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MEMORANDUM

4999

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

CONFIDENTIAL

GDS

ACTION

September 7, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

FROM: WILLIAM GLEYSTEEN

SUBJECT: Memorandum of Your Conversation with United States Ambassador to Japan James D. Hodgson on September 2, 1976

At Tab A is a memorandum of your conversation with United States Ambassador to Japan James D. Hodgson on September 2, 1976, at 2:00 p.m.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you approve the memorandum of conversation with no further distribution to be made.

APPROVE

DISAPPROVE

GDS

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

CONFIDENTIAL GDS

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS:	James D. Hodgson, United States Ambassador to Japan Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs John J. Taylor, Staff Member, NSC	
DATE, TIME, AND PLACE:	September 2, 1975, 2:00 p.m. The White House	
SUBJECT:	Developments in Japan	

<u>Ambassador Hodgson:</u> First, about the political situation. I used to think Miki's chances were about 50-50. Now I would say they are somewhat less. It is not that Miki has any less public support. In fact, he has more. He is credited with doing a good job on the Lockheed affair. But once Tanaka was thrown in the clink, this freed up about 100 deputies. At least two-thirds of these have shifted to Fukuda. Thus, it looks like Fukuda has the strength to take on Miki and eventually boot him out.

<u>General Scowcroft:</u> What is the time frame?

<u>Ambassador Hodgson:</u> I would say it would be at the early part of December. It will probably be at the end of the Diet session, depending on Miki's leadership during the session. If he can come out in good shape, he may hold on. After the Diet session, however, I would say he has less than a 50-50 chance. The old stalemate in the LDP was broken when Tanaka's support went enmasse to Fukuda.

Last May I talked to you about the possibility of the Vice President attending our Embassy dedication ceremony.

<u>General Scowcroft</u>: Yes. The political situation in Tokyo is the primary factor. We would not want a situation which would be embarrassing to either or both of us.

<u>CONFIDENTIAL</u> GDS 6h 8/30/01

<u>Ambassador Hodgson</u>: I expect that we will be in the middle of the Diet session at that time. This will be a relatively stable period. There will be no prospect of immediate change. We will be in a window in the ferment. I will give an updated assessment on this question to the Vice President on the 8th. I could try to get it to you a half-day or so before.

<u>General Scowcroft:</u> That would be useful. Our only consideration is the political factor. Otherwise, the visit would be a good idea.

<u>Ambassador Hodgson</u>: The Vice President is our only top man who has not visited Japan recently. He would be very welcome. The Japanese have said they would match the visit appropriately -- protocol wise. He would be met by at least the Foreign Minister.

General Scowcroft: I have not talked with the President about this.

<u>Ambassador Hodgson</u>: Air Force Secretary Reed is planning a trip to Northeast Asia and plans to stop in Japan. He asked me about attending the air show in Japan. I said okay if for that purpose. He should keep a low profile and not call a press conference where he would get a lot of questions like, "Mr. Secretary, there has been some trouble in Korea. Are there any possibilities of the U.S. using its bases in Japan?" He is coming on October 20. I have no objection to this kind of visit if we can keep it benign and protocol.

<u>General Scowcroft:</u> Reed is a good guy, but he is exuberant and inclined to make outspoken statements. You should keep an eye on him.

<u>Ambassador Hodgson</u>: About the change of command in CINCPAC. Are there any differences between Wiesner and Gaylor I should know about?

General Scowcroft: No. There should be no problem.

<u>Ambassador Hodgson</u>: Yes. I know Wiesner. He's sagacious but not Olympian in his thinking like Gaylor.

Now on Sakata's visit -- the head of the Defense Agency -- the chances this year are minimal.

<u>General Scowcroft</u>: Are there any dates?

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<u>Ambassador Hodgson</u>: No. Initially we had talked of the end of July, but now we are in the heat of political campaigns. It is unlikely given his election problems and ours.

General Scowcroft: When will the Japanese elections be held?

<u>Ambassador Hodgson</u>: Not before early December. A shift could take place, but at the very earliest not before mid-November. One scenario even puts the elections in the early part of January.

I have one minor request. Do you happen to know the criteria for the selection for the Board of Directors of COMSAT?

<u>General Scowcroft:</u> No. But I will find out if you like. Do you know Doug Bennett? Perhaps he would know.

<u>Ambassador Hodgson</u>: Alright. I will try to get in touch with him. Well, that is everything on my platter.

General Scowcroft: That is a good sign.

