



# OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT WASHINGTON

January 21, 1974

### MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PLACE: OEOB TIME: 9:00 a.m.

DATE: January 10, 1974

SUBJECT:

Meeting with Deputy Prime Minister

Takeo Miki of Japan

PARTICIPANTS:

The Vice President
Major General Dunn
Ambassador Robert S. Ingersoll

Manabu Fukuda, Interpreter

Deputy Prime Minister Takeo Miki Ambassador Takeshi Yasukawa

Yoshio Okawara, Director of American

Affairs Bureau

M. Kunihiro, Interpreter

After an exchange of pleasantries, Deputy Prime Minister Miki opened his remarks with a discussion of the significance of his three-week mission to eight Middle East nations expressing his hope that his meetings with the leaders of the United States may produce some mutual benefit as regards the global energy crisis. Mr. Miki was encouraged by the discussions with the leaders of the Arab nations who recognize now an opportunity to resolve the problems of the Middle East. The Arab leaders welcome present negotiations to achieve disengagement and hope that peace will come soon. Miki believes that the United States is the only country that can take a peace initiative and asked the Vice President for a continued strong effort on the part of the United States to achieve this goal.

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Miki then touched on the subject of the Arab leaders' thoughts on the present energy situation. He believes that reduction in oil export supply and raising the price of crude oil is not based solely on nationalistic tendencies. They contend that Arab nations are predominantly desert areas and that their sole natural resource is oil deposits. They see a need to conserve this valuable resource. There is a need to cooperate with the Arabs by aiding them in their efforts to industrialize and modernize. He emphasized Japan's role in extending economic and technical assistance for this area of the world which supplies more than 80% of Japan's petroleum needs.

Miki expressed the thought that the Arab leaders are not only interested in the present supply of oil resources but they are also quite concerned about the development of an alternate energy resource because eventually the fossil fuel supply will be exhausted. He again emphasized that the influence of the United States is vital in the settlement of the Middle East problems. He believes that stability must be achieved in the Middle East before energy problems can be solved and depends upon United States leadership to use its influence to resolve the differences existing between the Arab nations and Israel. He asked that the President, Vice President, Dr. Kissinger and other American leaders continue to exert efforts to achieve this end.

The Vice President spoke of the need for strong support of UN Resolution 242. Words will be more meaningful if we can end the Middle East war. His extensive travel in the United States has indicated overwhelming support for Kissinger's efforts to find a solution to the Middle East problems. Whatever solution Dr. Kissinger proposes the American people will support.

Miki stated that the United States is the only nation with sufficient influence and strength to achieve success in this task. He injected a personal note by saying that he had supported UN Resolution 242 in a speech at the United Nations General Assembly while he was Foreign Minister of Japan. He regrets that nothing has been accomplished during the past six years. He looks forward to an initiative by the United States to correct this situation.



#### CONFIDENTIAL

The Vice President spoke of the departure of Dr. Kissinger to the Middle East tonight to continue negotiations and expressed his belief that action will be forthcoming.

The Vice President said that an energy crisis does exist in the United States but is less severe than in other nations, such as Japan. President Nixon will propose a program which should make the United States self-sufficient by 1980.

Miki replied that producing and consuming nations have mutual interests and should complement each other. The producing nations want to industrialize, and this is one area where the industrialized consumer nations can aid them.

The Vice President then touched on his visit to the People's Republic of China during June and July of 1972. Senators Mansfield and Scott preceded him by about two months. His trip to China was concentrated mainly in the North. He was unable to stop over in Japan at that time but expressed his hope of a visit to Japan again soon since his last trip was in August of 1953.

Miki promptly invited the Vice President to visit Japan as soon as possible.

The meeting ended with an exchange of pleasantries.

January 21, 1974

Mr. Gerald R. Ford Vice President of the United States of America

Dear Vice President Ford:

I should like to express to you my sincere gratitude for the cordial welcome you and the Government of the United States kindly extended to me during my visit to Washington, D.C. I was particularly glad to have the opportunity of meeting with you to encharge our thoughts on the problems of our mutual concern. It is in the full realization of the tremendous responsibilities our countries have to shoulder in the face of manifold and difficult tasks both domestic and international that I offer you my very best wishes for your health and the success of your Vice Presidency.

Thanking you again for your hospitality and looking forward to seeing you again, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Takeo Miki Deputy Prime Minister

of Japan

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#### Briefing Memorandum

#### Visit of Deputy Prime Minister Miki

Takeo Miki completed his nineteen-day mission to eight Middle East countries on December 30. The OAPEC member countries have since designated Japan as a "friendly" country, and Miki is receiving the credit.

