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WITHDRAWAL SHEET Ronald Reagan Library

Collection: Executive Secretariat, NSC

Country File

OA/Box:

File Folder: Japan (6/11/82 - 9/3/82)

Archivist: mid

FOIA ID: F00-037 (1539), Oberdorfer

Date: 01/12/2004

1. Memo	Roger Robinson to Robert McFarlane re Meeting with Chikara Higashi, 3p	6/11/82	BL
	R 7/24/06 F00-037/1 # 334		
2. Report		6/10/82	B1 B3
3. Report	(annotated), 4p	6/10/82	B1,83
4. Cable	D # 336 180635Z JUN 82, 1p	6/18/82	81
	R 11 11 #337		'
5. Cable	190548Z JUN 81, 1p R # 338	6/19/82	81
6. Memo	Robinson to William Clark re Sakhalin Project, 1p	7/1/82	B1
7. Report	PART. 11 11 #339	6/25/82	B1,83
8. Cable	D 11 #340 032025Z JUL 82, 2p	7/3/82	
	R 11 11 #34)		BI
9. Cable	080747Z JUL 82, 1p R !! !! #34Z	7/8/82	BL
10. Cable	080837Z SEP 82, 1p	9/8/82	BL
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B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA].

B-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA].

B-2 Release could disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA].

B-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA].

B-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA].

B-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA].

B-7a Release could reasonably be expected to interfere with enforcement proceedings [(b)(7)(A) of the FOIA].
B-7b Release would deprive an individual of the right to a fair trial or impartial adjudication [(b)(7)(B) of the FOIA]

B-7c Release could reasonably be expected to cause unwarranted invasion or privacy [(b)(7)(C) of the FOIA].

B-7d Release could reasonably be expected to disclose the identity of a confidential source [(b)(7)(D) of the FOIA].

B-7e Release would disclose techniques or procedures for law enforcement investigations or prosecutions or would disclose guidelines which could reasonably be expected to risk circumvention of the law [(b)(7)(E) of the FOIA].

B-7f Release could reasonably be expected to endanger the life or physical safety of any individual [(b)(7)(F) of the FOIA].

B-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA].

B-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA].

PENDING REVIEW IN ACCORDANCE WITH E.O. 13233

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection Name EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT, NSC: COUNTRY FILE

Withdrawer

LOJ

7/20/2007

File Folder

JAPAN (06/11/1982-09/03/1982)

FOIA

F00-037 (F1539)

Box Number

ID Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date		
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FROM ROBINSON

M72664 DOCDATE 11 JUN 82

KEYWORDS	: JAPAN OIL	EXPORT CONTROLS	HIGASHI, CHIKARI
SUBJECT:	MTG W/ HIGASHI RE SAKHALIN	PROJECT	
ACTION:	FOR INFORMATION	DUE:	STATUS IX FILES
	FOR ACTION CLARK	FOR CONCURRENCE	FOR INFO BAILEY PIPES GREGG NAU
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June 11, 1982

CUNFILENTIAL

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

CONFIDENTIAL with SECRET ATTACHMENTS

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. MCFARLANE

FROM:

ROGER W. ROBINSON

SUBJECT:

Meeting with Chikari Higashi of the Japanese

Finance Ministry on the Sakhalin Project

Pursuant to your request, Henry Nau and I met with Mr. Higashi who continued to express high-level Japanese concerns regarding Sakhalin. Over the past several weeks, Norman Bailey and I have participated in several such meetings with common and overlapping themes. The central points communicated by Mr. Higashi in the one and a half hour meeting included:

- -- Japanese "disappointment" concerning the outcome of the Summit meeting between the President and Prime Minister Suzuki. (Comment: We clarified the President's position in the meeting as requiring both significant improvement in the Polish situation and further substantial progress on credits as preconditions to any "flexibility" on Sakhalin licenses.)
- -- Inconsistency of our grain sales juxtaposed to delaying gas compensation transactions. (Comment: Highlighted cash dimension of grain sales and cost of our previous one-year embargo to farmers with little burden-sharing elsewhere.)
- -- Cited eight-year-old nature of Sakhalin project in an effort to differentiate Sakhalin from newer Siberian pipeline project. (Comment: Cited the completed Orenburg gas pipeline -- 1978 -- as an example of U.S. companies being constrained from oil and gas sales to older projects as well.)
- -- Highashi mentioned \$40-46,000 per day charge for holding drill rig in awaiting a USG decision. (Comment: We countered that the USG position on this matter has been communicated consistently since late-May with no indication of a positive shift in our posture. In addition, mentioned some \$500-600 million in foregone U.S. commercial sales to the Siberian pipeline to demonstrate burden-sharing.)

CONFIDENTIAL with SECRET ATTACHMENTS Review June 11, 1988

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NLS _F00 - 037/1#-334

- -- He confided that although Finance Minister Watanabe had distanced himself from this issue, MITI Minister Abe had put himself out on a limb. Abe reportedly held a press conference in Anchorage on his way to Versailles and expressed confidence that U.S. licenses would be granted at the Summit due to Japan's "in principle" willingness to cooperate on credit restraints. (Comment: We were sympathetic but again made clear that these expectations were not fostered by the Administration.)
- -- He again mentioned rigid deadline, and \$500 million Japanese investment potentially lost due to Soviet abrogation. (Comment: Politely countered with our understanding that the project had already been postponed by some 15 months due to LNG oversupply situation and Odoptu exploratory work extended to 1983 to offset missed timetable in 1982. In addition, corrected the investment figure downward to \$170 million with the remainder being potentially foregone profits over the 20 year life of the project.)
- -- Throughout the meeting, we emphasized the President's sensitivity and understanding on the Sakhalin matter but again repeatedly indicated the broader and complex circumstances in which such a decision must be framed (i.e. Poland, integrity of December 30 sanctions, Soviet incentive to exploit U.S. inconsistency, etc.). We pointed out that, fortunately, our decision would reportedly not interrupt the important production phase of the project or result in any material financial losses. We also cited the positive related effort by the USG to reappraise our policy of possibly permitting Japan to stockpile strategic reserves of Alaskan crude in the U.S.
- -- Turning to a more strategic view of Sakhalin, I commented that both the Siberian pipeline and Sakhalin had necessarily become, to some degree, politically vulnerable as together they would eventually provide the Soviets with approximately \$10 billion in annual hard currency earnings. In the spirit of friendship, Mr. Higashi was requested to recognize that the USG could not forego critical non-military policy tools toward the USSR nor could it conduct "business as usual" at a time of exceedingly aggressive geopolitical behavior now or in the future. It was mentioned that Japan, who is already pressured by an overabundance of LNG supply alternatives, might keep these facts in mind prior to committing the planned \$2.5-3 billion investment for the development phase of the project in late 1983 or 1984. Mr. Higashi appeared to reflect on this remark.
- -- The meeting ended with agreement that we fully understood and respected the others' position and that it was regrettable that the circumstances in force did not permit an accommodation

CONFIDENTIAL

at this time. In a subsequent brief meeting with Don Gregg, Mr. Higashi reportedly seemed to have adjusted his view due to the comprehensive nature of our discussion and, apparently resigned to a negative response, asked that we communicate a "no" decision as early as possible to facilitate the release of the leased drill rig.

