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PRESS RELEASE



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CAUTION: EMBARGOED UNTIL 1:00 P.M., OCT. 14, 1977

ADDRESS BY U.S. AMBASSADOR MIKE MANSFIELD
AMERICA-JAPAN SOCIETY WELCOMING LUNCHEON
HILTON HOTEL, TOKYO
OCT. 14, 1977

INTO THE EIGHTIES: A TIME FOR CALM DELIBERATION

President Kishi, ladies and gentlemen of the America-Japan Society: first I would like to thank you for an excellent luncheon. But now the time has come to pay the piper with a speech. I'll try to keep it short to avoid overpaying my bill. I will speak briefly and I will also speak quietly. Quietly, because I hope and believe that we are entering a new era in the relations between Japan and the United States - an era characterized by quiet, constructive diplomacy in which both nations can reap the harvest from the many years we have spent learning from and about each other.

Today, I want to talk with you about certain things which I believe are vitally important to both of us. The America-Japan Society has always been a rather special forum dedicated to promoting better understanding of our two countries, our cultures, our aspirations and our respective points of view. It has sought to achieve this understanding through rational

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discussion, free of emotional rhetoric. In a quiet and effective way we have attempted to examine problems together. We have had differences at times in the past, but in resolving them we tried first to understand each other's basic assumptions. It is this effort to listen to each other's point of view, and to concentrate on expanding the area of agreement that has helped to make our bilateral relationship so very special.

Since my arrival last June in Japan I have thought a great deal about this unique relationship of ours and its significance in this time of increasing multilateral -- rather than just bilateral -- communication.

The U.S.-Japan relationship grows daily more intense and more complex in a way that is healthy but also accompanied by increasing risks of disagreement, misjudgment, misunderstanding and crisis. And yet, in terms of public perceptions and reactions to the intricate problems of our relationship, we are experiencing one of the quietest periods in our postwar history.

I have come to Japan determined to do all I can to contribute to the continuing dialogue between us - the constructive, quiet and purposeful exchange of ideas which I believe can be a model for our relationship in the late 20th century. I know of no other relationship quite like ours and I believe there

are important lessons to be learned from it, perhaps the most important being the intense desire on both sides to avoid the mistakes of the past, to listen, to resolve our differences in a quiet and orderly manner and to arrive at understanding based on an honest exchange of views.

During my four months in Japan I have been very impressed by the fine results that calm and deliberate negotiations can achieve. For example, for the past month we have been engaged in a steady exchange of views at all levels on important trade issues.

Our current trade difficulties are as serious as any with which we have been confronted in the past 30 years, but so far they have not been accompanied by the stridency so often heard in the past. On the contrary the recent visits here by Deputy Special Trade Representative Wolff, Secretary Blumenthal, Undersecretary Cooper and Mr. Bergsten, Secretary Kreps and soon by Special Trade Representative Strauss have seen nothing but quiet, professional discussions in an atmosphere of cooperation.

Without fanfare, Japan has taken on a responsible role with respect to the Multilateral Trade Negotiations in Geneva; and the formation of the U.S.-Japan Joint Economic Forecasting

Committee and the Joint Trade Facilitation Committee are other examples of the diplomatic machinery which can help to maintain friendly relations between our two countries. So, we are learning how to make our bilateral relations produce a bit more light and much less heat.

We see less now of the word "escalation" which has so often plagued our relations in the past. When private "requests" become public "demands," when "questioned" becomes "rejected," when "suggested" becomes "ordered," it can seriously hinder negotiations and cause confusion and lack of understanding on the part of the general public. Unfortunately, we will always see some of this, but the heat has been turned down.

In the past a great deal has been said about the close ties of friendship between the United States and Japan. In describing relations between two countries, friendship has a very simple definition. It means that the leaders and citizens of each country care a great deal about what happens to the other. It means that they see distinct advantages to having compatible, non-antagonistic relationships with each other. It implies a readiness to compromise on short-term issues for the long-term good. It also implies a tolerance and willingness to learn about each other's internal and external problems in detail so that those problems may be taken into account. It

is an enterprise which requires the constant investment of new capital -- mental and psychological capital -- in the sense that we can never be content with what we have. It is a relationship in which we share the deep satisfaction of working out problems together, but which is too intimate to escape feeling great disappointment when we fail to do so. Since both of us are constantly changing, we can never stop talking and learning about each other.

