

対台湾武器売却をめぐる 1980 年代 初頭の米中関係

山本章子

(琉球大学人文社会学部国際法政学科准教授)

【要約】

本稿では、国交正常化によって台湾をめぐる米中関係がどう変化したのかを日米両政府の史料を手がかりに再検討する。具体的には、米国の台湾向け武器売却をめぐる米中交渉に焦点を当てる。

米政府にとって台湾関係法は中国が台湾を武力で統一することを阻止するために不可欠な抑止装置であり、それゆえに中国政府にとって同法はなんとしても廃絶させるべき法律であった。中国は、交流を完全な非政府間関係に限定する「日本方式」での米台断交を要求したが、日本や韓国などアジアの同盟国に対する信頼性や主導力を維持するために、米華相互防衛条約破棄後も米国が台湾の安全保障を保証し続けることは不可欠であった。

米中両国は 1980 年代初頭、互いに自国の立場に対する相手の譲歩を期待して台湾問題の交渉にのぞんだが、1982 年の 8・17 コミュニケをへて両国ともそうした期待を放棄するに至った。

キーワード：台湾関係法、対台湾武器売却、米中関係、独立自主の
対外政策

圍繞對台軍售談判的 1980 年代 初期美中關係

山本章子

(琉球大學人文社會學部國際法政學科副教授)

【摘要】

本文將藉由梳理日美政府的史料為線索，重新檢討美中在正式建立邦交之後，面對台灣問題，美中關係如何變化。具體而言，是以美中之間針對美國對台軍售的談判過程為焦點。

對於美國政府而言，台灣關係法是阻止中國武統台灣不可或缺的嚇阻裝置，因此對於中國而言，台灣關係法是無論如何都應廢除的法律。中國要求美台斷交之後的雙邊關係，須限定以完全非官方關係的「日本模式」進行互動，但美國為了維持對日、韓等亞洲盟國的可信賴性與主導力，即使是在中（中華民國）美共同防禦條約廢止後，美國當時仍須持續保證台灣的安全保障無虞。

美中兩國在 1980 年代初期，儘管盼望對方能為自己國家的立場相互讓步，以利進行台灣問題的談判，然而在歷經 1982 年的八一七公報之後，最終兩國已然放棄期待。

關鍵字：台灣關係法、對台軍售、美中關係、獨立自主的對外政策

The Negotiation on Arms Exports to Taiwan between the U.S. and China in the beginning of 1980s

Akiko Yamamoto

Associate Professor of Department of Law, Politics & International Relations,
Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of the Ryukyus

【Abstract】

This article addresses how the U.S.-China relations over Taiwan issues has changed since the establishment of normal diplomatic relations in 1979 by multi archival approach. To analyze this theme, this article focuses on the negotiation on arms sales to Taiwan based on Taiwan Relations Act of the U.S. between the U.S. and China in the beginning of the 1980s.

From the standpoint of the U.S., the Taiwan Relations Act, which was instituted after the U.S.-China diplomatic normalization, has been a deterrent to discourage China's reunification of Taiwan by force. Therefore, China has advocated repeal of the Taiwan Relations Act all the more for Chinese sovereignty. China insisted on a model of complete non-governmental interaction, akin to the "Japanese approach," in demanding the termination of diplomatic relations between the United States and Taiwan. However, to uphold credibility and leadership among Asian allies such as Japan and South Korea, it remained imperative for the United States to ensure the security of Taiwan even after the abrogation of the U.S.-Taiwan Mutual Defense Treaty.

In conclusion, the U.S. and China both expected a concession from the other in the early 1980s, at first, only to unlearn the

expectation on the occasion of the bilateral agreement on August 17th, 1982.