Attached are cables received today on Sakhalin which further corroborate one position on this somewhat exaggerated bilateral issue (Tabs A and B). We will discuss whether it is indicated to again communicate a negative decision to GOJ "at this time" by June 16 and inform you accordingly.

Henry Nati and Don Gregg concur.

Attachments

Tab A TDFIR DB-315/12380-82 Tab B TDFIR DB-315/12379-82

cc: Norman Bailey Richard Pipes Don Gregg Henry Nau

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National Security Council The White House

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TO SECSTATE WASHDO NIACT IMMEDIATE 2172 ISDOC WASHDO NIACT IMMEDIATE SECDEF WASHDO NIACT IMMEDIATE WHITE HOUSE WASHDO NIACT IMMEDIATE

FROM #MEASSADOR MANSFIELD FOR SECSTATE HAIG, SECCOM EALDRIDGE, SECCEF MEINBURGER, NSC CLARK WHITE HOUSE PAGS NSC CLARK E. D. 12065: GDS 6/16/88 (ANGEVINE, CHARLES) OR-E TAGS: EENT, ESTC, JA CUEJECT: GAKHALIN LXPORT LICENSES REFS: (A) STATE 167964; (B) TOKYO 10254

1. (-ENTIRE TEXT).

- 1. IN MARE DEPARTURE FROM USUAL GOJ CUSTOM, INTERNATIONAL TRADE AND INDUSTRY MINISTER SHINTARO ABE CALLED ON ME JUNE 16 TO STRESS THE IMPORTANCE TO THE OVERALL US-JAPANESE RELATIONSHIP OF A FAVORABLE DECISION ON THE SAKHALIN EXPORT LICENSES BY THE NSC AT ITS JUNE 18 MEETING.
- S. THE QUESTION HAD BEEN THE SUBJECT OF A NUMBER OF DISCUSSIONS AT HIGH GOVERNMENT LEVELS, MOST NOTABLY THE PRE-SUMMIT MEETING OF PRESIDENT REAGAN AND PRIME MINISTER SUZUKI. THE POINTS STRESSED BY

MESSAGE (CONTINUED):

ABE WERE THAT THE SAKHALIN PROJECT IS AN ONGOING PROJECT, SEGUN WELL BEFORE THE SANCTIONS FROBLEM AROSE AND THAT THE JAFANESE GOVERNMENT HAS A DIRECT STAKE IN THE PROJECT, AND THAT AN ADVERSE DECISION WOULD HAVE UNFAVORABLE DOMESTIC REPERCUSSIONS. ABE SAID THAT GOJ HAS NO FURTHER ABILITY TO DEFER DECISION ON CURRENT SERSON'S DRILLING PROGRAM.

4. I HAVE PREVIOUSLY EXPRESSED MY VIEWS ON THE IMPORTANCE TO U.S. -JAPAN RELATIONS OF A FAVORABLE DECISION ON THE SACHALIN PROJECT. I MUST NOW EMPHASIZE THAT THE ISSUE HAS REACHED A CRITICAL POINT. IF THE JUNE 15 MEETING IS UNABLE TO APPROVE THE REQUIRED EXPORT LICENSES, THE JAPANESE REACTION WILL BE NEGATIVE AND WE WILL HAVE GREATER DIFFICULTY IN OBTAINING JAPANESE SUPPORT FOR OUR ECONOMIC POLICIES

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CHNEERRA FASC AMBASSADOR HOLDRIDGE E.O. 12065: GDS 6/18/88 (GELIGMANN, A.)

TAGS: EVWT, ESTC, JA

SUBJECT: NOC DECISION ON SAFFALIN L CENSING

PRISSELS ALSO FOR USEC IMMEDIATE, PARIS ALSO FOR DECD IMM.

REF: TOKYO 10293

1. C - ENTIRE TEXT.

- 2. UNDERSECRETARY EAGELBURGER CALLED IN AMEASSADOR OKAWARA (ACCOMPANIED BY MINISTER HATANO AND COUNSELOR WATANABE) AT 4:25 P.M., JUNE 18 TO CONVEY THE DECISION AT THE NSC MEETING EARLIER IN THE DAY AFFECTING LICENSES FOR THE SAKHALIN PROJECT (DAS SHOESMITH, EA/DIRECTOR SELIGMANN AND SPECIAL ASSISTANT DARRYL JOHNSON SAT IN).
- 3. THE UNDERSECRETARY SAID THAT THE PRESIDENT HAD DECIDED AFTER REVIEW OF THE SANCTIONS IMPOSED AT THE END OF

MESSAGE (CONTINUED):

DECEMBER 1981 TO EXTEND THOSE SANCTIONS TO INCLUDE EQUIPMENT PRODUCED BY SUBSIDIARIES OF US COMPANIES AERCAD AS WELL AS EQUIPMENT PRODUCED ABROAD UNDER ; S LICENSES. THE US OBJECTIVE HAD BEEN AND WOULD CONTINUE TO BE TO ADVANCE RECONCILIATION IN POLAND. SINCE DECEMBER THERE HAD BEEN LITTLE CHANGE IN THE SITUATION IN POLAND, AND WE NEEDED MORE EVIDENCE THAT THE SITUATION WAS PRO-GRESSING. WE WOULD CONTINUE TO ENCOURAGE ALLIES PARTICI-

PATING IN GAS AND DIL PIFELINE PROJECTS TO FURSUE NON-SOVIET SOURCES. THE UNDERSECRETARY SAID THAT AS A RESULT OF THIS DECISION, WE WOULD NOT BE ISSUING THE LICENSES FOR THE SAKHALIN PROJECT.

4. THE UNDERSECRETARY WENT ON TO EXPLAIN THAT 120 GE ROTORS WERE COVERED BY GUR SANCTIONS, OF WHICH 21

THE BEEN OF THEE PRIOR TO THE MESS TION OF SHILL DIG. SOME OF THE EVECTEANS HAS ARREST THAT THOSE SHIPPED WERE NOT COVERED BY THE SENCTIONS, BUT INDER THIS DECI-CION THEY WOULD BE. DIFFICULT AC THE DECISION WAS FOR LAFRY, IT AND MORE DIFFICLLY FOR THE UM, FRANCE, ITALY AND GERMANY.

