Tokyo Shimbun Interviews, Parts 1-6

Mike Mansfield 1903-2001

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EDITORIAL

New Administration in New Zealand
......................................(Nihon Keizai Jul 18 a.m. p 2) 1

ARTICLES

To My Japanese Friends; US Ambassador to Japan
M. MANSFIELD (Part 1) ...........................................(Tokyo Shimbun Jul 14 & 16 a.m. p 1) 2
Foreign Ministry Sends First North America Division
Director to US to Grasp Trends of US Presidential
Election .........................................................(Sankei Jul 18 a.m. p 2) 4
US Labor Movement in Agony (Part 1); "Securing of
Employment" Which Cannot Be Disregarded; United
Auto Workers Taking Cautious Posture toward
Negotiations in September -- By Editorial
Committee Member Yoshiro HISAYA ............(Yomiuri Jul 13 a.m. p 9) 5
Personnel Actions in Foreign Ministry ..........(Sankei Jul 17 a.m. p 2) 6
Interview with LDP Rice Price Committee
Chairman Tsutomu HATA; About Rice; Proper
Price Should Be Fixed, with Sense of
Responsibility ......................(Nihon Nogyo Shimbun Jul 13 a.m. p 1) 7
Interview with LDP Secretary General
Rokuro TANAKA (SUZUKI Faction) on
Political Situation -- Real Intentions of
LDP Men of Real Ability; LDP Presidential
Election Will Not Have Rough Going; Post-
NAKASONE -- Generation Change's Footsteps
Also Heard, to Some Extent ............(Yomiuri Jul 16 a.m. p 2) 8
Dismissals Impermissible; Doro (National Railways
Locomotive Engineers Union) Chairman Criticizes
Scale-Reduction Measures of National Railways;
At Convention ..............................(Asahi Jul 17 p.m. p 2) 11
Business Expanding Continuously; Housing
Construction Rallies; Monthly Economic
Report .............................................(Nihon Keizai Jul 17 p.m. p 2) 12
New Administration in New Zealand

The Government Party and the Opposition Party are to exchange places in New Zealand for the first time in eight and a half years, and the Labor Party led by LANGE is to come back into power. In the general elections held last weekend, the Labor Party won 56, which exceeds a majority by eight seats, out of a total of 96 seats in the single house Assembly. Although Prime Minister MULDOON of the People's Party Administration dissolved the Assembly in June with his term in office remaining until this November, and effected the second mid-term dissolution in New Zealand this century in order to break through an unstable political situation, where the People's Party had merely one seat more than a majority, he was not able to achieve his aim.

However, it seems like this outcome was not unexpected. This is because opinion surveys undertaken during the election campaigns almost consistently showed that the Labor Party held an advantage. This means that the MULDOON Administration was that unpopular. Such things as the fact that the people were becoming tired of the MULDOON Administration, which had been in power for a long time, and the fact that opposition was increasing within the People's Party and among the supporters of the Party concerning Prime Minister MULDOON's dogmatic and regulatory politics, are given as reasons for its unpopularity.

Such circumstances result from the fact that the MULDOON Administration was not able to make any significant achievement, although it has been nearly nine years from its appearance, holding for basic reconstruction particularly in the economic field, and the fact that it resorted to such measures as the freezing of wages and commodity prices in order to restrain inflation, though these measures were removed this February. It was on these things that the New Zealand Party, a new Party founded by a group led by those who left the People's Party last autumn, narrowed down their targets in the election campaigns. Although the Party was not able to win any seats, it won more votes than was expected, and became one cause for the defeat of the People's Party.

What the new Administration, which is presently being organized, is facing, is the treatment of the policy, included in diplomatic policies made public by the Labor Party in Mid-June, not to allow port-calls by nuclear-powered ships, to say nothing of ships carrying nuclear weapons. Although an annual Ministerial Directors Council meeting on the Mutual Security Treaty (ANZUS) among New Zealand, Australia, and the US was being held in Wellington, the capital city, it is said that the US applied pressure by warning that it will annul the Treaty, if New Zealand insists on refusing port-calls by US nuclear ships.

However, it seems like the greatest theme of the new Administration will lie in the economic field, as the aforementioned circumstances are in the background of the coming back to power of the Labor Party. The MULDOON Administration sought to activate the economy through big construction projects, such as the construction of natural gas and oil refineries, and iron-and-steel mills, under the banner of "think big." However, it is difficult to absorb the unemployed, moving toward the intensification of capital. The evaluation of the new Administration will depend on how it prevents the unemployment rate, which has finally decreased to 5%, from rising again, how it reduces the rate further, and how it holds down the inflation which began to develop once again after the removal of the freeze.