#### Analysis and Background

Although head of a large faction within the ruling LDP, Miki's political strength has been on the decline. His post as Deputy Prime Minister has an impressive title but little real power. With no position on the Arab-Israeli dispute on the record, Miki was untainted from the point of view of either side, had the requisite rank, and was selected to make the trip at a time when Japanese public opinion was demanding dramatic action. The lifting of the embargo against Japan just as Miki returned to Tokyo crowned his trip with apparent triumph.

Our purpose in receiving Miki is to encourage Japan to resist domestic pressures for an expedient, short-term solution which would please public opinion, but complicate our own efforts to bring about a lasting settlement in the Middle East. We also want to hear Miki's own impressions on the situation.

Miki is coming to Washington to balance his trip to the Middle East. He will want to show that Japanese ties with the US have not been weakened, and he will seek our understanding and acquiescence, if not our overt support, for Japan's overtures to the Arabs.

Japanese concern about oil exports is entirely genuine. The Japanese feared that the Arabs would press Miki for more specific actions against Israel, such as a break in diplomatic relations. Fortunately the Arabs did not apply new pressures, and were glad to discuss closer economic ties with Japan. Miki took with him a list of major projects which Japan is prepared to carry out in the Middle East.

The Japanese are increasingly worried about oil price

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increases. That concern is the reason for Japan's willingness (expressed privately) to join in meetings with other major consumers without Arab participation. That is a complete reversal of their past policy of avoiding confrontation with the Arabs. They have also solidly supported the establishment of the Energy Action Group proposed by Secretary Kissinger in his London speech.

Should the opportunity arise, you may wish to emphasize the following US positions, some of which may be touched upon by Secretary Kissinger.

#### Issues and Talking Points

#### 1. Miki Mission to the Middle East

Japanese Position: The mission was necessary to explain Japan's position on the Arab-Israeli dispute and to win Arab cooperation in assuring stable oil supplies to Japan. To get that cooperation Japan offered technical and industrial development assistance, but not submission to Arab blackmail. Japan wants to hasten, not delay, a peace settlement.

<u>US Position</u>: We appreciate Japan's interest, which we obviously share, in promoting a peaceful settlement, but take no stand either way on the Miki mission. We believe a strong, united position in the face of Arab pressures offers the best prospect for success.

#### Suggested Talking Points:

- -- We understand and sympathize with Japan's position of heavy reliance on oil imports.
- -- There is no short-term solution to Japan's problem, nor can it be resolved bilaterally. The oil consuming countries must work together and with the producers to achieve a lasting settlement.
- -- We appreciate Miki's repeated assurances that his mission was not to be interpreted as an effort to solve Japan's problem in isolation.

#### 2. Energy Action Group (EAG)

Japanese Position: The Japanese are "basically in agreement with the EAG proposal and would like to deal positively with it so that its objectives are achieved."

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US Position: We propose the establishment of an EAG to develop an action program for collaboration in all areas of the energy problem.

#### Suggested Talking Points:

- -- We are glad to have Japanese support for the EAG proposal.
- -- We note with appreciation Japan's willingness to meet with other consumer countries, while making every effort to assure the producing countries that we do not seek any confrontation with them.
- -- The President is inviting leading countries to appoint representatives to an initial EAG meeting in early February.

#### 3. Oil Prices

Japanese Position: Price is now a major concern for Japan. If recently announced increases hold, Japan's import bill for oil would go up \$6-9 billion annually, wiping out Japanese foreign exchange reserves in two years.

<u>US Position</u>: Although we are less dependent on imports than most industrialized countries, we oppose unreasonable oil price increases because they would badly damage the highly interdependent world economy.

#### Suggested Talking Points:

- -- We are just as concerned about oil prices as the Japanese. We are considering ways to respond to the recent price increases and want to work cooperatively with Japan and other major consumers in keeping the situation under control.
- -- We will keep in touch with the Japanese on this point as our thinking develops.

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E.O. 116521 GDS TAGS: ENRG, OVIP, EAID, JA SUBJECT: MORE ON MIKI VISIT

REF: TOKYO 0128

SUMMARY: ECONCOM/MIN REVIEWED RESULTS OF MIKI TRIP WITH SABURO OKITA OF DECF, WHO ACCOMPANIED MIKI AND PARTICIPATED IN ECONOMIC DISCUSSIONS. HE PROVIDED OVERVIEW CONSISTENT WITH REFTEL, BUT ADDED THAT MIKI DESIRE VISIT WASHINGTON LARGELY RESULT OF HIS WISH TO DEMONSTRATE TO ARABS THAT GOJ RESPONDING TO THEIR REQUEST THAT JAPAN ATTEMPT INFLUENCE US POLICY IN SUPPORT ARAB INTERPRETATION OF RES. 242. MIKI TEAM MEMBERS ALSO NOTICED ARAB CONCERN THAT OIL WEAPON NOT BE OVERDONE, GOJ RESPONDING TO SAUDI AND TRANTAN DEMAND PREFERENTIAL TREATMENT ON EXPORTS TO THEM OF NECESSARY COMMODITIES. GOJ ALSO HOPES TO RESPOND TO OTHER REQUESTS FOR ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE IN NEAR FUTURE. END SUMMARY.