Friendship bridging historical and cultural differences as great as those which exist between the United States and Japan require a constant investment of time and effort, and an ability to listen and learn about each other's changing needs. It is manifestly easier to communicate with and understand an ally with whom you have a common language and tradition. But it is essential to do whatever is necessary to keep channels of communication open and functioning with other allies regardless of the difficulty.

Neither nations nor individuals can exist without friends in today's world. Only about 100 years ago there were still a few men in my native Montana who lived alone in the wilderness and had almost no contact with other human beings. But even the legendary "mountain men," Jim Bridger and Jedidiah Smith, who once roamed the Montana wilderness, were dependent upon the

rest of the world as a market for their furs and as a source for their rifles, ammunition, traps, and so forth. They knew, just as we know, that no nation, no human being can exist in a world alone.

It seems to me that by now virtually all people of the industrialized world realize how much we depend upon one another. Regardless of the differences or similarities in values or political systems, we are aware that we are essential to each other's well being. Unfortunately, the differences sometimes are given the spotlight, exaggerated in importance or taken out of context. That is when the broad contacts and willingness not only to talk, but to listen can make a real difference in relations between two countries.

During my long career as a legislator I came to have a deep and abiding respect for the people and their sure and certain ability to see the best pathway if given the proper information and the time to think the matter through. These requirements are not always met. Japan is deluged with information about the United States. The daily flow of bits and pieces of information is overwhelming. The hard task is to sort out this data and create from it an accurate picture of the United States. This process is complicated by many apparent contradictions. America is a wealthy, stable nation, valuing free

enterprise and equal opportunity; but it has high unemployment, lingering racial discrimination and a high crime rate.

The people of the United States do not receive nearly enough information about Japan. The image there also has contradictions. Many Americans still hold a mental image of 18th century Japan which is difficult to reconcile with Japan's status as an economic superpower.

If the image we form of each other is generally favorable, it takes a long series of disastrous mistakes to turn it into an unfavorable image. Faith and friendship between nations with long associations is not quickly eroded. Even during the worst days of the Vietnam war most Japanese kept their faith in America. So-called shocks have caused temporary distortions but they have not permanently damaged the fabric of our relationship.

It would be difficult to over-estimate the value of organizations like the America-Japan Society, and conferences like the Shimoda Conference, and the myriad other forms of consultation in promoting dialogues which serve to help the individual make some sense out of the mass of contradictory data.

Differences between us in custom, tradition, background and perspective still have the potential for turning a minor problem into a very troublesome dispute.

We have attempted to set up rather elaborate machinery to prevent this. We talk to each other constantly at all levels of both governments and the private sector to assure that misunderstandings are resolved as quickly as possible and with broad participation in the process. Both our countries vitally need healthy economies, not only for the sake of Japan and the U.S. but in the interest of the rest of the world as well. In the last analysis the quality of our life depends on the degree to which we can cooperate in organizing rationally our use of resources for today's world and for the world of our children and grandchildren. It is not a case of whether or not we agree on mutually advantageous goals; we simply must agree. And not only as two highly industrialized allies, but as members of the world family.

I believe that we have entered an era in which we can begin to reap the benefits of our past experience. We, the United States and Japan, are already encountering challenges which make those of the past seem insignificant. Developing energy and other resources and finding enough food to feed the world's ever-growing population are problems much more serious and demanding of wisdom and cooperation than anything we have dealt with before.

But I believe we are equal to the challenge. Our relationship is a true partnership, one no longer focused mainly on bilateral concerns but more and more devoted to working constructively with all nations of the world.

If you will bear with me I would like to outline a concrete example to this maturing of our relationship and to give some indication of what it can mean for the rest of the world when we make the friendship and the machinery to maintain it work for us.

The Tokai Mura agreement resulted from an excellent example of quiet negotiations between equals on a most controversial issue. Both countries are very much aware of the dangers inherent in the proliferation of nuclear weapons. Japan applauded President Carter for committing, in his inaugural address, his administration to the long-term goal of eliminating nuclear weapons, and for making efforts to reduce nuclear weapons levels and testing.

