONS FONOFF OFFICIALS CONFIRMED REPORTS CONTAINED REFS (B) AND (C). GRC STILL HAS NOT REACTED TO GOJ DEMARCHE REPORTED REF (C) DESPITE INDICATION FROM GRC DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER, REPORTED REF (D), THAT HE WOULD CHECK WITH HIS MINISTER AND CONFIRM GRC REJECTION OF GOJ POSITION. OFFICIALS SAW LITTLE INDICATION THAT SHELF AND TERRITORIAL ISSUES BETWEEN GOJ AND GRC WOULD BE RESOLVED BY PURSUING EXISTING NEGOTIATING BASE.
3. IN CONTRAST, KURIYAMA REPORTED THAT CONVERSATIONS WITH KOREANS HAD RESULTED IN FRUITFUL DISCUSSIONS, AND FURTHER MEETING HAS BEEN PROPOSED FOR EARLY DECEMBER. KURIYAMA, HOWEVER, CRITICIZED KOREAN FOREIGN OFFICE FOR ALLOWING ITSELF TO HAVE BEEN BOXED IN BY PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENTS OF ROK NEGOTIATING POSITION, WHICH MAKES IT EXTREMELY DIFFICULT FOR ROK FOREIGN OFFICE TO DEMONSTRATE ANY FLEXIBILITY, INCLUDING EVEN ACKNOWLEDGEMENT THAT NEGOTIATIONS WITH GOJ ARE IN PROGRESS. ROK INSISTED ON CALLING DISCUSSIONS NOV 4 AND 5 AS MERELY EXC T

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DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY  
STAFF COMMUNICATIONS DIVISION

GE OF GEWS, HQECXMTHT DESS, KURIYAMA  
PREDICTED THAT ROK AND GOJ SOON WOULD BE ABLE TO AGREE ON MOST  
IMPORTANT AREAS AND COULD ISOLATE REMAINING FEW AND MINOR  
AREAS FOR RESOLUTION THROUGH FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS. ANTICIPATED  
EARLY AGREEMENT ON UNDISPUTED AREAS WOULD ALLOW EXPLOITATION  
TO PROCEED BY CONCESSIONAIRES OF EACH SIDE.  
4. RE LIAISON COMMITTEE REPORTED PARA (6) REF (C) AND SUBJECT  
LOCAL NEWSPAPER ARTICLES DATED NOV 12 FROM SEOUL,  
OFFICIALS SAID THEY EXTREMELY DUBIOUS THAT COMMITTEE, EVEN  
THOUGH FORMED OF HIGHLY INFLUENTIAL PERSONS, COULD MAKE ANY  
SUBSTANTIAL CONTRIBUTION TO EASING SHELF DELIMITATION PROBLEM.  
KURIYAMA SAID THAT COOPERATIVE EXPLOITATION OF RESOURCES  
CONSIDERED TO BE WITHIN JAPANESE JURISDICTION WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE  
WITHOUT LEGISLATIVE ACTION, AND THAT SUCH ACTION WAS EXTREMELY  
IMPROBABLE. NEITHEJ