1. ON JANUARY 8 ECONCOM/MIN MET DR. SABURO OKITA TO REVIEW RESULTS OF DEPUTY PM MIKI'S RECENT TRIP TO

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MIDEAST. OKITA, WHO ACCOMPANIED MIKI ON HIS TRIP, IS HEAD OF JAPAN'S OVERSEAS ECONOMIC COOPERATION FUND AND ONE OF JAPAN'S FOREMOST ECONOMISTS.

2. OKITA BEGAN BY GIVING OVERVIEW OF TRIP CONSISTENT WITH THAT REPORTED REFTEL. DURING MEETINGS WITH ARAB LEADERS MIKI REPEATEDLY EXPLAINED DUAL PURPOSES OF HIS TRIP:

A) STUDY NATURE OF ME CONFLICT AND DETERMINE IN WHAT WAYS JAPAN COULD CONTRIBUTE TO PEACE, AND B) GAIN FAMILIARITY WITH PROBLEMS OF ARAB COUNTRIES AND EXPLORE POSSIBILITIES OF JAPANESE-ARAB ECONOMIC AND TECHNICAL COOPERATION.
MIKI FELT TRIP PROVIDED GOOD OPPORTUNITY FOR PERSONAL CONTACT BETWEEN JAPANESE AND ARABS, AND DETECTED UNDERLYING PRIENDLY FEELING ON PART OF ARABS TOWARD JAPANESE PEOPLE.
MEMBERS OF MIKI TEAM ALSO FOUND SOME CONCERN IN ARAB STATES THAT ARABS SHOULD NOT OVERDO OIL PRODUCTION CUTBACKS.

3. NO COUNTRY DEMANDED THAT JAPAN SEVER RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL, BUT ALL WANTED JAPAN TO EXERCISE INFLUENCE TOWARD IMPLEMENTATION OF RES 242, ESPECAILLY THROUGH INFLUENCING USG POLICY. MIKI'S RESPONSE WAS TO EXPRESS RESERVATIONS ABOUT WHAT JAPAN ACTUALLY COULD ACCOMPLISH, BUT THAT HE WOULD TRY TO FIND SOLUTION TO ME PROBLEM. OKITA SAID "MIKI RUSHING TO WASHINGTON" TO DEMONSTRATE TO ARABS THAT HE FULFILLING THEIR REQUEST TO ATTEMPT TO INFLUENCE US POLICY, PARTICULARLY IN SUPPORT OF ISRAEL'S WITHDRAWAL FROM OCCUPIED TERRITORIES AS CALLED FOR BY ARAB INTERPRETATION OF RES 242.

4. TURNING TO ECONOMIC COOPERATION DISCUSSIONS, OKITA SAID ALL ARAB COUNTRIES (AS WELL AS IRAN) VERY ANXIOUS TO INDUSTRIALIZE AND DESIRE JAPANESE HELP IN ACCOMPLISHING THIS. HOWEVER, THEY COMPLAIN THAT, ALTHOUGH THERE HAVE BEEN MANY APPROACHES BY JAPANESE BUSINESS REPRESENTATIVES, FEW PROJECTS HAVE ACTUALLY MATERIALIZED, WITH JAPANESE CITING ECONOMIC REASONS SUCH AS SMALL MARKETS AND WATER SHORTAGES. ME COUNTRIES FEEL IRRITATION AND FRUSTRATION BECAUSE OF THIS. INDUSTRIALIZATION IS ALSO NECESSARY IN GOJ VIEW TO PROVIDE OUTLET FOR ARAB MONEY.

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# Department of State

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INVESTMENT IN DOWNSTREAM FACILITIES AND IN THEIR OWN ECONOMIES WOULD USE MONEY AND GIVE ARABS INCENTIVE TO CONTINUE OR INCREASE OIL PRODUCTION, SINCE IT SEEMS SOME-WHAT QUESTIONABLE THAT PRIVATE INDUSTRY WOULD FIND PROSPECTS PROFITABLE IF BASED ENTIRELY ON COMMERCIAL CONSIDERATIONS, GOJ FEELS IT NECESSARY WORK OUT SOME KIND OF GOVERNMENTAL COOPERATIVE ARRANGEMENT TO PROMOTE

INDUSTRIALIZATION, GOJ NOT SURE OF BEST APPROACH, BUT ONE POSSIBILITY WOULD BE PROVISION OF SOME OF NECESSARY FUNDS ON SOFT TERMS BY JAPAN'S EX-IM BANK AND/OR OECF.

