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OF 15

TELEGRAM

SUNE!

WH- UDX

Control: 3 7 9 4 Q Received: December 16, 1974 521PM

PIES

O 161955Z DEC 74

FM DR KISSINGER

TO RUEHKO/AMEMBASSY TOKYO
INFO RUEHC/SECSTATE

BT

ACTION COPY

SECRET/NODIS

E 0 11552: GDS TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJECT: LETTER FROM THE SECRETARY TO JAPANESE FOREIGN MINISTER

ACTION: AMEMBASSY TOKYO - IMMEDIATE INFO: . SECSTATE WASHDC - IMMEDIATE

SECTO 22-PLEASE DELIVER FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO THE JAPANESE FOREIGN MINISTER PROMPTLY:

BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR MR. FOREIGN MINISTER:

IN THE LIGHT OF THE RECENT DISCUSSION WHICH THE PRESIDENT AND I HAD WITH YOUR GOVERNMENT ON THE ENERGY PROBLEM I WANTED YOU TO KNOW THAT I BELIEVE WE HAVE REACHED A SATISFACTORY UNDERSTANDING WITH THE FRENCH DURING OUR MARTINIQUE MEETINGS ON A SEQUENCE OF STEPS INVOLVING CONSUMER SOLIDARITY AND LEADING TO CAREFUL PREPARATION OF A COMSUMER/PRODUCER MEETING. WE ASSURED THE FRENCH THAT WE WILL DO OUR UTMOST TO ACHIEVE THE NECESSARY PROGRESS TO ACCOMPLISH THESE TASKS AND

BELIEVE THAT THEY WILL LIKEWISE BE COOPERATIVE. AMONG THE COMSUMERS WE WILL WORK IN THE IEA AND THE G-10 TO DEVELOP COMMON PROGRAMS ON ENERGY CONSERVATION, ALTERNATIVE SOURCES AND FINANCIAL SOLIDARITY. SINCE THE FRENCH WILL EVIDENTLY NOT BE JOINING THE IEA (AND WE DID NOT PRESS THEM TO DO SO), WE WILL HAVE TO FIND MEANS TO ASSURE CO-ORDINATION WITH THEIR PARELLEL ACTIVITIES. THEY ARE PREPARED TO DO THE

THIS.

I KNOW THAT WE CAN COUNT ON YOUR SUPPORT IN THIS DIFFICULT PROCESS OF MOLDING CONSUMER SOLIDARITY WHICH IS THE ESSENTIAL PRE-CONDITION FOR A SUCCESSFUL PRODUCER/CONSUMER DIALOGUE.

BEST REGARDS, HENRY A.KISSINGER

END TEXT

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Department of State TELEGRANIA

SECHET

NOD019

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00 ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 /001 W

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Control: 3907Q

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FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO
TO SECSTATE WASHOC IMMEDIATE 6787

IN SEPSIALE MASHIC THWEDTALE ON

SECRET TOKYO 16405

NODIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: OVIP JA PFOR (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)
SUBJ: LETTER FROM THE SECRETARY TO JAPANESE FOREIGN MINISTER

REF: SECTO MSG 161955Z DEC 74

1. MESSAGE FROM SECRETARY KISSINGER TO FOREIGN
MINISTER MIYAZAMA CONTAINED REFTFL WAS DELIVERED BY
POL COUNS TO FOREIGN OFFICE (DIRGEN FOR AMERICAN
AFFAIRS YAMAZAKI) EARLY AFTERNOON DECEMBER 17.
YAMAZAKI ASSURED PROMPT CONVEYANCE TO FOREIGN MINISTER,
WHO WAS ABSENT FROM MINISTRY IN DIET SESSION. WE ASKED
THAT MESSAGE BE KEPT CONFIDENTIAL PENDING DEPARTMENT'S
INSTRUCTIONS CONCERNING PUBLIC RELEASE. HE ASSURED US
THIS WOULD BE DONE.

2. APPRECIATE DEPARTMENT'S GUIDANCE FOR FONOFF REGARDING PUBLIC RELEASE OF SUBSTANCE OF SECRETARY'S MESSAGE, HODGSON

SECRET-





TELLEGRAM

PAGD DE STOKYO 16543 01 OF 02 190933Z

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CONTROL: 4 4 2 5 Q

SECRET SECTION 1 OF 2 TOKYO 16543

NODIS .

DEPARTMENT MAY WISH TO REPEAT TO EMBASSY PHNOM PENH

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, JA, CB, UN
SUBJECT: FONDFF VIEWS ON KHMER QUESTION

REF: A. STATE 276699 B. PHNOM PENH 16528

1. SUMMARY: DURING DISCUSSION WITH FONOFF OF KHMER ISSUES,
PIRST SE ASIA DIV DIRECTOR HANABUSA EMPHASIZED THAT MOMENTUM
ACHIEVED IN UNGA MUST BE MAINTAINED. TASKS AHEAD ARE PRESERVATION
AND EXPANSION OF LIMITED "NON ALIGNED" SUPPORT FOR MODERATE
POSITION ON KHMER AND SPELLING OUT OPTION TO GRUNK TO CONTINUING
MILITARY STRUGGLE. WHILE LEAVING INTERNAL SETTLEMENT TO
KHMERS, PRIMARY TWO ELEMENTS OF OPTION ARE DEPARTURE OF
LON NOL FROM GOVERNMENT AND US AGREEMENT TO TERMINATE MILITARY
ASSISTANCE TO GKR AS PART OF OVERALL SETTLEMENT OF KHMER
ISSUE. UNDER MILITARY STALEMATE AND WITH DOOR TO POWER THROUGH
UN STILL DENIED TO GRUNK, KHMER COMMUNISTS MIGHT CHOOSE
OPTION TO NEGOTIATE SETTLEMENT. FONOFF ANXIOUS TO HOLD
DISCUSSIONS ON KHMER WITH USG. END SUMMARY.

