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INF AND JAPAN.

1. THERE ARE INDICATIONS THAT JAPANESE THINKING ON INF IS STILL EVOLVING AND COULD REQUIRE CAREFUL HANDLING IN THE NEAR FUTURE.
2. AT THE BEGINNING OF THIS MONTH THE JAPANESE WERE VERY STRONG SUPPORTERS OF THE ZERO-ZERO OPTION BUT HAD MADE IT CLEAR THAT IF THERE WAS TO BE AN INTERIM AGREEMENT THIS SHOULD NOT WORK TO THE DETRIMENT OF JAPAN BY PERMITTING THE TRANSFER OF SS20S FROM THE EUROPEAN THEATRE TO SIBERIA. THEY ARE INSISTENT THAT INF SHOULD BE SEEN AS A GLOBAL PROBLEM.
3. IN THE PAST TWO WEEKS THE JAPANESE HAVE SOUGHT TO ENUNCIATE A POSITION WHICH GOES FURTHER THAN THIS IN A WAY WHICH COULD CAUSE DIFFICULTIES FOR THE WEST'S NEGOTIATING POSITION AND OFFER THE RUSSIANS SCOPE FOR MISCHIEF-MAKING. DURING WOLFOWITZ'S VISIT HERE TEN DAYS AGO THE JAPANESE SOUGHT TO OBTAIN AMERICAN AGREEMENT THAT THERE SHOULD BE SOME, ALTHOUGH NOT NECESSARILY COMPARABLE, REDUCTION IN SS 20S IN SIBERIA IN ANY AGREEMENT INVOLVING A REDUCTION OF SS20S IN THE EUROPEAN THEATRE. THE AMERICANS SOUGHT TO RIDE THEM OFF THIS BY RE-EMPHASISING THEIR COMMITMENT TO THE ZERO-ZERO OPTION, BY RE-ACKNOWLEDGING THAT INF WAS A GLOBAL ISSUE AND ACCEPTING THAT ANY AGREEMENT WHICH LED TO A REDUCTION OF INF IN THE EUROPEAN THEATRE WOULD ONLY BE A PARTIAL TEMPORARY ARRANGEMENT AND SHOULD BE FOLLOWED BY ARRANGEMENTS DEALING WITH OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD. THE AMERICANS JIBBED, HOWEVER, AT A JAPANESE SUGGESTION THAT THIS LATTER REQUIREMENT SHOULD BE WRITTEN INTO ANY AGREEMENT WITH THE RUSSIANS.

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4. DESPITE THIS JAPAN-US EXCHANGE KITAMURA, DIRECTOR GENERAL OF THE NORTH AMERICAN AFFAIRS BUREAU IN THE MFA, REPEATED TO THE MINISTER AT THE END OF LAST WEEK THE MAXIMUM JAPANESE DEMANDS AS SET OUT ABOVE AS AN EXAMPLE OF A PROBLEM WHICH COULD CAUSE DIFFICULTIES WITH THE AMERICANS IN THE COMING MONTHS. WHITEHEAD SUBSEQUENTLY SPOKE TO KATO, DIRECTOR GENERAL OF THE EUROPEAN AFFAIRS BUREAU, TO POINT OUT THAT IF MAINTAINED IN THEIR PRESENT FORM THESE DEMANDS COULD CAUSE DIFFICULTIES FOR EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS, WHICH HAD ENOUGH PROBLEMS WITH THEIR OWN ANTI-NUCLEAR MOVEMENTS AND WOULD NOT WELCOME ANY JAPANESE DEMANDS WHICH EFFECTIVELY ACTED AS A ROAD BLOCK TO PARTIAL TEMPORARY AGREEMENTS TO A REDUCTION OF INF IN EUROPE. KATO, WHO WHO WILL BE PRESENT AT SOME OF THE SESSIONS DURING GILLMORE'S TALKS HERE NEXT WEEK, TOOK CAREFUL NOTE AND THEN SOUGHT TO TEMPORISE. HE SUGGESTED THAT GROMYKO'S REJECTION OF PRESIDENT REAGAN'S TEMPORARY ARRANGEMENT PROPOSAL ON 2 APRIL PROVIDED THE WEST WITH A BREATHING SPACE IN WHICH TO CONSIDER THEIR POSITION FURTHER. BUT JAPAN REMAINED CONCERNED TO TRY TO ENSURE THAT THERE SHOULD BE A REDUCTION IN SS20S IN SIBERIA, ALTHOUGH SHE RECOGNISED THAT THIS MIGHT BE DIFFICULT TO ACHIEVE BECAUSE THE AMERICANS (AND THE JAPANESE) HAD NOTHING TO PUT INTO THE NEGOTIATIONS AS A COUNTERWEIGHT OTHER THAN, FOR EXAMPLE, US FORWARD BASE SYSTEMS IN KOREA AND JAPAN, WHICH THE AMERICANS HAD SO FAR MADE CLEAR WOULD NOT BE THE SUBJECT OF INF NEGOTIATIONS. KATO ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THERE COULD ALSO BE A COMPLICATION OVER CHINA.

5. WE HAVE CHECKED WITH CLARK, MINISTER IN THE AMERICAN EMBASSY, WHO HAS CONFIRMED THE SUBSTANCE OF JAPAN-US RECENT EXCHANGES ON THIS SUBJECT AS SET OUT ABOVE AND CONCEDED THAT WAYS OF BRINGING ABOUT A REDUCTION OF SS20S IN SIBERIA ARE LIKELY TO BE HARD TO FIND. IN THE MEANTIME ONE JAPANESE AIM WILL BE AS FAR AS POSSIBLE TO LOCK THE SIBERIAN PROBLEM INTO EUROPEAN THEATRE DISCUSSIONS AS BEING THE MOST EFFECTIVE AND "ACCEPTABLE" MEANS OF EXERCISING LEVERAGE ON THE RUSSIANS.

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6. THESE MORE DIFFICULT THOUGHTS ON THE PART OF THE JAPANESE HAVE NOT YET BEEN REFLECTED IN THE PRESS. IN VIEW OF THE VERY SPEEDY MARKERS WHICH HAVE BEEN PUT DOWN BY THE AMERICANS AND OURSELVES IT IS POSSIBLE THAT THE JAPANESE MAY DRAW BACK AND THAT THERE WILL THEREFORE BE NO PUBLICITY. BUT THE IDEAS ARE STILL AROUND AND COULD SURFACE AGAIN DURING GILLMORE'S TALKS.

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