5. DURING TRIP, JAPANESE EXPLAINED FAR-REACHING EFFECTS ON JAPANESE EECONOMY OF PRODUCTION CUTBACKS, AND THE RESULT ON OTHER ASIAN COUNTRIES OF DECREASING JAPANESE EXPORTS OF SUCH ITEMS AS STEEL, PLASTIC, CEMENT. JAPANESE POINTED OUT IN PARTICULAR FACT THAT OIL CUTBACKS WOULD RESULT IN DECREASED FERTILIZER PRODUCTION, AND THIS WOULD RESULT IN FOOD SHORTAGES IN MANY COUNTRIES. SAUDI ARABIA COMPLAINED THAT JAPANESE EXPORTS OF INTERMEDIATE INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTS TO THEM HAD BEEN DECREASED IN RECENT MONTHS AND ASKED WHETHER THIS RETALIATION FOR OIL CUTBACKS. JAPANESE SAID THIS NOT THE CASE BUT RATHER RESULT OF DISLOCATION CAUSED BY OIL CUTBACKS. SAUDIS AND IRAN EXPRESSED UNDERSTANDING BUT REQUESTED PREFERENTIAL TREATMENT TO INSURE CONTINUED SUPPLY OF NECESSARY GOODS. IRAN IN PARTICULAR, NOTING IT HAD NOT CUT BACK OIL PRODUCTION, STRONGLY PRESSED THIS POINT, MIKI SAID JAPAN WOULD DO WHAT IT COULD AND WOULD MAKE SPECIAL EFFORTS TO MEET THESE REQUESTS, MITT IS FOLLOWING UP NOW IN EFFORT TO MEET REQUESTS, SAID OKITA.

6. MIKI MADE OFFICIAL COMMITMENT TO ASSIST FIRST PHASE OF SUEZ CANAL IMPROVEMENT, INVOLVING \$140 MILLION LOAN, BUT MADE CLEAR SECOND PHASE SUEZ PROJECT WOULD DEPEND ON OUTCOME DETAILED FEASIBILITY STUDIES ON ALTERNATIVES OF PIPELINE OR LARGE TANKERS TAKING CAPE ROUTE. GOJ ALSO NOW STUDYING EGYPTIAN REQUEST FOR COMMODITY LOANS FOR CIVILIAN IMPORTS.

7. IN ECONOMIC DISCUSSIONS WITH SAUDIS, ACCORDING TO

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OKITA, THEY PROPOSED SEVERAL PROJECTS, E.G., REFINERY, STEEL MILL, AND PLANT TO MANUFACTURE STEEL PIPE, AND REQUESTED JAPANESE COUPERATION. IT DIFFICULT FOR PRIVATE BUSINESS TO IMPLEMENT THESE PROJECTS, AND SAUDIS ARE QUITE ANXIOUS TO HAVE THEM, SO GOJ WILL HAVE TO FORMULATE SOME RESPONSE. DANGER IS THAT IF GOJ DOES NOT RESPOND FAVORABLY THERE WILL BE DIRECT, UNFAVORABLE REPERCUSSIONS. GOJ HOPES TO HAVE RESPONSE TO VARIOUS REQUESTS WITHIN SEVERAL MONTHS. OKITA NOTED SAUDIS HAVE ALSO APPROACHED SEVERAL OTHER WESTERN COUNTRIES WITH SIMILAR REQUESTS.

8. IN RESPONSE ECONCOM/MIN'S QUESTION, OKITA SAID HE DOES NOT EXPECT OIL CUTBACKS TO LAST TOO LONG. PRICE PROBLEM WILL REMAIN, OF COURSE, AND GOJ HAS NOT YET STUDIED THIS PROBLEM FULLY. SOME COUNTRIES WILL FACE SERIOUS DIFFICULTIES AS RESULT OF PRICE RISES -- FOR INSTANCE, INDIA -- BUT JAPAN SHOULD BE ABLE TO MANAGE AS IT WILL CONTINUE TO BE ABLE TO FINANCE RAW MATERIAL IMPORTS AND EXPORT FINISHED PRODUCTS AT HIGHER PRICES. SHOESMITH

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# THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ACTION
January 9, 1974

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MEMORANDUM FOR:

THE VICE PRESIDENT

FROM:

HENRY A. KISSINGER

SUBJECT:

Courtesy Call on You by Japanese Deputy Prime Minister Miki on January 10, 1974

at 9:00 a.m.