2. PRIOR TO RECEIVING REF A, FONOFF FIRST SE ASIA DIVISION DIRECTOR HANABUSA DISCUSSED KHMER QUESTION IN DEPTH WITH EMBOFF, JUST RETURNED FROM VISIT TO MANILA, BANGKOK, AND PHNOM PENH (REF B), HANABUSA EXPRESSED STRONG PERSONAL BELIEF THAT HOMENTUM ON KHMER QUESTION MUST BE MAINTAINED TO DEMONSTRATE GOOD FAITH BEHIND SUCCESSFUL EFFORTS DURING 29TH

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TELEGRAM

PAGE 325 TOKYO 16543 01 OF 02 190933Z

UNGA.

3. AS INITIAL STEP, HANABUSA INFORMALLY SOUNDED OUT FONOFFS DURING MANILA, BANGKOK AND PHNOM RENH VISITS, IN ADDITION TO DISCUSSION WITH INCONESIAN EMBASSY MINISTER JENIE IN TOKYO, ON DESTRABILITY OF MAINTAINING CONSULTATIVE MECHANISM SIMILAR TO ASIAN WORKING GROUP AT UN. HANABUSA FOUND PHILS, THAIS AND INDONESIANS INTERESTED AND TENTATIVE CONSENSUS AMONG THEM POINTS TO SECRET, AMBASSADORIAL LEVEL GROUP IN JAKARTA. GROUP HOULD INCLUDE ASEANS, NEW ZEALAND, AUSTRALIA, AND JAPAN (NO MENTION OF US). THAIS PREFER THAT ASEAN NOT BE OUT FRONT ON KHMER SINCE IT WOULD FURTHER INCUR CHINESE AND NORTH VIETNAMESE ENMITY TOWARS ASEAN. HANABUSA SAID ALL PROBABLE PARTICIPANTS IN CONSULTATIVE GROUP PREFERRED SAFETY OF NUMBERS, AS "ASIAN BLOC". GOJ PONOFF IS STILL DISCUSSING IDEA AND MAY FORMALLY PROPOSE CONSULTATIVE GROUP TO ASEANS PRIOR TO ASEAN VICE MINISTERIAL CONFERENCE SCHEDULED FOR JANUARY, HANABUSA ENVISAGES GROUP WOULD BE FORUM FOR EXCHANGING IDEAS WITH, AT LEAST AT THIS STAGE, NO PREEDETERMINED MISSIONS.

4. MOVING TO OVERALL KHMER QUESTION, HANABUSA DESCRIBED TWO RECUIREMENTS WHICH MUST BE ADDRESSED, BOTH OF WHICH HE REGAPOS AS ESSENTIAL TO MAINTAIN MOMENTUM OF US-JAPAN-ASEAN MODERATE APPROACH TO KHMER ISSUES: A) FIRST REQUIREMENT: PRESERVE GOOD FAITH WITH NON-ALIGNED WHO SUPPORTED ASEAN RESOLUTION IN 29TH UNGA AND WURK (ESPECIALLY "NON-ALIGNED INDONESIA AND MALAYSIA") TO WEAR OTHERS FROM RADICAL TOWARD MODERATE POSITION. PARTICULAR ATTENTION SHOULD BE PAID TO SPRING NON-ALIGNED CONFERENCE IN LIMA WHICH COULD SERVE AS WATERSHED BOTH ON KHMER ISSUE AND ON PHENOMENON OF UNCRITICAL ACCEPTANCE OF "THIRD WORLD" POSITIONS IN GENERAL BY "NON-ALIGNED." BACK OF LATTER PROBLEM MIGHT BE BROKEN PRECISELY THROUGH THE KHMER ISSUE, SINCE THROUGH 29TH UNGA ACTION MODERATE POSITION ON KHMER GAINED STRENGTH AND SOME RESPECTABILITY WITHIN NON-ALIGNED BLOC. B) SECOND REQUIREMENT TO BE ADDRESSED INVOLVES CLARIFYING TO GRUNK WHAT OPTIONS ARE AVAILABLE TO THEM. SIMPLE DECLARATIONS BY LON NOL THAT GER IS PREPARED TO NEGOTIATE WITHOUT CONDITIONS ARE NO LONGER ADEQUATE. KNOWING MORE CLEARLY OPTIONS AVAILABLE SHOULD CAUSE GRUNK TO RE-THINK SITUATION, AND MIGHT LEAD THEM TO NEGOTIATIONS, WHETHER NEGOTIATIONS RESULTED OR NOT, SECRET



TELEGRAM

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PAGE 03 TOKYO 16543 01 OF 02 190933Z

HOWEVER, MODERATE POSITION WOULD BE HIGHLY DEFENSIBLE AND SALABLE BOTH DOMESTICALLY (IN JAPAN AND ELSEWHERE) AND WITH NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES. HANABUSA SAID IT WAS ESSENTIAL THAT POSSIBILITIES BE CLARIFIED TO GRUNK IN NEXT MONTH OR TWO.

5. HANABUSA DESCRIBED "TWO ESSENTIAL POINTS" TO BE CLARIFIED TO PROVIDE GRUNK CLEAR PICTURE OF OPTION TO CONTINUING MILITARY STRUGGLE: A) LON NOL MUST MAKE KNOWN HIS WILLINGNESS TO STEP DOWN AND MAKE CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH HE WOULD STEP DOWN CLEAR. B) US SHOULD MAKE KNOWN TO GRUNK ITS WILLINGNESS TO TERMINATE MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO GKR AS WELL AS SROAD CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH IT IS WILLING TO DO SO. REGARDING (A), HANABUSA POSTULATED THAT LON NOL MIGHT INDICATE THAT HE WOULD REMOVE HIMSELF FROM GKR TO COINCIDE WITH START OF NEGOTIATIONS AMONG KHMER PARTIES. HANABUSA CLAIMED THAT HE DETECTED THAT BROAD CONSENSUS IN GKR AND KHMER PUBLIC AGREED THAT TIME HAD COME TO NEGOTIATE SETTLEMENT AND THAT LON NOL WOULD HAVE TO GO. OTHER ASIANS, (AND KHMER EXCEPT FOR ONE OR TWO LIKE SON BANN), COULD NOT TELL LON NOL HE MUST GO. ONLY USG COULD AND LON NOL WOULD ACQUIESCE. SOP TO APPEASE LON NOL MIGHT TAKE FORM OF MAIN TAINING THE REPUBLIC AT LEAST FOR THE INTERIM. BOTH PRO-KINGOOM ORCES AND PRO-REPUBLIC FORCES COULD SAVE FACE BY AGREEING TO A SUBSEQUENT PLEBISCITE ON KINGDOM/REPUBLIC ISSUE AFTER BASIC MILITARY AND POLITICAL SETTLEMENT NEGOTIATED AND SITUATION IN KHMER SETTLED DOWN.

