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# WITHDRAWAL SHEET Ronald Reagan Library

Collection: Executive Secretariat, NSC

Country File

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File Folder: Japan (3/18/81)

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**FOIA ID:** F00-037 (1539), Oberdorfer

**Date:** 01/12/2004

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	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
DOCUMENT			
NO. & TYPE			
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File Folder

JAPAN (3/18/81)

**FOIA** 

F00-037 (F1539)

**Box Number** 

ID Doc Type	Document Description	No of Doc Date Pages
CABLE	18095327 MAR 81	11 3/18/1981 MH 5/21/01

DATE 04/07/81//097

SITUATION: CHECK SUBJECT CATAGORY: LIST

MESSAGE / ANNOTATION:

MESSAGE: IMMEDIATE

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D 180953Z MAR 81 FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7305 .

INFO SECDEF WASHINGTON DC// IMMEDIATE CINCPAC HONGLULU HAWAII// PRIORITY COMUSJAPAN YOKOTA AB JAPAN// PRIORITY

CONFIDENTIAL SECTION OF 04 TOKYD 04800

CINCPAC ALSO FOR POLAD

E.D. 12065: XDS-4 03/18/01 (BARRACLOUGH, W.) DR-M

TAGS: MPDL, MARR, JA, US

SUBJECT: (A) SUZUKI GOVERNMENT AND DEFENSE

REF: (A) TOKYO 4096, (B) TOKYO 4091, (C) STATE 66168(NOTAL)

1. (A) ENTIRE TEXT.)

SUMMARY. DESPITE POLITICAL AND FISCAL CONSTRAINTS, SUZUKI GOVERNMENT'S BASIC DEFENSE POLICIES REPRESENT CONTINUATION OF THOSE FOLLOWED BY HIS PREDECESSORS. JAPAN CONTINUES TO MAKE STEADY PROGRESS IN DEFENSE AREA; HOWEVER, PRIME MINISTER MAY NOT BE COMPLETELY CON-VINCED THAT LARGER, MORE COMPLEX AND MORE IMMEDIATE MILL-TARY THREAT REQUIRES MORE SUBSTANTIAL EFFORTS THAN THOSE TO DATE. USG SHOULD USE UPCOMING MEETINGS WITH FOREIGN MINISTER AND PRIME MINISER AS PART OF AM EDUCATIVE PRO-CESS TO CONVINCE GOJ OF SERIOUSNESS OF SITUATION, OF PRESENT INABILITY OF JAPAN'S FORCES TO FULFILL THEIR DEFENSIVE ROLES AND OF VEED FOR MORE EQUITABLE SHARING OF DEFENSE BURDEN. WE SHOULD ALSO REASSURE THEM THAT USG DDES NOT SEEK REMILITARIZED JAPAN, REVISED CONSTI-TUTION OR PROBLEMATICAL REGIONAL JAPANESE MILITARY ROLE. END SUMMARY. PURPOSE OF THIS CABLE IS TO REVIEW RECENT DEFENSE SCENE AND TO RECOMMEND APPROACHES WE MIGHT TAKE IN

\*\*\*\*\*\* WHSR COMMENTS \*\*\*\*

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MESSAGE / ANNOTATION:

COMING DISCUSSIONS. DIET PROCEEDINGS HAVE BEEN CENTER OF ATTENTION HERE OVER PAST SIX WEEKS. MIST SIGNIFICANT SECURITY-RELATED ITEMS TO EMERGE DURING DEBATE WERE PROBING ATTENTION GIVEN TO JOINT PLANNING PROCESS: DISCLOSURE TO MEDIA OF COMPLETED JOA STUDY OF LEGAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE PROB-LEMS INVOLVED WITH EMERGENCY SDF DEPLOYMENT: GOJ RE-ITERATION THAT 1976 NATIONAL DEFENSE OUTLINE PLAN, A CABINET APPROVED PLAN CALCING FOR A CONSIDERABLY LARGER (SEE P. 269 DF 1980 WHITE PAPER) REPRESENTED "MINIMUM" PEACETIME DEFENSE LEVEL AND JDA PUBLIC COMMITMENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RIMPAC 182. FOR MORE DETAIL, SEE REFTEL A. DEFENSE ISSUE HAS CONTINUED TO OCCUPY A SUBSTANTIAL DEGREE OF MEDIA AND PUBLIC ATTENTION. SEVERAL PAPERS HAVE CARRIED STORIES ON MIDDLE EAST, SOVIET BUILD-UP AND AT LEAST ONE PLANS TO RUN SERIES ON US-JAPAN SECURITY RELATIONSHIP. CURRENT FOCUS IS ON HOW PRIME MINISTER AND FOREIGN MINITERS WILL HANDLE DEFENSE MATTERS DURING THEIR FORTHCOMING MEETINGS WITH US LEADERS. AMBASSADDR MANSFIELD'S MARCH 9 PRESS CON-FERENCE OBSERVATION THAT JAPAN NEEDED TO BUILD UP ITS AIR DEFENSES AND ITS CAPABILITIES OF DEFENDING ITS HOME WATERS IN VIEW OF US COMMITMENTS ELSEWHERE (REFTEL B), RAISED SPATE OF SPECULATIVE STORIES AND COMMENTS ABOUT USG AND GOJ THINKING, PREPARATIONS AND WAYS IN WHICH JAPAN COULD ASSUME LARGER SHARE OF DEFENSE RESPONSI-BILITIES, INCLUDING POSSIBLE ADVANCING OF P-3C AND F-15 PROCUREMENT SCHEDULES (JDA DIRECTOR GENERAL THREW COLD WATER ON THIS ITEM BY OBSERVING MARCH 14 THAT SUCH ACTION WOULD NOT BE EASY IN VIEW OF PHIS DETERMINATION TO KEEP DEFENSE SPENDING WITHIN 1 PERCENT OF GMP). 6. THERE IS WIDE RECOGNITION THAT DEFENSE WILL BE KEY TOPIC FOR MEETINGS WITH US LEADERS AND THAT USG WILL BE EXPECTING JAPAN TO ASSUME GREATER RESPONSIBILITIES FOR ITS OWN DEFENSE. MOFA VICE MINISTER TAKASHIMA UNDERLINED THIS FEB 26 WHEN HE TOLD PM SUZUKI THAT JAPAN WOULD BE EXPECTED TO EXPLAIN FROM A LONG-TERM POINT OF VIEW JUST HOW IT WAS PLANNING TO STRENGTHEN ITS DEFENSES. 7. WHILE NONE OF THIS CAN BE CHARACTERIZED AS BREAK-THROUGH OF ANY SORT, PAST TWO MONTHS HAVE SEEN CON-TINUATION OF THE TYPE OF STEADY PROGRESS WE HAVE BEEN DBSERVING OVER PAST TWO YEARS! -- GDJ CONTINUES TO STRENGTHEN SDF. ALTHOUGH EARLY