We want to observe the skill of Prime Minister LANGE, who is seeking to tackle positively these themes, with the motto of "solidarity and consensus."
To My Japanese Friends; US Ambassador to Japan M. MANSFIELD (Part 1)

From July 16, this paper will carry US Ambassador to Japan Michael J. MANSFIELD's "To My Japanese Friends" on the frontpage of the morning edition, in installments, following the serial, "My Frank Advice to Japan" by Toshio DOKO, which was concluded amid big reactions. Ambassador MANSFIELD grew up in the backwoods of Montana, but drawn irresistibly by the wide world outside, he joined the Marines when he was still in his teens, and even once visited Japan in the Taisho Era. He is person who has survived the "storms of life," with a wide range of experience, such as working in a copper mine, becoming a university professor, politician and diplomat. Please look forward to reading the deeply penetrating and wise views of life, politics, Japan-US relations, etc., expressed by Ambassador MANSFIELD, against the background of his strong interest and love for the Far East and Japan, which he has held consistently all through his life.

My First Encounter with the Far East; Attracted by Civilization; My First Glimpse of Nagasaki

My first encounter with Japan was in 1922. This was when the ship which I was on as a US Marine called at the port of Nagasaki, on its way back from China.

The scenes which I glimpsed in Nagasaki were so strange that it is impossible to imagine today. In those days, ships did not run on heavy oil, but on coal. For the three days that the ship was in port, we watched Japanese women carrying coal to our ship. They came in a long line, carrying the baskets of coal on their heads or on their backs, and one by one, they dumped the coal into the coal bin.

We were permitted to land, and we were impressed by the politeness and the courtesy shown by the people we met. However, I think I was most deeply impressed by the natural beauty of the place. In those days, I knew nothing at all about the history of Nagasaki and I also had no knowledge of the long history of ties between Nagasaki and China, its relations with the Christian missionaries and foreign traders. I naturally had no knowledge of the role which Nagasaki had played in introducing Western civilization to the various circles in Japan.

However, the impressions which I had from the Philippines and China, where I had been stationed, before stopping by in Japan, merged with my memory of Nagasaki, and they gave momentum to my interest in this region of the world. I was young then, and it was easy to become romantic-minded. I was drawn strongly to the long history of this region and its great culture and civilization.

In those days, the countries in this region were in a period of expansion and their influence was growing, too. The freedom of the people was also coming to be recognized, and with the ending of the colonial days, these old countries and their civilizations and cultures were coming to spring forward with a new appearance. This region was coming to occupy a position befitting it, in the world, once again. I became captivated by it, and this thought has stayed with me all through my life.

I also liked the people of this region. They were always kind and discreet. In this way, my interest in this region deepened, and since then, I came to pursue this region all through my life.

My service in the armed forces, which became the opportunity for me to stop by in Japan for the first time, was motivated by my desire to see the world. If one joined the military service, one could see the world without paying anything oneself, and it would also be serving one’s own country to some degree.
Enlisted in the Navy, Lying about Age

I was 14 at the time. I applied at every recruiting office. I was always rejected, on the grounds that I was too young. Finally, I found a place which accepted me. I enlisted in the Navy, lying about my age and claiming to be 18.

My colleagues were aware that I was younger than the prescribed age, but many of them were young volunteers, ranging in age from 17 to 20. Therefore, they were not so concerned about my age, and they treated me as one of them.

At first, my task, as a sailor, was to polish the deck with a polishing stone, every day. I was assigned to the handling of cannons, but I have no actual combat experience. It was a rather boring life. At the time of my discharge from the Navy, I was a Seaman Recruit. Next, I enlisted in the Army and then in the Marines. In the end, I experienced all the three services, and I served with the armed forces for a total of five years.

My home State is Montana, and many of the people in this state are immigrants from the Scandinavian countries, Britain, France, Spain, Italy and Ireland. Therefore, they all had some degree of knowledge about the outside world. For a young man growing up in such an environment, I think it was not strange at all to leave his home town and see how people in other parts of the world lived. Especially, I was an avid reader of G. A. HENTY (Note 1) and the historical novels of Sir Walter SCOTT (Note 2), and as my imagination had been fired, I especially wished to see the world.