5. AMBACCADOR CHAMARA ASKED ABOUT SPECULATION THAT THE US WOULD HAVE NO LEVERAGE IF THE EUROPEANS WENT AHEAD ANYWAY, BUT THE UNDERSECRETARY SAID THAT OUR ANALYSIS INDICATED THE SIEPS WE HAD TAKEN WOULD DELAY THE PRO-JECT BY ABOUT TWO YEARS, EVEN THOUGH THERE MIGHT BE MAJOR LEGAL FROBLEMS IN ENFORCING IT. ONAWARA SAID IT APPEARED THAT COMPARED WITH THE YAMAL PIPELINE, THE EFFECT ON JAPAN WOULD BE IMMEDIATE AND DIRECT. EAGELBURGER FOINTED OUT, HOWEVER, THAT THE BRITISH FIRM JOHN BROWN WAS MEET-ING THAT DAY WITH THE SOVIETS, AND THAT THE DECISION WOULD COST THEM SEVERAL MILLION DOLLARS. GERMANY, ITALY AND FRANCE WOULD ALSO SUFFER MAJOR LOSSES. AND GE STOOD TO LOSE 175-200 MILLION DOLLARS. THERE WAS NO QUESTION BUT THAT THE DECISION WAS PAINFUL FOR JAPAN BUT IT WAS ALSO PAINFUL FOR OTHERS. MOREOVER, SPEAKING FRANKLY, WE WERE NOT CONVENCED THAT THE SOLVETS WOULD CANCEL THE CONTRACT WITH JAPAN.

SECCTATE WASHDO 0004 DTG: 190948Z JUN 80 FON: 0/5973 MESSAGE (CONTINUED. :

- 6. AMBACSADOR OKAWARA SAID THAT THE SOVIETS MIGHT OR MIGHT NOT CANCEL, BUT THE POINT WAS THAT THE US DECISION WOULD BE REGARDED IN JAPAN AS PENALIZING JAPAN RATHER THAN THE SOVIETS, AND THAT THERE WOULD BE A BAD REACTION, INFOMUCH AS IT HOULD SEEM THAT WE WERE PUNISHING A COUNTRY THAT "AD COOPERATED IN OUR SANCTION POLICIES. PICKING UP THE UNCERCECRETARY'S COMMENT ABOUT ALTERNATIVE ENERGY SOURCES, OKAWARA SAID IT WOULD HELP SOFTEN REACTION IF AN ANNOUNCEMENT COULD BE MADE THAT THE ADMINISTRATION INTENDED TO CONCIDER THE POSSIBILITY OF MAKING ALASKAN CIL AVAILABLE TO JAPAN. EAGLEBURGER SAID HE WOULD LOOK INTO THE IDEA.
- 7. ASKED WHETHER THE US HAD CONSIDERED A GRAIN EMBARGO. AND WHETHER THE EUROPEANS WOULD NOT SEE AN INCONSISTENCY IF WE CONTINUED TO SHIP GRAIN, EAGLEBURGER SAID WE HAD NOT CONSIDERED AN EMBARGO, ALTHOUGH WE WERE REVIEWING

OUR LONG-TERM GRAIN AGREEMENT. IT WAS IMPORTANT, HOW-EVER, TO NOTE THE MAJOR DIFFERENCE BETWEEN A PROJECT THAT WOULD EARN TENS OF BILLIONS OF DOLLARS FOR THE SOVIETS AND THE PROVISION OF FOOD TO THE SOVIETS WHICH COSTS THEM BILLIONS IN HARD CURRENCY. MOREOVER, THE EUROPEANS WOULD BE MUCH UPSET IF WE ADDPTED SUCH A COMPROMIATIONAL MEASURE. IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT THE DENIAL OF ROTORS WOULD RESULT IN A LOSS OF 2,000 US JOBS, AS WELL AS THE LOSS OF BUSINESS TO GE. BY REFUSING EXPORT CREDITS TO THE SOVIETS SINCE 1974, WE WERE LOSING ABOUT 75 BILLION DOLLARS OVER THE DECADE.

8. ASKED WHETHER WE WOULD CONTINUE OUR DIALOGUE WITH THE SOVIETS, THE UNDERSECRETARY SAID THE SECRETARY AND GROMYKO WERE MEETING THAT DAY IN NEW YORK.

EAGLEBURGER

SECCIATE NASHDO ROBA

DIG: 198548Z JUN 81 PSN: 825973



TO

CLASSIFIED ENCLOSE F(S)

RECEIVED 01 JUL 82 12

DOCDATE 01 JUL 82

KEYWORDS: EXPORT CONTROLS

ACTION OFFICER (S) ASSIGNED

DISPATCH

JAPAN

USSR

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INTELLIGENCE

SUBJECT: UPDATE ON SAKHALIN PROJECT

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MEMORANDUM

4582

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

July 1, 1982

SECPET

INFORMATION

Wish.

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM P. CLARK

FROM:

ROGER W. ROBINSON

SUBJECT:

Sakhalin Project

FOIA(b) (1)

Attached (Tab I) is a comprehensive report which is consistent with information provided by my own Japanese sources. It further substantiates a number of our claims made in the NSC review of GOJ and SODECO representations on this subject.

- (1) SODECO had already received assurances in late May that Japan's participation in the project would be unaffected by the U.S. not granting an exemption from the sanctions and that the Soviets never believed it could mobilize the necessary financing or technical capability to proceed independently.
- (2) SODECO officials withheld receipt of these assurances given by the Chairman of the Soviet State Planning Committee (Baybakov) from the GOJ due to their concern that MITI and other GOJ officials would be "less forceful" in pressing the USG, including the President, for an exception were they aware of the Soviet assurances.
- (3) This is the second documented instance of SODECO withholding key information from GOJ. The other incident involved the misuse of some \$15 million in SODECO funds by the Soviets to purchase three electronic surveillance ships from a Norwegian manufacturer which was never reported in SODECO's annual report to MITI for fear of GOJ action against them.

Regrettably, these cynical and deceptive practices by SODECO unnecessarily caused considerable anxiety and divisiveness among responsible officials of our Administration, many of whom legitimately expressed deep concern over the impact of the President's decision on our bilateral relationship. These practices also severely compromised several senior GOJ officials

SECRET

Review June 25, 2002 Derivative Classification by CIA DECLASSIFIED IN PART

NLS <u>F00 -037/1# 339</u>

RV <u>LDS</u>, NARA, Date <u>7/24/06</u>



SECRET

including Prime Minister Suzuki, who obviously went too far out on a limb with the Japanese public and the USG in supporting SODECO's claims.