G. REGARDING (8), HANABUSA SAID AT SAME TIME USG DECLARED WILLINGNESS TO TERMINATE MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO GKR, US/GKR CONDITIONS FOR MILITARY AID TERMINATION COULD ALSO BE SPELLED OUT: (I.E. US MILITARY ASSISTANCE WOULD TERMINATE A) WHEN CEASEFIRE AGREED TO DR WHEN IT TOOK EFFECT; B) MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO GRUNK FROM OTHER POWERS WOULD HAVE TO CEASE OR BE CURTAILED, ETC). IMPORTANT MATTER WAS TO PROVIDE GRUNK A CLEARER IDEA OF WHAT THEY MIGHT EXPECT FROM NEGOTIANTIONS. ONE POSSIBLE OUTCOME IS THAT THIS HIGHT LEAD KHHER COMMUNISTS TO FACE CHOICE BETWEEN CONTINUING THE STRUGGLE WITH SIHANOUK OR NEGOTIATING INTO POWER WITH THE REPUBLICANS. HANABUSA THOUGHT IT WOULD BE UNADVISABLE TO TRY DIRECTLY TO CREATE SPLIT BETWEEN SIHANOUK AND KHMER COMMUNISTS,



TELEGRAM

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PAGE 04 TOKYO 16543 01 OF 02 190933Z

SINCE ATTEMPT COULD BACKFIRE. AT SAME TIME, IT MUST BE EVIDENT TO KHMER COMMUNISTS THAT SIHANDUK'S PRESTIGE WITH THIRD WORLD FAILED TO INSTALL GRUNK AT UN. IN FACT, ELEMENT OF DEFEAT WAS EFFECTIVENESS OF AGRUMENT THAT GRUNK HEAD OF STATE IS IN EXILE AND MANY NATIONS WERE RELUCTANT TO SUPPORT SUCH ACTION WITH DANGERIOUS IMPLICATIONS FOR ALL GOVERNMENTS IN UN.

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TELEGRAM

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NOD118

PAGE 01 TOKYO 16543 02 OF 02 1909417

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6848

SECRET SECTION 2 OF 2 YOKYO 16543.

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ABOVE) SHOULD NOT DEAL WITH INTERNAL KHMER SETTLEMENT WHICH MUST BE NEGOTIATED BY KHMER THEMSELVES IF SETTLEMENT IS TO BE VIABLE. IN THIS CONNECTION, HANABUSA SAID HE FOUND GKR FIGURES, LIKE FINANCE MINISTER KHY DEANE LEM, CONFIDENT THAT THEY COULD COPE WITH KHMER COMMUNISTS IN COALITION GOVERNMENT. LEM TOLD HANABUSA COMMUNISTS LACK OF TRAINED BUREAUCRATS AND OTHER PROFESSIONALS WOULD PUT THEM AT SERIOUS DISADVANTAGE IN POLITICAL INFIGHTING IN COALITION GOVERNMENT. ON OTHER HAND, LEM SAID STHANOUK, IN ANY GOVERNMENT, WOULD BE MUCH MORE HAZARDOUS AND HARDER TO CONTROL.

8. IN CONCLUSION, HANABUSA RECALLED THAT USG ARGUMENTATION ON KHMER ISSUES WITH ALLIES FOR PAST TWO YEARS HAS FOCUSED ON BLOCKING RUNK ACCESS TO POWER EITHER THROUGH MILITARY SUCCESS OR, THROUGH THE BACK DOOR, AT THE UN. FROM SUCH STALEMATED CONDITIONS, USG HAS CLAIMED AND GOJ AGREED, NEGOTIATIONS MIGHT EMERGE. MILITARY STALEMATE IS APPARENT. SUCCESS OF MODERATES AT UN ON KHMER, IN SHARP CONTRAST TO OVERWHELMING MAJORITIES ON OTHER "NON-ALIGNEO" ISSUES, LIKE PLO AND SOUTH AFRICA, MAY BE PERCEIVED BY GRUNK AS STALEMATE TO THEIR ASPIRATIONS FOR POWER THROUGH UN BACKDOOR. IF MOMENTUM ALONG MODERATE LINES COULD TURN TIDE AND PREVAIL AT LIMA, HANABUSA CONTENDED, GRUNK MIGHT FINALLY CONSENT TO NEGOTIATIONS FOR SETTLEMENT.

9. HANABUSA SAID THAT FOR DOMESTIC POLITICAL REASONS IN JAPAN SECRET



TELEGRAM

SECRET

PAGE 02 TOKYO 16543 02 OF 02 1909417

IT WAS MANDATORY TO MAINTAIN MOMENTUM ON THE KHMER ISSUE.

OTHERWISE, GOJ EFFORTS AT 29TH UNGA WOULD BE EXPOSED AS

MERELY ANOTHER DELAYING PLOY. HE SAID GOJ WAS WILLING

TO WORK HARD NEXT YEAR AND AT THE 3MTH UNGA ON KHMER BUT THAT

HOULD BE LAST TIME IF SETTLEMENT COULD NOT BE ACHIEVED IN YEAR

AND HALF OR SO OR AT LEAST BEFORE 31ST UNGA. IF NO

MOMENTUM IS MAINTAINED, GOJ HOULD HAVE TO RECONSIDER BOTH

ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL RELATIONS WITH GKR.