In those days, it was not easy to see the world. However, it had great allure.

Mr. UEMURA's Adventures

When compared with those days, everything has become much easier today. If you just board a plane, you can go anywhere. The result of this is that it has taken away romance from travel and adventures. The only real adventure left in the world today is probably what the late Mr. Naomi UEMURA did. He was truly one of the great men of the world, and he always tackled wonderful adventures all by himself. He was a presence which symbolized what is meant by adventure and the sparkle of romance. What he did was exactly what we elderly people had aspired to.

Those were the days when life was interesting. That was because we had opportunities which the young people today do not have. The world today has become too modernized, and everything has become too easy. It is flooded with ready-made goods everywhere. Because opportunities have disappeared, even stimulation and originality have also disappeared.

In that meaning, I was blessed with opportunities and that is what has sustained me. I am very glad of that. I was lucky.

Note 1. G. A. HENTY (1832 - 1902) is a British writer, who wrote adventure and historical novels for boys.

Note 2. Sir Walter SCOTT (1771 - 1832) is a British writer, who is regarded as the originator of historical novels.

Profile of Michael J. MANSFIELD

He was born in New York City, in 1903, and his parents were immigrants of Irish descent. They moved to Great Falls, in the northwestern part of Montana. At the age of 14, he enlisted in the Navy, followed by his enlistment in the Army and the Marines. After his discharge, he worked as a miner in a copper mine in his home state of Montana. He then enrolled in Montana State University, and after graduation, he taught Far Eastern and Latin American history at his Alma Mater.
He entered the political world in 1942, when he was elected to Congress as a member of the House of Representatives. In 1952, he moved to the Senate, and from 1961, he served as the Democratic Majority Leader in the Senate. After his retirement in January, 1977, he was appointed the 22nd Ambassador to Japan by the then President CARTER, and he arrived at his post in June of the same year. Even after the advent of the Republican Party Administration, he remained in his present post, at President REAGAN's request. He has already been serving here for 7 years, which is the longest record among post-war US Ambassadors. He and his wife Maureen have one daughter, who is married. He is 81 years old.

(This serial has been composed from an interview with the Ambassador. The hand-written title was written by the Ambassador himself.)

(To be continued)
To My Japanese Friends; US Ambassador to Japan M. MANSFIELD (Part 2)

Escape from Underground; Strongly Urged by "My Wife"

Under the Command of a Japanese

It was at the time of the fighting between the Manchu warlord ZHANG Zuolin and another warlord WU Peifu (Note 1) that I went to China as a Marine. The fighting had even come close to Tianjin. I think it was at the request of foreign Christian missionaries and businessmen at that time that Britain, France, Japan and America dispatched small-scale military units.

At that time, I was stationed at a place called Olongapo, which is now known by the name of Subic Bay, in the Philippines. A company of 100 men, to which I also was assigned, was sent from here to China. We landed at Taku, and then going upstream of a river called Haihe, we finally arrived in Tianjin. There were a battalion of Sikhs, representing Britain, an Annamese battalion, representing France, and a Japanese regiment. We merged with the military units of these various nations.

I remember that the senior officer at the time was a Japanese general (Note 2) Consequently, for the two or three weeks that we were stationed in Tianjin, we were under the command of that Japanese general, both procedurally and in actual fact. This was my first encounter with a Japanese. However, we only knew about this general through rumors, and we never had a chance to see him actually. That was because we stayed together by ourselves, and were housed in the billets of the US 15th Infantry Regiment, which had remained in Tianjin, even after the Boxer Uprising (1900).

One night, it rained, and the next day, ZHANG Zuolin's forces left for the north. WU Peifu also had no choice but to withdraw, now that he had no one to fight. My understanding is that there appeared some kind of a divine revelation that night, that the confrontation between the two warlords was brought to an end and the forces of the two sides withdrew from Tianjin. As a result, we also returned to Olongapo in the Philippines, and then left for home. We stopped at Nagasaki Port to take on coal, and then returned to America. In 1922, in just that one year, I came into contact with Japan for the first time by being placed under the command of a Japanese general, and I next experienced my second encounter with Japan through stopping by in Nagasaki.

Worked Nine Years in a Copper Mine

When I returned to Montana, after leaving the Marines, I went to a town called Butte, and found a job in a copper mining company. I was born in New York, as the son of Irish immigrants. My family moved to Great Falls in Montana when I was four years old, and I grew up there. Therefore, this town became my home town. However, after returning from Asia, I went to Butte, and worked in a copper mine for nine years.

