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REMARKS BY AMBASSADOR MIKE MANSFIELD
THE AMERICAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE IN JAPAN
TOKYO AMERICAN CLUB
JUNE 16, 1982

PRESIDENT SNOWDEN, MEMBERS OF THE AMERICAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE
IN JAPAN:

IT IS A PLEASURE FOR ME TO TALK TO YOU AGAIN ABOUT THE
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES. I HAVE BEEN IN JAPAN
FIVE YEARS AND HAVE HAD THE GOOD FORTUNE TO WORK WITH LARRY
SNOWDEN AND FIVE OF HIS PREDECESSORS. I AM GLAD TO SAY THAT
WE PROBABLY HAVE THE CLOSEST WORKING RELATIONSHIP OF ANY
AMERICAN EMBASSY AND CHAMBER OF COMMERCE IN THE WORLD AND
WE INTEND TO KEEP IT THAT WAY.

AS I HAVE TOLD YOU OFTEN BEFORE, I REGARD THE U.S.-JAPAN
RELATIONSHIP AS THE SINGLE MOST IMPORTANT BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP
IN THE WORLD -- BAR NONE!

TRADE IS OF FUNDAMENTAL IMPORTANCE TO THIS RELATIONSHIP.
OVER THE PAST THREE DECADES GROWTH IN U.S.-JAPAN TRADE HAS BEEN
REMARKABLE: SINCE MY ARRIVAL IN JAPAN TWO WAY TRADE HAS RISEN
SOME 80 PERCENT FROM \$33 BILLION IN 1977 TO \$60 BILLION LAST YEAR.
BUT THIS EXTRAORDINARY GROWTH HAS NOT BEEN WITHOUT PROBLEMS.
OVER THE PAST YEAR, IN PARTICULAR, U.S. CRITICISM OF JAPANESE

9.5% highest in 41 years
highest since early 30's
2. 30's

TRADE PRACTICES HAS INTENSIFIED. U.S. CONCERN HAS BEEN HEIGHTENED BY UNEMPLOYMENT AND BANKRUPTCY RATES NOT EXCEEDED SINCE THE GREAT DEPRESSION OF THE 1930'S. X THE VIEW THAT JAPANESE GOODS ENJOY FREER ACCESS TO U.S. MARKETS THAN AMERICAN GOODS HAVE TO JAPANESE MARKETS HAS BECOME WIDELY ACCEPTED IN THE U.S. AND HAS LENT UNUSUAL FORCE TO PROTECTIONIST PRESSURES.

JAPAN HAS MADE SIGNIFICANT EFFORTS TO RESPOND TO THE MOUNTING BARRAGE OF CRITICISM. THE FIRST AND SECOND PACKAGES OF TRADE LIBERALIZATION MEASURES RECENTLY ANNOUNCED BY PRIME MINISTER SUZUKI REPRESENT IMPORTANT STEPS TOWARDS A MORE OPEN JAPANESE MARKET. WHILE THESE ACTIONS ARE MOST WELCOME, IT MUST BE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT A MUCH GREATER DISTANCE MUST BE TRAVELLED BEFORE JAPAN'S MARKETS CAN BE SAID TO BE AS OPEN AS THOSE OF THE U.S.

I FIRMLY BELIEVE THAT THE ANSWER TO U.S. TRADE PROBLEMS WITH JAPAN DOES NOT LIE IN ADDED U.S. PROTECTIONISM. SUCH A COURSE WOULD BE HARMFUL TO BOTH JAPAN AND THE U.S. AND TO THEIR LARGER RELATIONSHIP. WHAT IS NEEDED IS FOR THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT TO CARRY OUT AN ON-GOING PROGRAM OF FURTHER LIBERALIZATION WHICH WILL ADDRESS THE FULL RANGE OF MARKET ACCESS PROBLEMS. THAT IS THE COURSE I HAVE BEEN URGING UPON

JAPANESE OFFICIALS IN THE MONTHS AHEAD, AND I HOPE THEY WILL PURSUE IT WITH URGENCY AND DETERMINATION. I WOULD REMIND THEM THAT JAPAN CANNOT REMAIN AN ISLAND OF PROSPERITY IN A SEA OF DEPRESSION.