Keywords: Taiwan Relations Act, Arms Exports to Taiwan, U.S.-China Relations, Independent Foreign Policy

〈参考文献〉

- 石井修（監修）、2021a『アメリカ合衆国対日政策文書集成 第 49 期 カーター大統領文書 米中関係①国交正常化まで』第 6 巻、柏書房。
- Ishii, Osamu (editorial supervision). 2021a. *Amerika gasshukoku tainichi seisaku bunsho shusei dai 49 ki, kata daitoryo bunsho, beichu kankei ① kokko seijoka made [Documents on United States Policy Toward Japan No.49. Carter Presidential Materials: U.S.-China Relations ① Until the Normalization of Diplomatic Relations]*. Vol.6. Kashiwa Shobo.
- 石井修（監修）、2021b『アメリカ合衆国対日政策文書集成 第 49 期 カーター大統領文書 米中関係①国交正常化まで』第 9 巻、柏書房。
- Ishii, Osamu (editorial supervision). 2021b. *Amerika gasshukoku tainichi seisaku bunsho shusei dai 49 ki, kata daitoryo bunsho, beichu kankei ① kokko seijoka made [Documents on United States Policy Toward Japan No.49. Carter Presidential Materials: U.S.-China Relations ① Until the Normalization of Diplomatic Relations]*. Vol.9. Kashiwa Shobo.
- 石井修（監修）、2022a『アメリカ合衆国対日政策文書集成第 50 期 カーター大統領文書 米中関係②国交正常化以降』第 2 巻、柏書房。
- Ishii, Osamu (editorial supervision). 2022a. *Amerika gasshukoku tainichi seisaku bunsho shusei dai 50 ki, kata daitoryo bunsho, beichu kankei ② kokko seijoka iko [Documents on United States Policy Toward Japan No.50. Carter Presidential Materials: U.S.-China Relations ② After the Normalization of Diplomatic Relations]*. Vol.2. Kashiwa Shobo.
- 石井修（監修）、2022b『アメリカ合衆国対日政策文書集成第 50 期 カーター大統領文書 米中関係②国交正常化以降』第 5 巻、柏書房。
- Ishii, Osamu (editorial supervision). 2022b. *Amerika gasshukoku tainichi seisaku bunsho shusei dai 50 ki, kata daitoryo bunsho, beichu kankei ② kokko seijoka iko [Documents on United States Policy Toward Japan No.50. Carter Presidential Materials: U.S.-China Relations ② After the Normalization of Diplomatic Relations]*. Vol.5. Kashiwa Shobo.
- 外務省、1982「中華人民共和国とアメリカ合衆国の共同コミュニケ（仮訳）（米国の対台湾武器売却問題について）（北京・ワシントン）」8月17日、<https://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/gaiko/bluebook/1983/s58-shiryu-508.htm>（閲覧日：2023/10/26）。
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. 1982. “Chuka jinmin kyowakoku to amerika gasshukoku no kyodo komyunike (kariyaku) (beikoku no tai taiwan buki baikyaku mondai ni tsuite) (pekin/washington)” [United States-China Joint Communique on United States Arms Sales to Taiwan (Beijing/Washington)]. August 17 (Accessed on October 26, 2023).
- 外務省外交史料館、1979「佐藤中国大使発外務大臣宛電信第 584 号『米中関係（米台関係法案に対する中国政府の態度表明）』」3月24日、戦後外交記録「米中関係（1978.12-1983.10 カナダを含む）」、2022-0397。
- Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. 1979. “Sato chugoku taishi hatsu gaimu daijin ate denshin dai 584 go ‘beichu kankei (beitai kankei hoan ni taisuru chugoku seifu no taido hyomei)’” [Telegram No. 584 from Chinese Ambassador

Sato to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, “U.S.-China Relations (China's Attitude Statement Regarding the U.S.-Taiwan Relations Act).”]. March 24. Sengo gaiko kiroku ‘beichu kankei (1978.12-1983.10 kanada wo fukumu)’ [Postwar Diplomatic Record, “U.S.-China Relations (1978.12-1983.10, including Canada)”]. No.2022-0397.

外務省外交史料館、1982a「中国鹿取大使発外務大臣宛電信第68号『米中関係（本意見具申）』」1月9日、2022-0397。

Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. 1982a. “Chugoku katori taishi hatsu gaimu daijin ate denshin dai 68 go ‘beichu kankei (honshi iken gushin)” [Telegram No. 68 from Chinese Ambassador Katori to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, “U.S.-China Relations (Statement of Official Views)”]. January 9. No.2022-0397.