Miners are freedom-loving and independent-minded workers, but their work in the mines under the ground and their livelihood above ground are both hard. In those days, there were many men who died in their 40's and 50's, from an illness which was called "miner's consumption." This was a disease caused by the inhaling of copper dust in the mines. There was another disease called "copper water," which affected the miners' skin. Also, it was terribly hot in the mines. Despite this fact, I enjoyed this work. The company was located in a town which had the reputation of being open and liberal, and it was a pleasant place to work.

I started with the work of removing ore debris, and then worked as a miner. Next, I went to the Montana School of Mines in the day-time and worked five nights a week in the mine, and then I was promoted to the post of mining
engineer. In those days, we worked eight hours a day in the mine. The wages per day differed, depending on the price of copper, but it was between 4.25 dollars and 4.75 dollars. When I was promoted to the post of engineer, my monthly salary was 200 dollars. An annual income of 2,400 dollars was not such bad pay in those days.

However, Maureen HAYES, who later became my wife, did not want me to spend my life in the copper mines. After all, the miners around us were dying young. If I wanted to live a long time, it was wiser to think about changing my job.

Even Provided School Expenses

She pressed me a number of times. She wanted me to obtain the necessary high school credits and go to a university. She even provided school expenses by converting her life insurance policy into cash.

How did I meet Maureen? It was in the days when I was studying at the Montana School of Mines. Of the 125 students, 25 were girls. Maureen's younger sister was one of them, and through her, I came to meet Maureen, who was then teaching at a school.

There is no one to whom I am more indebted than to her. There is also no one who has done so much for me as she. It was through her that I was able to escape from a life in a copper mine, and it was also through her that I was able to grasp the chances which came later.

Note 1. In Japan, it is known by the name of the Hochoku Clash Incident.

Note 2. It is thought that this Japanese General was Major General Hajime SUZUKI (now deceased), who served as the Commanding General of the Tientsin Garrison Force and concurrently the senior commanding officer of the various nations' joint defense force.

(To be continued)

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ASAHI (Page 1) (Full) July 16, 1984

Offensive-Defensive Battle to Be Fought over Level of 7% -- Defense Expenditures; Ceiling Negotiations to Become Full-Scale

Negotiations between the Finance Ministry and various other Ministries and Agencies on the rough-estimate budget request ceiling for fiscal 1985 will become full-scale from next week. In connection with defense expenditures, which have been treated as an exception for three consecutive years, and which have stuck out, the view is strong that a tug of war will be fought over the level of 7% as the rate of increase, compared with the preceding fiscal year. In regard to the administrative-level negotiations conducted up until the 15th, the assertions of the Finance Ministry side, which has made no concessions on "less than 5%," and of the JDA side, which regards "8.5% as the minimum line," are left confronted with each other. Negotiations, which will be participated in also by the national defense-connected Diet members of the LDP, are expected to be conducted by the end of this week. Before the problem can be settled, the situation will probably be complicated up until the Cabinet meeting for deciding on the ceiling, slated for the 31st, is held.

The Finance Ministry, which will cope with the situation under the policy of maintaining the minus ceiling for three years, intends to extend special treatment to defense expenditures, in the same way as before. This year, however, it wants to hold down the rate to about 5% which is way below the
To My Japanese Friends; US Ambassador to Japan M. MANSFIELD (Part 3)

Becomes Big Power, Overcoming Weakness; Becomes More Self-Assertive

Wisdom of Upholding Tradition

What I think after watching the Japanese people, from close by, for as many as seven years, from the position of the Ambassador to Japan, is that though the Japanese people have changed a little in outward appearance, they have not really changed very much, inside themselves. At a time when the world is changing, they change themselves, in order to adapt to the changes. At the same time, however, they uphold the things which made Japan what it is today, such as their traditions, their historical heritage, morals and practices. This is a wise way. That is because by doing so, Japan has been preserving the continuity of a culture which has a far older history than America.

Even so, however, there are aspects where Japan had no choice but to change. That is because the world has become smaller, through the development of the means of transportation and communications. In other words, I think that this means that all the nations of the world have been brought closer to each other. I think that we can all call each other "neighbors." In such a world, we must all give thought to co-existence with other nations of the world. I think that we must make still greater efforts to deepen understanding for the internal situations of one's own country, more than in the past.