MUCH HAS BEEN SAID LATELY ABOUT THE NEED FOR JAPAN TO BECOME MORE INTERNATIONALIZED. I AM HAPPY TO SAY THAT WE HAVE NOTED IN RECENT MONTHS A SIGNIFICANT AND STEADY PROGRESS IN THAT DIRECTION. FOR EXAMPLE, JAPAN HAS ORGANIZED THE OFFICE OF THE TRADE OMBUDSMAN (OTO) WHICH ACCEPTS COMPLAINTS OF AMERICAN BUSINESSMEN WHO ARE HAVING DIFFICULTY GETTING INTO THE JAPANESE MARKET. I UNDERSTAND THAT FORTY-TWO CASES HAVE ALREADY BEEN SUBMITTED TO THE OTO OF WHICH TWENTY-TWO CONCERNED AMERICAN PRODUCTS. IT IS STILL TOO EARLY TO JUDGE HOW EFFECTIVE THE OTO IS BUT I THINK IT HAS SHOWN GOOD RESULTS TO DATE. ANOTHER STEP TOWARD INTERNATIONALIZATION IS THE INVITATION BY MITI TO HAVE ACCJ MEMBERS SIT ON ITS STANDARDS COMMITTEES. THESE COMMITTEES DECIDE ON THE SAFETY AND HEALTH STANDARDS OF DOMESTIC AND IMPORTED PRODUCTS AND EQUIPMENT AND FREQUENTLY DETERMINE WHETHER OUR PRODUCTS MAY BE IMPORTED. SOME PUBLIC SPIRITED ACCJ MEMBERS HAVE ALREADY VOLUNTEERED TO BE ON THESE COMMITTEES. A FURTHER MOVE TOWARD INTERNATIONALIZATION IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR HAS BEEN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE MANUFACTURED GOODS IMPORT PROMOTION COMMITTEE HEADED BY CHAIRMAN IKEDA OF MITSUI. THIS COMMITTEE HAS ASKED OUR EMBASSY AND THE ACCJ

TO MAKE A PRESENTATION NEXT MONTH OF NON-TARIFF BARRIERS IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR. THIS WOULD INCLUDE SUCH PRACTICES AS EXCLUSION OF AMERICAN COMPANIES FROM JAPAN TRADE ASSOCIATIONS AND DISCRIMINATORY PRACTICES IN THE DISTRIBUTION SYSTEM. THE IKEDA COMMITTEE WILL THEN STUDY OUR PROPOSALS, AS WELL AS THOSE OF OTHER INDUSTRIAL COUNTRIES, AND HELP TO ELIMINATE SUCH NTB'S. I URGE YOU TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THIS OPPORTUNITY TO HAVE DISTINGUISHED, PRIVATE JAPANESE CITIZENS HELP ^{US} ~~YOU~~ TO GET INTO THE JAPANESE MARKET.

DISTINCT AND SEPARATE FROM TRADE - - AS IT SHOULD BE -- BUT EQUALLY IMPORTANT IS THE EXTREMELY EFFECTIVE AND VALUABLE SECURITY RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OUR TWO NATIONS. THIS SECURITY RELATIONSHIP SERVES NOT ONLY THE THE DEFENSIVE NEEDS OF OUR COUNTRIES, BUT ALSO PROVIDES A SETTING FOR PEACE AND STABILITY IN THE REGION AS WELL. THE UNITED STATES DOES NOT EXPECT NOR WISH JAPAN TO PLAY A REGIONAL MILITARY ROLE IN EAST ASIA. MOREOVER, WE FULLY RECOGNIZE THE CONSITUTIONAL AND POLITICAL CONSTRAINTS ON THE JAPANESE SELF DEFENSE FORCES. THERE REMAINS, HOWEVER - - AS THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT ITSELF HAS NOTED - - MUCH THAT NEEDS TO BE DONE BEFORE JAPAN CAN FULLY ASSUME ITS RESPONSIBILITIES IN ITS OWN DEFENSE.

THERE IS CONSIDERABLE CONFUSION, AS REPORTED IN THE JAPANESE PRESS AND ELSEWHERE, ON WHAT THE UNITED STATES IS,

IN FACT, SEEKING OF JAPAN IN THE DEFENSE FIELD AND HOW WE IN THE U.S. SEE OUR RESPECTIVE MILITARY ROLES.

