DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Memorandum of Conversation

NODIS

DATE: 1:00 pm, June 30,

1976

SUBJECT: Ford-Miki Luncheon Conversation

State Dining Room,

White House

PARTICIPANTS:

Takeo Miki, Prime Minister of Japan

Itaru Umezu (Interpreter) President Gerald Ford

James J. Wickel (Interpreter) (Notetaker)

DISTRIBUTION:

The following substantive portions of the President's luncheon conversation with the Prime Minister were interspersed among other social conversations across the table with other Breaks in continuity are indicated by asterisks.)

Miki:

Mr. President, do you have any comment on the Japanese press report yesterday that the United States has a committment to establish diplomatic relations with the PRC after the coming election?

President:

I can assure you that we have no such commitment. At the time of my visit to Peking we reiterated the language of the Shanghai Communique. that we would continue to improve relations, but we made no commitment to a fixed schedule for normalization. There is no fixed schedule, no fixed timetable, no fixed target date. We would consult you before making such a move.

Miki:

(Repeating to himself, in English) No fixed schedule. Do you know how this sort of speculation might have originated?

President:

It doesn't come from this office, and it doesn't come from the Secretary.

Miki:

I wonder where it comes from?

President:

It probably comes from somebody over in the Department trying to make trouble for us. * * * * *

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FORM DS-1254

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E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.6

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NSC Momo, 11/24/98; State Dept. Guidelines ma 01-162, 144; at etr 11/5/02 By del , NARA, Date Houtes 12/6/02

CLASSIFIED BY: HENRY A. KISSINGER

What is your estimate of the reason for the recent announcement that Chairman Mao would no longer receive foreign dignitaries? Is it because of his health?

Miki:

There are two general theories. One is the Chinese explanation that Chairman Mao cannot meet all visiting dignitaries, and it would be embarrassing to try to select some for a meeting from among them and exclude many others. The other reason may be that Mao is in failing health.

President: Which do you believe is the reason?

Miki:

Based on everything we know the likely reason is that Mao's health is failing. Those who have seen him recently report that he is in poor health. It is not even certain that he will live out the year. But it is difficult to know anything about his health with any degree of certainty because the PRC is not an open society like the United States.

President:

What is your estimate of the probable succession? Who do you think will succeed Chaiman Mao when he dies?

Miki:

That is not clear at all. There are two factions contending for the succession, the realists and the cultural revolutionaries, but neither has been able to establish a clear-cut superiority over the other, as we saw after the death of Chou En-lai, when Hua Kuo-feng was named to succeed Chou. Hua seems to be neutral, and acceptable to both sides. If anything, he might be a shade closer to the realists, but will probably remain in office as a sort of a caretaker.

President:

We don't hear much any more about Teng Hsiao-ping, do we?

Miki:

No, except that he is being criticized strongly. His name is now linked with Lin Piao and Liu Shao-chi in propaganda criticizing all three. They are the current whipping boys. It seems that a society like that needs whipping boys.

However, in our view, the need to develop the nation economically will probably prevent the

complete disappearance of the realists, and in the long run the awareness of this need may facilitate their return to power.

Still, it is difficult to foresee who might succeed Mao. Perhaps there will be an interim period presided over by a caretaker.

* * * * * *

President: How is your trade with the PRC? Has it been declining?

<u>Miki:</u>
Yes, it has declined a bit since the PRC has shifted away from emphasizing internal development, but we expect it to pick up again when the debate about development is resolved.

President: How are your relations with Taiwan?

Miki: We still have friendly ties. We have been able to restore civil air service to Taiwan, and many Japanese, especially those with strong feelings for Taiwan still travel there. In fact, we have some LDP members with a strong preference for Taiwan.

President: We have some of these here, too. Recently when we withdrew six military advisors -- one officer and five enlisted men -- from Quemoy and Matsu they tried to exaggerate the significance of that move. These six advisors were withdrawn as part of an administrative decision, approved by the JCS, but some people tried to portray it as having great policy significance.