In the case of the Japanese people, they were quick to see the weak points of their own country. Accompanying the progress of changes in today's meaning, they became exceptionally sensitive about their own weakness. The Japanese people have acquired the ability to adapt themselves to the incalculable forces of Nature. That is because they have constantly been exposed frontally to such damages as the eruption of volcanoes, earthquakes, typhoons, tsunami, etc.

Japan also has a big weakness in the strategic sense, too. It is for this reason that Japan has established mutual security relations with America. America promised to rush to Japan's defense, in the case of Japan's being attacked by another country. This is a big difference, like that between night and day, when viewed in the light of pre-war Japan-US relations.

Inter-Dependence

Another weak point of Japan is that its natural resources are meager. That, in turn, becomes its weak point in trade, too. As resources are scarce within the country, it must import raw materials, process them, and then export the products, in order to sustain its 120 million people.

This means that Japan is dependent on all the nations in the world other than Japan. Japan is the world's sample of inter-dependence. In other words, we are all mutually inter-dependent, to some extent or other. It was through this relationship that the remarkable development of the industries in the world was achieved after World War II.

Anyway, the Japanese people did exactly what they had to do, and overcame these weak points. They achieved this, despite the fact that their natural resources are scarce and that they have to rely on imports. What made this possible was Japan's greatest resource, that is, its own people. Japan achieved a remarkable combination of what it had and what it imported. As a result, it became an economic big power.
At the same time, Japan became a big power in a broader meaning, too. This is because the acquisition of economic superiority gives birth to responsibilities in the political, diplomatic and other fields. Japan does not seem very eager to shoulder such a role, but I think that it has no choice but to accept it.

In actual fact, the Japanese people are gradually coming to fulfill their responsibility as a member of the world, though at a slow pace. I wish to repeat that I am referring to its responsibility as an economic big power.

Japan's Prime Minister is coming to consider things from an international perspective. Accompanying Japan's strengthening its national power and heightening its national prestige, the Japanese people are coming to state their views openly and frankly. This is a good thing.

It can also be said that the relationship between Japan and the US has come to change from the father-son or the uncle-nephew relationship in the past to the relationship between two brothers. In other words, they are now equal and fully understand each other — though in regard to this point, there are some aspects where the American side is somewhat lacking in understanding — The two countries mutually recognize that they are inter-dependent on each other, and that co-operation between Japan and the US is necessary also for the world.

I said just now that the Japanese people have come to state their views clearly. If the relationship between Japan and the US is equal, then it is natural for them to act equally. If there are views which should be expressed and matters to be discussed, the two sides must discuss them thoroughly. That is because it is not a relationship in which one is superior and the other is inferior.

Should Act as an Equal

So far as I see, the Japanese people are a courteous and well-mannered people, compared with the people of other advanced nations. They are also not against expressing their views. That is what I like about the Japanese people. If the Japanese people desire an equal position, they should also act as an equal. I think they should not act in a way as to make other people look down on them or look up to them.

I do not think that the Japanese people have changed sharply, but at any rate, it is true that they have come to express their views clearly. They retain their courteous attitude and correctness, but it is different from remaining silent. My observation is that if they have views which they should express, they have come to state them openly and frankly.

(To be continued)
EDITORIAL

Problem of Nuclear Weapons in Oceania and Our Country                        (Sankei Jul 19 a.m. p 10) 1