<u>Ambassador Hodgson:</u> There has been a real miracle. We have come out stronger than before without stubbing our toes. It is a credit to Miki. All along Miki has acted in the Lockheed case with one of his cardinal principles to maintain good relations with the U.S. With the exposure of the big fish, the charges against U.S. non-cooperation no longer hold water.

General Scowcroft: It was a dicey period. I'm pleased.

Ambassador Hodgson: Miyazawa has also been very effective.

General Scowcroft: He is superb.

<u>Ambassador Hodgson</u>: During the crisis we installed a private phone between my house and his house. We were the only ones who knew the number. We phoned back and forth almost daily -- recently, once a week.

<u>General Scowcroft:</u> I met him in Puerto Rico. He is one man who can roll with Henry's wit. The worst of the Lockheed case is over. If only the LDP can put it together.

<u>Ambassador Hodgson</u>: Yes. If they can only put 9/10 together. There is a very conservative base in Japan. The institutions and traditions are

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conservative. Miki originally was given short shrift. But he is a tough infighter.

<u>General Scowcroft:</u> He's fantastic. Ever since the beginning, people have been saying "There goes Miki."

<u>Ambassador Hodgson:</u> He has been very effective in Western ways. He has appealed to the public and to the press, dealt with the opposition and neutralized criticism through personal approaches.

General Scowcroft: Why has Japan turned tougher on Taiwan?

<u>Ambassador Hodgson</u>: There have been some gains for the right in the LDP. The Conservatives are sore at Miki, including Miyazawa, about the Lockheed affair and the speed with which Miki and Miyazawa would like to proceed with the treaty with China. So this is a bow to the right. The tough statements about not deserting our friends is meant to insinuate themselves with the right. Second, there is pressure from some parts of the business community. There are some big investments in Taiwan. On the other hand, there are some who are waiting for us to cut loose from Taiwan so they can pick up bargains.

<u>Jay Taylor:</u> There are also elements in Japan who feel that once the U.S. completes normalization with China U.S. business will compete more effectively with Japan in the PRC.

<u>Ambassador Hodgson</u>: That is true. They wonder why we haven't been more active, more effective. They want to be No. 1. That is why they objected to the PRC buying Rolls Royce aircraft engines. That is their turf. They want to keep it for themselves.

Jay Taylor: What were the results of the recent visit to Japan by the Keidaren delegation?

<u>Ambassador Hodgson:</u> Unless the Soviets change on the Northwest Islands, there will be no major breakthrough. I sometimes think Japan is making too big a thing of these islands. One day Moscow could say "Yes, if you do such and such for us." It could be for Japan like giving a horse to get a rabbit.



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.THE WHITE HOUSE

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WASHINGTON

GONFIDENTIAL GDS

MEETING WITH U.S. AMBASSADOR TO JAPAN JAMES D. HODGSON Wednesday, September 8, 1976 2:30 p.m. (15 minutes) The Old Executive Office Building Office

PURPOSE

I.

At his request, Ambassador Hodgson is paying a courtesy call on you to discuss the possibility of your visiting Tokyo for the dedication ceremony of the new Embassy Chancery on September 24, 1976. The ceremony is not expected to be elaborate, but Ambassador Hodgson is interested in using this occasion to stress again the particular significance Japan has for the U.S.

II. BACKGROUND, PARTICIPANTS & PRESS ARRANGEMENTS

A. <u>Background</u>: I discussed the question of your attending the ceremony in Tokyo with Ambassador Hodgson on Thursday, September 2. I said that we felt your participation in the dedication ceremony was an excellent idea. The only inhibiting factor was the delicate political situation in Tokyo and the possibility that your visit would be misinterpreted or that events could cause embarrassment either to us or the Japanese. The Ambassador said that he believed that the Diet would be in special session during the time of your proposed visit and that this would be a relatively stable period with no danger of a sudden change in the leadership. The Ambassador said he would provide you an updated political assessment from the Embassy during his call on you on Wednesday. (When we receive the assessment, we will send a copy directly to Jon Howe.)

The Crisis in the LDP

Although the vast majority of the LDP has called for his ouster, Prime Minister Miki is still holding on thanks to popular desire that he stay on to finish the Lockheed affair

GONFIDENTIAL GDS

Anti-Miki forces within the LDP are still resisting the compromise proposal to reshuffle the cabinet but postpone the question of Miki's resignation until after the holding of a special Diet session, which is urgently needed to pass budget and fiscal measures. The Prime Minister is fighting to stay in office at least through the elections for the Lower House which are slated to be called before the end of the year. Deputy Prime Minister Fukuda and Finance Minister Ohira both have agreed to Miki staying on through the special Diet session and might be willing to acquiesce in a further extension through the elections. Other LDP leaders, especially those associated with Tanaka, are adamant that Miki must go immediately.