Attachment Tab I

FOIA(b) (/)

cc: Norman Bailey

Dick Pipes Don Gregg

Dick Childress

Henry Nau Al Myer

Ed McGaffigan

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National Sec ity Council The White House

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EXDIS

E.O. 12065: RDS-1 7/3/02 (STOESSEL, WALTER J.)
TAGS: PPDC, PSDC, PEPR, PBOR, JA, US, XF

SUBJECT: JAPANESE AMBASSADOR DELIVERS PRIME MINISTER'S
- LETTER ON LEBANON TO ACTING SECRETARY

REF: TOKYO 11237

1. ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: AMBASSADOR OKAWARA JULY 2 DELIVERED TO THE ACTING SECRETARY A COPY OF A JUNE 30 LETTER FROM PRIME MINISTER SUZUKI TO THE PRESIDENT ON LEBANON. THE AMBASSADOR EXPRESSED GOJ CONCERN OVER THE SITUATION IN LEBANON AND ISRAEL'S "UNJUSTIFIABLE INVASION." HE HOPED THE USG WOULD USE ITS INFLUENCE WITH ISRAEL TO PREVENT ITS FORCEFUL ENTRY INTO WEST BEIRUT. ANY NEW LEBANESE GOVERNMENT, HE SAID, SHOULD REFLECT THE WISHES OF THE LEBANESE PEOPLE AND NOT APPEAR TO BE MADE IN ISRAEL. HE ALSO COMMENTED WITH CONCERN ON US ISOLATION AT THE UN. THE ACTING SECRETARY, IN RESPONSE, SAID THAT THE MAIN ISSUE NOW WAS TO ARRANGE FOR THE DEPARTURE OF THE PLO. WE WERE INVOLVED IN DELICATE NEGOTIATIONS TO ACHIEVE THAT END AND WERE WORKING CLOSELY WITH THE LEBANESE TO PROMOTE A GOVERNMENT ABLE TO

MESSAGE (CONTINUED):

CONTROL ITS BORDERS, COUNTRY AND ARMY. WE WERE HOPEFUL,
THAT IF LEBANON CDULD BE STRENGTHENED AND THE PLO WITHDREW.

INCREASED ISRAELI CONFIDENCE WOULD IMPROVE THE PROSPECTS FOR THE AUTDNOMY TALKS. END SUMMARY

3. PARALLELING DEMARCHE IN TOKYO (REFTEL), AMBASSADOR OKAWARA JULY 2 DELIVERED A COPY OF A JUNE 30 LETTER FROM PRIME MINISTER SUZUKI TO THE PRESIDENT ON LEBANON (TEXT SEPTEL) TO ACTING SECRETARY STOESSEL (DAS SHOESMITH, EA/J DIRECTOR SELIGMANN AND COUNSELOR WATANABE ALSO PRESENT). AMBASSADOR OKAWARA SAID THAT HE HAD BEEN INSTRUCTED TO CONVEY TO THE PRESIDENT MOST URGENTLY GOJ CONCERNS AND HAD THUS TAKEN THE LIBERTY TO DELIVER THE ORIGINAL MESSAGE TO THE WHITE HOUSE. AS THE ACTING SECRETARY PROBABLY HAD LEARNED, DIRECTOR-GENERAL MURATA HAD

RECENTLY RAISEO GOJ CONCERNS WITH DCM CLARK IN TOKYO AS WELL. THE GOJ'S IMMEDIATE CONCERN WAS THAT ISRAEL NOT MAKE FORCEFUL ENTRY INTO WEST BEIRUT WHICH WOULD CAUSE EMEARASSMENT FOR THE US WITH ITS WESTERN ALLIES AND MODERATE ARAB STATES. IT WAS THE GOJ VIEW THAT THE US WAS THE ONLY NATION WITH SUFFICIENT INFLUENCE WITH ISRAEL TO PREVENT SUCH A DEVELOPMENT.

- 4. DKAWARA SAID THAT ISRAEL MAY HAVE HAD ITS OWN REASONS FOR THE INVASION OF LEBANON, BUT IT COULD NOT BE JUSTIFIED BY ANY CRITERIA. ALTHOUGH ISRAEL HAD SAID IT HAD BEEN FORCED TO ENTER LEBANON DUE TO THE PRESENCE OF SYRIAN AND PLO FORCES, PROMPT ISRAEL! WITHDRAWAL WAS REQUIRED.
- 5. THE AMBASSADOR UNDERSTOOD THAT THERE SEEMED TO BE MOVEMENT IN LEBANON TO RECONSTITUTE A LEBANESE GOVERNMENT AND THAT IT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE TO CREATE A GOVERNMENT FRIENDLY TO ISRAEL. IT WAS, HOWEVER, IMPORTANT THAT THE NEW GOVERNMENT REFLECT THE WISHES OF THE LEBANESE PEOPLE AND NOT APPEAR TO HAVE BEEN "MADE IN ISRAEL."
- 6. THE AMBASSADOR VIEWED THE ISOLATION OF THE US AT THE UN ON THIS ISSUE AS POTENTIALLY HARMFUL TO US RELATIONS WITH MODERATE ARAB STATES AND THE WESTERN ALLIES, AND SAID

SECSTATE WASHDC 5226 DTG: 032025Z JUL 82 PSN: 046180 MESSAGE (CONTINUED):

THAT SOME CONSIDERED THE US TO BE IN COLLUSION WITH ISRAEL. HE UNDERSTOOD THAT THE US HAD TO DECIDE ITS VOTING IN THE UN INDEPENDENTLY, BUT HOPED THE US WOULD INFLUENCE ISRAEL, SO THAT THE FRIENDS OF THE US WOULD NOT SEE THE US ISOLATED AT THE UN.

- 7. OKAWARA SAID THE WEST BANK AND GAZA OID NOT SEEM TO BE PART OF CURRENT US CALCULATIONS. IF SOME WAY COULD BE FDUND TO TAKE THIS ELEMENT INTO CONSIDERATION, IT WOULD BE WELCOMED BY FRIENDS OF THE US AND IMPROVE THE IMAGE OF ALL NATIONS CONCERNED.
- 8. IN CONCLUSION, THE AMBASSADOR MENTIONED JAPAN'S RECENT DONATION OF \$1 MILLION TO THE INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS FOR REFUGEE RELIEF IN LEBANON AND SAID JAPAN WOULD CONTINUE TO MAKE ITS UTMOST EFFORT IN THIS REGARD. HE HOPED THAT THE US AND JAPAN COULD COOPERATE IN THIS AREA. THE LEBANESE AMBASSADOR IN TOKYO HAD DELIVERED A MESSAGE ASKING FOR JAPANESE AID AND PRIME MINISTER SUZUKI HAD REPLIED HE WAS PREPARED TO COOPERATE. HE ADDED HIS THANKS OF OR US AID IN THE EVACUATION OF JAPANESE EMBASSY PERSONNEL FROM BEIRUT AND HOPED THAT IN FUTURE SIMILAR SITUATIONS THE US COULD BE RELIED ON FOR ASSISTANCE.
- 9. ACTING SECRETARY STOESSEL THANKED THE AMBASSADOR FOR HIS REMARKS AND THE COPY OF PRIME MINISTER SUZUKI'S LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT AND ASSURED THE AMBASSADOR THAT WE WOULD CONSIDER HIS COMMENTS CAREFULLY AND REPORT THIS CONVERSATION TO THE PRESIDENT. THE SITUATION IN LEBANON WAS OUR CENTRAL CONCERN AT THIS TIME AND WE WERE WORKING INTENSIVELY TOWARD A RESOLUTION. THE NEGOTIATIONS IN WHICH AMBASSADOR HABIB WAS INVOLVED WERE EXTREMELY DELICATE AND THE SITUATION WAS CHANGING MOMENT TO MOMENT. WE HOPED THAT AN INVASION OF WEST BEIRUT COULD BE AVOIDED AND WERE WORKING CLOSELY WITH THE LEBANESE TO THIS END. WE WERE NOT "IN COLLUSION" WITH THE ISRAELIS, AND AS THE PRESIDENT HAD SAID RECENTLY IN A PRESS CONFERENCE, THE USG HAD HAD NO PRIOR WARNING OF ISRAEL'S INTENTION TO INVADE LEBANON. WE

NIS FOD-037/1#341

PAGE \$2 OF \$2 SECSTATE WASHDC 5226

DIG: 032025Z JUL 82 PSN: 046180

HAD ON MANY OCCASIONS COUNSELED THE ISRAELIS NOT TO RESORT TO FORCE. THE REASON FOR THE INVASION WENT BACK MANY YEARS, AND ALTHOUGH WE CEPLOFED RECENT ISRAELI ACTIONS. WE

MESSAGE (CONTINUED):

UNDERSTOOD THEIR MOTIVATION. NOT ONLY ISRAEL SHOULD BE CRITICIZED; THE PLO AS WELL BORE RESPONSIBILITY FOR CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS.