ARTICLES

To My Japanese Friends; US Ambassador to Japan
M. MANSFIELD (Part 4) ........................................ (Tokyo Shimbun Jul 19 a.m. p 1) 2
Personnel Action in Foreign Ministry ........................................ (Nihon Keizai Jul 20 a.m. p 2) 3
Interview with LDP Executive Board Chairman
Shin KANEMARU (TANAKA Faction) on Political Situation -- Real Intentions of LDP Men of
Real Ability; Giving Support to NAKASONE Is Reasonable; It is Easy-Going, for New Leaders to Hope for Abdication of Power ........................................ (Yomiuri Jul 17 a.m. p 2) 4
"Moral Responsibility" Not to Be Settled;
Even with Emperor's Statements; Foreign Minister Clarifies ................ (Tokyo Shimbun Jul 19 a.m. p 2) 6
New TANAKA Money Veins (Part 3 -- Conclusion);
Can Taxes Not Be Levied on "Inverse Merger"?;
Reported Income Just Zero; "Tax Evasion"
Cannot Be Recognized .................................. (Asahi Jul 18 a.m. p 22) 7
Defense-Connected LDP Diet Members Start Moving,
Demanding Large-Scale Increase; Strengthening of Rear Support Pushed to the Forefront
 ................................................................. (Asahi Jul 19 a.m. p 2) 9
Increase for Defense Expenditures to Be About "4 Percent";
Finance Ministry Firms up Policy for "Severe Restraint"
for Next Fiscal Budget .................. (Mainichi Jul 19 p.m. p 1) 10
Interview with LDP General Agricultural Administration Research Council Chairman
Hyosuke NIWA about Rice; Party's Opinions Should Be Listened to before Inquiry
 ................................................................. (Nihon Nogyo Shimbun Jul 19 a.m. p 2) 11
Labor Minister and Others Show Flexible Posture,
Concerning Placing of Restrictions on NTT Workers' Strike; Joint Deliberations Held by
Three Lower House Committees .................................. (Tokyo Shimbun Jul 19 a.m. p 1) 12
Problem of Nuclear Weapons in Oceania and Our Country

The problem of the so-called "carrying in of nuclear weapons" is being highlighted between New Zealand, where the Labor Party has just enjoyed an overwhelming victory in the general elections, and the US. The focus of arguments is the problem of whether or not a country (New Zealand), which has concluded a Security Treaty and is dependent on US military power for its security, deserves to be referred to as an ally, when it refuses to allow port-calls by ships carrying nuclear weapons as well as nuclear-powered ships.

This problem almost entirely overlaps with the core of the problem of security between our country and the US, and we cannot let it pass by silently.

New Zealand has been a party, along with the US and Australia, to the ANZUS Mutual Security Treaty since 1951. However, the Labor Party, which is to come back into power for the first time in nine years, held up the refusal of port-calls by US ships carrying nuclear weapons and by nuclear-powered ships, and the promotion of re-negotiations on the revision of the ANZUS Treaty, as one of their public commitments in the elections.

The problem was naturally focused on at the ANZUS Directors' Council meeting, which was being held in Wellington at the time, and the Directors' Council adopted a communique that "it is necessary to secure port-calls by ships of allies" in order to maintain the alliance. On the other hand, Labor Party Head Lange, who is to assume office in the near future as Prime Minister, ascertained that he has no intention of endangering the ANZUS Treaty, while saying that he can not annul the public commitment. The US is also indicating a flexible measure of refraining from having its nuclear ships make port-calls during the year, while holding that re-negotiations are out of the question.

In essence, it means that it is better for the two countries to avoid assuming an inciting posture of confrontation with respect to this problem at this politically heated moment immediately after the general elections and the replacement of the Administration, and to take time afterwards to talk it over thoroughly, and work out a realistic solution.

A similarly realistic solution can be seen with the Australian Labor Party Administration led by Hawke, which Administration later revised its public commitment. It actually must depend on US military power, in order to secure its national security. Moreover, there is no denying that the core of this military power today is nuclear power. Just as US Secretary of State Schultz is saying, a country cannot basically be referred to as an ally, if it does not allow port-calls by nuclear ships.

There presently is an infantilistic opposition movement among some in our country in connection with port-calls by US ships carrying nuclear weapons, inclusive of the issue of the deployment of Tomahawks. However, this also is self-complacency ignoring the international reality and common sense, depending on others for security and refusing to bear our share of joint responsibility.

The US, of course, has the Japanese situation in the corner of its eye in taking a firm attitude toward New Zealand of pushing its logic through, while avoiding instigating measures. It is only too natural to accept responsibilities worthy of an ally. We want to observe the moves of the new Administration in New Zealand, also in this sense.
To My Japanese Friends; US Ambassador to Japan M. MANSFIELD  July 19, 1984

NAKASONE Popularity; Different in Nature; Type to Take Leadership; Highly Viewed in US

As Ambassador to Japan, I have worked with successive Japanese Prime Ministers, but I think that Mr. Yasuhiro NAKASONE is slightly different from the Japanese leaders up until now, and that he is a new-type leader. Mr. NAKASONE is highly viewed in America, but this does not mean that other Prime Ministers up until now were not that way. At least, the Prime Ministers with whom I have worked with are all highly appreciated.

I met Mr. Takeo Miki before I came to Tokyo, in my last year as the Democratic Party Senate Majority Leader. He was a suitable person for riding out that difficult time.