You have agreed to receive Japanese Deputy Prime Minister Miki on January 10, 1974 at 9:00 a.m. for a courtesy call. Miki is visiting Washington to explain the results of his just-concluded tour of eight Mideast states, and to show that Japan's ties to the U.S. have not been adversely affected by the divergence in our positions manifested by Japan's policy statement of November 22, which inclined toward the Arab states' interpretation of U.N. Security Council Resolution 242. (See Tab A for the background on Resolution 242.)

Although Miki's call on you is primarily for protocol reasons, he may also use the opportunity to review results of his Mideast trip and to satisfy the obligation he incurred to the Arab states to convey Japan's strong desire for an early Mideast settlement. (By doing so, Japan apparently hopes to resist Arab pressures to have Japan ask us to press Israel to withdraw from the occupied territories.) We want to use his visit here to encourage the Tanaka Government to resist Arab and Japanese domestic pressures for a short term solution that would complicate our efforts to promote a long-term settlement of the Mideast problem. Miki is meeting with me on January 9 at 3:00 p.m.

Miki's Mideast tour was apparently fairly successful. He is receiving credit in Japan for the subsequent OAPEC decision to re-classify Japan as a "friendly" country (thus putting it in the same category as the European Community nations) and to suspend the planned further cutback in oil supplies to Japan that was to have been imposed this month. In his conversations with Arab leaders, Miki stressed Japan's strong commitment to help bring peace to the Mideast and to deepen relations with the Arab states; he reportedly was not directly pressed to have Japan break relations with Israel. Miki also discussed the possibility of large increases in Japanese economic and technical assistance to the Arab states.



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Japan's almost total dependence on imports for its supply of petroleum has produced a serious domestic political problem for the Tanaka Government. Japan receives 45% of its oil imports from the Arab states, another 40% from Iran, and the balance from Indonesia and other sources. More detailed talking points are at Tab B.

### Suggested Talking Points

- -- You appreciate the Deputy Prime Minister's visiting Washington to review with us his recent Mideast tour, and you understand the problems caused for Japan by its heavy dependence on imported oil.
- -- The U.S. Government appreciates Japan's interest in a Mideast settlement. As Japan knows, the U.S. has been involved in recent months in serious diplomatic efforts to help the parties establish a negotiating framework in which their differences can be settled. The current phase since the opening of the Geneva peace conference on December 21 has focussed on achieving early disengagement between Egyptian and Israeli military forces but this is only a beginning of a broader process to address all other aspects of the Mideast problem. Japan can appreciate that the process will probably be a long and complex one but Japan as well as all nations of the world will benefit by a final resolution of the Middle East problem.
- -- The U.S. Government welcomes Japan's support for the Energy Action Group proposal made by Secretary Kissinger. We believe that the petroleum problem, like that of energy in general, cannot be achieved primarily through bilateral efforts or efforts made by one country in isolation from the others concerned.
- -- You want to reaffirm that this Administration continues to place the highest possible value on our alliance with Japan. You believe that the basic spirit of our alliance calls for approaching such critical problems as the Mideast and energy in close consultation with each other.



#### ATTACHMENT

Resolution 242 of 1967 was conceived as a set of general principles on which a settlement could be based. On the central territorial issue. the resolution acknowledged both the principle of Israeli withdrawal from territories occupied during the war and of each state's right to live within secure and recognized borders. The Arab interpretation of 242 stresses primarily Israeli withdrawal and insists this means from all occupied territories. The Israeli interpretation argues that the resolution was purposefully ambiguous on the issue of where the Israelis would withdraw -- they insist the terms of withdrawal must be negotiated -- and envisages any withdrawal in the context of their right to secure and recognized borders. The US maintains that 242. as it was conceived, represents the guiding principles, the details of which must be negotiated between the parties. The Japanese have accepted the Arab interpretation calling for total Israeli withdrawal. Since we are developing a negotiation to determine eventually where final boundaries will be, we do not consider helpful such statements which can have no practical effect on the negotiation.



#### DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

January 9, 1974

MEMORANDUM FOR MAJOR GENERAL DUNN OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

Subject: Visit of Deputy Prime Minister of Japan

In accord with arrangements made by telephone with Commander Kerr, Japan's Deputy Prime Minister Takeo Miki will call on Vice President Ford on January 10 at 9:00 a.m. A biographic sketch of Mr. Miki is attached.

Mr. Miki will speak with the Vice President following discussions January 9 with Federal Energy Office Director William Simon and Secretary Kissinger. Miki will meet January 11 in New York with UN Secretary General Waldheim and US oil company senior officials.