MTDE ACHIEVEMENT HAS NOW BECOME UNLIKELY, EQUIPMENT

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PROCUREMENT PLANS IN GENERAL ARE MOVING FORWARD SMOOTHLY IN BOTH ASW AND AIR DEFENSE AREAS. ASDF LTG RECENTLY HEADED AIR DEFENSE MISSION TO US INTER ALIA TO SEEK COMPATIBILITY OF BADGE-X AND OTHER ITEMS WITH US SYSTEMS AND TO URGE WIDER SHARING OF OPERATIONAL CONCEPTS SO AS TO MAXIMIZE INTER-OPERABILITY OF US AND JAPANESE FORCES.

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MESSAGE / ANNOTATION :

MESSAGE: IMMEDIATE

> O 180953Z MAR 81 FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7306

INFO SECDEF WASHINGTON DC// IMMEDIATE CINCPAC HONDLULU HAWAII// PRIDRITY COMUSJAPAN YOKOTA AB JAPAN// PRIDRITY

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-- JDA STUDIES ON SDF DEPLOYMENT INDICATE THAT JAPAN IS TACKLING SUCH STICKY ISSUES AS NEED TO REVAMP SOF COMMAND STRUCTURE AND TO REVISE DOMESTIC LAWS PERTAIN-ING TO EMERGENCY SOF DEPLOYMENT, LONG RECOGNIZED AS MAJOR WEAKNESSES OF JAPAN'S FORCES. -- MILITARY COOPERATION CONTINUES TO EXPAND. PLANNING PROCESS OF REFINING EXISTING DEFENSE PLAN IS SERVING TO EDUCATE FURTHER SOF ON NEED FOR MILITARY COOPERATION AND COMBINED OPERATIONS AND EXERCISES. FOR EXAMPLE, US-JAPAN EXERCISES NUMBERED 12 IN FOUR FISCAL YEARS UP TO 1978: THEY AMOUNTED TO 13 IN JEY-1979 ALONE, AND MAY TOTAL EVEN MORE IN JFY-1980. GOJ HAS NOW PUBLICLY AFFIRMED ITS INTENTION TO PARTICIPATE IN RIMPAC 182. -- GOJ HAS ELL BUT PUBLICLY RECOGNIZED USE OF NAHA PORT FOR BACK-UP OF US FORCES IN INDIAN OCEAN AREA, A CON-SIDERABLE STEP FORWARD FOR A COUNTRY WHICH DNLY FEW YEARS AGO WAS POLITICALLY UNABLE TO COME TO GRIPS WITH REGIONAL ROLE DUR JAPAN BASES FULFILL. -- DEFENSE DEBATE CONTINUES CONSTRUCTIVELY DSP AND KOMEITO POSITIONS CONTINUE TO MODERATE AND THERE ARE DEEP DIVISIONS WITHIN JSP RE WISDOM OF PARTY'S MAKING HOARY "UNARMED NEUTRALITY" PLANK CENTERPIECE OF JSP PLATFORM. (ALTHOUGH JSP CHAIRMAN ASUKATA REITERATED CRITICISM OF US-JAPAN SECURITY RELATIONSHIP DURING

MESSAGE / ANNOTATION:

RECENT VISIT TO DPRK.) DIET DEBATE SHOWS SHARPER FOCUS ON RELEVANT SECURITY CONCERNS RATHER THAN IDEOLOGICAL POSTURING THAT HAS UP UNTIL RECENTLY RETARDED PRODUCTIVE DISCUSSION.