I believe you should not make a decision to go to Tokyo until it is confirmed that the Diet will in fact be in session during the proposed time frame and that there will be a truce in the political infighting. If the picture is still unclear by September 14, I recommend that you decline the invitation.

Another consideration is the likelihood that if you go to Tokyo, the Republic of Korea will urge that you visit Seoul. Such a visit, coming on the heels of the recent crisis at Panmunjom, would be a most useful reiteration of our commitment to South Korea.

U.S. -Japan Relations

The Lockheed case has virtually disappeared as an issue in U.S.-Japan relations. The focus in our relations today is on economic affairs, including the large Japanese trade surplus and the question of undervaluation of the yen. We have just completed the first round of negotiations with the Japanese on a new fisheries agreement. The atmosphere of these talks was good, but no progress was made in substance. Another important issue is the renegotiation of our Civil Air Agreement. Talks on this subject will open in October. Attached at Tab A is a copy of the Issues Papers on Japan we recently prepared for the President.

B. Participants: Ambassador James D. Hodgson and Jon Howe.

C. Press Arrangements: Meeting to be announced routinely.

III. TALKING POINTS

- I appreciate very much your invitation to attend the dedication ceremony of the new Embassy Chancery in Tokyo. I would like to come, provided it is definite that there will be a truce in the political infighting in Tokyo at that time and no danger of a sudden change of leadership.
- 2. I understand that the situation is still uncertain. I would like to put off a decision until some time next week. If the picture is still unclear by September 14, I am afraid we will have to drop the idea.
- 3. What is your own assessment of Miki's political future? Why is he fighting to hang on in the face of such strong opposition within his party?
- 4. If Miki is forced out before the elections, what effect will this have on the LDP's political prospects? I understand the Japanese public and media have strongly supported Miki's pursuit of the Lockheed case.
- 5. In what way does the LDP political struggle impact on U.S. interests?

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

GONFIDENTIAL GDS

ACTION

September 7/1976

4834

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

at 2:30 p.m.

FROM:

SUBJECT:

WILLIAM GLEYSTEEN Recommended Talking Points for the Vice President's Meeting with Ambassador Hodgson on September 8, 1976,

At Tab I is a memorandum from you to the Vice President which contains recommended talking points for his meeting with our Ambassador to Japan, James D. Hodgson, on September 8 at 2:30 p.m.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you sign the memorandum to the Vice President at Tab I.



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OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

WASHINGTON

ACTION

Memo No. 1008-76 September 1, 1976

FOR: JEANNE DAVIS FROM: Jon Howe SUBJECT: U.S. Ambassador to Japan

The Vice President will meet with Ambassador James D. Hodgson on Wednesday, September 8 at 2:30 p.m. May we please have a briefing paper for the Vice President's use.



4834



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

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August 27, 1976

UNCLASSIFIED

MEMORANDUM TO MR. BRENT SCOWCROFT THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: The Ambassador to Japan, James Hodgson, Requests a Courtesy Call on the Vice President

The Ambassador to Japan, James Hodgson, would like to pay a courtesy call upon the Vice President preferably on August 31 or September 1. Ambassador Hodgson would like to discuss the possibility of the Vice President visiting Tokyo for the dedication ceremony of the new Embassy building on September 24, 1976. The ceremony is not expected to be elaborate, but Ambassador Hodgson is interested in using this occasion to stress again the particular significance Japan has for the United States.

We understand Ambassador Hodgson may have already raised this subject with the Vice President.

C. Arthur Borg Executive Secretary

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

CONFIDENTIAL-

MEMORANDUM FOR:

BRENT SCOWCROFT

WILLIAM GLEYSTEEN

FRO M:

SUBJECT:

Call on You by Ambassador Hodgson

Ambassador Hodgson has an appointment with you at 2:00 p.m., September 2. The Ambassador will want to discuss his proposal for the Vice President to attend the dedication ceremony of the new Embassy building in Tokyo on September 24. In accordance with our conversation with Jon Howe I believe you should stick to the line that we will make a decision on the Ambassador's proposal early next week -- by this time we should have a better feel of the Japanese political situation and also of how the proposal fits in with the President's plans.

In his last meeting with you Ambassador Hodgson said that he hoped to continue a regular exchange with you on US-Japanese affairs. Consequently, the Ambassador may wish to review the state of our relations with Japan. The Lockheed case has virtually disappeared as an issue in US-Japanese relations. The focus in our relations today is on economic affairs including the large Japanese trade surplus and the question of under valuation of the yen.