* * * * * *

Miki:

Now that Japan has ratified the NPT, Mr.

President, I wish to request the continued cooperation of the United States in Japan's development of the peaceful use of nuclear energy, on which we will have to rely increasingly in the future as a source of power.

<u>President:</u> We were very pleased that Japan ratified the NPT. How long was that debated?

Miki: It took six years after signing, but when ratification was put to a vote in the Diet it was approved unanimously, even by all of



the opposition parties including the JCP. Also, ratification was supported by a unanimous popular consensus.

You may recall that I promised you when we met last August that I would secure ratification of the NPT. I believe a statesman should never promise something he cannot do, and should always live up to his promises.

President:

I know we have many joint commissions and many programs for cooperation, but do you have some specific request in mind for cooperation in the peaceful use of nuclear energy?

Miki:

No, nothing specific. I was simply requesting your overall cooperation, in a general sense.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

NODIS .

Memorandum of Conversation

June 30, 1976 Oval Office DATE:

10:30 a.m.

SUBJECT:

Prime Minister Miki Call on President Ford

PARTICIPANTS:

President Gerald Ford Secretary Henry A. Kissinger Mr. Brent Scowcroft Under Secretary Habib

Ambassador James D. Hodgson James J. Wickel (Interpreter) DECLASSIFIED E.O. 12958 Sec. 3.6

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Prime Minister Takeo Miki Foreign Minister Kiichi Miyazawa

Deputy Chief Cabinet Secretary Toshiki Kaifu

Deputy Vice-Minister Bunroku Yoshino

Ambassador Fumihiko Togo Ryu Yamazaki (Interpreter)

President: Mr. Prime Minister it gives me great pleasure to welcome you to the United States again. We believe that Japan's participation was a helpful contribution to the Puerto Rico conference. Have the press been favorable in Japan?

Miki:

Thank you for your kind remarks, Mr. President. The reaction in Japan has been good. Originally, there was some feeling that the conference would be a political show, but the importance of the conference gradually came to be realized. press reports were favorable.

This conference, held in Puerto Rico at your initiative, was more relaxed than Rambouillet. Its significance was that it provided us an opportunity to identify and discuss the problem we face, and thus deepen our mutual understanding. I appreciated your initiative in calling this conference, and the considerate arrangements you made in hosting it. I supported your suggestion that we take the opportunity to discuss, in advance, the kinds of problems that might affect & 10RD our societies, not in the near-term, but in the future.

(Drafting Officer) . EA/P:JJWickel:rd 7/2/76 FORM DS - 1254

President: We are grateful for your invitation to hold the

next conference in the Pacific.

Miki: We will need your support to bring it about.

President: Right.

Miki:
It is a deep honor for me to take this opportunity

to reiterate the heartfelt congratulations of of the Government and people of Japan to you and through you, Mr. President, to the people of the United States on the occasion of your Bicentennial. The ideals of the founding fathers are unique, and represent an asset not only for the people of the United States but for all mankind. The celebration of your Bicentennial serves to remind us all of those ideals, which have had such a great influence on strengthening democracy around

the world.

President: An elaborate number of significant events have

been planned to celebrate the Bicentennial between July 2 and July 5, in Philadelphia, Valley Forge, Monticello, and many here in Washington. We believe these will provide a psychological uplift for us all. I understand there are 30,000 individual projects in the United States, which have been planned and are being carried out in 13,000 communities. Our Bicentennial is a great event, and I think it is significant that so many celebrations have been

planned in so many of our local communities.

Miki: The whole world should celebrate your Bicentennial,

as well as the United States. As this great nation, the United States, moves into its third century I hope it will continue to contribute to the peace and prosperity of the world. As you may have heard, we, too, have planned some Bicentennial

celebrations in Japan.

Hodgson: Mr. President, the Prime Minister is being entirely

too modest. I have been participating in one event each day for the past two months, and on July 4 and 5 I will be kept busy from morning until 11:00 p.m., participating in one event each hour. There is an enormous outpouring of enthusiasm

for the Bicentennial in Japan.