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MMA NOR WATWHABE PROVIDED ANY  
EVIDENCE THAT JAPANESE INITIATIVE REPORTED IN AP ARTICLE  
PARA (6) REF (C) HAD ANY OFFICIAL GOJ BACKING.  
5. IN DISCUSSION OF GOJ POSITION ON SHELF BETWEEN JAPAN  
AND KOREA, KURIYAMA, SPEAKING PERSONALLY, OPINED THAT IT WOULD  
BE EXTREMELY DIFFICULT FOR GOJ TO CONTINUE TO MAINTAIN POSITION  
THAT NORTH END OF OKINAWA TROUGH SHOULD BE IGNORED IN DELIMITING  
CONTINENTAL SHELF.  
6. IN LIGHT OFFICIALS' VIEW THAT GRC UNLIKELY TO RESPOND IN ANY  
HELPFUL WAY TO EARLIER GOJ DEMARCHE, EMBOFF TOUCHED LIGHTLY  
PORTION OF IDR REFLECTED IN PARAS (2) AND (3) OF REF (A).  
BOTH WATANABE AND KURIYAMA REACTED GUARDEDLY BUT FAVORABLY  
TO IDEA THAT A NECESSARY CONDITION TO PROGRESS OF NEGOTIATIONS  
WOULD BE MODUS VIVENDI WHICH WOULD PREVENT OCCURRENCE OF ANY  
ADDITIONAL INCIDENTS THAT MIGHT INCREASE PUBLIC PRESSURES ON  
EITHER SIDE. THEY AGREED ALSO THAT MODUS VIVENDI FOR FISHER-  
MEN AND BIRD EGG COLLECTORS WOULD BE EXTREMELY IMPORTANT PART  
OF SUCH CONDITIONS, BUT THEY POINTED OUT THAT IDEA OF MODUS  
VIVENDI FOR FISHERMEN IS MUCH EASIER FOR JAPANESE TO ACCEPT  
THAN SIMILAR ARRANGEMENT FOR INTRUDERS WHO ACTUALLY LAND ON  
ISLANDS. IN RESPECT OF POSSIBLE ARRANGEMENT REGARDING CON-  
CESSION APPLICATIONS TO THE GRI, OFFICIALS SAID THAT GOJ  
PROBABLY WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO REMAIN SILENT DURING ANY  
APPLICATION PROCESSING DELAY IF GRC CONCESSIONAIRES WERE  
BUILY WORKING CONCESSIONS ON SHELF CLOSE TO RYUKYUS. THEY

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SAID, THEREFORE, THAT SUCH ARRANGEMENT WOULD BE WORKABLE ONLY IF GRC CONCESSIONAIRES STAYED AWAY FROM AREAS IN THEIR CONCESSIONS CLOSE TO THE RYUKYUS. WATANABE ALSO POINTED OUT ONE OF THE ISSUES PRECIPITATING JAPANESE PUBLIC INTERESTS IN PAST IN SENKAKUS WAS THAT OF DANGER TO SURVIVAL OF BIRDS NESTING ON ISLANDS POSED BY CHINESE EGG HUNTERS, WHO PRESUMABLY WOULD BE ALLOWED TO CONTINUE ACCORDING TO LIKELY MODUS VIVENDI FORMULA.

7. OFFICIALS AGREED TO CONDUCT DISCREET SOUNDINGS IN GOJ TO TEST RECEPTIVITY TO IDEA OF MODUS VIVENDI. SINCE OFFICIALS INDICATED THAT THEY WERE UNCERTAIN THAT ANY DELAY IN PROCESSING CONCESSION APPLICATIONS WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO GOJ, EMBOFF DID NOT REQUEST THEM TO CONSIDER ALSO WHETHER GOJ WOULD BE WILLING TO ASSIST IN INDUCING SUCH DELAY ON PART OF GRI. KURIYAMA PROMISED REACTIONS OF GOJ WITHIN WEEK. IF REACTION IS FAVORABLE, EMBOFF WILL REQUEST GOJ CONSIDERATION OF SECOND STEP.

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NOTE: A IS DA IN 112344 (70) DCSOPS  
B IS NOT IDENTIFIED  
C IS DA IN 556908 (70) STATE DEPT (ARMY DCSOPS)  
D IS DA IN 092271 (70) STATE DEPT (ARMY DCSOPS)  
ACTION: DCSOPS  
DISTR: OSA, DCSLOG, ACST, TJAG  
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Senkakus

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STAFF COMMUNICATIONS DIVISION

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RTTCZYUW RUADADA1771 3240300-CCCC--RUEADWD.  
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R 200105Z NOV 70  
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TO RUEADWD/DA  
INFO RUEHC/SECSTATE  
RUEIKU/AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
RUEHTP/AMEMBASSY TAIPEI  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L  
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DA FOR DCSOPS IA RA. STATE FOR ERICSON.  
SUBJECT: SENKAKUS