13. HANABUSA MENTIONED THAT AMBASSADOR YASUKAWA HAD MET ASST SECRETARY HABIB DEC 17. DESCRIBING EXCHANGE AS IN REP A. HE SAID GOJ EMBASSY WAS NOT SUPFICIENTLY FAMILIAR WITH PROSLEM TO REPRESENT GOJ IN DISCUSSIONS OF KHMER QUESTION WITH USG, AND HE WOULD BE PREPARED TO GO TO WASHINGTON HIMSELF TO PARTICIPATE IN WHAT HE HOPED WOULD BE EARLY DISCUSSIONS. (NOTE: WE ASSUME HE DID NOT NECESSARILY MEAN HE WOULD LEAD DISCUSSIONS ALTHOUGH WE COULD COUNT ON HIS BEING A MAJOR PARTICIPANT.)

10. COMMENT: AS DEPARTMENT KNOWS, HANABUSA WAS PRIME MOVER IN DEVELOPING JAPANESE STRATEGY ON KHMER IN 29TH UNGA. DUKING CONVERSATION REPORTED ABOVE, HE NOTED THAT HE WAS "THINK ALOUD" BUT THAT HE ANTICIPATED HIS SUPERIORS, FROM FONMIN MIYAZAWA ON DOWN, WOULD SUPPORT HIS ASSESSMENT, IF PAST ANY INDICATOR, EMBASSY BELIEVES HANABUSA'S IDEAS WILL BE TREATED SERIOUSLY AT TOP LEVEL OF FONOFF AND RECOMMENDS DEPARTMENT CONSIDER EARLY CONSULTATIONS IN WASHINGTON WITH JAPANESE ON KHMER ISSUE.

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SECRET TOKYU 2338

CONTROL: 5605Q

RECD: FEB 24,1975

NOUIS

E.D. 11652 XGDS-1 TAGS: PARM, JA SUBJECT: JAPAN AND NPT

FOR SECRETARY FROM AMBASSADOR

1. DURING PRIVATE MEETIING WITH VICE FORIEGN MINISTER TOOD ON FEBRUARY 22, HE NAISCH WITH ME PROBLEM OF JAPAN'S RATI-FICATION OF UPT. TOGO STATED THAT PRINE MINISTER MIKI STRONGLY WISHED TO HAVE NPT RATIFIED DURING CURRENT SESSION DIET BOTH BECAUSE OFHIS PERSONAL COMMITMENT TO THAT delective and decause or his reocognition of infortance to WORLD PEACE OF WIDEOT PUSSIBLE NPT HATIFICATION, PRIME MINISTER, HOMEVER, HAS ENCOUNTERED SHALL BUT DETERMINED DAPOSITION WITHIN ONE PARTY (AS PREVIOUSLY REPORTED BY EMBASSY). OUR FAMILLULAR LONGERN TO PRIME MINISTER IS FACT THAT IN ADDITION TO PUBLIC HAYLUNALS, SOME AMONG OPONENTS OF HATIFICATION AND CONTENDING PRIVATELY THAT U.S. HOT SEPIGUSLY CONCERNED FUR RATIFICATION BY JAPAN. (TURO STATED THAT MUST LIMBURTANT PERSONALITY ANDRE THOSE WHO HOLD THIN YEAR IS HARAGOUNE.) PHINE MINISTER FELLS, THEREFOREE, THAT SUME SINURU INDICATION OF U.S. INTEREST ESSENTIAL TO ACHIEVE RATIFICATION DURING THIS SESSION AND HAS INSTRUCTED FOREIGN OFFICE TO EXPLORE POSSIBILITIES FOR COTAINING SUCH EXPRESSION OF U.S. VIEWS. THIS OBVIOUSLY WAS TOGOTS PURPOSE IN RAIGING MATTER WITH ME.

2. TOGO EXPLAINED THAT WHAT PRIME HAISTER HAS IN HIND I

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SOME PERSONAL MESSAGE EITHER FROM PRESIDENT FORD OR FROM YOU UNGING JAPAN'S HATIFICATION. (TOGO AR O MENTIONED PRIME MINISTEM'S DESIRE THAT SUCH MESSAGE SHOULD ALSO CONTAIN SOME SPECIFIC ASSURANCE TTAT U.S. WOULD PROTECT JAPAN IN EVENT OF NUCLEAR ATTACK, BUT IN COURSE OF SUBSEQUENT DISCUSSION TOGO SEEMD TO BACK ANAY FROM THIS HOTION SOMEWHAT SINCE HE UNQUUSTELY APPRECIATES DIFFICULTIES WHICH MOULD BE INCYOLVED.) TOGO COMMENTED THAT THE MORE EXPLICIT SUCH MESSAGE WAS AS TO WHAT USG WISHES FROM JAPAN THE BETTER.

- 3. I COMMENTED THAT USG CLEARLY ON RECORD IN SUPPORT OF NPT RATIFICATION AND REFERRED TO EMPHASIS GIVEN LAST SEPTEMBER. I ALSO NOTED THAT SINCE U.S. SELF-INTEREST NOT INVOLVED EXCEPT IN RELATION TO BROAD SEARCH FOR WORLD PEACE, IT SEEMD TO ME A RRATHER DUBIOUS PHOCEDURE FOR US TO SINGLE OUT JAPAN TO URGE RATIFICATION. TOGO REPLIED THAT HE UNDERSTOOD THERES POINTS, BUT HE INSISTED THAT WITHOUT SOME SUCH MESSAGE FROM U.S. ALONG LINESS HE HAD SUGGESTED, PHINE MINISTER WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO OBTAIN RATIFICATION OURING CURRENT SESSION; WITH SUCH MESSAGE, TOGO FELT CHANCES OF RATIFICATION ARE REASONABLY GOOD.
- 4. TOGO SAID THAT HE APPWEDIATED DIFFICULTIES WHICH U.S. HOULD HAVE IN FURNULATING SUCH MESSAGEHEND ADMITTED THAT HE HAD BEEN UNABLE TO DEVISE A SUITABLE FORMULA. HE SUGGESTED, HOWEVER, THAT IT MIGHT BE PUSSIBLE TO DEAR UPON JOHNSUN-SATO COMMUNIQUE OF 1955 AND FORD-TANAKA COMMUNIQUE OF 1974.