In his last meeting Ambassador Hodgson recommended that we support a movement for the pardon of Tokyo Rose. We have checked this proposal out on the domestic side and they believe because of possible adverse reaction from the American Legion and others we should not consider it before the elections.

TALKING POINTS

-- Early next week we should have a better idea of the direction of the political crisis in Japan and also of the President's desires regarding campaign commitments by the Vice President. We will make our decision at that time on

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your proposal for the Vice President's participation in the dedication ceremony of your new Embassy building.

- -- The last time we met you believed Miki had better than a 50-50 chance of surviving in office until the elections. What is your estimate now?
- -- Whatever is the outcome of the LDP struggle, I do not see an adverse impact on US interests. What are your views?
- -- The yen has appreciated approximately 4% since June. Do you think this trend will continue and what affect will it have on Japanese imports?
- -- Regarding the proposal for a pardon for Tokyo Rose, the feeling is that such a move would be opposed by the American Legion and others. Perhaps it could be considered next year.



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MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

MEETING WITH AMBASSADOR TOGO Friday, December 10, 1976 10:45 a.m. (10 minutes) The Oval Office

From: Brent Scowcroft

I. PURPOSE

To receive a letter from Prime Minister Miki.

II. BACKGROUND, PARTICIPANTS & PRESS ARRANGEMENTS

A. <u>Background:</u> Ambassador Togo has asked to deliver personally a letter from Prime Minister Miki to you. We understand the letter raises no substantive issues but expresses the Prime Minister's appreciation for your efforts in expanding U.S. -Japanese relations. The Ambassador would like to associate himself with these sentiments and also take the occasion to say farewell. He may wish also to describe briefly the results of the December 5 Lower House election in Japan and offer his interpretation of its significance.

The Japanese Elections

The ruling Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) suffered substantial losses in the election (winning 249 of 511 seats, down from 271 in 1972), failing for the first time in more than 20 years to win a majority. However, the post-election affiliation of conservative independents and perhaps of the New Liberal Club (a group of LDP Diet members who bolted the party during the Lockheed scandal) will enable the LDP to continue to govern.

As a result of LDP losses, Prime Minister Miki will very likely have to step down as party leader and premier.

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While Takeo Fukuda, former Finance Minister, remains the likely candidate to replace him, Fukuda too may have to assume some of the responsibility for the party's electoral misfortunes, and it is possible that a third candidate may be selected. However, any replacement is likely to come from among a circle of party leaders well known here and well disposed toward the United States. Japanese foreign policy, and specifically Japanese policy toward the United States, should not be affected by the change.

- B. Participants: Ambassador Togo, Brent Scowcroft.
- C. <u>Press Arrangements</u>: Press photo session; meeting to be announced.

III. TALKING POINTS

- 1. Please give my regards to Prime Minister Miki. I recall our meetings in Washington, Rambouillet and Puerto Rico with great warmth and admiration.
- 2. I take great satisfaction in the excellent state of our relations with Japan. After a long period of growth, our relationship has evolved into a genuine partnership.
- 3. How do you assess the outcome of the recent elections in Japan? What long-term political significance do you see in the outcome?
- 4. I am confident that U.S. -Japan relations will not be affected. Our ties reflect common interests and shared values. The overwhelming majority of Japanese and Americans understand and fully support the mutual bonds between our two countries.

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

MEETING WITH AMBASSADOR TOGO

Tuesday, December 7, 1976 12:00 Noon (10 minutes) The Oval Office

From: Brent Scowcroft

L PURPOSE

To receive a letter from Prime Minister Mikk.

II. BACKGROUND, PARTICIPANTS & PRESS ARRANGEMENTS

A. = <u>Background:</u> Ambassador Togo has asked to deliver personally a letter from Prime Minister Miki to you. We understand the letter raises no substantive issues but expresses the Prime Minister's appreciation for your efforts in expanding U.S. -Japanese relations. The Ambassador would like to associate himself with these sentiments and also take the occasion to say farewell. He may wish also to describe briefly the results of the December 5 Lower House election in Japan and offer his interpretation of its significance.

The Japanese Elections

The ruling Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) suffered substantial losses in the election (winning 249-of 511 seats, down from 271 in 1972), failing for the first time in more than 20 years to win a majority. However, the post-election affiliation of conservative independents and perhaps of the New Liberal Club (a group of LDP Diet members who bolted the party during the Lockheed scandal) will enable the LDP to continue to govern.