THE UNITED STATES IS ASKING JAPAN, AS WE HAVE OUR OTHER ALLIES, TO IMPROVE ITS CAPABILITY OF DEFENDING ITSELF SO AS TO DETER POSSIBLE CONFLICT ARISING FROM AN INCREASINGLY SERIOUS AND VERIFIABLE SOVIET THREAT IN THIS PART OF THE WORLD. I AM TALKING ABOUT THE MAJOR BUILD-UP IN THE SOVIET OFFENSIVE MILITARY CAPABILITY IN THE ASIA/PACIFIC REGION OVER THE LAST DECADE. X

IN A MILITARY SENSE WE REGARD JAPAN'S PRINCIPAL ROLE AS BEING PRECISELY THE SAME AS IT HAS ALWAYS BEEN, TO MAINTAIN FORCES CAPABLE OF MEETING AND RESISTING A CONVENTIONAL ATTACK ON JAPAN. IN OUR REGULAR AND FREQUENT CONSULTATIONS WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF JAPAN ON DEFENSE MATTERS, WE HAVE NO QUARREL WITH THE BASIC DIRECTION OF JAPAN'S DEFENSE PROGRAM. IN RECENT YEARS, HOWEVER, WE HAVE URGED THE GOJ TO TAKE THE STEPS NECESSARY TO IMPLEMENT ON AN URGENT BASIS THE PROGRAM GOALS IT HAS SET FOR ITSELF. FOR INSTANCE, WE HOPE THAT THE DEFENSE GOALS SET FORTH IN JAPAN'S NATIONAL DEFENSE PROGRAM OUTLINE CAN BE ACHIEVED AS RAPIDLY AS POSSIBLE.

CONTRARY TO SOME REPORTS I HAVE SEEN, THE U.S. HAS NOT SUGGESTED SPECIFIC DEFENSE SPENDING LEVELS FOR THE SELF DEFENSE FORCES, NOR DO WE ANTICIPATE DOING SO. WE ARE WELL AWARE THAT MANY FACTORS, BOTH INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL, MUST BE CONSIDERED IN SETTING BUDGETARY PRIORITIES AND THAT THIS IS AND MUST ALWAYS REMAIN A SOVEREIGN DECISION FOR ANY COUNTRY.

DESPITE TALK OF "U.S. PRESSURE", THE PRIMARY BENEFICIARY OF THE ACHIEVEMENT OF JAPAN'S DEFENSE PLANS DESCRIBED ABOVE WILL BE JAPAN, NOT THE UNITED STATES. IT IS TRUE, HOWEVER, THAT ENHANCED JAPANESE DEFENSE CAPABILITIES WILL STRENGTHEN THE OVERALL DETERRENT VALUE OF OUR ALLIANCE.

THUS I BELIEVE THAT JAPAN'S ACTIONS IN THE DEFENSE FIELD, RATHER THAN BEING CONSTRUED AS A RESPONSE TO A "U.S. REQUEST" SHOULD BE VIEWED AS ITS OWN RESPONSE TO A THREATENING INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENT. WE MAY HAVE SLIGHTLY DIFFERENT PERCEPTIONS ON THE DEGREE OF THE THREAT BUT WE AGREE THAT IT EXISTS AND HAS INCREASED.

IN THE POLITICAL ARENA THE UNITED STATES AND JAPAN SOMETIMES DIFFER IN OUR VIEWS ON A PARTICULAR PROBLEM, OR HOLD SEPARATE IDEAS ON HOW BEST TO APPROACH CERTAIN ISSUES IN WORLD AFFAIRS. THIS STRIKES ME AS A PERFECTLY NATURAL SITUATION

FOR TWO SOVEREIGN NATIONS PURSUING THEIR RESPECTIVE FOREIGN POLICIES FROM A POSITION OF DIFFERENT NATIONAL SITUATIONS. WHAT IS NOTEWORTHY, HOWEVER, IS THAT AMONG THE VAST ARRAY OF INTERNATIONAL ISSUES WE FACE, THE POLICIES OF OUR TWO COUNTRIES HAVE SO CONSISTENTLY BEEN COMPLEMENTARY AND ON THE SAME COURSE. THIS SIMILARITY OF VIEWS RESULTS NOT FROM ONE COUNTRY DEMANDING THAT THE OTHER FOLLOW BLINDLY IN ITS PATH. RATHER, OUR COMMON POLICIES REFLECT OUR COMMONLY-HELD BELIEFS AND IN PARTICULAR OUR SHARED COMMITMENTS TO DEMOCRACY, FREEDOM AND PEACE.