Miki: I hope that you will continue to place equal emphasis at home and abroad on the founding

principles of equality and liberty, to help meet

the aspirations of the people of the world for peace and a better standard of living. Democracy faces many challenges, from the left and from the right, but I believe we share common political ideals and a deep commitment to preserve liberal democracy. We also share a number of problems, at home and abroad, which we can resolve by putting our heads together.

President:

Thank you for your kind words about our nation, and the points you made about our basic dedication to the ideals of the founding fathers. These principles have survived well in the United States, and will continue to be fundamental to our future. Japan, and other nations, have helped spread them throughout the world.

I was glad to hear that Ambassador Hodgson keeps busy. We believe he is doing a good job. He works hard. We think he represents the United States to Japan well. Thank you, Jim, and please keep up the good work.

Mr. Prime Minister, may I ask for your comments? We had a unique opportunity last year to bring our two nations together with my visit to Japan, and the visit to the United States by Their Majesties the Emperor and Empress. We believe the relations between our two countries are good. Please take the initiative to raise any points you believe we should discuss, to help us try to understand each other better.

Miki:

I had an audience with Their Majesties, the Emperor and Empress, a few days before departing for the United States. Both Their Majesties spoke repeatedly of the unforgettable memories of their memorable visit to the United States, and both asked that I convey their warmest regards to you.

President:

Please express to Their Majesties the gratitude of Mrs. Ford and me for their coming to the United States. The American people enjoyed having them, not just in Washington, but in many other communities across the United States.

Miki:

I will be pleased to convey your regards to Their Majesties.

As you noted there are few problems between Japan and the United States. None of them are major.

However, there are some I wish to take up.

First, may I express my appreciation for your cooperation on the Lockheed problem. With your cooperation, the Japanese prosecutors have come to Los Angeles, to have their rogatories presented to American witnesses. The United States judicial authorities are making an effort to conduct the rogatory as soon as possible, but we have only reached the starting point of this procedure, and have not yet been able to get any statements from the American witnesses.

I believe there are two points to keep in mind in resolving the Lockheed affair. First, this would provide an opportunity to restore the faith of the people in politics in Japan. Second, in dealing with this unfortunate problem, we should not allow any harm, real or imagined, to affect Japan-United States relations. With these two goals in mind, we are doing our very best to resolve this problem, but there are many points on which we must request the cooperation of the United States.

President:

We share your concern. We also hope that this problem does not destroy the good relations we have built between the United States and Japan. We will continue to cooperate, as we have. But there are in the United States certain legal and judicial procedures we must follow. We must make certain these are adhered to. Within those restrictions we will maximize our cooperation.

Miki:

In Japan, too, we do not intend to delay the resolution of this affair. In the near future I hope to bring this period to an end. I cannot say when, precisely, but it will be in the not too distant future. It will be difficult. As Ambassador Hodgson knows this problem is of the greatest concern to the Japanese people.

President:

We hope that with the cooperation we can give that a fair and equitable solution can be reached.

Miki:

Our investigative authorities are doing their best, but since this case originated in the United States we must rely on information the United States furnishes. We are satisfied with

the cooperation the United States has already extended, and hope that it will continue.

I also hope that Secretary Richardson's Committee, in its study of the conduct of American multi-national corporations abroad, will draft a code of behavior that would require the MNC's to adhere to the laws of the other nations in which they operate.

President:

The focus of Secretary Richardson's Cabinet Committee is on collecting all the data, and analyzing what has happened. It will recommend regulations, or laws, but this is a hard problem. Secretary Richardson is not investigating for criminal actions. The work of his Committee is far broader, and focused on the future. The net result, we hope, will be not only a recommendation for full disclosure, but also other means to prevent the same sort of thing from arising in the future.

Miki:

I know about the Code of conduct drafted by the OECD, but Japan would also favor the adoption of an international code by the UN. We fully support such efforts in the UN. It would be very helpful if the UN could also do something. Do you think the UN could agree on something by the end of next session?

