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### America-Japan Society of Honolulu

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THE AMBASSADOR

ROOM 900

ADDRESS BY AMBASSADOR MIKE MANSFIELD  
AMERICA-JAPAN SOCIETY OF HONOLULU  
February 20, 1981

It is a pleasure to be speaking to you this morning in what is surely one of the loveliest and most hospitable places on earth. While the America-Japan Society of Honolulu has been in existence for a little over four years, the history of the Japanese presence on Hawaii goes back to 1868, and today about one-fourth of the population of the State are Americans of Japanese descent. Among them are, of course, my long-time colleagues and friends in the Senate, Dan Inouye and Spark Matsunaga, and your Governor, George Ariyoshi, and their wives. The proud history of Hawaiian Japanese Americans represents, in a way, the vitality and productivity of the relationship between the country from which their ancestors came and the country which is their home.

Hawaii is our westernmost State and thus a symbol of what I believe to be the natural direction of America's involvement in the world. It was as early as 1820 that Americans came to Hawaii, as part of our historical movement to the West. It is

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in the West that we have sought our future, and I believe that it is still in the Pacific that our future lies.

We have various relationships with the many Pacific nations, but our relationship with Japan certainly has a special position among them.

For a good while now, the words used to describe our relationship have been "equal partnership." More recently, policy-makers on both sides of the Pacific have come to use a phrase coined by the late Prime Minister Ohira -- "productive partnership." In a speech last year, former Secretary of State Cyrus Vance described the U.S.-Japan relationship as one of "mutual indispensability."

The relationship between our two countries is, of course, all of these things -- equal, productive, and indispensable. It is also immensely beneficial to both sides. For the United States, no single nation is more important as a friend, trading partner and ally than Japan. We see our relationship with Japan as the cornerstone of our policy in Asia and a key element of our global position. Secretary of State Haig and President Reagan have reaffirmed that this is the view at the highest levels of our government. Just as our Mutual Security Treaty is central to Japan's security, it is a key and

indispensable element of the U.S. defense posture in the Asia-Pacific region. Our economic relationship is similarly important. The U.S. and Japan have developed the largest overseas trading partnership in the history of the world, and both nations have been enriched by it. In short, no two nations with such different historical and cultural traditions have ever developed a more significant or mutually beneficial relationship.

Japan is enormously important to the United States: it is our most faithful ally and our best and, in many ways, most cooperative economic partner. Japan's interests and those of the United States are in accord in most respects. As democracies, Japan and the United States have similar perceptions, ideals and goals. Both countries are large trading powers. Exports are now about 9% of the United States' GNP and 11% of Japan's. Both nations have considerable investment overseas. And both depend heavily, Japan most especially, on imports of oil and raw materials.

Our trade with Japan contributes greatly to our own economic prosperity. During the first six months of 1980, some 11% of the United States' foreign trade was with Japan. Japan is the United States' largest agricultural customer. It imported \$5.3 billion of U.S. agricultural goods



in 1979 and went over \$6.0 billion last year. In 1980 the Japanese market accounted for approximately one-fifth of U.S. agricultural exports. Japan is also an increasingly important investor in our country as those of you who live in Hawaii well know and in recent years has accounted for about 15 % of the new foreign investment in the U.S.

Americans have tended to see Japan almost solely as an economic competitor. In part, this view is a result of bilateral trade imbalances and periodic sectoral trade problems, most recently, the issue of Japanese automobile exports. The extensive press coverage given U.S.-Japan trade imbalances and negotiations could lead one to believe that U.S.-Japan relations are confined to commerce. This certainly is not the case. The relationship defined by trade flows and squabbles is narrow and inaccurate. Japan is redefining its interests and expanding its conception of its responsibilities in the world. The United States has found Japan an ally and a partner in many ventures.

The time has come for Americans to take another look at Japan. Japan has begun, almost unnoticed, to play a very significant political role in international political affairs, and in the process has underlined the fact that Asia and the Pacific Basin are crucial in the world power balance.



For example, Japan's current defense effort takes place in the context of the new global challenges. We have no intention of telling the Japanese Government how much to spend on defense; that is a matter for the Japanese people and their representatives in the Diet to decide. We recognize the constraints imposed by Japan's Constitution, as well as the current troubled state of its national finances. We are fully cognizant of the steady progress Japan has made over the past decade in strengthening its self-defense capacity.

What we have said to Japan and to our allies in Europe is that we believe we all face a new situation in the wake of the Soviet military buildup of recent years and the invasion of Afghanistan -- the first direct Soviet military occupation of an independent country outside of Eastern Europe. The United States, with the new administration, has committed itself to increasing our defense capability, and our European allies have agreed in NATO to expand their defense spending. We have undertaken new commitments to the stability of the Persian Gulf area, a region of vital importance to all of the industrialized democracies. In this context, we have seen Japan, like our other allies, move to assume a greater role in its own defense. I am convinced that the Japanese people and Japan's leadership are aware of current world realities, and will continue to act accordingly.



Looking toward the future, I am confident that the general orientation of our foreign policies will remain closely aligned, resting as they do on a solid base of similar values, interests and objectives. I see no reason to expect any lessening of U.S.-Japan cooperation with regard to major international issues, be they political, economic, scientific, or security-related. On the contrary, I expect our cooperation to increase, producing important benefits not only for Japan and the United States, but for the world.