8. IT MAY BE THAT IN DUR PREDCCUPATION WITH DUTCOME OF LAST YEAR'S BUDGET NEGOTIATIONS WE LOST SIGHT OF EXTENT OF CONTINUITY OF SUZUKI GOVERNMENT'S BASIC DEFENSE POLICIES WITH THOSE OF ITS PREDECESSORS. THESE REMAIN INTACT -- STRENGTHENING OF SDF, MOVING FORWARD ON DEFENSE COOPERATION FRONT WITH US (INCLUDING COST SHARING) AND ACHIEVING WIDER PUBLIC CONSENSUS ON DEFENSE POLICY. IS THAT JAPAN CONTINUES TO MAKE PROGRESS, AND TRENDS HERE CONTINUE TO MOVE IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION. EVEN JFY-1981 BUDGET, WHILE A SEVERE DISAPPOINTMENT TO ALL OF US, NONETHELESS DID REPRESENT A SLIGHT IMPROVEMENT OVER PREVIOUS YEAR AND, IN CONTEXT OF FISCAL AUSTERITY, WAS VIEWED HERE AS AN EXCEPTIONAL EFFORT. THE PROBLEM IS THAT THE PACE OF JAPAN'S PROGRESS IS NOT AS RAPID AS THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION WARRANTS. THE MAJOR IM-MEDIATE IMPEDIMENTS TO A MORE INTENSIVE JAPANESE DEFENSE EFFORT ARE:

- (A) A THREAT PERCEPTION AMONG GENERAL PUBLIC WHICH, WHILE MORE SUPHISTICATED THAN A FEW YEARS AGO, IS STILL

SIGNIFICANTLY LOWER THAN IN EUROPE;

- (B) POWERFUL LINGERING PACIFIST AND ANTI-MILITARY SENTIMENT, THE LEGACY OF JAPAN'S DEFEAT IN WORLD WAR II, CONTINUALLY FANNED BY LARGE SEGMENTS OF THE MEDIA:
- (C) A FISCAL AND BUDGETARY SITUATION PERCEIVED AS GRAVE AND OF MORE IMMEDIACY THAN THE MILITARY THREAT;

THOUGH ATTENUATED IN FORMER'S CASE, STILL APPEARS TO

WORRY CONSENSUS-MINDED GOJ LEADERS.

9. ANOTHER TEMPORARY BUT NONETHELESS PROBLEMATICAL
IMPEDIMENT IS PRIME MINISTER SUZUKI'S RELATIVE UNFAMILIARITY WITH SECURITY ISSUES. UNTIL HE BECAME PM LAST
JULY, SUZUKI'S EXPERIENCE WAS LARGELY CONFINED TO DOMESTIC
MATTERS (ALTHOUGH HIS FISHERIES RESPONSIBILITIES DID
PROVIDE HIM WITH LIMITED FOREIGN AFFAIRS BACKGROUND AS
A RESULT OF NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE SOVIETS). AS A POLITICIAN, SUZUKI'S MAIN OBJECTIVE HAS BEEN TO ACHIEVE
CONSENSUS THROUGH BEHIND-THE-SCENES NEGOTIATIONS AND
TRADE-OFFS OF ONE SORT OR ANOTHER. HIS FORTE, IN FACT,
HAS BEEN A REPUTATION FOR MANAGING TO ACHIEVE AGREEMENT
AND "HARMONY" AMONG PEOPLE OF DIFFERING VIEWS AND
INTERESTS. NOT SURPRISINGLY, HIS MAJOR INTEREST NOW
IS PRESERVING "HARMONY" WITHIN THE LDP COALITION WHICH

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KEEPS HIM IN POWER AND THIS ACCOUNTS IN LARGE MEASURE FOR HIS RELUCTANCE TO CONFRONT DISRUPTIVE ISSUES SUCH AS THE DEFENSE BUDGET INCREASE LATE LAST YEAR. HE APPARENTLY FELT THAT AN ACROSS-THE-BOARD CUT WOULD BE MANAGEABLE WITH THE COALITION BUT EVIDENTLY REASONED THAT HE WOULD FACE A TOUGH AND POTENTIALLY DIVISIVE BATTLE TO INCREASE DEFENSE SIGNIFICANTLY AT EXPENSE OF WELFARE

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MESSAGE / ANNOTATION:

MESSAGE: IMMEDIATE

> D 180953Z MAR 81 FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHOC IMMEDIATE 7307

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AND OTHER ITEMS, ESPECIALLY AT A TIME WHEN MANY CONSERVATIVE POLITICIANS WERE CONCERNED ABOUT CONSTITUENT REACTION TO THE INTRODUCTION OF NEW TAXES AND OTHER UNPOPULAR MEASURES.

10. RECENT STATEMENTS FROM U.S. ADMINISTRATION AND CONTINUED ATTENTION HERE TO DEFENSE MATTERS HAVE MADE PM BEGIN TO REALIZE CENTRAL NATURE OF SECURITY ISSUE. WHAT HE DOES NOT SEEM TO HAVE GRASPED IS FACT THAT EVEN HIS EFFORTS TO CARRY THROUGH POLICIES OF HIS PREDECESSORS ARE NO LONGER ADEQUATE IN A WORLD FACING A LARGER, MORE COMPLEX AND MORE IMMEDIATE MILITARY THREAT. OBVIOUSLY JAPAN'S EFFORTS OVER PAST TWO YEARS ARE NOT ADEQUATE IN SCALE TO ACHIEVE THE DEGREE OF SECURITY WE BOTH SEEK. PM SUZUKI NEEDS TO BE MADE AWARE THAT DEFENSE DEMANDS A HIGHER PRIDRITY THAN HE HAS UP TO NOW ASSIGNED TO IT.