- A. SECSTATE 185690, 12 NOV 70 (NOTAL)
- B. AMEMBTKYD 9219, 14 NOV 70 (NOTAL)
- 1. (C) FOLLOWING ARE REQUESTED HICOMRY VIEWS ON POSSIBLE SENKAKU INTERIM ARRANGEMENTS.
- C. (C)A. PARA 2; REF B SUGGESTS POSSIBLE AGREEMENT BETWEEN GRI/GRC OR GRI FISHING ASSN/GRC FISHING ASSN TO ALLOW GRC FISHERMEN TO FISH IN SENKAKU WATERS. GOVT-FU-GOVT AGREEMENT WOULD PRESENT DIFFICULTIES IN THAT WE HAVE HELD AND CONTINUE TO HOLD THE POSITION THAT THE USG IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE FOREIGN RELATIONS OF OKINAWA. AGREEMENT ON FISHING WITH AUSTRALIA WAS WORKED OUT IN COOPERATION WITH GOJ; GRI ITSELF HAS NOT ENGAGED IN DIRECT DIPLOMATIC NEGOTIATIONS WITH A THIRD COUNTRY AND IS NOT STAFFED TO UNDERTAKE SUCH NEGOTIATIONS. FISHING IN SENKAKU AREA IS CONTROLLED BY GRI, AND OKINAWAN FISHERMEN WISHING TO FISH THERE ARE REQUIRED TO OBTAIN ADVANCE APPROVAL FROM GRI. UNLIKE MANY FISHING AREAS AROUND THE LARGER ISLANDS IN THE RYUKYUS, SENKAKU AREA HAS NOT RPT NOT BEEN GRANTED TO ONE PARTICULAR FISHING ASSOCIATION. THUS THERE IS NO LOCAL FISHING ASSOCIATION PARTICULARLY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE AREA.
- B. OKINAWAN FISHING AROUND SENKAKUS IS SPORADIC AND IT IS POSSIBLE THAT MORE GRC FISHING BOATS VISIT AREA IN COURSE OF A YEAR THAN DO OKINAWAN BOATS. FISHING IN AREA IS OF THREE MAIN TYPES; BOTTOM FISHING, HAND LINE FISHING FOR SKIPJACK, AND METTING, WHERE THE NET IS PULLED UP ONTO THE SHORE. LOCAL SOURCES STATE BEST FISHING IS FOUND WITHIN THREE-MILE TERRITORIAL LIMIT. AS NOTED PARA 6, REF B,

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*Fishing right & sovereignty deal would be possible*