10. AMBASSADOR STOESSEL SAID THE PLO HAD BECOME A KIND OF STATE WITHIN A STATE OVER WHICH THE LEBANESE GOVERNMENT HAD NO CONTROL. OUR INTENTION NOW WAS TO WORK TO STRENGTHEN GOL AUTHORITY SO THAT IT MIGHT CONTROL ITS BORDERS, COUNTRY, AND ARMY. THIS WOULD REQUIRE THE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL FOREIGN FORCES -- ISRAELI, PLO, AND SYRIAN -- AND THE DISARMING OF ALL MILITIA GROUPS WITHIN LEBANON. THESE GOALS WERE BASED UPON LEBANESE DESIRES, AND WE WOULD CONTINUE TO WORK CLOSELY WITH THE LEBANESE TO ACHIEVE THEM. THERE WAS SOME BASIS FOR HOPE THAT THE ARMED FORCES OF THE PLO WOULD LEAVE LEBANON, ALTHOUGH SOME PALESTINIAN REFUGEES WOULD REMAIN.

11. AMBASSADOR STOESSEL AGREED THAT US ISOLATION IN THE UN WAS UNFORTUNATE BUT THE RESOLUTIONS PRESENTED ON LEBANON HAD BEEN UNBALANCED AND INADEQUATE. IN THE CASE

OF THE FRENCH RESOLUTION WE HAD MADE SUGGESTIONS FOR CHANGES IN THE DRAFT, AS HAD THE LEBANESE, BUT THEY WERE DISREGARDED AND WE FINALLY VETOED THE RESOLUTION. THE ACTING SECRETARY EXPRESSED HIS BELIEF THAT IF LEBANON COULD BE STRENGTHENED AND THE PLO WITHDREW, ISRAELI CONFIDENCE WOULD BE IMPROVED AND THE AUTONOMY TALKS INCLUDING TALKS ON GAZA AND THE WEST BANK, WOULD HAVE A BETTER CHANCE OF SUCCESS.

- 13. AMBASSADDR STOESSEL CONCLUDED HIS DESCRIPTION OF THE CURRENT SITUATION WITH THANKS FOR JAPAN'S FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE TO LEBANON AND IN THE CONTEXT OF US-JAPAN COOPERATION SUGGESTED THAT AMBASSADOR OKAWARA SEE AID ADMINISTRATOR MCPHERSON, WHO WOULD BE HEADING UP US EFFORTS FOR ASSISTANCE TO LEBANON.
- 14. AMBASSADOR OKAWARA ASKEO IF AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE PARTIES WAS NEAR AT HAND AND IF REPORTS WERE TRUE THAT THE PLO WOULD BE ALLOWED TO LEAVE BEIRUT WITH THEIR SMALL

MESSAGE (CONTINUED):

ARMS. AMBASSADOR STOESSEL REPLIED THAT THE ISRAELIS HAD INDICATED THERE WAS A TIME LIMIT -- IF NOT A MATTER OF HOURS, NO MORE THAN A FEW DAYS. PRIME MINISTER BEGIN HAD SHOWN SOME FLEXIBILITY ON THE ISSUE OF THE PLO DEPARTING WITH THEIR LIGHT WEAPONS. IN RESPONSE TO AMBASSADOR OKAWARA'S QUESTION ABOUT THE PLO'S DESTINATION, SHOULD IT DECIDE TO LEAVE LEBANON, THE ACTING SECRETARY SAID IT WOULD BE BEST IF THE PLO FIGHTERS AND LEADERSHIP WENT TO A LARGE, MODERATE AND STABLE ARAB COUNTRY WHERE THEY COULD BE CONTROLLED. HE SUGGESTED THE POSSIBILITIES OF EGYPT AND ALGERIA OR, ALTERNATIVELY, LIBYA IF NO SUCH STATE WOULD ACCEPT THEM. THE USG WAS OPPOSED TO THE PLO TAKING REFUGE IN ONE OF THE GULF STATES, E.G., KUWALIT. THE MAIN TASK NOW WAS TO ARRANGE FOR THE PLO'S DEPARTURE FROM LEBANON AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

15. AMBASSADOR ONA ARA REPORTED THAT THE CONCERN OF SOME WAS THE AFPEARANCE OF US CONNIVANCE WITH ISRAEL AND ASKED ABOUT EGYPT'S REACTION. IN RESPONSE, AMBASSADOR STOESSEL SAID THAT THIS WAS EXACTLY WHAT THE SOVIETS WERE SAYING AND IT WAS NOT TRUE. AS FOR EGYPTIAN REACTION, THE ACTING SECRETARY SAID EGYPT WAS CONCERNED ABOUT ITS IMAGE WITH THE OTHER ARAB STATES BUT THAT EGYPT UNDERSTOOD ISRAEL'S PROBLEM WITH THE PLO AND WOULD WELCOME THE STRENGTHENING OF THE GOL. AMBASSADOR STOESSEL MENTIONED THAT WE HAD BEEN IN TOUCH WITH THE SAUDIS THROUGHOUT AND THEY ALSO WOULD LIKE A STRONGER GOL.