<sup>11.</sup> JDA VICE MINISTER TOLD US RECENTLY THAT THE LATE PM OHIRA HAD INITIALLY DEMONSTRATED A VERY LUKEWARM ATTITUDE TOWARDS PROVIDING JDA WITH RESOURCES NEEDED. HE SAID THAT JDA, MOFA, AND SOME IN LOP HAD WORKED DILIGENTLY TO CONVINCE OHIRA OF URGENT NEED FOR ACTION IN DEFENSE AREA. IT WAS, HE SAID, ONLY TOWARDS MIDDLE OF 1980, SHORTLY BEFORE HIS DEATH, THAT OHIRA FINALLY INDICATED HE WAS WILLING TO REORDER HIS PRIORITIES, RECOGNIZING SEVERITY OF JAPAN'S INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

MESSAGE / ANNOTATION:

POSITION. NOW, VICE MINISTER RUEFULLY DASERVED, PROCESS HAS HAD TO BEGIN ANEW WITH SUZUKI. HE SAID THAT PM HAD BEEN PREDCCUPIED WITH DOMESTIC PROBLEMS IN HIS FIRST FIVE MONTHS IN OFFICE AND HAD SIMPLY NOT BEEN PREPARED FOR TYPE OF CABINET AND DIFT CONFRONTATION THAT WOULD HAVE BEEN NECESSARY TO PROVIDE JDA IN LATE DECEMBER WITH RESOURCES IT NEEDED. HE HAD HIGH REGARD FOR PM'S PULITICAL ABILITIES, HOWEVER, AND WAS CONVINCED THAT PM WOULD BECOME FORCEFUL DEFENSE ADVOCATE ONCE HE IS PROPERLY MOVED. WE AGREE WITH VICE MINISTER THAT KEY TO GETTING RESULTS FROM SUZUKI IS IN EDUCATIVE PROCESS AND THAT UPCOMING ROUND OF TALKS IN WASHINGTON SHOULD BE DIRECTED TOWARDS CONVINCING HIM OF SERIOUSNESS OF INTERNATIONAL SITUATION, GARS EXISTING IN JAPAN'S DEFENSES AND NEED TO SHARE SECURITY BURDEN MORE EQUITABLY. ITO HAS SUZUKI'S CONFIDENCE AND IS WELL-SUITED TEMPERAMENTALLY TO CONVEYING USG POSITION TO PM. (FOR MORE PRECISE PERSONAL PICTURE OF ITO, SEE REFTEL B.) ITO WAS PERHAPS STRONGEST SUPPORTER OF INCREASED DEFENSE SPENDING IN CABINET LAST YEAR AND ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS REPORTEDLY MADE STRONG PRESENTATIONS TO PM TO ACHIEVE LARGEST POSSIBLE DEFENSE BUDGET, STRESSING NEED FOR HARMONIOUS BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH U.S. ITO'S ACTIONS ARE ALL THE MORE ADMIRABLE WHEN DIE RECALLS THAT HE SUFFFRED THROUGH A PARTICULARLY BITTER AND DISTASTEFUL WARTIME MILITARY EXPERIENCE AS A YOUNG SOLDIER IN IMPERIAL ARMY.

ON DEFENSE, ITO WILL LIKELY EXPRESS DESIRE TO REACH ACCORD WITH U.S. ADMINISTRATION REGARDING INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND WILL EXPRESS JAPAN'S DETERMINATION TO FULFILL SECURITY ROLE AS MEMBER OF WESTERN ALLIANCE. HE MAY SUGGEST CONSULTATIONS WITH U.S. ON VARIOUS TEVELS AS MEANS OF DEFINING SECURITY ROLES MORE PRECISELY AND TO FORMULATE MORE EXACTLY JOINT U.S .- JAPAN DEFENSE STRUCTURE. MORE SPECIFICALLY, HE MAY EXPRESS GOJ'S INTENTION TO CONTINUE TO FOCUS EFFORTS ON STRENGTHENING AIR DEFENSE AND ANTI-SUBMARINE WARFARE CAPABILITIES, INCLUDING INTRODUCTION OF BADGE-X IN JFY 1982. DESPITE THE FAVORABLE TRENDS IN JAPAN AND THE CONTI-NUITY OF GOJ POLICIES, WE RECOGNIZE THE DESTRABILITY OF QUICKENING THE PACE OF JAPAN'S DEFENSE EFFORTS. PRESENTATIONS BY TOP U.S. LEADERS OF DUR OVERALL SECURITY CONCERNS TO ITO AND SUZUKI SHOULD INCREASE THEIR REALIZA-TION OF THE IMMEDIACY AND URGENCY OF THE SECURITY ISSUE, OF PRESENT INABILITY OF JAPAN'S FORCES TO FULFILL THEIR