*Fishing = Sovereignty  
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IT WOULD BE MOST DIFFICULT TO SEPARATE FISHING FROM PENETRATION OF TERRITORIAL WATERS AND LANDING.  
C. A FURTHER DIFFICULTY IN PROPOSING SOME TYPE OF FORMAL MODUS VIVENDI IS THAT FORMULAE THUS FAR PRESENTED CONTAIN NOTHING FOR OKINAWA. GRI NOW CLAIMS FULL RIGHT TO THE SENKAKUS AND THEIR ADJACENT TERRITORIAL WATERS. BELIEVE THAT IF AGREEMENT ON FISHING IN THESE WATERS WERE TO BE PROPOSED GRI WOULD AT A MINIMUM, PARTICULARLY CONSIDERING ITS INTEREST IN AREA'S OIL POTENTIAL (SEE BELOW), REQUIRE RECOGNITION BY GRC OF OKINAWA'S CLAIM TO SENKAKUS. APPEARS DOUBTFUL, HOWEVER, THAT GRC WOULD BE WILLING TO ACCORD SOVEREIGNTY TO GRI IN RETURN FOR FISHING RIGHTS.  
D. WITH COMMISSIONING OF LARGER PATROL VESSEL "OKINAWA," GRI POLICE PLAN TO ASSIGN SMALLER "CHITOSE" TO PATROL ISHIGAKI AREA. "CHITOSE" NOW IN JAPAN FOR ANNUAL REFIT, IS SCHEDULED TO ARRIVE ISHIGAKI IN MID-DECEMBER AND BEGIN PATROLS OF SENKAKUS ON MONTHLY OR MORE FREQUENT BASIS. THESE PATROLS WILL BE SUPPLEMENTED BY LONG-RANGE PATROLS OF "OKINAWA" TO SENKAKU AREA. WE HAVE ENCOURAGED AND SUPPORTED GRI IN ITS EXERCISE OF SOVEREIGNTY OVER SENKAKUS AS HAS GOJ. BELIEVE POLITICAL FEED-BACK WOULD BE STRONG WERE WE TO ATTEMPT INFLUENCE GRI TO CUT BACK ON PLANNED PATROL ACTIVITY.  
3. (C) PROBLEM OF OFFSHORE EXPLORATION CONCESSIONS, PARA 3, REF B ALSO HAS SPECIAL OKINAWAN OVERTONES. IN ADDITION TO GOJ CONCERN ABOUT ACTIVE EXPLORATION IN GRC CONCESSIONS (PARA 6, REF A), OKINAWAN OFFICIALS ARE CONCERNED OVER POSSIBLE LOSS TO OKINAWA OF BENEFITS OF ANY OIL DISCOVERIES IF DECISION ON MAINING CONCESSIONS DELAYED UNTIL POST-REVERSION PERIOD. THEY RECOGNIZE THAT OFF-SHORE AREAS ARE STATE PROPERTY UNDER GOJ LAW AND BENEFITS OF POST-REVERSION CONCESSIONS WOULD PROBABLY FLOW TO GOJ, NOT OKINAWA PREFECTURE. THE THREE CURRENT CONCESSION APPLICANTS ARE OKINAWAN, SO APPROVAL OF ONE OF THESE APPLICATIONS WOULD ENHANCE POSSIBILITIES OF OKINAWAN BENEFITS POST-REVERSION. GRI HAS RECENTLY BEEFED-UP STAFF WORKING ON PETITIONS AND HOPES TO HAVE COMPLETED SCREENING OF APPLICATIONS BY END OF THIS YEAR. APPROVAL OF SUCCESSFUL APPLICATION OR APPLICATIONS COULD OCCUR BY SPRING OF 1971. GIVEN THE OKINAWAN PAROCHIAL CONCERNS ON THIS MATTER, IT IS UNLIKELY THAT GRI WOULD BE RECEPTIVE TO U.S. EFFORTS TO DELAY GRANTING OF

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*Parochial concerns*

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OFF-SHORE  
CONCESSIONS, EVEN IF THIS POSITION WERE SUPPORTED BY GNP.  
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STAFF COMMUNICATIONS DIVISION

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VZCZCSCD225 QS#F940 160492 3491022  
RATCZYUW RUEKJCS8106 3491022-CCCC--RUEADWD.  
ZNY CCCCC  
R 151022Z DEC 70  
FM JCS  
INFO RUEADWD/DA  
R 150745Z DEC 70  
FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

**SPECIAL HANDLING REQUIRED  
NOT RELEASABLE TO FOREIGN  
NATIONALS**

Z  
TO RUEHD/SECSTATE WASHDC 6033  
INFO RUMJDH/AMCONSUL HONG KONG 2141  
RUMJSL/AMEMBASSY SEOUL 2536  
RUEHTP/AMEMBASSY TAIPEI 2113  
RUADADA/HICOMRY  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L TOKYO 10108  
NOFORN

SUBJ: TAIWAN-KOREA-JAPAN JOINT VENTURE TO DEVELOP RESOURCES  
OF CONTINENTAL SHELF  
REF: A) STATE 199272; B) TOKYO 9802  
SUMMARY. PROponents here of three-nation ocean development,  
led by Kishi confidant Kazuo Yatsugi, propose by-pass  
legal questions and claim tentative assent form  
GRC and ROK leaders. Fonoff, on other hand, has reservations,  
some legal but also having to do with effect on  
peking. Yatsugi told us some form of U.S. participation  
in oil exploration probably desirable but we hear he  
implied otherwise to Koreans. Next meeting Tokyo December 21.  
END SUMMARY.