Japan is all too aware of the Soviet military buildup and the tenuousness of its own supply lines. It recognizes that its security is coupled to that of others. The 1980 Defense White Paper of Japan puts it eloquently: "Out of common interests with the free societies, our country must naturally make its own contribution in defense. We consider it extremely important for Japan to view its defense in this context, that is, of Japan in the world." The Japanese Government now pays nearly \$1 billion annually in support of U.S. military forces in Japan, and has affirmed its intention to improve the capability of its defense forces. Its FY 1981 defense budget will be 7.6 percent greater than the 1980 budget, which in turn is 6.5 percent more than the 1979 expenditure. This is a considerable sacrifice, as the national budget is in serious deficit and the government has imposed severe spending limits



on domestic agencies. In Japanese fiscal year 1979, the Japanese Government financed 40 percent of its budget with debt. In fiscal year 1980, it is likely to finance 34.0 percent of its budget with debt.

These efforts to enhance our common security are considerable, but Japan has not limited itself to improving its capability in defense. Rather, it has expanded its diplomatic activities on an international scale, and I believe that this expansion is a result of a new understanding of Japan's role in the world.

While Japan has been endeavoring to maintain good relations with the Soviet Union, in response to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan it cancelled high level visits to and from the Soviet Union; postponed new cultural exchanges, boycotted the Moscow Olympics, suspended planned industrial projects in the Soviet Union, refused to grant new official credits to Moscow, and suspended aid to Afghanistan. In fact, Japan has been one of the most consistent supporters of our policies toward the USSR as a result of the invasion of Afghanistan. The hostage incident in Tehran has reached a happy conclusion; but we should remember that Japan also joined the United States in imposing sanctions on Iran which included the cessation of all exports except food and medicine. These



are certainly meaningful actions for the sake of strengthening solidarity and cooperation. Other measures which Japan has undertaken to help stabilize the Middle East include increased aid to Pakistan and Turkey, and coordination with its allies to try to limit the damage done by the Iran-Iraq war.

In Southeast Asia, Japan has worked successfully to improve its relations with ASEAN, as the recent visit by Prime Minister Suzuki has shown. The pledge to double Japan's official development assistance -- foreign aid -- over the next five years has also had a good effect on Japan's relations with its Southeast Asian neighbors and other nations. As it is, Japan's foreign aid as a percentage of GNP is greater than that of the United States, and its contribution to Indochinese refugee relief has been particularly impressive. In 1979 Japan gave 65 million dollars to the UN High Commission for Refugees, fully one half of the Commission's Indochinese Refugee program. The total Japanese contributions for Indochinese refugee programs was 90 million dollars in 1979, and about 100 million in 1980. In addition, Foreign Minister Ito has pledged 26 million dollars in loans, grants, and economic cooperation to Thailand, which has borne so much of the refugee burden.

Japan has worked intensively to try to achieve a resolution of the Kampuchean crisis, and this has been greatly

appreciated by ASEAN and other nations. With a seat on the United Nations Security Council, it can be expected to pursue its peacemaking effort with equal dedication and, we hope, greater success.

Contacts between Japan and the European nations have been broadened, not merely as a response to increased economic competition, but out of a mutual awareness of common interests and problems. Foreign Minister Ito's recent consultations with leaders of the European Community are a good example of this awareness.

Ever since the oil crisis of 1973, Japan has been at the forefront of the industrialized world in adopting measures to limit petroleum use and to find alternative sources of energy. In all International Energy Agency discussions, and in the "Energy Summit" in Tokyo in 1979, Japan has acted in full concert with the other industrialized democracies in defining ways of dealing with the energy crisis. Among the results of the Carter-Ohira summit of May 1979, for example, were agreements for joint development of coal conversion facilities, and cooperation on a nuclear fusion project, two of the most important non-petroleum energy resource possibilities.



As Japan assumes an ever greater role in the international arena, and as our economic and political relationships become closer and at the same time more extensive, our obligation to get to know each other better also grows. As it is, in the cultural area there is now a tremendous flow of influential visitors between the two countries in every walk of life. Japan probably has the world's most extensive media, with national dailies and TV networks literally covering the country. Morning and evening editions of these dailies carry extensive international news coverage, and the news from and about the United States -- its domestic and foreign policies, culture and society -- tends to predominate. Japan now has the largest corps of foreign correspondents in Washington, and you might be amazed to discover how much coverage our country is getting in Japanese homes with the breakfast newspapers and the evening TV programs. I was pleased to learn last fall that the TV series "SHOGUN" had the largest U.S. audiences since "Roots." I regard this as an indication that many of us are finally beginning to wake up to the fact that Japan is a place that we should know more about, and I hope that this realization will continue to gain momentum.

Since the early days of contact between Japan and the United States there has been an increasing flow of educators and students between our two countries. Today the famous



Fulbright program is truly binational, and the Japanese Government shares the cost of its operation with us. Over five thousand Japanese and Americans have participated in this exchange program since 1951, and we fully expect the level of cultural and educational exchange between us to continue to grow.

Today in Japan and the United States there are 135 sister-cities along with five sister-states, the largest number of such arrangements we have with any single foreign nation. Through these special relationships there are frequent exchanges going on at all times and I am frequently impressed by the deep desire of many Japanese officials I meet to establish and further these sister-city arrangements.

As you know very well, Japanese tourism in the United States is growing constantly, giving great numbers of Japanese direct knowledge of our country and our way of life. These contacts, both official and private, do much to promote mutual awareness and understanding. Still, there is room for more, and all of us can play a part. I believe that organizations such as yours are in an excellent position to assist and encourage the interest of Americans in Japan, and to help achieve a level of knowledge about Japan in the United States that is equal to what the Japanese know about us.



This imbalance of knowledge is still, I think, a significant inequality in our partnership. As we move to correct it, we can only enrich and strengthen what I believe is the most important bilateral relationship in the world.

Japan is the focal point in the Pacific and East Asia. It is out here where our two-way trade is increasing most rapidly and the returns on American investment are greatest. It is out here where we have the people, the markets, the resources and the friendly governments.

It is out here -- in the Pacific and East Asia -- where it all is and what it is all about. It is out here where our future lies.

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