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Memorandum to Department No. 1282 dated September 23, 1947 from the United States Political Advisor for Japan, Tokyo, on the subject "Emperor of Japan's Opinion Concerning the Future of the Ryukyu Islands."

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
SUPERIOR COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED FORCES
Diplomatic Section

CONFIDENTIAL

20 September 1947

MEMORANDUM FOR General MacArthur

Mr. Hidekazu Teramachi, an adviser to the Emperor, called by appointment for the purpose of conveying to me the Emperor's ideas concerning the future of Okinawa.

Mr. Teramachi stated that the Emperor hopes that the United States will continue the military occupation of Okinawa and other islands of the Ryukyus. In the Emperor's opinion, such occupation would benefit the United States and also provide protection for Japan. The Emperor feels that such a move would meet with widespread approval among the Japanese people who fear not only the return of Russia, but also the occupation of the islands of the Ryukyus and other islands which might give rise to a situation of which Russia could use as a basis for interfering liberally in Japan.

The Emperor further feels that United States military occupation of Okinawa (and such other islands as may be required) should be based upon the notion of a long-term lease—50 to 90 years or more—rather than sovereignty retained in Japan. According to the Emperor, this method of occupation would convince the Japanese people that the United States has no permanent design on the Ryukyu Islands, and other islands, particularly Soviet Russia and China, would thereby be exempted from demands for similar rights.

As to procedure, Mr. Teramachi felt that the acquisition of military base rights (of Okinawa and other islands in the Ryukyus) should be by bilateral treaty between the United States and Japan rather than from part of the Allied peace treaty with Japan. The latter method, according to Mr. Teramachi, would mean too much of a dictated peace and might in the future endanger the sympathetic understanding of the Japanese people.

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DATE: [Signature]

W. J. Scholt
V. J. Scholt
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雑誌「世界」一九四九年四月号掲載の論文「分割された領土」のなかで紹介した。メッセー
ジの内容は次のようなものだった(原文は複製の既取をもとに、筆者が適宜変更を加えた)。

「琉球諸島の将来に関する日本国天皇の見解」を主題とする在東京・合衆国対日政治顧問
岡から一九四七年九月二日付通信第一二九三号への同封文書

連合国最高司令官総司令部外交部 一九四七年九月二〇日
マンカーサー元帥のための覚え書

天皇の顧問、寺崎英成氏が、沖縄の将来に関する天皇の考えを私に伝える目的で、あ
らかじめ約束によって訪ねてきた。

寺崎氏は、米國が沖縄およびその他の琉球諸島の軍事占領を継続しよう天皇が希望
している、と聲明した。天皇の意見では、そのような占領は米國の利益になり、また日
本を守ることになる。天皇が思うには、そのような措置は、ロシアの脅威を恐れてい
るばかりでなく、占領終結後に右翼および左翼勢力が台頭し、そうした勢力によって、

ロシアが日本に内政干渉する根拠に利用できるような「事件」が巻き起こされることを
も恐れている日本国民のあいだで、広範な承認が得られるであろう。

さらに天皇は、沖縄(および必要とされる他の諸島)に対する米國の軍事占領は、日
本に主権を残したままでの長期租借(一二年ないし五〇年ないしそれ以上の)とい
う海嶺に基づいてなされるべきだと考えている。天皇によれば、このような占領方法は、
米國が琉球諸島に対して恒久的意圖をもたないことを日本国民に納得させ、またそれによ
つて、他の諸國とくにソヴィエト・ロシアと中國が同様の権利を要求するのを阻止す
ることになるだろう。

そのための手続きについて寺崎氏は、(沖縄およびその他の琉球諸島の)「軍事基地権」
の獲得は、連合國の対日講和条約の一部としてよりも、むしろ米國と日本との二國間条
約によるべきだと考えていた。寺崎氏によれば、前者の方法は、強制された講和という
色彩があまりに強すぎて、将来、日本国民の同情的な理解を危うくする恐れがある。

W. J. Scholt

<天皇メッセージ> 1947

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of the Charter of the United Nations, or until a superseding security arrangement is established with the consent of the United States;

And having in mind that the security forces of the United States shall have as their purpose the defense of Japan against aggression, and the further purpose of assisting in the maintenance of internal law and order upon the invitation of the Japanese government.

1. Effective Date and Period of Application

The provisions of this agreement will become effective simultaneously with the coming into force of the Treaty of Peace, and will remain effective until the withdrawal from Japan of United States security forces or until the adoption of a superseding security arrangement acceptable to the United States government with respect to the Japan area.

2. Right of Maneuver

The principle that the entire land mass of the Japan area will be regarded as a potential area for the defensive maneuver of military forces is accepted.

The United States military commander, acting in the normal chain of command within the United States government, shall have the unrestricted authority to make such strategic dispositions of military forces, after notice to the Japanese government, as may, in the light of existing external threats to the security of Japan, be deemed necessary. In the event of hostilities or imminently threatened hostilities, the United States military commander shall have the right to make such tactical dispositions as the military situation requires. Except in times of hostilities or imminently threatened hostilities, no matter change of a permanent nature in the disposition of security forces shall be made by the United States commander in the absence of consultation between representatives of the United States and Japanese governments.