Kissinger:

On the Multi-national corporations? I doubt it. In the OECD we have agreed on a code, but in the UN I doubt it.

Miki:

There are two areas I wish to discuss, fisheries and civil aviation. I understand civil aviation negotiations between our two countries are about to begin in August. With respect to fisheries, Japan relies on the sea for half its food protein. Japan has recorded a traditional catch of 1.5 million tons in the waters over which the United States recently extended its control, which represents about 15 percent of its total fish catch. Our catch within 200 miles of the United States is important to us. consists mostly of Alaskan pollack, which is The new law enacted processed into fish paste. by Congress extends stringent controls over fisheries to 200 miles, but we wish to maintain our traditional access to these food resources.

In the past, Japan has cooperated in negotiating and observing a number of fisheries agreements, and our annual catch remains constant, on a stable basis. I hope that the United States will take this into consideration in enforcing its new law.

President:

We in the White House did not take the initiative to establish the 200-mile economic zone. It was legislated by the Congress. We tried to slow it down, to improve the draft as much as possible. For example, we were able to delay the date of enforcement until March 1, 1977. Our basis for doing so was that the Law of the Sea Conference will meet again in February and March, and again in August. It is our hope that a new LOS Treaty will be approved. If it is, then the 200-mile law will become ineffective, because we assume our needs will be covered.

Kissinger:

The treaty would provide for a 200-mile economic zone under U.S. jurisdiction, but it would not be as severe as the new law, and would give us some latitude in our bilateral relations.

President:

It would provide us more flexibility. How do you view the prospects for the completion of a new Law of the Sea Treaty, and is the government of Japan pushing for it?

Miki:

Japan is actively trying to push the LOS through to a conclusion. Because of the large number of Soviet ships off our own coast there is strong pressure in Japan to extend the territorial sea from three to twelve miles. We hope all of these issues can be handled, in one package, at the LOS conference. We hope the United States would take the initiative, and we would support you in pushing for a speedy conclusion.

President:

We are anxious to bring this conference to a conclusion, but I assure you we are not going to capitulate on our principles as some others are pushing us to do. We vigorously oppose any limitation on our right to explore and develop the sea bed.



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Kissinger:

We have put forward a proposal that seeks to reconcile the desire of other nations for international exploration of the sea bed with the need posed by development on a national basis. We believe this is sensible. Does Japan agree?

Miyazawa:

Yes, provided some of the fruits of development are contributed to the LDC's.

Kissinger:

We have put forward a complex proposal, under which for each site developed on a national basis, another would be set aside for international development, and royalties would be paid into an international fund from national developments. We believe that is If our proposal is accepted in the next session we will move close to concluding a new This is the key issue. It would be absurd for some countries to block our proposal, and end up with nothing for the international community, because we have the technology to go it alone, without international legal prohibitions. But it is being said in some international circles that the United States will capitulate in August. That is wrong, and we won't. We will continue to try to reach legitimate and equitable solutions, but we will not capitulate.

Miki:

With respect to civil aviation, there are unequal aspects to our present bilateral agreement, which we hope can be negotiated.

President:

I understand we are in the process of negotiation. It is my hope that a reasonable and equitable solution can be achieved. I am cognizant of the fact that our government people are negotiating with yours, and I trust that a proper compromise can be accomplished.

Miki:

With respect to Asian problems, I believe Foreign Minister Miyazawa and Secretary Kissinger have discussed in detail the Korean issue in the forthcoming UN General Assembly. I have nothing new to add here.

President: It's in good hands.