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DEFENSIVE ROLES AND OF NEED FOR MORE EQUITABLE SHARING OF DEFENSE BURDEN. RATHER THAN SEEK SOME PERSONAL COMMITMENT FROM SUZUKI AS TO SPECIFICS OF JAPANESE DEFENSE SPENDING, WE WOULD BE WELL ADVISED TO HEIGHTEN HIS AWARENESS OF WHY IT IS IN JAPAN'S NATIONAL SELF INTEREST TO DO MORE IN THIS FIELD. WE MUST ALSO REASSURE SUZUKI THAT IN CALLING FOR IMPROVEMENTS IN JAPAN'S DEFENSE POSTURE, WE ARE NOT SEEKING CONSTITUTIONAL REVISION, REMILITARIZATION OF JAPAN OR PROBLEMATIC REGIONAL MILITARY ROLE. THESE ASSURANCES ARE ESSENTIAL IF PM IS TO GAIN SUPPORT OF JAPANESE BODY POLITIC FOR GREATER DEFENSE EFFORT.

15. AT THE SAME TIME, WE MUST NOT HOLD UNREALISTIC

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> 0 180953Z MAR 81 FM AMEMBASSY TOKYD

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7308

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EXPECTATIONS THAT JAPAN WILL SOMEHOW MARROW THE GAP THAT EXISTS BETWEEN U.S. BY QUANTUM LEAPS. CURRENT CONSTRAINTS IN THE FISCAL AREA AND LINGERING ANTI-MILITARY SENTIMENT LOOM LARGE TO THE JAPANESE, WHO, IN ANY EVENT, ARE DEEPLY SUSPICIOUS BY NATURE OF SUDDEN CHANGE. OF JAPANESE LEADERSHIP THAT STEADY ACCUMULATION OF EFFORT RATHER THAN DRAMATIC CHANGE IS THE KEY TO STGNIFICANT PROGRESS IS WIDELY SUPPORTED BY ONE OF THE MOST CONSERVA-TIVE AND CAREFUL ELECTORATES ANYWHERE IN THE WORLD. WHAT THE U.S. MUST DO IS TO INSURE THAT THIS STEADY ACCUMULATION ACCUMULATES FASTER IN THE FUTURE THAN IT HAS IN THE PAST. WE MUST, HOWEVER, REMAIN MINDFUL THAT A GROUNDSWELL FOR DRAMATIC INCREASES IN DEFENSE SPENDING IS UNLIKELY. IN FACT, WHATEVER FUTURE PACE OF JAPANESE DEFENSE SPENDING, IT IS NOT LIKELY TO BE AS RAPID AS U.S. DESIRES. 16. MOST PRODUCTIVE COURSE, IN OUR VIEW, WOULD BE TO STRESS BASIC ELEMENTS OF U.S. POLICY AS IT IS NOW DEVELOP-ING (REFTEL C), TO ADVISE JAPAN WHAT IT MUST DO TO ACHIEVE ITS SECURITY, TO REASSURE JAPAN'S LEADERS OF WHAT IT IS WE ARE NOT SEEKING AND PERHAPS TO ENGAGE THEM IN DISCUSSION OF HOW AND WHEN THEY PLAN TO ACHIEVE THE NECESSARY CAPABILITIES. IN DOING SO, FOLLOWING ITEMS MAY BE RELEVANT: -- FROM OUR VANTAGE POINT, ESSENCE OF DEFENSE ISSUE IS

MESSAGE / ANNOTATION:

NOT A "U.S. REQUEST" AT ALL, BUT AN INTERNATIONAL TENSION WHICH DEMANDS THAT JAPAN STRENGTHEN IT'S OWN CAPABILITIES FOR SELF-DEFENSE: -- STRONGER JAPANESE DEFENSES WOULD STRENGTHEN DETERRENT VALUE OF U.S. - JAPAN ALLIANCE AND WOULD SERVE TO REINFORCE JAPAN'S INTERNATIONAL POSITION, FOR INSTANCE, IN ITS DEALINGS WITH USSR. -- U.S. DIES NOT SEEK TO INTERVENE IN SUCH DOMESTIC POLITICAL ISSUES AS DESTRABILITY OF AMENDMENT OF THE JAPANESE CONSTITUTION, MAINTENANCE OF ITS THREE NON-NUCLEAR PRINCIPLES, OR CONTINUATION OF ITS POLICY OF ESCHEWING AN AGGRESSIVE REGIONAL MILITARY ROLE. -- JAPAN'S FORCES NOW FALL SHORT OF THE GOALS GOU HAS SET FOR ITSELF IN THE NATIONAL DEFENSE PROGRAM DUTLINE, THAT IS, DEALING WITH LIMITED SMALL-SCALE AGGRESSION. -- JAPAN HAS PROBLEMS IN FISCAL AREA BUT THESE ARE NOT NEARLY AS SEVERE AS THE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS FACING THE U.S. -- A NATIONAL CONSENSUS SUPPORTING DEFENSE POLICIES NEEDS TO BE DEVELOPED IN JAPAN BUT MORE EFFECTIVE DEFENSE MEASURES CANNOT AWAIT FULL DEVELOPMENT THEREOF BUT MUST PROCEED NOW.