THE RECENT VERSAILLES SUMMIT DEMONSTRATES THAT THE U.S., JAPAN AND THE OTHER MAJOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACIES, WHATEVER THEIR DIFFERENCE ON SPECIFIC VIEWS, ~~WE~~ ARE BOUND BY FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES AND VALUES.

I WOULD NOW LIKE TO TURN TO THE CULTURAL, ARTISTIC, SCIENTIFIC AND EDUCATION EXCHANGES BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND JAPAN WHICH HAVE SERVED AS OUTSTANDING SOURCES OF INSPIRATION AND ENRICHMENT TO JAPANESE AND AMERICANS ALIKE. FOR EXAMPLE, THE FULBRIGHT EDUCATIONAL EXCHANGE PROGRAM BETWEEN JAPAN AND THE UNITED STATES IS NOW CELEBRATING ITS 30TH ANNIVERSARY. DURING THESE PAST 30 YEARS ALMOST 5,000 JAPANESE AND 1,000 AMERICANS HAVE VISITED EACH OTHER'S COUNTRIES FOR STUDY, RESEARCH AND LECTURING. AND NEXT WEEK A DISTINGUISHED GROUP

OF JAPANESE AND AMERICANS WILL ATTEND THE ELEVENTH BIENNIAL U.S.-JAPAN CONFERENCE ON CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONS INTERCHANGE IN TOKYO. THIS CONTINUOUS FLOW OF INFORMATION AND IDEAS BETWEEN OUR TWO PEOPLES HAS BROADENED OUR VISIONS IN SO MANY WAYS AND HAS MADE US SO MUCH RICHER FOR IT. AND MOREOVER, THERE EXISTS THE COUNTLESS PERSONAL BONDS OF FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN INDIVIDUAL AMERICANS AND JAPANESE WHICH GIVE LIFE TO ALL THESE TIES.

THE ROLE THAT GOVERNMENTS CAN PLAY IN BUILDING MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING AND RESPECT IS, IN SOME WAYS, LIMITED, ~~HOWEVER~~, BUT THE ROLE OF PRIVATE GROUPS IS VAST. ORGANIZATIONS SUCH AS THE AMERICAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE IN JAPAN ARE, AFTER ALL, WHERE THE REAL PEOPLE-TO-PEOPLE DIPLOMACY TAKES PLACE. YOU HAVE AN ESSENTIAL ROLE TO PLAY IN THIS DIALOGUE.

JUST FOUR WEEKS AGO, I HAD THE OPPORTUNITY TO VISIT SHIMODA AND TO JOIN IN THAT CITY'S "BLACK SHIP" FESTIVAL. SHIMODA, AS YOU KNOW, IS WHERE COMMODORE PERRY LANDED 128 YEARS AGO AND WHERE THE UNITED STATES ESTABLISHED ITS FIRST DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATION IN JAPAN. LOOKING BACK, WE CAN SEE NOW WHAT A MOMENTOUS OCCASION THAT WAS AND HOW GREATLY OUR TWO NATIONS' PATHS CHANGED WITH THAT "OPENING" OF JAPAN.

AS IT DID IN PERRY'S DAY, THE PACIFIC OCEAN REMAINS A FORMIDABLE BARRIER THAT GEOGRAPHICALLY SEPARATES OUR TWO COUNTRIES. BUT THE PAST THIRTEEN DECADES HAVE SEEN THE PACIFIC SPANNED BY AN EVER INCREASING NUMBER OF TIES BETWEEN OUR TWO NATIONS. I AM CONVINCED THAT THE UNITED STATES AND JAPAN WILL MAINTAIN AND FURTHER EXPAND UPON THIS REMARKABLE RELATIONSHIP WHICH WE NOW HAVE, AND THAT THE FRUITS OF THIS PARTNERSHIP WILL CONTINUE TO BENEFIT OUR TWO NATIONS AND ENRICH THE LIVES OF GENERATIONS OF AMERICANS AND JAPANESE TO COME.