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Miki:

In another area, the ASEAN nations are not certain about Vietnam's intentions, and Vietnam's foreign policy is not yet clear. The ASEAN nations are watching closely to see how Vietnam's policy develops, but without the United States they would be unable to take a positive position vis-a-vis Vietnam. In our view, ASEAN should not be considered as a potential anti-communist bloc aimed at Vietnam. We wish to conceive of ASEAN as being more flexible. Japan has relations with Vietnam, and, as we observe it, we believe Vietnam is most concerned with domes-We do not foresee Vietnam tic construction. undertaking an adventurous foreign policy, but this could depend on how relations develop between Vietnam and the ASEAN nations, as well as developments within the region. We believe it would be best to promote domestic development within the ASEAN nations, and regional developments, without aggravating the relations between the ASEAN nations and Vietnam. At present we see no danger signs that Vietnam will take an aggressive policy.

President:

I would like to ask Secretary Kissinger for his views of Vietnam, now that it has been unified in a literal way.

Kissinger:

Our assessment is that Vietnam will continue through the coming years to conduct a rather aggressive foreign policy. Excessive humility is not a Vietnamese trait. I met with the Foreign Minister of Indonesia yesterday, which is why I could not call on you, Mr. Prime Minister. He told me they assess Vietnam as a great danger to the stability of Southeast Aisa, by encouraging subversive movements. However, on the other hand, they also need economic aid. If they get it for free, they will do both, take aid, and encourage subversion. If we attach conditions... they won't get aid from us, it is safe to say. We will continue to support the ASEAN nations, and anything Japan can do would be greatly appreciated, in helping to promote internal economic developments which would enable these nations to resist subversion. now negotiating a new base agreement with the Philippines, and will do what we can with Indonesia. We are not trying to create an anti-communist bloc, but the dangers all come from the communist world.

Miki:

In our view, the best way for the ASEAN nations to resist subversion is to build sturdy and stable domestic situations. We understand the ASEAN Foreign Ministers, in their recent meeting in Manila, believed they should, instead of forming a bloc, try to coordinate their development projects to move in the direction of internal development, in which Japan would wish to assist.

President:

That coincides with our view. As Secretary Kissinger has said we are working with the Philippines on new arrangements for our military installations, and economic as well as military assistance. I also feel my own visit to Indonesia last December was most productive, and in our view has led to considerable achievements.

Mr. Prime Minister, what are your views on Korea?

Miki:

We see the confrontation between North and South Korea continuing, but no conflict as such. The excessive fear each holds for the other hinders them from initiating a dialogue. Under these circumstances, the ROK relies greatly on its relations with the United States, and Japan, but is uneasy about its relations with the United States, and should be encouraged not to lose its cool.

Since the end of the Vietnam war the Japanese have begun to criticize President Park's domestic policy rather severely, but we continue to maintain a policy of friendly relations with the ROK, as does the United States. However, President Park's internal policies do present a great problem for us. To summarize, we see relations between North and South Korea continuing in their present form.

President:

We have excellent relations with South Korea. We too have a domestic problem with President Park's domestic policies, but we will continue to support the ROK as we promised. But not our prospective Democratic opponent, who indicated in his recent foreign policy speech that he would move more rapidly to withdraw United States forces.



Kissinger: He does that in every foreign policy speech.

President: This administration is different: we believe a withdrawal would be harmful to the stability of the Asian area.

Mr. Prime Minister, there is one problem I would like to raise. Ever since I became President, and even before, we have been trying to find an answer in the Middle East, to move toward a broad settlement. We have followed a step-by-step policy so far, and the Sinai Agreement is working very well. It is being adhered to by Egypt and the Israelis. But Lebanon has been a great tragedy, slowing down our efforts. Without it the movement toward a settlement might have kept going. But Egypt is the very key. Last year after our governments got together we provided 50 million dollars in economic aid for Egypt, and we will continue our financial contribution. We will provide more than 100 million dollars in what we call the transition quarter, and 700 million dollars in FY 77. We hope that Japan will agree to continue its support, and contribute 100 million dollars this year, because the stability of this region, with Egypt as a key, is vital on a global as well as regional basis. Japan's contribution has been most helpful in the past, and I urge you, if you can, to go from 50 to 100 million dollars next year.

Miyazawa:

That is 100 million dollars for whatever purposes they wish? I believe you said, Mr. President, that we should formalize an agreement between the two nations, but Egypt is not pushing for a formal agreement. If they wish, Japan should be ready.