STOESSEL

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE Ø1

TOKYO 156Ø SIT644 DATE Ø7/19/82 DTG: 0807472 JUL 82 PSN: 051838

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WHSR COMMENT:

MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS:

NO MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS

MESSAGE:

IMMEDIATE DE RUEHKO #1560 1890747 O Ø807472 JUL 82 EM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHIDG IMMEDIATE 2784

GECRET TOKYO 11560

NODIS

E.O. 12065: GDS 7/8/02 (CLARK, WILLIAM) OR-M

TAGS: PLOS, JA, US

SUBJECT: LOS-PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT

REF: STATE 187614

1. & - ENTIRE TEXT

- 2. ON JULY 8 OCH CONVEYED TEXT OF PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT TO MOFA TREATIES BUREAU DIRECTOR GENERAL KURIYAMA. KURIYAMA SAID THAT HE WOULD PASS THE STATEMENT TO THE FOREIGN MINISTER AND PRIME MINISTER IMMEDIATELY AND NOTED THE PM'S PERSONAL INTEREST IN LOS ISSUES.
- 3. KURIYAMA SAID THAT AFTER THE PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT BECOMES PUBLIC AND THE GOJ HAS AN OPPORTUNITY TO STUDY OUR POSITION THE JAPANESE MIGHT GET BACK TO US WITH AN OFFICIAL STATEMENT OF THEIR VIEWS. KURIYAMA SAID, HOWEVER, HE WOULD LIKE TO OFFER HIS IMMEDIATE PERSONAL REACTION BASEO UPON HIS PAST CONSULTATION WITH THE PRIME MINISTER, THE FOREIGN MINISTER AND OTHER MOFA OFFICIALS. HE SAID THAT JAPAN HAD NOT MADE UP ITS MIND OFFICIALLY ON THE POSITION IT WOULD TAKE ON THE LOS TREATY AND IN THIS RESPECT WOULD TAKE

MESSAGE (CONTINUED):

FULLY INTO ACCOUNT THE VIEW OF OTHER INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES, INCLUDING THE US POSITION. NEVERTHELESS, KURIYAMA SAID, JAPAN HAD A DEEP INTEREST IN ESTABLISHING A NEW INTERNATIONAL LEGAL ORDER. ALTHOUGH THE LOS CONVENTION HAD SOME FLAWS WHICH THE US HAD NOTED, ON THE WHOLE THE GOJ BELIEVED THE LOS TREATY JUSTIFIED JAPANESE SUPPORT AND THE SUPPORT OF THE OTHER INDUSTRIALIZED STATES. ALTHOUGH THE US HAD MADE ITS DECISION, KURIYAMA SAID, JAPAN HOPEO WE WOULD RECONSIDER IN THE FUTURE. KURIYAMA SAID THE TREATY CONTAINS MANY PROVISIONS WHICH ARE IN THE SECURITY INTERESTS OF THE US AND THE WEST AS A WHOLE, PARTICULARLY IN THE AREA OF NAVIGATION, AND HE EXPRESSED DISAPPOINTMENT THAT WE HAD DECIDED NOT TO SIGN THE TREATY.

- 4. THE DCM SAID THE US UNDERSTOOD THE IMPORTANCE THE GOJ ATTACHED TO THE LOS TREATY AND THE TIME AND ATTENTION IT HAD DEVOTED TO ITS NEGOTIATION. HE SAID THE US WOULD WISH TO CONTINUE ITS CLOSE CONSULTATIONS WITH THE GOJ. KURIYAMA NOTED THAT OUR PARTICIPATION IN LOS DISCUSSIONS WOULD BE LIMITED TO THE TECHNICAL LEVEL AND HE ASKED IF THIS MEANT THAT AMBASSADOR MALONE WOULD NO LONGER BE INVOLVED. THE OCM RESPONDED THAT HE WAS NOT BRIEFED. HE ASSUMED, HOWEVER, THAT OUR REPRESENTATION WOULD BE AT A LOWER LEVEL.
- 5. KURIYAMA SAID THAT THE US AND JAPAN HAD ENJOYED CLOSE CONSULTATIONS ON SEABED ISSUES IN THE GROUP OF FIVE AND CG-5 AND HE WONDERED NOW THAT THE US HAD MADE A DECISION HOW WE WOULD COORDINATE AND HARMONIZE OUR PRACTICAL APPROACHES TO SEABED ISSUES. HE EMPHASIZED THE GOJ WOULD LIKE TO CONTINUE THESE DISCUSSIONS IN ONE FORM OR ANOTHER AND SUGGESTED THAT THE JAPANESE WOULD APPROACH US IN THE COMING WEEKS WITH SOME THOUGHTS ON HOW THIS MIGHT BE ACCOMPLISHED. DCM RESPONDED THAT WE WANTED TO CONTINUE A DIALOGUE WITH THE GOJ, NOT ONLY ON SEABED ISSUES BUT ALSO ON THE BROAD RANGE OF LOS ISSUES WITH RESPECT TO WHICH THE US-JAPAN SHARED MANY COMMON INTERESTS.

MESSAGE (CONTINUED) .

6. COMMENT: THE GOJ IS CLEARLY DISAPPOINTED IN THE US DECISION, BUT THE JAPANESE HAVE SEEN IT COMING FOR SOME TIME. WE HOPE WE WILL BE IN A POSITION TO CONSULT WITH THE JAPANESE IN THE NEAR FUTURE ON HOW WE CAN WORK TOGETHER AND WITH OTHER INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES TO HARMONIZE OUR LOS POLICIES IN THIS NEW ENVIRONMENT. ENO COMMENT. MANSFIELD

TOKYO 1560

DTG: 080747Z JUL 82 PSN: 051838

NLS F00-037/14-342
BY LOT NAME TO 7/24/06

ISPATCH

W/ATTCH

INTERNAL NSC ROUTING

BAILEY NAU
BLAIR NORTH
BOVERIE PIPES
CHILDRESS RAYMOND
DEGRAFFENREID REED
DOBRIANSKY REGER

FONTAINE RENTSCHLER
GOLD ROBINSON
GUHIN RUSSELL

HELM RYE

KEMP SAPIA-BOSCH

KIMMITT SIGUR
KRAEMER SIMS
LEVINE SOMMER
LILAC STEARM

LILAC STEARMAN
LINHARD TANTER
LORD TEICHER
MARTIN TYSON
MCGAFFIGAN WEISS

MORRIS WETTERING
MYER WHEELER

5965

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

WASHINGTON, D.C.

25 Any

Mile -

This is langely a point call, and we didn't want to bother you with it. But if and one of your followant to add something, we of course would be delighted to have it.

Nothing -



OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT WASHINGTON

August 25, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR JERRY BREMER

Executive Secretary Department of State

SUBJECT:

Vice President and Mrs. Bush's Meeting with Former Japanese Ambassador and

Mrs. Togo

The Vice President and Mrs. Bush will meet with former Japanese Ambassador and Mrs. Togo on Tuesday, September 14 at 4:30 p.m. for 15 minutes in the Vice President's White House West Wing office. May we please have recommended talking points and background papers by close of business, Friday, September 10.

Thanks.

Don Gregg
Assistant to the
Vice President for
National Security Affairs

cc: NSC

CONFIDENTIAL HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 01

TOKYO 5447 SIT899 DATE Ø9/10/82 OTG: 080837Z SEP 82 PSN: 022822

TOR: 251/Ø854Z

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WHSR COMMENT: CHECKLIST

MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS:

NO MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS

MESSAGE:

IMMEDIATE DE RUEHKO #5447/Ø1 252Ø84Ø O Ø8Ø8377 SEP 82 FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4684

INFO AMEMBASSY RONN 7174 AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 6302 AMEHBASSY LONDON 9141 AMEMBASSY MOSCOW 6720 AMEMBASSY PARIS 1832 AMEMBASSY ROME 5871 AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE 2318

CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 81 OF 82 TOKYO 15447

USEC ALSO FOR EMBASSY E.O. 12356: DECL: 9/8/88 TAGS: ETRD, EEWT, JA

SUBJECT: JAPANESE FIRM SHIPS PIPELINE EQUIPMENT

TO USSR

REF: (A) TOKYO 15192

1. TOU) SUMMARY: JAPAN STEELS WORKS (JSW), LTD CONFIRMED TO EMBOFF THAT IN AUGUST THE COMPANY SHIPPED PIPELINE VALVES WORTH SEVERAL HUNDRED MILLION YEN TO THE USSR. JAPAN STEEL WORKS HAVE A LICENSING AGREEMENT WITH THE U.S. FIRM GROVE VALVE AND REGULATOR COMPANY (GVR) BUT COMPANY AND MITI ARE OFFERING FAIRLY STRAINED REASONS FOR DENYING THAT EXPORTS VIOLATE U.S. SANCTIONS POLICY. END SUMMARY.