 (PRESUMABLY TOGO HAD IN MIND REFERENCES IN BOTH DUCUMENTS TO ARMS LIMITATION: PARA 4 OF 1955 COMMUNIQUE AND PERA 3 OF 1974 CUSMUNIQUE.)
- 5. COMMENT: I AM NOT IN A PUSITION TO ASSESS TO ULTIMATE IMPORTANCE WE ATTRACH TO JAPAN'S MATIFICATION OF NOT. I REALIZE ALSO THAT IN TAKING ANY SUCH ACTION MIKE HOPES FOR WE RUN THE RISK OF APPEARING TO BE PRESSURING JAPAN ON A MATTER WHICH IT SHOULD BE ABLE TO DECIDE IN TERMS OF ITS OWN SELF-INTEREST, ALTHOUGH THAT RISK MIGHT BE MINIMIZED BY JUDICIOUS WORDING AND CAREFUL CHOICE OF THE MODE IN WHICH WE RESPOND. IT IS A FACT, HONEVER, THAT ANDRE SUCH STRONGLY CONSERVATIVE LOP ELEMENTS AS ARE OPPOSING RATIFICATION.



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PAGE 83 TUKYU 02338 2408337

THERE ARE TTOSE WHO ARGUE THAT U.S. IS NOT SERIOUSLY CONCERNED WHETHER JAPAN RATIFIES NPT AND MAY NOT SIDER SUCH ACTION TO HE IN JAPAN'S BEST INTERESTS. SUCH ARGUNENTS, MOREGVER, MAY CARRY GREATER WEIGHT VIS-A-VIS MIKI GIVEN HIS REPUTATION ANONG THESE SAME CINCLES FOR OTE LIBERAL UNDTE EYEN OTE LEFTIS UNDIE VIES. I CONCLUDE THEREFOR, THAT SUME EXPLICIT AND HIGHT- LEVEL STATEMENT THE U.S. POSITION AND INTEREST AND HIGHT-LEVEL STATEMENT OF THE U.S. POSITION AND INTEREST IN JAPAN'S RATIFICATION PROBABLY WOULD STRENGTHEN MIKIES HAND, ALTHOUG IT WOULD NOT NECESSABILY GUARAANTEE A FAYORABLE OUTCOME. SHOULD IT BE IN OUR INTERESTS TO MAKEE SUCH A MOVE, I BELEIVE THAT IT WOULD BE PREFERABLE TO HAVE OUR VIEWS CONVEYED BY ME ORALLY TO THE PRIME MINISTTER OR THE FOREIGN MINISTER, EVEN THUUGH THIS PROBABLY WOULD FALL SHORT OF WHAT MIKE HOPES FOR. HOUGSON

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CONTROL: 5614Q

RECD: FEB 24,1975

NODIS

E.O. 11652: GOS

TAGS: ENRG

SUBJECT: IEA AGREEMENT ON ALTERNATIVE SOURCES

REF: STATE 040604

1. IN AMBENCE OF AMBASSADOR, WHO ON OFFICIAL TRIP TO HOKAJOO, DOM MET WITH VICE FOREIGN MINISTER TOGO FEB-RUARY 24 TO REQUEST DELIVERY SHONEST OF PRESIDENT FORO'S LETTER TO PRIME MINISTER MIKI. DUM ASKED THAT LETTER BE HELD IN CLOSE CONFIDENCE. PER REFTEL PARA 3, DCM ALSO HAISED WITH TURU POSSIBILITY OF VISIT TO TOKYO BY SEMIOR U.S. OFFICIALS FOR BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS PRIOR TO NEXT MEETING OF IEA GOVERNING BOARD MEETING.

2. TOGO ASSURED OCH HE WOULD COMVEY PRESIDENT'S LETTER TO PRINE MINISTER PROMPTLY AND WOULD BE BACK IN TOUCH ON POSSIGILITY OF BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS.

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NODIS

STADIS

FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY ENDERS

E.O. 116521 GOS TAGS: ENRG UVIP (ENDERS, THOMAS D.), JA SUBJ: ENDERS VISIT

REF: STATE 040504 NODIS MIYAZAKI (DG, ECONOMIC AFFAIRS BUREAU, FONOFF) CALLED IN E/C MIN AFTERNOON FEB. 25 TO PROVIDE GOJ RESPONSE TO SUGGESTION TRANSMITTED BY DCH TO VICE MINISTER TOGO FEB. 24 (REFTEL), THAT ENDERS AND OTHER OFFICIALS VISIT JAPAN BEFORE NEXT GOVERNING BOARD MEETING TO DISCUSS USG PROPOSALS. MIYAZAKI STATED THAT AFTER CONSIDERATION OF SUGGESTION BY FOREIGN MINISTER, TOGO AND SENIOR OFFICIALS OF OTHER MINISTRIES GOJ HAD DECIDED IT WOULD NOT BE POSSIBLE TO HAVE GTE FRUITFUL DISCUSSIONS UNGTE AT THIS TIME. THO GROUNDS GIVEN FOR DECISIONS DEBATING JFY 1975 END OF NEXT WEEK SO THAT BUDGET AFTER MANDATORY THIRTY DAY PERIOD IN UPPER HOUSE). OPPOSITION IS USING ANY AVAILABLE ISSUE TO DELAY BUDGET PASSAGE, AND GOJ CONSIDERS THAT VISIT BY ENDERS AND OTHERS WOULD GUICKLY BE TAKEN UP BY OPPOSITION AS LEADING CONFIDENTIAL

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TELEGRAM

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PAGE 02 STATE

TO MEASURES WHICH WOULD ALTER BUDGET AS PRESENTLY SUBMITTED TO DIET. MIYAZAKI ADDED THAT IT HOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE TO HIDE ENDERS VISIT FROM THE PRESS, EVEN IF GOJ WISHED TO DO SO. (
(B) GOJ MINISTRIES PRESENTLY CONSIDERING VARIS OPTIONS ON ISSUES RAISED BY USG AND IT IS QUITE UNLIKELY THAT GOJ WOULD HAVE FIRM POSITION TO DISCUSS WITH ENDERS BEFORE GB MEETING.