Miki:

Our desires coincide with what you have described.

President:

We provided 800 million dollars last year. We will provide another 100 million dollars in the three-month period beginning July 1, and 700 million dollars in the next FY beginning September 1. The combined efforts of the United States and Japan, and some of the Arab nations, should be sufficient to keep Egypt strong, and help Egypt break away from the Soviet Union as well as continue to negotiate for a permanent settlement in the Middle East.



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Miki:

I agree that Egypt is the key nation in the Middle East, but what is your view of Syrian-Israeli relations?

President:

They are not what we would call 100 percent. The Israelis are on the Golan Heights, which is a basic difficulty that has existed for a long time. But now Syria is preoccupied with its actions in Lebanon. I might ask the Secretary for his views.

Kissinger:

We have a high regard for President Assad, who is the most moderate Syrian leader con-Israel has moved so far forward on ceivable. Golan, and is inflexible, but Assad is willing to negotiate with Israel. The Syrians are in an unbelievable mess in Lebanon. They are proving that half-hearted military efforts are not the monopoly of the United States. They got in, and now they can't leave. If they leave, they will find themselves squeezed between two radical governments, Lebanon and Iraq, but if they stay, their whole diplomacy is placed in jeopardy. We are concerned. A settlement would have to be part of a negotiating process. could be possible after the election.

Miki:

In your view is there a danger of armed conflict in the Middle East?

President:

With the exception of Lebanon the situation there seems to be one of stability. But the question of which supports which makes for a volatile situation. Once Lebanon is settled, if we are not mistaken, we could continue to push for a broader settlement on a more permanent basis.

Miki:

As we have both noted, there are no hot issues in our bilateral relations. I have mentioned some bilateral problems, but I wonder if you wish to raise any on your side?

President:

We believe our relations are good. It was good and wholesome to discuss the issues you raised. I know of no others; do you, Henry?

Kissinger:

No, I don't believe so.



Mr. President, I wish you every success in the election.

Thank you. I believe we are scheduled to go to the Rose Garden, where you will present Japan's generous gift of three million dollars to complete the experimental theater at the Kennedy Center, for which we are very grateful.

Secretary: What shall we tell the press?

Miyazawa: Whatever you like.

Secretary: Shall we just say that the President and the Prime Minister reviewed the world sit-

uation and bilateral matters?

Miyazawa: That sounds good.



NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

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SECRET GDS

July 12, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

FROM:

THOMAS J. BARNES

SUBJECT:

Memorandum of Conversation from the Miki Visit

Attached for your approval are memoranda of conversations of the President's meeting with and luncheon for Prime Minister Miki on June 30, 1976. The State Department interpreter, Mr. James J. Wickel, was the notetaker.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you approve the memoranda as the official version of the conversations.

APPROVE

DISAPPROVE



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

July 8, 1976

NODIS

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. BRENT SCOWCROFT THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Memoranda of Conversation

Attached for your approval are memoranda of conversation of the President's meeting with and luncheon for Prime Minister Miki on June 30, 1976. It would be appreciated if you could return for our records a copy of the finally approved version.

George S. Springsteen Executive Secretary

Attachments:

Memoranda of Conversation.



SECRET

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.5

NSC Memo, 11/24/98, State Dept. Guidelinus By 112 , NARA, Date 1 24 50

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

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SECRET/XGDS

July 14, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR

Mr. C. Arthur Borg Executive Secretary Department of State

SUBJECT:

Memoranda of President's

Conversations with Prime Minister

Miki (S/S 7614220)

The attached memoranda of the President's conversations with Prime Minister Miki at the White House on June 30, 1976 have been approved. Their distribution should be handled in accordance with the Department of State's procedures for NODIS documents.

Jeanne W. Davis Staff Secretary

Attachment

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B.O. 12958, Sec. 3.5

NSC Memo, 11/24/98, State Dept. Guidelines

By Lat., NARA, Date 1/24/00

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