1. PROponents of three nation ocean development scheme and  
Fonoff have somewhat opposed views on desirability and  
practicability of idea, but it would seem backers, led by  
Kazuo Yatsugi (elderly Kishi confidant and apparent author  
of proposal) have interest and perhaps even tentative  
approval of top political and business leaders here to  
see how far they can go with idea.
2. Yatsugi, one of founding fathers of Japan-Korea and  
Japan-GRC cooperation committees, gave informal rundown H  
DCM. Proposals would qte put on shelf unqte boundary disputes  
which were qte probably insoluble unqte because of complexity

*Put on shelf  
Boundary disputes*

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AND PRESENCE OF PEKING AS UNINVITED ACTOR AND PROVIDE FOR JOINT THREE NATION DEVELOPMENT OF UNDERSEA RESOURCES, I.E., OIL. YATSUGI SAID GRC HAD BEEN FAIRLY INTERESTED FROM BEGINNING BUT THAT IT HAD BEEN HARDER TO CONVINCE ROK BECAUSE OF ACTIVITIES U.S. OILMAN PHILLIPS (PROTECT INFORMATION). HOWEVER, WHEN YATSUGI WENT TO SEOUL FOR NOVEMBER 12 MEETING HE RECEIVED DECORATION FROM PRESIDENT PARK FOR SERVICES TO KOREAN-JAPAN RELATIONS. ACCORDING TO YATSUGI, AT THAT TIME PARK, JAPANESE AMBASSADOR, KOREAN AMBASSADOR TO TOKYO AND YATSUGI DISCUSSED PROPOSAL AND PARK GAVE HIS APPROVAL.

3. PROJECT, ACCORDING TO YATSUGI, STILL IN EXPLORATORY STAGE WITH NEXT MEETING SET FOR TOKYO DECEMBER 21. TENTATIVE IDEA IS FOR PRIVATE JOINT STOCK COMPANY (PROBABLY WITH INFORMAL GOVERNMENT BACKING AS NECESSARY). ARRANGEMENT MIGHT HAVE TO BE RATIFIED IN SOME FORM BY GOVERNMENTS CONCERNED ALTHOUGH IT WOULD BE UNWISE, FOR INSTANCE, TO HAVE PROJECT REQUIRE JAPANESE DIET APPROVAL. YATSUGI VOLUNTEERED THERE WAS AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE ON INVOLVEMENT AMERICAN FIRMS BUT NO CONSENSUS HAD EMERGED RE WHETHER AMERICAN FIRM'S ASSISTANCE WOULD BE SOUGHT ONLY FOR TECHNOLOGY OR FOR ACTUAL CAPITAL PARTICIPATION.

4. YATSUGI DID NOT DESGUISE UNDERLYING PROLITICAL PURPOSE OF FINDING PRACTICAL, PUBLICLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION TO PROBLEM THAT WOULD FURTHER LOCK JAPAN IN WITH TAIPEI AND KOREA AND FORESTALL TO EXTENT POSSIBLE PEKING'S EFFORTS TO MAKE POLITICAL HAY. HE SPOKE DISDAINFULLY OF QTE BUREAUCRATS UNQUOTE IN FOREIGN MINISTRY AND MITI WHO ACCORDING TO YATSUGI, WISHED TAKE CASE TO ICJ. YATSUGI HAD DISCUSSED PLANS WITH SATO AND FOREIGN OFFICE VICE-MINISTER MORI, AND HAVING RECEIVED NO DISCOURAGEMENT, HAD MOVED AHEAD. JAPANESE SIDE AT NEXT MEETING WOULD INCLUDE NEW JAPAN STEEL'S NAGANO AND KEIDANREN'S HORIKOSHI, AND WELL CONNECTED ECONOMIC LEADERS FROM GRC AND ROK WOULD COME.

5. IN CONTRAST, FONOFF SEEMS TO BE TAKING SOMEWHAT DIM VIEW OF YATSUGI'S EFFORTS. HEAD, C HINA DIVISION (HASHIMOTO)

TOLD EMBOFF FONOFF HAD BEEN KEPT GENERALLY INFORMED OF YATSUGI'S PLANS BUT THAT HE WAS ACTING ON PURELY PRIVATE BASIS WITHOUT APPROVAL AND ENCOURAGEMENT OF GOJ. HASHIMOTO SAID, ALMOST GRUDGINGLY, THAT YATSUGI DID HAVE CLOSE CONTACTS WITH THE GIMO AND PRESIDENT PARK. HASHIMOTO SAID

