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THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

WASHINGTON, THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

20 APR 1981

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Japanese Defense Efforts (U)

(S) As part of your National Security Policy we have urged a much better and more equitable sharing with us of the burdens of defense. I have just stressed this point with the NATO Defense Ministers. Japan is our only Asian ally with the potential significantly to increase its defense efforts. Therefore, your forthcoming meeting with Prime Minister Suzuki provides a fine opportunity to urge Japan to help provide for its own defense while the U.S. continues to provide the offensive capability in the region.

(S) Every administration in the last twenty years tried unsuccessfully to persuade Japan's Government to increase its defense spending.

- This is partly because we have never determined what role Japan should play in their common defense.

- Also, Japanese political and constitutional problems prevented realistic discussion of defense issues in Japan until recently; and,

- No President has ever stated flatly that Japan must become a full partner with the U.S. in defending their country -- a full partner in the sense of sharing some of the costly burden we have borne since 1945 --

(S) The U.S. needs a clear commitment from the Japanese that they will move rapidly toward adequate self-defense forces. Japanese political considerations make it essential that Prime Minister Suzuki be informed as directly as possible if our deep concern is to be understood. Tab A has the points you may wish to make in talking with him. The Japanese have said to us that we have never told them just what it is we want them to do. The talking points at Tab A attempt to do this.

(S) I will also meet with Suzuki to reinforce your presentation. Later in June we can work out the technical aspects at a security consultative meeting and in my session with Japanese Defense Minister Omura.

cc: Vice President
Secretary Haig
Ed Meese
Dick Allen

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Talking Points on Japanese
Defense Efforts for Meeting with PM Suzuki

- (U) I have recently ordered an increase of 15% in this year's defense budget. For our common defense, the US simply has to spend and to sacrifice more.

- (U) A prominent new defense burden we are undertaking is the US naval forces in the Indian Ocean/Persian Gulf to preserve access to oil for Japan, Western Europe and the US. As we increase defense by one or two percentage points of GNP, we increase the burden on our economy.

- (S) Some changes are clearly needed. As we protect Japanese interests by our forces in the Indian Ocean, we believe it is in both our interests if Japan assumes a greater share of the burden of its own self-defense.

- (S) Constitutionally we know you can help in a military sense only in the Northwest Pacific, but your attainment of an effective self-defense capability there can help to guarantee your security, and aid US and Free World interests as well. (S) 45

- (S) 7

- (S) Yet the Soviets continue their military expansion -- for example, last year they added more aircraft to their Far East forces than the whole present inventory of US Pacific Air Forces.

- (S) In view of the extraordinary times we both presently face, I recommend you consider a significant supplementary defense budget for your FY 81 to procure critical items such as ammunition, missiles, mines, torpedoes, and hardened aircraft shelters. We are not trying to intervene in your internal affairs -- but the defense of Japan is of enormous importance to the whole Free World and justifies, in our opinion, much greater efforts by both the US and Japan.

- (S) I hope you can authorize your delegation to the forthcoming Japan-US Security Subcommittee meeting in Hawaii to discuss the implementation of a division of labor that will involve far more Japanese support for our realistic mutual security.

- (S) Perhaps the most helpful single action you could take would be to achieve your Standard Defense Force Program Outline in the next five years, and approximately double your maritime and air defense capability in the Northwest Pacific within this decade.

- (S) This means the Self-Defense power to protect shipping lanes north of the Philippines and west of Guam plus the air defense of Japan.

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