The wide gap between U.S. and Japanese perspectives on the non-proliferation theme did not become apparent until after the Carter-Fukuda summit in March. Essentially the Japanese view -- as I understand it -- was that against the dark future energy picture, the breeder reactor is essential and the use of recycled

plutonium in current reactors may be important to reduce resource requirements. The U.S. position was that the economics of recycling plutonium are uncertain and alternative ways to obtain the energy from spent fuel must be explored now, before going further down the road. Both agreed that the danger of the availability of extracted plutonium for weapons must be decreased.

In the Nuclear Non-proliferation Bill sent to Congress in late April, the President made his position clear on the restriction of the transfer of nuclear materials and technology. With its "three non-nuclear principles" and in view of its aversion to nuclear weapons and its lack of domestic fuel sources, Japan felt that such restrictions would not apply. Japan accordingly proceeded with plans to start up the Tokai Mura facility on schedule.

In an attempt to bring the positions closer together, a joint U.S.-Japan technical study of alternative ways to operate the facility was done in early July. The specialists from both sides developed a number of alternative plans for the policy makers of the two governments to consider.

By the time this careful policy consideration was completed and the negotiators met again in Tokyo in early September, both

sides had greatly improved their understanding of each other's basic concerns. By then it was evident to all that more time would be needed to study improvements in nuclear fuel reprocessing cycles so that, as the Japanese have so well put it, non-proliferation safeguards could co-exist with maximum use of nuclear fuel as an energy source. The result then, was the agreement with which you all are familiar.

The negotiations were protracted but never heated. This was one area where the issue was of such great import that an excess of caution was a virtue. There were headlines day after day on the negotiations, but we were able to prevent an issue of considerable national concern from becoming emotionally charged to the point that it damaged our relations. Ambassador Jerry Smith has said that the negotiations throughout were carried on from a position of equality. Concessions were made by both sides.

While the Carter Administration succeeded in carrying through its basic non-proliferation policy, Japan succeeded in safeguarding its investment in the Tokai Mura facility. In the words of one editorial appearing in the Japanese press, it was "the first example in the world of negotiations under President Carter's new policy of striving to strengthen nuclear non-proliferation" and that "the U.S.-Japan negotiations would serve as a model to be applied to the rest of the world."

It is indeed a model of successful negotiations between equal partners in which the basic objectives of both sides were achieved. I feel that it may serve as a watershed for future negotiations on major issues. Let us hope that we can repeat the performance again and again. We can if we have faith in our relationship, in our long experience together and in the spirit of equality which now exists between our two great nations.

Japan itself is largely responsible. There is no gainsaying the fact that its growth into its present position as the world's third largest economic power had a great deal to do with the new spirit of equality. For our own part, the Administration of President Carter has, from its first day in office, demonstrated a keen awareness of the vital importance of Japan, of the role Japan plays in the world and of the even larger role it must play in the future, especially with relation to the developing countries of Asia.

This atmosphere of equality and responsibility is one in which we can sit down together without always having an "our side" and "your side." We both are on "our side." In a real sense we have moved the relationship well down the road toward the kind of consensus-building process you have developed into a fine art here in Japan.

It is through this process that we have time and again responded to what John Gardner of Common Cause has labeled "incalculable opportunities disguised as insoluble problems." We have taken these problems and make them opportunities to talk rationally, to consult, to understand, and to build the machinery to solve similar problems that may occur in the future. Between two countries so large and so involved in world affairs there will be no shortage of problems. It is up to us to make sure that they are dealt with creatively and gently.

In the copper mines of Montana we have an expression which some of you have probably heard me use from time to time -- the expression is "tap'er light!" I am fond of the expression since it puts me-- and I hope others-- at ease. Perhaps it is even applicable to the theme of my talk here today. The miners use the term to caution others about sticks of dynamite. You drilled the hole and then tapped the sticks down into it-- if you tapped them a bit too hard they might explode. Best to take it easy and "tap'er light."

There are potentially explosive issues like those dynamite sticks all around us today and we need to approach them gingerly and with concern for others here in Japan, the United

States and elsewhere in the world. We must keep these issues from reaching the explosive stage through intelligent and calm discourse.

In closing I would advise all of us during these times to "tap'er light." I thank you.

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