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FONOFF COULD NOT GIVE APPROVAL FOR THIS TYPE OF SOLUTION ALTHOUGH YATSUGI DID HAVE POLITICAL INFLUENCE.  
6. HEAD, NORTHEAST ASIA DIVISION (DATE) STARTED OFF BY SAYING HE DIDN'T TAKE PROPOSAL VERY SERIOUSLY BUT WOUND UP ADMITTING THERE MIGHT BE SOMETHING TO IT. DATE SAID YATSUGI WAS EXTREMELY CRAFTY MAN WHO ACTED FOR KISHI. IT IS CLEAR ROK IS INTERESTED IN PROPOSAL AND REPORETDLY KOREAN AMBASSADOR SUPPORTS IT. DATE SAID YATSUGI HAD EXPLAINED IDEA TO KOREANS AS QTE ASIA FOR ASIANS UNQTE WAY OF FREEZING OUT U.S. OIL COMPANIES. DATE CONCLUDED PROPOSAL MIGHT WORK WITH KOREANS BUT THAT VIS A VIS TIE UP WITH GRC, POSITION OF PEKING MIGHT COMPLICATE MATTER GREATLY FOR JAPANESE.

7. FONOFF LAWYERS PROFESS MYSTIFICATION AS TO HOW YATSUGI GROUP CAN QTE PUT ON SHELF UNQTE BOUNDARY DISPUTES. KURIYAMA ( LEGAL AFFAIRS DIVISION CHIEF) POINTS OUT THAT, ACCORDING GOJ MINING LAW, NO GROUP FORMED OF SUBSTANTIAL FOREIGN INTERESTS CAN EXPLOIT RESOURCES CLAIMED BY JAPAN, ACCORDINGLY, CONTINENTAL SHELF WOULD HAVE TO BE DELIMITED IN SOME AUTHORITATIVE FASHION BEFORE TRI-NATIONAL GROUP WOULD BE ALLOWED BY GOJ TO GEGIN OPERATIONS ANYWHERE CLOSE TO JAPAN. ONLY ALTERNATIVE DELIMITATION, ACCORDING KURIYAMA, WOULD BE SPECIAL DIET CONSIDERATION AND APPROVAL OF WHOLE YATSUGI OPERATION, TANTAMOUNT TO SPECIAL LEGISLATION, WHICH, HOWEVER, KURIYAMA BY NO MEANS RULED OUT.

8. COMMENT: BOTH YATSUGI'S PROPOSAL AND FONOFF RESERVATIONS ARE FUNDAMENTALLY POLITICAL IN NATURE - THEY HAVE TO DO WITH SOMEWHAT DIFFERENT APPROACHES TO CHINA PROBLEM. YATSUGI AND KISHI HOPE TO FURTHER LOCK JAPANESE INTO RELATIONSHIP WITH TAIPEI BUT FONOFF, WHICH ALSO FAVORS RELATIONSHIP WITH TAIPEI, FEARS SCHEME COULD LEAD TO CONFRONTATION WITH PEKING AND/OR BLOCK EVENTUAL ACCOMMODATION WITH MAINLAND. OTHERS BESIDES FONOFF WILL SHARE THESE RESERVATIONS.

9. HOWEVER ONE BLANNCES WITH YATSUGI (WHO IS SHADY BACK-STAGE OPERATOR) SAID TO US AND TO KOREANS, IT SEEMS LIKELY THAT ANY SUCH JOINT OPERATION WOULD, AS HE SAID, WANT SOME FORM OF U.S. COOPERATION FOR POLITICAL AS WELL AS ECONOMIC REASHONS.