外務省外交史料館、1982b「中国鹿取大使発外務大臣宛電信第60号『米中関係（中国外交部関係者内話）』」1月9日、2022-0397。

Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. 1982b. “Chugoku katori taishi hatsu gaimu daijin ate denshin dai 60 go ‘beichu kankei (chugoku gaikobu kankeisha naiwa)” [Telegram No. 60 from Chinese Ambassador Katori to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, “U.S.-China Relations (Inside Discussions Among Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs Personnel)”]. January 9. No.2022-0397.

外務省外交史料館、1982c「中国鹿取大使発外務大臣宛電信第65号『中米関係（外交部筋内話）』」1月9日、2202-0397。

Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. 1982c. “Chugoku katori taishi hatsu gaimu daijin ate denshin dai 65 go ‘beichu kankei (gaikobusuji naiwa)” [Telegram No. 65 from Chinese Ambassador Katori to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, “China-U.S. Relations (Inside Discussions Among Diplomatic Sources)”]. January 9. No.2202-0397.

外務省外交史料館、1982d「中国鹿取大使発外務大臣宛電信第69号『米中関係（当館分せきその1）』」1月11日、2202-0397。

Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. 1982d. “Chugoku katori taishi hatsu gaimu daijin ate denshin dai 69 go ‘beichu kankei (tokan bunseki sono1)” [Telegram No. 69 from Chinese Ambassador Katori to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, “U.S.-China Relations (Report from Our Embassy, Part 1)”]. January 11. No.2202-0397.

外務省外交史料館、1982e「中国課『レーガン米政権の対台武器供与問題』」3月23日、2202-0397。

Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. 1982e. “Chugokuka ‘regan beiseiken no tai tai buki kyoyo mondai” [China Division: ‘The Issue of Reagan Administration’s Arms Supply to Taiwan’]. March 23. No.2202-0397.

外務省外交史料館、1982f「中国鹿取大使発外務大臣宛電信第2450号『米中関係（中国外交部スポークスマン声明）』」8月18日、2022-0397。

Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. 1982f. “Chugoku katori taishi hatsu gaimu daijin ate denshin dai 2450 go ‘beichu kankei (chugoku gaikobu

- supokusuman seimei) ” [Telegram No. 2450 from Chinese Ambassador Katori to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, “U.S.-China Relations (Statement by the Spokesperson of the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs) ”]. August 18. No.2022-0397.
- 外務省外交史料館、1982g 「中国鹿取大使発外務大臣宛電信第 4079 号『米中関係（米州局長内話）』」12 月 9 日、2022-0397。
- Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. 1983g. “Chugoku katori taishi hatsu gaimu daijin ate denshin dai 4079 go ‘beichu kankei (beishu kyokuchō naiwa) ” [Telegram No. 4079 from Chinese Ambassador Katori to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, “U.S.-China Relations (Inside Discussions of the Director of the Americas Bureau) ”]. December 9. No.2022-0397.
- 外務省外交史料館、1983a 「中国課『ワインバーガー米国務長官の訪中』」10 月 31 日、2022-0397。
- Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. 1983a. “Chugokuka ‘wainbaga bei kokumu chokan no hochu ” [China Division: ‘Secretary of State Weinberger’s Visit to China’]. October 31. No.2022-0397.
- 外務省外交史料館、1983b 「中国鹿取大使発外務大臣宛電信第 3818 号『米中関係（分割電報）』」11 月 18 日、2022-0397。
- Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. 1983b. “Chugoku katori taishi hatsu gaimu daijin ate denshin dai 3818 go ‘beichu kankei (bunkatsu denpo) ” [Telegram No. 3818 from Chinese Ambassador Katori to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, “U.S.-China Relations (Fragmented Telegram) ”]. November 18. No.2022-0397.
- 外務省外交史料館、1984、 「中国課『台湾問題（趙紫陽訪米）』」1 月 25 日、2022-0397。
- Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. 1984. “Chugokuka ‘taiwan mondai (choshiyo houbei) ” [China Division: ‘Taiwan Issue (Zhao Ziyang’s Visit to the U.S.)’]. January 25. No.2022-0397.
- 北山貴弘、2022 「米国の同盟に実体を与える価値の共有について—米国と台湾の非公式な同盟を事例として—」『海軍戦略研究』12(1):92-110。
- Kitayama, Takahiro. 2022. “Beikoku no domei ni jittai wo ataeru kachi no kyoyu ni tsuite: Beikoku to taiwan no hikoshikina domei wo jirei toshite” [How can the Alliance be Sustained? The U.S.-Taiwan Informal Alliance]. *Japan Maritime Self-Defense Force Command and Staff College Review*. 12(1):92-110.
- 佐橋亮、2015『共存の模索 アメリカと「二つの中国」の冷戦史』勁草書房。
- Sahashi, Ryo. 2015. *Kyozon no mosaku, amerika to ‘futatsu no chugoku’ no reishenishi* [Exploring Coexistence: The Cold War History of the United States and ‘Two Chinas’]. Keiso Shobo.
- 佐橋亮、2021『米中対立 アメリカの戦略転換と分断される世界』中公新書。
- Sahashi, Ryo. 2021. *Beichu tairitsu, amerika no senryaku tenkan to bundan sareru sekai* [U.S.-China Confrontation: Strategic Shift of the United States and a Divided World].