MESSAGE (CONTINUED):

2. (COU) SHIPMENT OF PIPELINE VALVES TO THE USSR BY JAPAN STEEL WORKS LTD HAS RECEIVED CONSIDERABLE PRESS COVERAGE. IN RESPONSE TO EMBASSY INQUIRY, JAPAN STEEL WORKS PUBLIC RELATIONS SPOKESMAN SAID THAT THE VALUE OF VALVES SHIPPED WAS "SEVERAL HUNDRED MILLION YEN" (NEWSPAPERS SAY 500 - 600 MILLION YEN ABOUT \$2-2.5 MILLION). THESE VALVES FALL UNDER A CONTRACT CONCLUDED FOR FY 1981: SEVERAL MORE SHIPMENTS WILL BE MADE TO COMPLETE THE 1981 CONTRACT. JSW BEGAN SHIPPING VALVES TO THE USSR IN 1972, BUT HAVE FAILED TO WIN CONTRACTS EVERY YEAR DUE TO COMPETITION FROM KOBE STEEL WORKS OF JAPAN AND WEST GERMAN AND ITALIAN MANUFACTURERS. JSW DID NOT WIN A-CONTRACT IN FY 1982. THE SHIPMENTS HAVE

RECEIVED EXIM BANK FINANCING.

- 3. BY JSW HAD A LICENSE AGREEMENT WITH GROVE VALVE AND REGULATOR COMPANY OF OAKLAND CALIFORNIA. WHICH ORIGINALLY COVERED THE PERIOD OCTOBER 1970 TO JANUARY 1979. ACCORDING TO JSW SPOKESMAN. THE COMPANY DECIDED NOT TO RENEW THE LICENSING AGREEMENT IN 1979 BECAUSE THE FIRM HAD ESTABLISHED ITS OWN TECHNOLOGY. HOWEVER GVR STRONGLY URGED EXTENSION OF THE AGREEMENT AND BECAUSE OF JSW'S APPRECIATION FOR PAST LICENSING, JSW ACCEPTED THE REQUEST FOR EXTENSION, BUT THE ROYALTY WAS SUBSTANTIALLY LOWERED. COMMENT: IT IS CERTAINLY MOST UNUSUAL FOR A JAPANESE COMPANY TO EXTEND A LICENSING AGREEMENT SIMPLY FOR REASONS OF GOOD WILL AND APPRECIATION. END COMMENT.
- 5. THE JSW SPOKESMAN SAID THAT THIS SHIPMENT AND SHIPMENTS TO BE MADE LATER THIS YEAR SHOULD NOT VIOLATE US SANCTIONS POLICY. THE REASONS ARE AS FOLLOWS: 1) MITI'S EXPORT LICENSE HAD BEEN ISSUED BEFORE THE US DECISION TO EXPAND SANCTIONS IN JUNE; AND 2) JSW RECEIVED NO INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE GOJ, USG OR GVR WHICH WOULD HAVE PROHIBITED SHIPMENTS. COMMENT: AS NOTED REFTEL, GOJ OFFICIALS HAVE BEEN PROVIDED WITH FULL DOCUMENTATION ON US POLICY, INCLUDING STEPS TAKEN AGAINST EUROPEAN

MESSAGE (CONTINUED):

FIRMS IN VIOLATION OF US POLICY. WE BELIEVE THAT JSW WOULD NOT HAVE EXPORTED VALVES WITHOUT FULL CONSULTATION WITH MITI. THE FACT THAT MITI IS APPARENTLY OPERATING UNDER A POLICY OF "TACIT APPROVAL" INDICATES EITHER THAT THE GOJ IS NOW WILLING TO CHALLENGE US POLICY OPENLY, OR THAT GOJ OFFICIALS IN FACT BELIEVE THAT THIS SHIPMENT IS NOT SUBJECT TO SANCTIONS.

6. (C) A MITI OFFICIAL IS QUOTED IN PRESS AS SAYING THAT MITI HAD APPROVED THE CONTRACT WELL BEFORE THE JUNE SANCTIONS DECISION. HE SAID THAT THE MINISTRY WAS NOT REPEAT NOT TRYING TO DEFY THE REAGAN SANCTIONS, BUT THAT THEY BELIEVED JSW'S ASSURANCES THAT THE VALVES WERE MADE WITH THEIR OWN TECHNOLOGY. HOWEVER HE WENT ON TO SAY THAT EVEN IF IT BECAME CLEAR THAT VALVES WERE MADE BY US TECHNOLOGY, MITI WOULD NOT CONSIDER THAT THE COMPANY HAD ACTED WRONGLY SINCE THE GOJ HAD INFORMED WASHINGTON THAT IT OID NOT ACCEPT REAGAN'S SANCTIONS POLICY. ANOTHER OFFICIAL IS QUOTED AS CONFIRMING A GOJ POSTURE OF "TACIT APPROVAL". MITI OFFICIALS

TOKYO 5447

DTG: Ø8Ø837Z SEP 82 PSN: Ø22822

NLS F00-037/1 #343
BY LOT NARA, DATE 7/24/06

SEGRET WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 01 OF 03 TOKYO 5248

DTG: 030842Z SEP 82 PSN: 016863

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OP IMMED UTS7837 DE RUEHKO #5248/01 2460843 O Ø3Ø842Z SEP 82 FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4612

SECRET SECTION Ø1 OF Ø2 TOKYO 15248

EXDIS

E. O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: PEPR, LE, US, JA, XF SUBJECT: LETTER FROM THE SECRETARY ON US MIDDLE EAST INITIATIVE -- PRELIMINARY JAPANESE REACTION REF: STATE 246392

- S ENTIRE TEXT
- TEXT OF LETTER, PER REFTEL, FROM THE SECRETARY TO THE JAPANESE FOREIGN MINISTER WAS DELIVERED TO MOFA MORNING OF SEPTEMBER 2. LETTER WAS ADDRESSED TO ACTING MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS KIICHI MIYAZAWA. IN THE ABSENCE OF FOREIGN MINISTER SAKURAUCHI. EMBASSY REQUESTED TH LETTER BE DELIVERED TO THE ACTING FOREIGN MINISTER AND OTHER APPROPRIATE SENIOR OFFICIALS WITHOUT DELAY.
- 3. EMBOFFS MET WITH DIRECTOR SHIBUYA OF THE FIRST MIDDLE EAST DIVISION LATER IN THE DAY TO ELICIT

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SEGRET WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE Ø2 OF Ø3 TOKYO 5248

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PRELIMINARY MOFA REACTION TO US MIDDLE EAST INITIATIVE AS EXPRESSED BOTH IN SECRETARY'S LETTER AND IN PRESIDENT'S SPEECH.