THERE IS A NEED FOR A MORE PRECISE DEFINITION OF SECURITY ROLES, AND USG IS NOW REFINING THESE. BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS ON THIS MATTER WOULD BE PRODUCTIVE, BUT NO MATTER WHAT ROLES MAY EMERGE, JAPAN'S FORCES WILL REQUIRE THE MILITARY RESOURCES (SHIPS, PLANES, MEN) TO FULFILL THESE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

-- STRENGTHENING THE SDF AND GOJ DEFERRAL OF U.S. FORCES COSTS ARE BOTH NECESSARY TO THE U.S.-JAPAN DEFENSE POSTURE. IMPROVEMENTS IN ONE AREA NEED NOT BE AT THE EXPENSE OF THE OTHER.

MANSFIELD

BT

DATE 04/07/81//097

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MESSAGE: IMMEDIATE

> D 181015Z MAR 81 FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7312

INFO AMEMBASSY BEIJING 6313
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW 5725
AMEMBASSY SEOUL 3625
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USMISSION USNATO 0697

#### SECRET TOKYD 04802

EXDIS E.O. 12065: RDS-1, 3/18/01, (BARRACLDUGH, W.), DR-M TAGS: MNUC, PARM, JA SUBJECT: SOVIET DEMARCHE ON FAR EAST CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES REF: STATE 64975 1. (3 - ENTIRE TEXT) 2. EMDBFF CONVEYED TO MOFA SOVIET DIVISION DIRECTOR AND HIS DEPUTY MARCH 17 USG VIEWS (REFTEL) CONCERNING SOVIET PROPOSAL FOR CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES (CBM) AND INQUIRED ABOUT JAPANESE ASSESSMENT. 3. MOFA OFFICIAL'S SAID THAT MAIN PURPOSE OF SOVIET AMBASSADOR POLYANSKII'S MARCH 15 MEETING WITH FOREIGN MINISTER ITO WAS TO READ A NON-PAPER ON CBM PROPOSAL. PULYANSKII'S PRESENTATION URGED JAPAN TO JOIN USSR AND OTHER COUNTRIES IN FAR EAST IN TAKING STEPS TO ESTAB-LISH PEACE AND STABILITY BY NEGOTIATING REGIONAL CBMS,

\*\*\*\*\*\* WHSR COMMENTS \*\*\*\*\*

RA NAN COL VP EA, PRC, EURE, NUCUN NIS FOO -037/, #

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TAKING UNIQUENESS OF AREA INTO CONSIDERATION. HE NOTED SUCCESSFUL IMPLEMENTATION OF CBM'S IN EUROPE (PRIOR NOTIFICATION AND EXCHANGE OF OBSERVERS FOR LARGE-SCALE MILITARY EXERCISES). HE SAID SIMILAR DEMARCHES HAD BEEN MADE TO PRC AND DPRK, AS WELL AS TO THE U.S. BECAUSE OF OUR MILITARY FACILITIES IN THE AREA. POLYANSKII ASKED JAPANESE TO CAREFULLY STUDY THE SOVIET PROPOSALS AS WELL AS POSSIBLE MEASURES TO IMPLEMENT THEM AND THEN TO EXCHANGE VIEWS OFFICIALLY WITH SOVIETS ON ANY LEVEL THEY DESIRED. 4. ITO TOLD POLYANSKII THAT WHILE SOVIETS TALKED ABOUT BUILDING CONFIDENCE AND IMPROVING BILATERAL RELATIONS, THEY WERE AT SAME TIME RESPONSIBLE FOR SUCH PROBLEMS AS NORTHERN TERRITORIES, THE ABSENCE OF A PEACE TREATY BETWEEN JAPAN AND THE USSR AND SOVIET MILITARY BUILDUP IN THE REGION, ALL OF WHICH SERVED TO INCREASE TENSION IN THE AREA AND UNDERMINE MUTUAL CONFIDENCE. 5. MOFA BELIEVES THAT SOVIETS DELIVERED NON-PAPER RATHER THAN PERSONAL LETTER FROM BREZHNEY BECAUSE PROPOSALS MADE TO JAPANESE WERE NOT AS DETAILED OR COMPLEX AS ONES MADE TO EUROPEANS. 6. MOFA BELIEVES THAT SOVIET PROPOSAL REQUIRES A REPLY, BUT HAS NOT YET DETERMINED ITS CONTENTS. MOFA, HOWEVER, FULLY AGREES WITH OUR CONCERN THAT THE SOVIET INITIATIVE NOT BE PERMITTED TO DRIVE WEDGE BETWEEN WESTERN ALLIES AND IT HAS PROMISED TO CONSULT WITH US BEFORE REPLYING TO PROPOSAL. MANSFIELD

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#### **MEMORANDUM**



#### NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

1312 (add-on)

CONFIDENTIAL

INFORMATION

March 19, 1981

RICHARD V. ALLEN MEMORANDUM FOR:

RUTHERFORD POATS FROM:

SUBJECT: Automobile Task Force Report (%)

The President received an oral report from the task force this morning and withheld his final decision on the import restraint issue. He plans to discuss this issue further with a small group, including Haig, Meese, and possibly others, with a view to instructing Haig on the automobile trade position that he is to express to Ito here next week. (A)

In the meantime, at Vice President Bush's suggestion and subject to Haig's review (he was represented by Clark), Mansfield will be instructed to warn Ito before departure from Tokyo that if Japan does not adopt a meaningful voluntary import restraint program it faces almost certain legislated quota limits that would be much more damaging to Japan and to our mutual interest in an open trading system. Mansfield will not state specific US import restraint objectives. (%)

Thus the basic decision to seek real Japanese restraint without overtly negotiating for it seems to have been made. (%)

There is to be no disclosure of the substance of the task force report or the options being considered by the President until something firm can be said about Japan's decision on export restraint. The initiative should be seen as coming from Japan and the Congress, so as to minimize the unraveling of the Administration's economic policy in response to other US industry and political pressures and so as to resist protectionist impulses in Europe.