While his call on the Vice President is partly for protocol reasons, Miki may take the opportunity to discuss with the Vice President the general directions of policy in our two countries. The concerns which weigh most heavily on his mind are the growth-inhibiting and inflationary effects on Japan of the natural resource and energy shortages, and the consequent political repercussions for continued Liberal Democratic Party government. Miki will probably wish to explain Japan's new "resource diplomacy". A memorandum describing Miki's recent Middle East trip to further this diplomacy and containing points which Secretary Kissinger may have discussed with him is attached.

Accompanying Miki during his call will be his advisor, Kazushige Hirasawa, Director of the American Affairs Bureau in the Foreign Ministry, Yoshio Okawara, Japan's Ambassador to Washington Takeshi Yasukawa, and Foreign Ministry Research Division Head Tatsuo Arima (interpreter.)

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Present from the Department of State will be Ambassador Robert S. Ingersoll, Assistant Secretary for East Asia and Pacific Affairs and former Ambassador to Japan, and William Sherman, Director for Japanese Affairs. State Department Language Services interpreter William Fukuda will also be present.

Thomas R. Pickering
Executive Secretary

#### Attachments:

- 1. Biographic Sketch Miki
- 2. Briefing Memorandum

#### NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

#### WITHDRAWAL ID 035851

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL	CNational security restriction
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DESCRIPTION	Concerning Japanese official
CREATION DATE	. 01/04/1974
VOLUME	. 1 page
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Takeo MIKI (Phonetic: meekee)

Deputy Prime Minister

Addressed as: Mr. Miki

A former Foreign
Minister with experience in the Middle
East, Deputy Prime
Minister Takeo Miki,
66, visited eight Arab
oil-producing nations
in December 1973 on a
mission designed to
highlight Tokyo's growing interest in the



area. Because Miki's post carries little real responsibility, his visit allowed Japan to send a high-ranking official without committing either an intimate of Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka or a powerful policymaker to the politically sensitive task. Miki also serves as Director General of the Environmental Agency.

An ambitious career politician who heads a large faction in the ruling Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), Miki has held numerous Cabinet and high-level party posts and has made several bids for the Prime Ministry. Yet he has always operated outside the mainstream of the LDP and has never had much influence on policy. He is no longer a serious contender for power.

Miki received degrees from the University of Southern California in 1935 and 1966, the latter an honorary Ph. D. In 1937 he entered the House of Representatives. Married, Miki has two sons and a daughter. His wife, Mutsuko, is the daughter of the founder of the Showa Denko Company, a large chemical enterprise. Miki understands English but prefers to use an interpreter for formal occasions.



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4 January 1974

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#### Briefing Memorandum

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Miki is coming to Washington to balance his trip to the Middle East. He will want to show that Japanese ties with the US have not been weakened, and he will seek our understanding and acquiescence, if not our overt support, for Japan's overtures to the Arabs.

Japanese concern about oil exports is entirely genuine. The Japanese feared that the Arabs would press Miki for more specific actions against Israel, such as a break in diplomatic relations. Fortunately the Arabs did not apply new pressures, and were glad to discuss closer economic ties with Japan. Miki took with him a list of major projects which Japan is prepared to carry out in the Middle East.

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increases. That concern is the reason for Japan's willingness (expressed privately) to join in meetings with other major consumers without Arab participation. That is a complete reversal of their past policy of avoiding confrontation with the Arabs. They have also solidly supported the establishment of the Energy Action Group proposed by Secretary Kissinger in his London speech.

Should the opportunity arise, you may wish to emphasize the following US positions, some of which may be touched upon by Secretary Kissinger.

#### Issues and Talking Points

#### 1. Miki Mission to the Middle East

Japanese Position: The mission was necessary to explain Japan's position on the Arab-Israeli dispute and to win Arab cooperation in assuring stable oil supplies to Japan. To get that cooperation Japan offered technical and industrial development assistance, but not submission to Arab blackmail. Japan wants to hasten, not delay, a peace settlement.

<u>US Position</u>: We appreciate Japan's interest, which we obviously share, in promoting a peaceful settlement, but take no stand either way on the Miki mission. We believe a strong, united position in the face of Arab pressures offers the best prospect for success.

#### Suggested Talking Points:

- -- We understand and sympathize with Japan's position of heavy reliance on oil imports.
- -- There is no short-term solution to Japan's problem, nor can it be resolved bilaterally. The oil consuming countries must work together and with the producers to achieve a lasting settlement.
- -- We appreciate Miki's repeated assurances that his mission was not to be interpreted as an effort to solve Japan's problem in isolation.