Chuko Shinsho.

戴天昭、2001『台湾戦後国際政治史』行人社。

Tai, Tensho. 2001. *Taiwan sengo kokusai seijishi [Post-War International Political History of Taiwan]*. Kojinsha.

産経新聞、2019「米国の台湾窓口機関が共同声明の関連機密文書公開 武器売却で中国に反論か」9月16日付、<https://www.sankei.com/article/20190926-SOYNOD32YZOISON653HAUTARFA/>（閲覧日：2023/8/17）。

Sankei Shimbun. 2019. “Beikoku no taiwan madoguchi kikan ga kyodo seimei no kanren kimitsu bunsho kokai, buki baikyaku de chugoku ni hanron ka” [U.S. Taiwan Affairs Office Releases Related Classified Documents to Joint Statement: Refuting China on Arms Sales?]. September 16 (Accessed on August 17, 2023).

益尾知佐子、2010『中国政治外交の転換点 改革開放と「独立自主の対外政策」』東京大学出版会。

Masuo, Chisako. 2010. *Chugoku seiji gaiko no tenkanten, kaikaku kaiho to 'dokuritsu jishu no taigai seisaku' [China looks back: Mao's legacy in the open-door era]*. University of Tokyo Press.

マン、ジェームズ（鈴木主税訳）、1999『米中奔流』共同通信社。

Mann, James H., trans. by Chikara Suzuki. 1999. *Beichu honryu [About Face: A History of America's Curious Relationship with China, from Nixon to Clinton]*. Kyodo News.

毛利和子、1989『中国とソ連』岩波新書。

Mori, Kazuko. 1989. “Chugoku to Soren” [China and the Soviet Union]. Iwanami Shinsho.

山本章子、2018「デタント崩壊とインドシナをめぐる日米関係」『国際政治』192：65-80。

Yamamoto, Akiko. 2018. “Detanto hokai to indoshina wo meguru nichibeikankei” [The Fall of Détente and the U.S.-Japan Relations over Indochina]. *International Relations*. 192:65-80.

DNSA (Digital National Security Archive). 1981a. “Scope Paper for Your Visit to China.” June 4. *China, 1960-1998*.

DNSA. 1981b. “Secretary’s Talking Points: Taiwan.” June 4. *China, 1960-1998*.

DNSA. 1981c. “Memorandum of Conversation by Embassy (China) of United States.” June 17. *China, 1960-1998*.

FRUS (Foreign Relations of the United States). Undated. “A Proposal for Asian Policy Adjustments by the National Security Council Staff.” *FRUS, 1977-1980, Volume XIII, China*.

FRUS. 1982a. “Memorandum From Secretary of State Haig to President Reagan.” January 11. *FRUS, 1981-1988, Volume I, Foundations of Foreign Policy*.

FRUS. 1982b. “Memorandum From the Director of the Policy Planning Staff (Wolfowitz) to Secretary of State Shultz.” September 22. *FRUS, 1981-1988, Volume I, Foundations of Foreign Policy*.