10. DECEMBER 21 MEETING SHOULD PROVIDE BENCH MARK FOR JUDGING HOW FAR PROJECT MAY GO. YATSUGI PROMISED TO KEEP US INFORMED AND WE WILL PROVIDE FURTHER INFORMATION ON POINTS RAISED IN REFTEL AS IT BECOMES AVAILABLE. GP-3.  
MEYER BT

ACTION: DCSOFS  
DISTR : DCSLOG, ACSFOR, ACSI, COFENGRS, CRD

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*Senkaku*

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INFO  
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DE RUEKJCS #8397 3622214  
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FM JCS  
INFO RUEADWD/DA  
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R 282109Z DEC 70  
FM CINCPAC

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INFO JCS  
R 260035Z DEC 70  
FM ADMIN COMUSMCD  
TO RUHHHQA/CINCPAC  
INFO RUHHBRA/CINCPACFLT  
RUHGUAA/COMSEVENTHFLT  
ZEN1/COMSEVENTHFLT DET ALFA  
RUEHTP/USDAO TAIPEI  
RUMJON/USDAO HONG KONG  
RUYRSAA/CTF SEVEN TWO  
RUADJUA/COMUSKOREA  
RUHHASA/COMASWFORPAC  
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DECLASSIFICATION SCHEDULE

UNCLAS E F T O  
PETROLEUM SURVEY OPS

- A. AMCONSUL HONG KONG 240500Z DEC 70 NDTAL
- 1. (U) FOLLOWING PASSED FOR INFORMATION.
- 2. (U) JAPAN TIMES 21 DEC ISSUE CARRIED FOLLOWING:
  - "BUSINESS LEADERS OF JAPAN, SOUTH KOREA AND TAIWAN WILL MEET IN TOKYO MONDAY AND TUESDAY 21 AND 22 DEC TO DISCUSS THE FEASIBILITY OF THEIR COOPERATION IN DEVELOPMENT OF OCEAN RESOURCES IN AREAS OF EAST CHINA SEA AND SEA OF JAPAN.
  - " THE OCCASION WILL BE THE FIRST SESSION OF THE PRIVATE THREE-NATION OCEAN DEVELOPMENT SPECIAL COMMITTEE.
  - THE COMMITTEE WAS ORGANIZED IN SEOUL IN NOVEMBER AT A JOINT MEETING OF THE JAPAN-KOREA COOPERATION COMMITTEE AND THE JAPAN-TAIWAN COOPERATION COMMITTEE.
  - "HOW TO HANDLE TERRITORIAL CLAIMS BY THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA ON THE SENKAKU ISLANDS, SOUTHWEST OF OKINAWA, WILL BECOME A FOCAL POINT IN THE DISCUSSIONS AT THE COMING MEETING, INFORMED SOURCES

*X*

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SAID.

"JAPAN CLAIMS THAT THE SENKAKU ISLANDS ARE PART OF THE RYUKYU ISLANDS SITUATED BETWEEN JAPAN AND TAIWAN. KOREA LAYS CLAIM TO THE ISLANDS NEIGHBORING WATERS.

"IN THE COMING MEETING JAPANESE DELEGATES ARE EXPECTED TO PROPOSE THAT THE TERRITORIAL ISSUE BE SHELVED AND STRESS THE NEED FOR ESTABLISHING A COOPERATIVE SETUP FOR JOINT SURVEYS AND DEVELOPMENT."

3. (LDU) REF A INCLUDED FOLLOWING SUMMARY NEW CHINA NEWS AGENCY REPORT. THE NCNA ARTICLE WAS PROBABLY IN RESPONSE MEETING DESCRIBED PARA 2:

"A BRIEF DEC 23 NCNA ITEM DENOUNCED THE TRIPARTITE COMMITTEE MEETING OF DEC 21 IN TOKYO WHICH REPORTEDLY DISCUSSED THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A JOINT OCEAN DEVELOPMENT COMPANY TO BE FORMED BY JAPAN, SOUTH KOREA AND THE GRC TO EXPLOIT THE EAST ASIAN CONTINENTAL SHELF. NCNA NOTED REPORTS THAT THE U.S. MIGHT PARTICIPATE IN THIS PROJECT WHICH, IT CHARGED, WOULD "SQUARELY CHALLENGE THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE PRC." THE ARTICLE FOLLOWS UP THE FIRST CHINESE COMMENT ON THE SUBJECT ON DEC 3 AND INDICATES THAT PEKING IS FOLLOWING THESE DEVELOPMENTS CLOSELY."

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ACTION: DCSOPS  
DISTR: OCOFSA, OSA, DCSLOG, ACSFOR, ACSI, CINFO, CRD, TJAG

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