2. MIYAZAKI MADE IT CLEAR HE PERSONALLY WOULD WELCOME VISIT BY ENDERS AND REGRETTED THAT DECISION HAD BEEN MADE AT POLITICAL LEVEL TO DECLINE OFFER OF VISIT. HE ALSO CONCEDED THAT LACK OF FIRM GOJ POSITION MADE ENDERS VISIT ALL THE MORE USEFUL. IN CONCLUSION, HE ADDED THAT HE DID NOT PRECLUDE POSSIBILITY THAT GOJ WOULD ASK FOR VISIT BY ENDERS AT LATER DATE.

3. AS OF GENERAL INFORMATION, MIYAZAKI NOTED THAT AMBASSADOR TO THE GECD YOSHINO WOULD RETURN TO TOKYO THIS EVENING, WOULD OFFICIALLY BE NAMED DEPUTY MINISTER. (TO REPLACE TSUMUMI) IN NEXT FEW DAYS AND WOULD RETURN TO PARIS TO HEAD GOJ DELEGATION TO IEA/GB IN NEW CAPACITY.

4. WHILE NO SUBSTITUTE FOR FACE-TO-FACE MEETING WITH SENIOR LEVELS OF VARIOUS GOJ MINISTRIES, WE THINK IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO PROVIDE GOJ (EITHER THROUGH EMBASSY HERE OR JAPANESE EMBASSY WASH) WITH AS MUCH SPECIFICITY AS POSSIBLE ON CONTENTS OF MARCH 6-7 IEA/GB DUTCOME WHICH WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO US.

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INFO OCT-01 /001 W

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E.O. 11652 GUS TAGS: ENRG, JA SUVJECT: IEA- JAPANESE AAPPROACH TO ACCLERATED DEVELOPMENT

REF: (A) TORYU 2370, (B) STATE 049604 NODIS

FUR ASST SEC ENDERS

1. HITT DRAFT TEAZED DECISION REPURTED REFTEL A WAS GIVEN TO ERRASSY BEFORE MITT WAS INFORMED LATE FOR 24 BY FOHOFF THAT PRESIDENT FORD HAD SENT LETTER TO PH OR ACILERATED DEVELOPMENT (REF B). HOPSFULLY REF B WILL INDUCE GOJ LEADERS TO JOIN IN MORE POSITIVE STEP FURNAND AT MAKCH 6-7 GO HECTINGS THAN IS REFLECTED IN MITT DRAFT MITCH, IN EMPASSY OPIMION, DOES NOT ADVANCE STATE OF UNDERSTANDING ON DASIC ELEMENTS AND PRINCIPLES OF OVERALL APPROACH TO ACCUMBATED DEVELOPMENT BEYOND THAT ALREADY AGREED AT FED 5-7 OF MEETING (AS RECORDED DECO PARIS 3463) AND IN SOME RESPECTS IS STEP BACKWARD (E.G. INSISTENCE THAT FRANCE AN AUSTRALIA JOIN).

P. IF ENDERS DOES OF RISH COMMENT IN DETAIL ON MITTURARY, THERE IS RIDSK MITT DRAFT HAY BE PUBLICU THROUGH OTHER GOT MINISTRIES IN NEXT FEH DAYS AND SECONE EDJ POSISITION FOR MARCH 6 GB MEETING. ON OTHER HAND, WE SEE

44 8/31/01



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TEERAM

PAGE 02 TOKYU 02384 250346Z

DISADVANTAGE OF ATTEMPTING TO AMEND MITH TEXT SINCE OPERATIVE (SIC) PORTINS OFFER SO LITTLE TO HORK FROM. (SAME MAY NOT BE TRUE OF PHEANBULAR SECTION.) POSSIBLE WAS OUT OF THIS BUX MAY BE TO RESPOND TO MITH DRAFT WITH A US COUNTEEN-DRAFT OF ATMEAST OPERATIVE PURTIONS. IF RECENT DISCSSIONS WITH EUROPEANS OFFER BASIS FOR SAYING SO (AND WE INTERPRET RECENT REPURTING FROM BRUSSELS ESPECIALLY EC BRUSSELS 1526 AS INDICATING EUROPEANS ARE CLOSER TO US VIEWS THAN ARE JAPANEGE AT MOMENT), IT WOULD BE DESIRABEL TO TINDICATED US PILETVES BASIC THRUST OF US DRAFT IS LIKELY TO BE (OR WILL BE)

3. SENIOR STAFF LEVELS OF KEY MINISTRIES ARE CURRENTLY DISCUSSING RESPRONSE TO YOUR OFFER TO COME TO TOKYO BEFOR MARCH 6 MEETING AND WE WILL PROBABLY GET REPLY LATER TODAY. HODGON

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NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

WITHDRAWAL ID 013819

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL		National security restriction
TYPE OF MATERIAL		Telegram
CREATOR'S NAME RECEIVER'S NAME		
TITLE		GOJ Statement on Nuclear Issue
CREATION DATE		02/28/1975
VOLUME		3 pages
COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDE COLLECTION TITLE		032400289 NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER. PRESIDENTIAL COUNTRY FILES FOR EAST ASIA AND THE PACIFIC
BOX NUMBER		8 Japan - State Department Telegrams: To SECSTATE - NODIS (4)
DATE WITHDRAWN WITHDRAWING ARCHIVIST		

EXEMPTED

8/13/07

Exempted 9/21/10

NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

WITHDRAWAL ID 013820

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL .	 National security restriction
TYPE OF MATERIAL	 Telegram
CREATOR'S NAME	
TITLE	 Nuclear Issue
CREATION DATE	 03/01/1975
VOLUME	 3 pages
COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER COLLECTION TITLE	032400289 NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER. PRESIDENTIAL COUNTRY FILES FOR EAST ASIA AND THE PACIFIC
BOX NUMBER	<pre>8 Japan - State Department Telegrams: To SECSTATE - NODIS (4)</pre>
DATE WITHDRAWN WITHDRAWING ARCHIVIST .	