In locating the aforesaid areas for strategic and tactical disposition, the fullest consideration consistent with military necessity shall be given to the welfare, health and economic needs of the native peoples of Japan.

In the absence of hostilities or imminently threatened hostilities the United States, after notice to the Japanese government, shall have the right to use land and coastal sea areas of appropriate size and

Paragraph of the views of General MacArthur as set forth in memorandum of 15 June, 1950. Footnote in the source text. The memorandum is printed in the Art. V of U.S.-Denmark Agreement, April 9, 1941. Footnote in the source text. For text of agreement for defense of Greenland, signed at Washington, and No. 204, of 25 Dec. (pt. 3) 1945.]

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「米軍原案」の基地権条項

○ 日本全土が防衛上の軍事行動のための潜在的領域とみなされる。

「これがいわゆる「全土基地方式」のもとになった条文です。米軍が日本国内でどこに基地を置こうと、どんな軍事行動をしようとして、日本側は拒否できな

○ 米軍司令官は必要があれば、日本政府へ通告したあと、軍の戦略的配備を行う無制限の権限を持つ。

「他国（日本）への軍の配備について「無制限の権限を持つ」とは、スゴい表現です。この条文とその前の「全土基地方式」の条文が「アメリカは、米軍を日本国内およびその周辺に配備する権利を持つ」という旧安保条約・第1条のも

○ 軍の配備における根本的で重大な変更は、日本政府との協議なしには行わな

「核兵器の配備など「重大な変更」については、米軍は日本政府との「協議なしには行わな」と書かれています。しかしこの表現は「合意なしには行わな」とは違って、日本の意向だけでは拒否できな」という意味でもあるのです。さらに戦争の危険があるときは、核の地上配備だろうとなんだろうと、日本側と協議などしなくしな」という方針が、はっきりと書かれています。

○ 平時において米軍は、日本政府へ通告したあと、日本の国土と沿岸部で軍事演習を行う権利を持つ。

「戦争の危険性がまったくないときでも、米軍は日本政府に一方的に「通告」すれば、日本全土とその沿岸部で自由に軍事演習を行うことができるということです。「協議」をする必要もない。この条文こそが、まさに二〇二〇年以降、日本全土で始まろうとしている危険なオスプレイによる低空飛行訓練の正体なのです」

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18. Withdrawal of Security Forces from Japan
(The date on which such security forces will depart from Japan will not be stipulated.)

14. Japanese Armed Forces

Following ratification of the Treaty of Peace, such prohibitions against the rearmament of Japan as were imposed during the period of the occupation shall cease to be operative insofar as they had previously constituted obligations to the United States under the Terms of Surrender.

It is acknowledged, in this connection, that the provisional garrisoning in Japan of security forces of the United States has for its purpose the protection and maintenance of international peace and security in a manner consistent with the principles and objectives of the Charter of the United Nations, and that, whenever it appears to both nations that the Japanese government is adequately prepared to discharge this responsibility alone, and in accordance with its obligations under the Charter of the United Nations, the United States shall withdraw the protection afforded by its security forces.

No land, sea, or air forces will be established by the Japanese government during the period that this agreement is in effect, except with the advice and consent of the United States government with respect to the strength, type, composition, armament, and other organizational features of such forces, any schedule for their creation being in all respects subject to the determination of the United States government in consultation with the Japanese Government.

In the event of hostilities or imminently threatened hostilities, as determined by the United States, all armed forces in Japan, including the Japanese Coastal Patrol, shall be placed under the unified command of a Supreme Commander designated by the United States government.

Japanese armed forces, if or when established, or any branch, arm, or contingent thereof, including the Japanese Coastal Patrol, shall not engage in any form of combat operations outside the territories of Japan except when and as directed by the aforesaid Supreme Commander.

14. Relationships with Third Powers

Japan shall not grant, without the prior consent of the United States, any bases or any rights, powers, or authority whatsoever, in or relating to bases or the right of garrison or of maneuver, to any third power; if

1189 Art. xiv of the Agreement between the United States of America and the Republic of the Philippines Concerning Military Bases, March 24, 1947. (Footnote in the source text.)

(1)
(2)
(3)

「米軍原案」の指揮権条項

- (1) 「この協定〔旧安保条約〕が有効なあいだは、日本政府は陸軍・海軍・空軍は創設しない。ただしそれらの軍隊の兵力や種類、編成、装備など、あらゆる点についてアメリカ政府の助言と同意があり、またその創設計画がアメリカ政府の決定に完全に従う場合はその例外とする。」
- (2) 「戦争の脅威が生じたとき米軍司令部が判断したときは、すべての日本の軍隊は、アメリカ政府によって任命された最高司令官の指揮のもとに置かれる。」
- (3) 「日本軍が創設された場合、日本国外で戦闘行動を行うことはできない。ただし前節の「アメリカ政府が任命した」最高司令官の指揮による場合はその例外とする。」

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矢部宏治の知、これはいかなる隠された日本支配の構造の
講談社現代新書 (2017)