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JAPAN'S DEFENSE EFFORTS

Talking Paper for the President for his meeting with Prime Minister Nakasone on January 18, 1983

ISSUE

(U) Japan's defense forces are totally incapable of defending even Japanese territory and surrounding seas and skies; U.S. Forces are too overburdened to provide for local self-defense to the world's second richest country.

BACKGROUND

(U) Recent statements going back to the mid-1950's that Japan should provide for its own territorial self-defense and statements of the 1980s that Japan cannot legitimately include air and sea-lane defense to 2000 miles within its responsibilities, Japan is fundamentally unable to carry out these tasks.

- (C) The Army and Air Force have obsolete equipment.
- (C) The Army, Navy, and Air Force all have only token levels of capability.
- (C) The Navy and Air Force are too small to provide for the extended range capabilities for which Japan has recently expressed interest.

(U) The Constitution and public opinion have been cited in the past as reasons why Japan cannot do more. Now that these have passed, the main reasons are financial and fears of other Asian nations. The main reasons are the weather of these factors inhibit the achievement of legitimate self-defense goals.

- (C) Japan's economic growth is such on public works as it is not sufficient.
- (C) Japan cannot achieve its requisite level of self-defense capability within this decade and still spend less than 1% of its GNP on defense.
- (C) Asian nations will support Japan's limited defense as long as Japan's security remains tightly linked to the strong U.S. Pacific presence.

(S) The need for a significantly increased Japanese defense efforts in order to participate in a division of labor with the United States has been strongly and specifically pushed from the White House, and other Japanese proponents of the status quo to argue that the highest levels of the USG don't support increased Japanese defense efforts.

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DISCUSSION

(S) For U.S. national security, a reasonable but strong approach is necessary from the President to Prime Minister Nakasone, a career Japanese politician who understands and supports defense. This would provide the Prime Minister the impetus he needs to get a candid and thorough Japanese reevaluation of its defense requirements in order to cooperate with the United States in a meaningful division of labor to be achieved within this decade.

(U) FROM 1945 TO THE PRESENT, THE U.S. HAS PROVIDED FOR JAPAN'S STRATEGIC AND CONVENTIONAL DEFENSE.

(U) WE WANT TO CONTINUE TO PROVIDE FOR JAPAN'S STRATEGIC PROTECTION AND TO PROVIDE FOR JAPAN'S SECURITY IN THE SOUTHWEST PACIFIC AND IN THE INDIAN OCEAN WHERE JAPAN'S COMMERCE WOULD OTHERWISE BE VULNERABLE.

(U) THE U.S. MUST CONTINUE TO PROVIDE EFFECTIVE LOCAL SELF-DEFENSE CAPABILITY TO 1000 ISLES, THE SOUTH PACIFIC, AND THE SOVIET DEPENDENCE ON STRATEGIC OIL.

[REDACTED]

(S) JAPAN'S ECONOMIC CAPABILITY IS UNSTAINABLE. A LARGE NAVY AND AIR FORCE ARE NECESSARY BY THE END OF THE 1980S. THE PACIFIC OCEAN DEFENSE FOR 1990, 81, AND 82 ARE NECESSARY TO MAINTAIN...

(J) THE U.S. MUST CONTINUE TO SUPPORT JAPAN IN TRAINING AND DEFENSE MATTERS TO MAINTAIN SECURITY.

THE U.S. MUST CONTINUE TO FACE CHALLENGES TO THE OCEANIC AND AIR CONFLICT IN THE PACIFIC OCEAN.

(C) PRIME MINISTER NAOKATO ASHIHARA HAS ACTIVELY CHAMPIONED THE CAUSE OF... LET US AGREE TO DO WHAT IS NECESSARY IN OUR DIFFERENTIAL AND... TESTS.

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