I see the remaining decisions to be made by the President as matters of degree: How much voluntary Japanese restraint is enough to stall the Congressional rush toward statutory import quotas and to induce the UAW and management to make sacrifices matching the Administration's concessions to the industry? How to get the Japanese Government to act without an overt USG request at a particular restraint level? (A)

CONFIDENTIAL NLS F00-037/1#63

Review on March 19, 1987

BY 101 NASA, DATE 7/24/06

#### **MEMORANDUM**



#### NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

1312 (add-on)

CONFIDENTIAL

INFORMATION

March 19, 1981

MEMORANDUM FOR:

RICHARD V. ALLEN

FROM:

RUTHERFORD POATS

SUBJECT:

Automobile Task Force Report (N)

The President received an oral report from the task force this morning and withheld his final decision on the import restraint issue. He plans to discuss this issue further with a small group, including Haig, Meese, and possibly others, with a view to instructing Haig on the automobile trade position that he is to express to Ito here next week. (N

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Thus the basic decision to seek real Japanese restraint without overtly negotiating for it seems to have been made. ( $\mathbf{K}$ )

There is to be no disclosure of the substance of the task force report or the options being considered by the President until something firm can be said about Japan's decision on export restraint. The initiative should be seen as coming from Japan and the Congress, so as to minimize the unraveling of the Administration's economic policy in response to other US industry and political pressures and so as to resist protectionist impulses in Europe. (N)

I see the remaining decisions to be made by the President as matters of degree: How much voluntary Japanese restraint is enough to stall the Congressional rush toward statutory import quotas and to induce the UAW and management to make sacrifices matching the Administration's concessions to the industry? How to get the Japanese Government to act without an overt USG request at a particular restraint level?

CONFIDENTIAL Review on March 19, 1987

DECLASSIFIED,

NLS F00-037/1#63

BY 63 NAFA, DATE 7/24/06

Je & BN Write Seen THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

This was sent on to Paker

#### THE WHITE HOUSE

#### WASHINGTON



CONFIDENTIAL ATTACHMENT

March 19, 1981

MEMORANDUM FOR ED MEESE

JAMES BAKER

FROM:

RICHARD V. ALLEN

SUBJECT:

Auto Task Force Report

As you know, I have refrained from participating in the deliberations concerning automobile imports.

However, Rutherford Poats of the NSC staff has prepared a useful memorandum (Tab I), with the concurrence of NSC staff member Henry Nau, on the matter. I believe you will find the analysis and the questions raised to be helpful as the matter is considered.

#### **MEMORANDUM**



#### NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

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ACTION

March 18, 1981

MEMORANDUM FOR: RICHARD V. ALLEN

FROM: RUTHERFORD POATS/

SUBJECT: Auto Task Force Report (V)

You may wish to give the President on Thursday morning the suggestions stated in the recommendation section below, for use in tomorrow's Cabinet meeting. N

The principal economic policy advisers to the President -Secretary Regan, Director Stockman and Chairman Weidenbaum -jointly presented to the Auto Task Force Tuesday a three-point
program for the auto industry's recovery. Point one and two were
adopted. The program, as presented, would:

- 1) rely largely on the President's general economic program to stimulate sales investment and productivity growth in the automobile industry;
- 2) accelerate regulatory relief to reduce capital costs by \$4.2 billion over the next five years and lower producer and user costs of US autos and trucks by \$10 billion per year; and
- 3) reject auto import restraints while aggressively seeking to open foreign markets for US automobiles and parts and to reduce barriers to other US exports. (N)

The advocates of this program contend it will generate an additional \$26 billion in the US industry's revenues over the next five years and reemploy 375,000 of the half million currently idled workers in auto and related industries by the end of 1982 and all of them by late 1983. The economic and policy arguments are summarized at Tab A. (X)

The program was generally acknowledged to be politically vulnerable. It excludes earlier suggestions for special tax relief for the auto industry. It rejects import restraints for reasons spelled out in Tab B, and its major concession to the automobile industry is premised on the early success of the general recovery program, about which some Congressional skepticism may be expected. (3)

For these reasons, the pressure for import restraints will continue. The task force agreed to make a unanimous report on

CONFIDENTIAL Review on March 18, 1987

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NLS <u>FOO-037/1 #64</u>

NARA, DATE 7/24/04

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the other issues when it meets with the President on Thursday, but it will present orally several options on the import restraint issue:

- 1) continued free trade and accelerated export drive;
- 2) a formally negotiated restraint agreement;
- 3) USTR compromise intended to hold Japan to about the current annual rate of 1.8 million units without a formal agreement. (8)

The last two options ultimately would not be significantly different. The USTR compromise is likely to produce all the adverse effects of a formal restraint agreement without getting sufficiently explicit assurances from the Japanese to satisfy Congressional concern, and it may be vulnerable to anti-trust suits.