- 4. SHIBUYA EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR THE SECRETARY'S LETTER BUT SAID HE COULD ONLY OFFER VERY PRELIMINARY JAPANESE REACTION.
- 5. FIRST, HE SAID, THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT GREATLY WELCOMED A US PEACE INITIATIVE AT THIS TIME. SET IN THE CONTEXT OF THE ISRAELI INVASION OF LEBANON. THE CONTINUED INTERRRUPTION OF THE AUTONOMY TALKS. AND THE ONGOING ISRAELI EFFORTS TO STRENGTHEN THEIR PRESENCE IN THE WEST BANK AND GAZA. HE PARTICULARLY EMPHASIZED THE UTILITY OF A NEW PEACE INITIATIVE BEING OFFERED BEFORE THE ARAB SUMMIT, BEFORE THE PLO REGROUPS AND EMBARKS ON POLITICAL OFFENSIVES, AND BEFORE ISRAEL CAN TAKE ANY FURTHER STEPS ON THE WEST BANK. HE SINGLED OUT AS PARTICULARLY POSITIVE ELEMENTS IN THE JAPANESE VIEW THE CALL FOR A FREEZE ON FURTHER ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS AND THE DETERMINATION TO WORK ACTIVELY TOWARD A FINAL RESOLUTION OF THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM. ON THIS LATTER POINT HE NOTED THAT JAPANESE OFFICIAL STATEMENTS HAD PURPOSELY LAID STRESS ON THE PALESTINIAN ISSUE BECAUSE OF CONCERN THAT THE US MIGHT BE GIVING IT LESS EMPHASIS IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE LEBANESE CRISIS.
- 6. ON THE FEASIBILITY OF ATTAINING THE FINAL SOLUTION RECOMMENDED BY THE US INITIATIVE, SHIBUYA WAS NOT OPTIMISTIC. THE ARAB REACTION TO THE EXCLUSION OF AN INDEPENDENT PALESTINIAN STATE, HE SAID, WOULD BE VERY HARSH. SUPPORT FROM THE ARAB SUMMIT WOULD BE A PREREQUISITE FOR JORDANIAN WILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT SOVEREIGNTY OVER THE WEST BANK, BUT HE THOUGHT IT UNLIKELY TO BE FORTHCOMING. INSTEAD.

SECRET WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE Ø3 OF Ø3 TOKYO 5248

DTG: 030842Z SEP 82 PSN: 016863

HE THOUGHT THE ARABS GENERALLY WOULD FOCUS ONLY ON THAT SINGLE ELEMENT OF THE INITIATIVE THAT WOULD DENY AN INDEPENDENT STATE TO THE PALESTINIANS.

- SHIBUYA WAS MORE OPTIMISTIC THAT THE IDEA OF A FEDERATION CENTERING ON JORDAN WOULD EVENTUALLY WIN ISRAELI SUPPORT, BUT HE DID NOT THINK A FAVORABLE RESPONSE WOULD COME QUICKLY. THE EGYPTIAN REACTION, IN HIS VIEW, WOULD FOCUS STRICTLY ON THE RIGHT TO AN-INDEPENDENT STATE FOR THE PALESTINIANS, AND WOULD THEREFORE BE NEGATIVE. HE SUGGESTED THAT REAL PROSPECTS FOR A SETTLEMENT WOULD BE MUCH BRIGHTER IF A COMPROMISE COULD BE REACHED TO BRIDGE THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE FAHD PLAN AND THE NEW REAGAN PLAN ON THE QUESTION OF AN INDEPENDENT PALESTINIAN STATE. AS FOR THE GOJ POSITION. SHIBUYA SAID JAPAN WAS NOT OPPOSED TO A FEDERATION OF THE WEST BANK AND JORDAN IF ALL PARTIES AGREED, BUT BELIEVED AS A MATTER OF PRINCIPLE THAT THE OPTION OF AN INDEPENDENT PALESTINIAN STATE SHOULD REMAIN ENTIRELY OPEN. IT WOULD ALSO CONTINUE TO BE THE JAPANESE POSITION THAT THE PLO SHOULD BE INCLUDED IN THE TALKS, HE SAID, AS HE NOTED WITH INTEREST THE STATEMENT IN THE LETTER CALLING FOR INVOLVING JORDAN AND THE PALESTINIANS IN EXPANDED NEGOTIATIONS. ALSO SAID HE WELCOMED THE SHIFT IN THE FORMAL US STANCE ON THE CAMP DAVID PROCESS FROM THAT OF NEUTRAL INTERMEDIARY TO ACTIVE ADVOCATE FOR A PARTICULAR OUTCOME. THIS, HE THOUGHT, COULD ONLY HELP IN MOVING NEGOTIATIONS FORWARD.
- 8. THE FORMAL JAPANESE REACTION, HE SAID, WOULD PROBABLY BE SET ONLY AFTER STUDYING THE RESULTS OF BT

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PAGE 01 TOKYO 5248 SIT573 DATE 09/03/82 DTG: 030842Z SEP 82 PSN: 016861

TOR: 246/0906Z

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MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS:

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MESSAGE:

IMMEDIATE
DE RUEHKO #5248/02 2460845
O 030842Z SEP 82
FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4613

S.E.G.R.E.T SECTION 02 OF 02 TOKYO 15248 EXDIS THE ARAB SUMMIT AND THE REACTIONS IN EUR

THE ARAB SUMMIT AND THE REACTIONS IN EUROPE AND THROUGHOUT THE ARAB WORLD. IT HAD NOT YET BEEN DECIDED, HE SAID, WHETHER THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT WOULD MAKE A PUBLIC STATEMENT IN RESPONSE TO THE PRESIDENT'S PROPOSAL.

- 9. SHIBUYA STRESSED GOJ INTEREST IN REMAINING IN INTENSIFIED CONTACT WITH THE USG ON THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS IN THE WEEKS AHEAD.
- 10. COMMENT: THE JAPANESE WERE CLEARLY UNPREPARED FOR THE APPEARANCE OF SO EXTENSIVE A US INITIATIVE ON THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS SO QUICKLY ON THE HEELS OF THE SUCCESSFUL RESOLUTION OF THE CURRENT LEBANESE CRISIS. IT WILL TAKE TIME FOR THE GOJ TO FORMULATE A FORMAL RESPONSE, BUT THE FACT OF THE INITIATIVE IS WELCOMED AT MOFA, HOWEVER THEY ULTIMATELY COME OUT ON THE SPECIFICS OF THE PROPOSAL. END COMMENT.