San Francisco State University Symposium

Mike Mansfield 1903-2001
TO Mr. Al O'Neil
FROM SKuwabara

We are returning the Original of the Ambassador's remarks.

One completed videocassette with the script fully transcribed will be sent up to you later.

Thank you.

S. Kuwabara

8/15
ICA expects to mail cassette to S.F. State today.

Al
August 12, 1980

POL/C - Robert M. Immerman

Subject: Video Tape Message to San Francisco State University Symposium

To: The Ambassador

THRU: DCM - Mr. Sherman

Attached is a suggested text for your remarks to the San Francisco State University symposium on US-Japan relations, which are scheduled to be video-taped on August 14.

Attachment:
As stated
I appreciate the opportunity to participate, if only from a remote studio, in this important lecture series. During my three years in Japan, I have been impressed by the growing interest in Japan studies in the United States. For too long Americans have tended to underestimate the importance of the Asia-Pacific region. No area of the world is more important to our future well-being than the Asia-Pacific region, and no single nation is more important as a friend, trading partner and ally than Japan. Our relationship with Japan is the cornerstone of our policy in Asia and a key element of our global position. In this sense, I am pleased that institutions like your Institute for U.S.-Japan Relations are growing in number as well as in sophistication. It is particularly significant that institutes such as yours are focusing on the practical issues that must be faced in maintaining and strengthening a relationship as vital and complex as that between the U.S. and Japan.

As suggested by the title of this lecture series, it is important that Americans examine more closely the differences in cultural tradition and natural endowment that sometimes become obstacles to U.S.-Japan cooperation. Indeed, many of the frictions which occur in our relations can be attributed to a perception gap arising in part from these differences. Many Japanese still see themselves
essentially as inhabitants of a poor island nation, unendowed with natural resources, that must trade aggressively to survive. They see the United States, on the other hand, as a giant, resource-rich nation that could continue to exercise the influence over world events it wielded in the 1950s if it only tried harder. Many of our countrymen see Japan as an economic juggernaut, whose prosperity, originally nurtured by American largesse, has been maintained by closed markets and relatively insignificant expenditures on defense. Of course, all of these perceptions are exaggerations or oversimplifications. However, they continue to hold currency on both sides of the Pacific, and they must be addressed constantly and at all levels.

Despite this perception gap, the fact is that, to repeat a phrase coined by the late Prime Minister Ohira, the United States and Japan have developed an immensely productive partnership over the thirty-five years that have passed since the war. Problems and frictions, gaps in understanding, remain to be resolved. The important point is that no two nations with such different historical and cultural traditions have ever developed a more mutually beneficial relationship. Let me cite some examples:

- Our security relationship with Japan plays a vital role in maintaining peace and stability in Asia and the
Pacific. Japan, of course, depends to a large degree on U.S. strategic protection, but few Americans recognize the extent of the Japanese contribution to our mutual defense effort. The painful experience of World War II has left powerful domestic constraints against the buildup of Japanese defense forces. But we have nonetheless seen Japan expand its defense spending by an average of 8 percent annually over the past 10 years, the highest rate among the industrialized democracies, and much of this has gone into the purchase of the most modern aircraft and other military equipment. The Japanese have also moved to assume an important share of the burden of maintaining U.S. forces in Japan: they now pay close to three quarters of a billion dollars for this purpose. As an ally, we in the United States are naturally concerned about the level of the Japanese defense effort, and we have indicated that we would like to see Japan continue to make steady and significant progress in its own defense effort, particularly in light of recent Soviet behavior. The Japanese will, of course, make their own decisions regarding defense expenditures, but I am convinced that they are fully cognizant of current world realities and will draw the appropriate policy conclusions.
The United States and Japan have also developed the largest overseas trading relationship in the history of the world, and both nations have been enriched by it. We are rightly concerned over the continued, though lessening, imbalance in our overall trade and over problems in specific sectors such as automobiles and telecommunications equipment. However, we should not lose sight of the fact that Japan is our most important overseas market. We depend upon Japan almost as much as the Japanese depend upon us in the trade area, and consumers on both sides of the Pacific would be the losers if this trade were to diminish.

More broadly, the Japanese increasingly recognize that they share a responsibility for promoting an international environment in which our common democratic values can prosper. They work closely with us on a wide range of international problems at the United Nations and other international organizations and at the summit meetings of the major industrialized democracies.

This clear recognition of common interests and shared responsibilities with regard to global developments has been, in my view, the most important development in U.S.-Japan relations in recent years. The Japanese have moved steadily to expand their influence on global political affairs, almost
invariably in ways closely consonant with our own interests. Despite important economic interests in Iran, the Japanese have been highly supportive of our effort to secure the release of the American hostages—a recognition of our shared interest in building a world in which such tragedies do not occur. A similar recognition of common interest has led to close U.S.-Japan cooperation in dealing with the Afghanistan crisis—despite Japan's understandable concern with preserving amicable relations and economic cooperation with its near neighbor, the Soviet Union. Japan has demonstrated an equal willingness to contribute to the furtherance of our common democratic and humanitarian values in its support for the development of the ASEAN nations and its massive financial contribution to the care of the Indochinese refugees. Japan, like all other nations, must trade to prosper, but the characterization of Japan as a "transistor salesman" concerned only with its own economic interests, which never was really valid, has absolutely no relevance today.

In sum, I am convinced that the United States and Japan have entered the 1980s with our relationship in fundamentally good shape. Keeping it that way will require the continued attention of governments as well as the business
and academic communities on both sides of the Pacific. We need to take care not to allow temporary frictions, which are inevitable in a relationship this broad, to overshadow our fundamental interest in close collaboration. There will continue to be obstacles to U.S.-Japan cooperation, but I am convinced that we will be as successful in overcoming the problems of the future as we were those of the past. Programs such as the one you are launching tonight make a valuable contribution to narrowing the gaps in mutual perception which often form the most difficult obstacles to U.S.-Japan cooperation. I regret that I am unable to be in San Francisco to hear Ambassador Okawara and the other distinguished experts who will address this seminar. If we all continue to pool our energies and insights, I have no doubt that we will see the further development of an equal, mutually beneficial and productive partnership during this decade and beyond.

Thank you again for allowing me to participate in your valuable program.