As a result of LDP losses, Prime Minister Mike will very likely have to step down as party leader and premier.

While Takeo Fukuda, former Finance Minister, remains the likely candidate to replace him, Fukuda too may have to assume some of the responsibility for the party's electoral misfortunes, and it is possible that a third candidate may be selected. However, any replacement is likely to come from among a circle of party leaders well known here and well disposed toward the United States. Japanese foreign policy, and specifically Japanese policy toward the United States, should not be affected by the change.

B. Participants: Ambassador Togo, Brent Scowcroft.

- 2 -

C. <u>Press Arrangements</u>: Press photo session; meeting to be announced.

III. TALKING POINTS

- 1. Please give my regards to Prime Minister Miki. I recall our meetings in Washington, Rambouillet and Puerto Rico with great warmth and admiration.
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- 3. How do you assess the outcome of the recent elections in Japan? What long-term political significance do you see in the outcome?
- 4. I am confident that U.S. -Japan relations will not be affected. Our ties reflect common interests and shared values. The overwhelming majority of Japanese and Americans understand and fully support the mutual bonds between our two countries.

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MEETING WITH AMBASSADOR TOGO

Tuesday, December 7, 1976 12:00 Noon (10 minutes) The Oval Office

From: Brent Scowcroft

I. PURPOSE

To receive a letter from Prime Minister Miki and to accept a farewell call by the Ambassador.

II. BACKGROUND, PARTICIPANTS & PRESS ARRANGEMENTS

A. <u>Background</u>: Ambassador Togo has asked to personally deliver a letter from Prime Minister Mike to you. We understand the letter raises no substantive issues but expresses the Prime Minister's appreciation for your efforts in expanding U.S.-Japanese relations. The Ambassador would like to associate himself with these sentiments and also take the occasion to make a farewell call. He may wish also to describe briefly the results of the December 5 Lower House election in Japan and offer his interpretation of their significance.

The Japanese Elections

The ruling Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) suffered substantial losses in the election (winning 249 seats, down from 271 in 1972), failing for the first time in more than 20 years to win a majority. However, the post-election affiliation of conservative independents and perhaps of the New Liberal Club (a group of LDP Diet members who bolted the party during the Lockheed scandal) will enable the LDP to continue to govern.

As a result of LDP losses, Prime Minister Miki will very likely have to step down as party leader and preinier.

While Fukuda remains the likely candidate to replace him, Fukuda too may have to assume some of the responsibility for the party's electoral misfortunes, and it is possible that a third candidate may be selected. However, any replacement is likely to come from among a circle of party leaders well known here and well disposed toward the United States. Japanese foreign policy, and specifically Japanese policy toward the United States, should not be affected by the change.

- B. Participants: Brent Scowcroft.
- C. <u>Press Arrangements</u>: Press photo session; meeting to be announced.

III. TALKING POINTS

- 1. Please give my regards to Prime Minister Miki. I recall with great fondness our meetings in Washington, Rambouillet and Puerto Rico.
- 2. I take great satisfaction in the excellent state of our relations with Japan. After a long period of growth, our relationship in the last two years has evolved into a genuine partnership.
- 3. How will the outcome of the recent elections in Japan affect Prime Minister Miki's prospects? What long-term political trends do you see in the outcome?
- 4. I am confident that U.S.-Japan relations will not be affected. Our ties reflect common interests and shared values. The overwhelming majority of Japanese and Americans understand and fully appreciate the mutual bonds between our two countries.

- 2 -

FORD

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

MEETING WITH AMBASSADOR TOGO

Tuesday, December 7, 1976 12:00 Noon (10 minutes) The Oval Office

From: Brent Scowcroft

I. PURPOSE

To receive a letter from Prime Minister Miki, and to accept a farewell call by the Ambassador.

II. BACKGROUND, PARTICIPANTS & PRESS ARRANGEMENTS

A. <u>Background</u>: Ambassador Togo has asked to personally deliver a letter from Prime Minister Mike to you. We understand the letter raises no substantive issues but expresses the Prime Minister's appreciation for your efforts in expanding U.S. -Japanese relations. The Ambassador would like to associate himself with these sentiments and also take the occasion to make farewell, edt. He may wish also to describe briefly the results of the December 5 Lower House election in Japan and offer his interpretation of their significance.

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B. Participants: Brent Scowcroft.

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C. <u>Press Arrangements</u>: Press photo session; meeting to be announced.

III. TALKING POINTS

- 1. Please give my regards to Prime Minister Miki. I recall with great fondness our meetings in Washington, Rambouillet and Puerto Rico.
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