#### RECOMMENDATION:

- A. That the President be advised to raise these foreign policy questions in discussion of the trade options:
- -- If he decides on the free trade option, what can we reasonably require from the Japanese in return, either in the automotive or broader economic area or in other US-Japan relations? (S)
- -- If he chooses some form of restraint option, what will it cost us in the economic or the broader political/security area with Japan? ... with Europe? (8)
- B. That the President be advised to require confidential consultation with the Japanese Government and key members of Congress on any trade restraint plan before he makes his final decision.

Concurrence: Henry Nau

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#### Good Economics

- By reducing costs this positive program will save 0 auto and truck buyers as much as \$10 billion annually (approximately \$830 per vehicle);
- Lower the CPI by perhaps 0.2 to 0.6 percentage points; 0
- Eliminate inefficient and intrusive government regulation; 0
- Yield added efficiencies of fair international trade;
- Maintain competitive market pressure for managerial 0 and labor efficiencies; and
- Confirm expectations for success of the Administration's 0 Economic Recovery Program.

#### Good Policy

- Restore economic decisionmaking to the marketplace; 0
- Preserve Administration discretion to negotiate 0 advantageous trade initiatives;
- Prevent the Japanese from capitalizing on one-sided 0 trade policies, but at the same time avoid picking on a major trading partner and ally;
- Reaffirm the Administration's commitment to a policy 0 of free and open competition;
- Avoid unwarranted concessions to special interest pleading, which might establish a dangerous precedent

#### The Bottom Line

This positive program of economic recovery, accelerated regulatory relief, and trade reform is a structural response to a structural problem. Any other approach would be dealing with symptoms, not with causes.

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NLS #00-037/1 #65

BY 601, NAMA, DATE 7/24/06.

## WHY NOT ADD IMPORT RESTRAINT TO THE AUTO RECOVERY PROGRAM?

#### Summary

- o Import restraint, at best, would add only marginally to the relief afforded the auto industry by the Administration's economic recovery, regulatory relief and trade reform programs, and, at worst, jeopardize the success of these policies. (See table.)
- The underlying philosophy of import restraint is inconsistent with the Administration's programs for economic recovery and regulatory relief. It implies more rather than less government intervention in the marketplace.
- o Import restraint would offer only temporary relief and could inhibit rather than promote the industry's structural reforms. By contrast, regulatory and trade reforms offer permanent benefits and maintain competitive incentives.

#### Non-Controversial Issues

- o Success of the President's Economic Recovery Program is critical to the U.S. auto industry. No action should jeopardize this program.
- o Even a successful recovery program may not generate sufficient capital to enable the industry to meet changing customer demands, increasingly stringent government regulations, and competition from abroad.
- o Structural change takes time: the industry must have "breathing room" to effect needed changes.

#### The Critical Question

o How to provide the capital and breathing room the industry needs without jeopardizing the President's Economic Recovery Program?

One Answer: Import Restraints on Japanese Automobiles

By limiting Japanese imports to 1.6 million units per year for three years, U.S. consumers would be forced to buy U.S. autos (or do without), thus generating more than \$2 billion in added cash flow for domestic firms and providing funds for needed structural change.

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NLS F00-037/1#66

BY LOT NARA, DATE 7/24/06

#### A Better Answer: Accelerated Regulatory Relief and Trade Reform

- o By eliminating unnecessary regulations and by deferring desirable, but postponable, regulatory goals, the capital needs of the industry will be cut by \$4.2 billion or more over the next few years and provide the industry with necessary breathing room.
- o By insisting that a U.S. policy of free and unrestricted trade be matched by similar policies on the part of its trading partners, new markets will be opened for U.S. products and a pattern of healthier trade relationships established.

#### Why Not Both?

- o Import restraint would provide a temporary increase in cash flow and would buy time; but it would also constitute:
  - -- BAD BUSINESS Import restraint would invite a Japanese invasion of the high-profit, luxury small car market and reduce pressure for the management and labor reforms so critical to the domestic industry.
  - BAD ECONOMICS Import restraint would cost consumers between \$2-3 billion per year, signal a return to Federal policies which "nickel and dime" the CPI into double digits, and threaten the credibility of the President's economic programs.
  - -- BAD POLICY Import relief would set a precedent for further government intervention in the marketplace, set back trade policy, and reduce the political pressures for much-needed regulatory relief in this industry.
- o A program of accelerated regulatory relief and trade reform would provide a <u>permanent</u> reduction in cash needs, buy time for the industry, and also constitute:
  - -- GOOD BUSINESS U.S. producers could focus their time and money on satisfying real consumer needs and beating foreign competition in the showroom rather than in Washington.
  - -- GOOD ECONOMICS Regulatory relief would <u>save</u> consumers perhaps \$10 billion annually, lower the CPI by perhaps 0.3 0.6 percentage points, and affirm the Administration's determination to spur economic recovery by reducing wasteful regulation.
  - -- GOOD POLICY Accelerated regulatory relief and trade reform would reduce government involvement in all markets (foreign and domestic), advance international economic relations while preserving Administration discretion, and avoid precedent-setting relief programs that are inconsistent with the President's economic philosophy.