# 2. Energy Action Group (EAG)

Japanese Position: The Japanese are "basically in agreement with the EAG proposal and would like to deal positively with it so that its objectives are achieved."

US Position: We propose the establishment of an EAG to develop an action program for collaboration in all areas of the energy problem.

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- -- We are glad to have Japanese support for the EAG proposal.
- -- We note with appreciation Japan's willingness to meet with other consumer countries, while making every effort to assure the producing countries that we do not seek any confrontation with them.
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- -- We will keep in touch with the Japanese on this point as our thinking develops.

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### OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

#### WASHINGTON

#### 10 January 1974

MEMORANDUM FOR

VISITOR'S APPOINTMENT CENTER

ROOM 060, OEOB

FROM:

CDR Howard "J" KERR, USN

SUBJECT:

OEOB Access

Request that access to the OEOB be granted to the following individuals for appointment with the Vice President:

Takeo Miki

Kazushige Hirasawa

Toshio Okawara Takeshi Yasukawa Tatsuo Kunihiro Robert S. Ingersoll

William Fukuda

Deputy Prime Minister of Japan

Director of the American Affairs Bureau

in the Foreign Ministry

Japan's Ambassador to Washington Foreign Ministry Research Division

Interpreter

Assistant Secretary of State

State Department Language Services

Thank you for your assistance.

Howard "J" KER



### OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

#### WASHINGTON

#### 10 January 1974

MEMORANDUM FOR

VISITOR'S APPOINTMENT CENTER

ROOM 060, OEOB

FROM:

CDR Howard "J" KERR, USN

SUBJECT:

OEOB Access

Request that access to the OEOB be granted to the following individuals for appointment with the Vice President:

Takeo Miki

Kazushige Hirasawa

Deputy Prime Minister of Japan

Director of the American Affairs Bureau

in the Foreign Ministry

Toshio Okawara

Takeshi Yasukawa

Tatsuo Kunihiro Robert S. Ingersoll

William Fukuda

Japan's Ambassador to Washington Foreign Ministry Research Division

Interpreter

Assistant Secretary of State

State Department Language Services

Thank you for your assistance.

Howard 'J" KERR

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

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ACTION

CONFIDENTIAL

January 7, 1974

MEMORANDUM FOR:

GENERAL DUNN

FROM:

BRENT SCOWCROFT

SUBJECT:

Proposed Courtesy Call on the Vice President by Japanese Deputy Prime

Minister Miki

Japanese Deputy Prime Minister Miki Takeo plans to visit Washington next week to review with us the results of his just-concluded tour of eight Mideast nations. Miki attempted to induce these nations to ease their pressure on oil supplies to Japan.

Miki has asked to make a courtesy call on the President. The President's schedule, however, will not permit this. We believe that, if the Vice President would be willing, a call on him instead would make clear to Miki and the Japanese Government the high priority that we continue to attach to our relationship with Japan as our major ally in Asia. A call on the Vice President would be a useful demonstration of this in the current oil crisis we both face.

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#### DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

January 9, 1974

MEMORANDUM FOR MAJOR GENERAL DUNN OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

Subject: Visit of Deputy Prime Minister of Japan

In accord with arrangements made by telephone with Commander Kerr, Japan's Deputy Prime Minister Takeo Miki will call on Vice President Ford on January 10 at 9:00 a.m. A biographic sketch of Mr. Miki is attached.

Mr. Miki will speak with the Vice President following discussions January 9 with Federal Energy Office Director William Simon and Secretary Kissinger. Miki will meet January 11 in New York with UN Secretary General Waldheim and US oil company senior officials.

While his call on the Vice President is partly for protocol reasons, Miki may take the opportunity to discuss with the Vice President the general directions of policy in our two countries. The concerns which weigh most heavily on his mind are the growth-inhibiting and inflationary effects on Japan of the natural resource and energy shortages, and the consequent political repercussions for continued Liberal Democratic Party government. Miki will probably wish to explain Japan's new "resource diplomacy". A memorandum describing Miki's recent Middle East trip to further this diplomacy and containing points which Secretary Kissinger may have discussed with him is attached.

Accompanying Miki during his call will be his advisor, Kazushige Hirasawa, Director of the American Affairs Bureau in the Foreign Ministry, Yoshio Okawara, Japan's Ambassador to Washington Takeshi Yasukawa, and Foreign Ministry Research Division Head Tatsuo Arima (interpreter.)

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By War Dave Dave 11/11/11

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Present from the Department of State will be Ambassador Robert S. Ingersoll, Assistant Secretary for East Asia and Pacific Affairs and former Ambassador to Japan, and William Sherman, Director for Japanese Affairs. State Department Language Services interpreter William Fukuda will also be present.