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O 030730Z MAR 75 FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO TO SECSTATE WASHOC IMMEDIATE 8370 122410

CONTROL: 238Q

RECD: MARCH 03,1975

SECRET TOKYO 2706

NODIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: ENRG
SUBJ: FRENCH INVITATION TO PRODUCER/CONSUMER PREPARATORY MEETING

REF: STATE 46725

1. AMB MET WITH VICE MINISTER TOGO AFTERNOON MARCH 3 CONCERNING FRENCH INVITATION. TUGO SAID FACT OF FRENCH INVITATION IS TO BE RELEASED PUBLICLY AT 8 P.M. TOKYO TIME TONIGHT BUT ACTUAL INVITATION NOT EXPECTED TO BE RECEIVED HERE UNTIL MARCH 6. TOGO THEREFORE BELIEVED GOJ COULD GET BY MITH A PUBLIC POSTURE OF "STUDYING" FRENCH INITIATIVE AT LEAST FOR SEVERAL DAYS. HE CAUTIONED HOWEVER THAT THIS MIGHT HAVE TO BE ACCOMPANIED BY SOME REFERNCE TO JAPAN'S LUNG-STANDING INTEREST IN A PRODUCER. CONSUMER DIALUG AND NON-CONFRONTATIONAL POSTURE TOWARD PRODUCERS. TOGO ASSUMED AMBASSADOR GOJ WOULD NOT GO OVERBOARD ON THIS AND WOULD CERTAINLY BEAR IN MIND AND GIVE CLOSE ATTENTION TO POINTS MADE BY PRESIDENT FORD IN HIS FEB 22 LETTER TO PM MIKI.

2. GOJ REP TO IEA/GB (DEPUTY VICE MINISTER YOSHION)
ALREADY EN HOUTE PARIS AND WILL BE AVAILABLE MEET WITH US
HODGSON

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NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

WITHDRAWAL ID 013821

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL National security restriction
TYPE OF MATERIAL Telegram
CREATOR'S NAME AMEMBASSY TOKYO RECEIVER'S NAME SECSTATE WASHDC
TITLE Nuclear Weapons
CREATION DATE
VOLUME 3 pages
COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 032400289 COLLECTION TITLE NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER. PRESIDENTIAL COUNTRY FILES FOR EAST ASIA AND THE PACIFIC
BOX NUMBER 8 FOLDER TITLE Japan - State Department Telegrams: To SECSTATE - NODIS (4)
DATE WITHDRAWN



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SECRET TORYD 3043

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NOFORN DISSEM/CONTROLLED DISSEM

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3 TAGS: MNUC. KS SUBJECT: ROK PLANS TO DEVELOP NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND MISSILES

REF: STATE 64873

WE HOULD APPRECIATE RECEIVING FOR INFORMATION SECULIS 1239 AND 8023 AND STATE 271124, ALL REFERENCED REFTEL, AND SUBSEQUENT TRAFFIC THIS SUBJECT, IN LIGHT OF UBVIOUS SERIOUS POTENTIAL IMPLICATIONS FOR JAPAN.

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 13526 (as amended) SEC 3.3

MR# 08-031; 11

Ptate dept Utv 7/18/11

By dal NARA, Date 9/8/11

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O 140500Z MAR 75 FM ANEMBASSY TOKYO TO SECSTATE WASHOC IMMEDIATE 8663

TOKYO 03337

CONTROL: 41770

RECD: MARCH 15 1975

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NODIS

E.O. 116521 GDS TAGS: ENRG JA

SUBJ: PREPCOM INVITATIONS

REF: TOKYO 3315

MIYAZAKI, DG FONOFF ECON AFFAIRS, TOLD E/C MIN MARCH 14 GOJ WOULD NUT RPT NOT REPLY TO FRENCH INVITATION TO PREPCOM UNTIL AFTER IEA/GB MEETING NARCH 19-2%. E/C MIN EXPRESSED APPRECIATION AND OBSERVED THAT DEFERRAL OF REPLY SEEMED IN LINE WITH IEA/GB DECISION MARCH 6. HODGSON

SECRET 66 8/31/01



NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

WITHDRAWAL ID 013823

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL .	 National security restriction
TYPE OF MATERIAL	 Telegram
CREATOR'S NAME RECEIVER'S NAME	
TITLE	 Nuclear Transit Issue
CREATION DATE	 03/19/1975
VOLUME	 6 pages
COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER COLLECTION TITLE	032400289 NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER. PRESIDENTIAL COUNTRY FILES FOR EAST ASIA AND THE PACIFIC
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DATE WITHDRAWN	

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NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

WITHDRAWAL ID 013824

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL National security restriction
TYPE OF MATERIAL Telegram
CREATOR'S NAME AMEMBASSY TOKYO RECEIVER'S NAME SECSTATE WASHDC
TITLE Japan-DRV Relations
CREATION DATE
VOLUME 3 pages
COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 032400289 COLLECTION TITLE NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER. PRESIDENTIAL COUNTRY FILES FOR EAST ASIA AND THE PACIFIC
BOX NUMBER 8 FOLDER TITLE Japan - State Department Telegrams: To SECSTATE - NODIS (4)
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CONTROL: 8050Q

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RECD: MARCH 26,,975

CONFIDENTIAL TOKYO 3904

NODIS

E.O. 11652 XGOS-1 TAGS: PFOR, JA, VN SUBJECT: JAPAN-DRV RELATIONU

REF: A. STATE .0578531 (B) TOKYO 3772

FOR ASST SECY HABIB

1. AS INDICATED IN REF (B), PARA 6, I RAISED WITH DEPTUY
FONMIN ARITA ON MARCH 26 OUR CONCERNS WITH RESPECT TO GOJ
CONCLUSION OF AID AGREEMENT WITH DRY AND OPENING OF EMBASSY
IN HANOI. I NOTED THAT EMBASSY HAD REPORTED IN DETAIL
HANABUSA'S REACTION TO OUR INITIAL APPROACH AND, PER REF
(A), STATED THAT WE HAD APPRECIATED FRANKNESS OF HANABUSA'S
COMMENTS. I REITERATED OUR HOPE THAT AID AGREEMENT WOULD NOT
BE CONCLUDED AT THIS TIME AND THAT GOJ COULD DELAY OPENING
ITS EMBASSY IN HANOI UNTIL SITUATION HAD CLARIFIED. ARITA
STATED THAT OUR CONCERNS ARE FLLY UNDERSTOOD AND THAT GOJ
HOULD TRY ACOMODATE TO THEM, ALTHOUGH HE AVIDED ANY
SPECIFIC COMMITMENTS.