Thomas R. Pickering
Executive Secretary

#### Attachments:

- Biographic Sketch Miki
- 2. Briefing Memorandum

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By NAFA, Date 11/11//

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#### SECRET

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> Thomas R. Pickering Executive Secretary

#### Attachments:

1. Biographic Sketch - Miki

2. Briefing Memorandum

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#### Briefing Memorandum

# Visit of Deputy Prime Minister Miki

Takeo Miki completed his nineteen-day mission to eight Middle East countries on December 30. The OAPEC member countries have since designated Japan as a "friendly" country, and Miki is receiving the credit.

# Analysis and Background

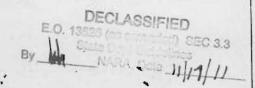
Although head of a large faction within the ruling LDP, Miki's political strength has been on the decline. His post as Deputy Prime Minister has an impressive title but little real power. With no position on the Arab-Israeli dispute on the record, Miki was untainted from the point of view of either side, had the requisite rank, and was selected to make the trip at a time when Japanese public opinion was demanding dramatic action. The lifting of the embargo against Japan just as Miki returned to Tokyo crowned his trip with apparent triumph.

Our purpose in receiving Miki is to encourage Japan to resist domestic pressures for an expedient, short-term solution which would please public opinion, but complicate our own efforts to bring about a lasting settlement in the Middle East. We also want to hear Miki's own impressions on the situation.

Miki is coming to Washington to balance his trip to the Middle East. He will want to show that Japanese ties with the US have not been weakened, and he will seek our understanding and acquiescence, if not our overt support, for Japan's overtures to the Arabs.

Japanese concern about oil exports is entirely genuine. The Japanese feared that the Arabs would press Miki for more specific actions against Israel, such as a break in diplomatic relations. Fortunately the Arabs did not apply new pressures, and were glad to discuss closer economic ties with Japan. Miki took with him a list of major projects which Japan is prepared to carry out in the Middle East.

The Japanese are increasingly worried about oil price



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increases. That concern is the reason for Japan's willingness (expressed privately) to join in meetings with other major consumers without Arab participation. That is a complete reversal of their past policy of avoiding confrontation with the Arabs. They have also solidly supported the establishment of the Energy Action Group proposed by Secretary Kissinger in his London speech.

Should the opportunity arise, you may wish to emphasize the following US positions, some of which may be touched upon by Secretary Kissinger.

#### Issues and Talking Points

### 1. Miki Mission to the Middle East

Japanese Position: The mission was necessary to explain Japan's position on the Arab-Israeli dispute and to win Arab cooperation in assuring stable oil supplies to Japan. To get that cooperation Japan offered technical and industrial development assistance, but not submission to Arab blackmail. Japan wants to hasten, not delay, a peace settlement.

US Position: We appreciate Japan's interest, which we obviously share, in promoting a peaceful settlement, but take no stand either way on the Miki mission. We believe a strong, united position in the face of Arab pressures offers the best prospect for success.

# Suggested Talking Points:

- -- We understand and sympathize with Japan's position of heavy reliance on oil imports.
- -- There is no short-term solution to Japan's problem, nor can it be resolved bilaterally. The oil consuming countries must work together and with the producers to achieve a lasting settlement.
- -- We appreciate Miki's repeated assurances that his mission was not to be interpreted as an effort to solve Japan's problem in isolation.

# 2. Energy Action Group (EAG)

Japanese Position: The Japanese are "basically in agreement with the EAG proposal and would like to deal positively with it so that its objectives are achieved."

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US Position: We propose the establishment of an EAG to develop an action program for collaboration in all areas of the energy problem.

# Suggested Talking Points:

- -- We are glad to have Japanese support for the EAG proposal.
- -- We note with appreciation Japan's willingness to meet with other consumer countries, while making every effort to assure the producing countries that we do not seek any confrontation with them.
- -- The President is inviting leading countries to appoint representatives to an initial EAG meeting in early February.

### 3. Oil Prices

Japanese Position: Price is now a major concern for Japan. If recently announced increases hold, Japan's import bill for oil would go up \$6-9 billion annually, wiping out Japanese foreign exchange reserves in two years.

US Position: Although we are less dependent on imports than most industrialized countries, we oppose unreasonable oil price increases because they would badly damage the highly interdependent world economy.

# Suggested Talking Points:

- . -- We are just as concerned about oil prices as the Japanese. We are considering ways to respond to the recent price increases and want to work cooperatively with Japan and other major consumers in keeping the situation under control.
- -- We will keep in touch with the Japanese on this point as our thinking develops.

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