2. ARITA CONTINUED, HOWEVER, THAT QUESTION OF AID TO DRY AND OPENING OF EMBASSY IN HANDI SLEMED TO BE TO HIM RELATIVELY LIMITED AND SHORT-TERM PROBLEMS. OF GREATER CONCERN, IN AIS LEILW, ARE LONGER TEM IMPLICATIONS OF RAPIDLY DETERIORATING SITUATION IN SOUTH VIETNAM. ALTHOUGH GVN DECISION TO WITH-DRAW FROM CENTRAL HIGHLAND AND OTHER PROVINCES MAY MAVE BEEN MILITARILY JUSTIFIABLE, AIRTA WAS CONCERNED THAT THESE ACTIONS CONFIDENTIAL

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 12050, SEO. 3.8 State Dept Review

STATE DEPT, GUIDELINES TD 9/23/02

W. NARA, DATE 1/28/03



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PAGE 02 TOKYO 03904 261-0472

WOULD GIVE RISE TO SERIOUS DOUBTS TO OTHERCOUNTRIES CONCERNING POLITICAL VIABILITY OF THIEU REGIME. (IN THIS CUNNECTION, HE WONDERED WHETHER US HAD BEEN CONSULTED IN ADVIANCE OF GYN WITHDRAWL AND WHETHER WE HAD CONCURRED IN DECISION OF THIEU GOVERNMENT.) AIRTA FELT THAT THERE IS AN INGENT NEED FOR GOJ TO BE INFORMED OF U.S. ASSESSMENT OF CURRENT SITUATION, PROSPECTS OFOR THIEU GOVERNMENT, AND CONSEQUENCES OF THIESE DEVELOPMENTS FOR OVERALL U.SM STRATEGY IN EAST ASIA.

3. ALMOST LESS EXPLICIT, ARITA SEEMED CONCEREND
WHETHER U.SM HAD NOT IN FACT ANTICIOPHED LIKLIHOOOD THAT
ONCE U.S. FORCES WITHDRAWN, NURTH VIETNAM WOULD INCREASE
MILITARY PRESSURE ON SOUT IN DISREGARD OF PARIS AGREEMENTS,
PRESSURE. GIVEN RELUCTANCE OF CONGRESS TO PROVIDE FURTHER
AID TO SOUT VIETNAM, ARITA WONDERED WAHT IMPLICATIONS, IF
ANY, MHIS SEQUENCE OF EVENTS MIGHT HAVE FOR U.S. POLICY
TOWARD NORTHEAST ASIA AND, PARTICULARLY, KOREA.

4. I TOLD ARITA THAT I WAS NOT IN A POSITION TO APPRISE HIM OF OUR ASSESSMENT OF THE SITUATION AND COMMENTED THAT EVENTS HAD MOVED WITH SUCH SURPRISING SWIFTNESS THAT SOME FURTHER TIME WOULD PROBABLY BE REQUIRED FOR US TO SORT OUT THEIV SIGNIFICANCE. I STRONGLY CAUTIONED HIM, HOWEVER, AGAINST GENERALIZING FROM THESE RECENT DEVELOPMENTS ABOUT THE FUTURE DIRECTION OF U.S. POLICY AND SAID THAT I COULD SEE NO ANALOGY IN THESE TERMS BETWEN THE SITUATION IN INDOCHINA AND THAT IN KOREA.

5. I ASKED ARITA WHAT SIGNIFICANCE HE SAW IN THESE RECENT
DEVELOPMENTS ININDOCHINA FOR GOJ TOWARD THATAREAA.
ARITA SAID THT HE CULD NOT BE CERTAIN ON THIS POINT. IN
HIS VIEW, HOWEVER, THE GOJ STILL HOPES THAT SOME POLITICAL
SETTLEMENT MIGHT BE REACHED WHICH WOULD PUT AND END TO HOSTIL—
ITIES IN SOUT VIETNAM. (HE FELT THAT THE TIME HAD PASSED WHEN
ONE COULD REALL TICALLY HOPE FOR A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT IN
CAMBODIA. THE MOST LIELY PROSPECT THERE IN HIS VIEW IS FOR
LON NOL AND OTHER LEADING MEMBERS OF HIS GOVERNMENT TO LEAVE
THE COUNTRY, BEING REPLACED BY A CARETAKER HEGIME WHICH
WOULD NEGOTIATE THE TERMS OF A TAKEOVER BY THE INSRUGENTS.)
HE THOUGHT THATH THE GVN PROBABLY WOULD BE ABLE TO MOUNT AN
EFFECTIVE DEFENSE OF SAIGON AND THE SURROUNDING PROVINCES
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TELEGRAN

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PAGE 03 TURYU 03904 2510472

AND THUS BRING THE FIGHTING TO AT LEAST A TEMPORARY STALEMATE. SUCH A SITUATION IN ARITA'S VIEW WOULD OPEN THE WAY FOR POLITICAL NEGOTIATIONS.
SHOEMITH

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NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

WITHDRAWAL ID 013826

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL	National security restriction	
TYPE OF MATERIAL	Telegram	
CREATOR'S NAME RECEIVER'S NAME		
TITLE	Nuclear Problems	
CREATION DATE	03/26/1975	
VOLUME	2 pages	
COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER COLLECTION TITLE	R ID . 032400289 NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER. PRESING COUNTRY FILES FOR EAST ASIA AND PACIFIC	
BOX NUMBER	8 Japan - State Department Telegram SECSTATE - NODIS (4)	ms: To
DATE WITHDRAWN WITHDRAWING ARCHIVIST		

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8/13/07

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