Mr. Takeo Fukuda was the Prime Minister at the time I arrived at my post. He had outstanding foresight. He predicted accurately how the economy will develop in the future, what are the obstacles lying ahead of Japan and the US, etc.

Mr. Masayoshi Ohira was the originator of the "Rim-of-the-Pacific" concept (Note 1).

Mr. Zenko Suzuki advocated the concept for Japan's defense of the 1,000 nautical miles to the southeast for the first time (Note 2).

Mr. Suzuki was a fine Prime Minister, in the same way as the Prime Ministers preceding him. It was not that he wanted to become the Prime Minister himself. Rather, it was that the post of Prime Minister came to him from its side. I think it is possible to say that though he himself had never sought power, power approached him from its side. Still further, when it became possible for him to relinquish power, he did so unhesitatingly. Other than Mr. Suzuki, I have never met any politician of this type.

And next, Prime Minister NAKASONE. He inherited this series of currents from these predecessors, but did he not appear on the stage as a leader of a different type, not seen up until now? In other words, different from the successive Prime Ministers in the past, he is endeavoring to display his own leadership, rather than to follow the general trend. With this method, he first took a big step forward in the field of diplomacy. I think that Mr. NAKASONE is doing wonderful work.

The first thing that Mr. NAKASONE did, upon assuming the office of Prime Minister, was to establish contacts with the Chiefs of State and the leaders of Southeast Asian nations. In addition to this, he made an official visit to the ROK as the first Japanese Prime Minister to do so, before going to Washington for talks with President Reagan. This is very important, but I do not think that it has yet been fully appreciated. I think that this visit to the ROK brought about better relations between Japan and the ROK.

Implants Sense of Presence, Internationally

Mr. NAKASONE made himself well-known internationally through the two Summits, that is, the Williamsburg Summit last year and the London Summit this year. In addition, he has implanted a sense of presence. Since Mr. NAKASONE became Prime Minister, one no longer needs to search for Japan's Prime Minister at the edge of the row of top leaders, or behind them.

Mr. NAKASONE is always at the center of the front row. This is, of course, a desirable thing for Mr. NAKASONE himself, and it is also a desirable thing for Japan itself. That is because the Prime Minister, when he is visiting other countries, is a symbol-like presence of Japan as a nation. I think that this is a factor which should be recognized, and I think it is actually being recognized.
What Mr. NAKASONE achieved since he assumed the office of Prime Minister was to push Japan forward to the center of the front row on the world stage. This is exactly what had been hoped for, for a long time.

There have been many Prime Ministers up until now, and they all made contributions to their country, in their own way. However, what Mr NAKASONE did was to deepen the degree of contributions which the successive Prime Ministers have piled up, and to heighten Japan's position and prestige as a big power. Even by a big power, it is limited to the economic meaning, but he heightened the status and prestige of Japan as a great power, which acts from an equal footing with other big powers.

As for politicians other than Prime Ministers, I retain a strong impression of the late Mr. Naka FUNADA, the former Lower House Speaker. My becoming acquainted with him helped me to deepen my understanding of Japanese politics. That was before I assumed this post in Japan.

Tended to Be Diffident

It is very difficult to mention just one specific person who left the deepest impression on me, but generally speaking, all the Japanese politicians whom I met, mainly in my Washington days, have respectively left impressions on me. They all had strong interest in things. However, they tended to be somewhat diffident when expressing their personal views. But, I think that this has also come to change to some extent today ....

Note 1. The Rim-of-the-Pacific Concept: This was a plan for the deepening of economic, cultural and personnel interchange among the nations of the Pacific, which plan was advocated by the late Prime Minister OHIRA on the occasion of his assuming office. From the perception that Japan's Asian policy will be the keystone for the development of the Asian nations, he called for the strengthening of co-operation among the nations of the Pacific, including America, Australia and New Zealand. This spirit was inherited by the Expanded ASEAN Conference.

Note 2. Sea-Lane Defense Concept: This was proposed by Prime Minister SUZUKI in a speech which he gave at the National Press Club in Washington, in May, 1981, when he was the Prime Minister, and it was taken by the US side as a "public pledge."

(To be continued)
Interview with LDP Executive Board Chairman Shin KANEMARU (TANAKA Faction) on Political Situation -- Real Intentions of LDP Men of Real Ability; Giving Support to NAKASONE Is Reasonable; It Is Easy-Going, for New Leaders to Hope for Abdication of Power

-- Mr. KANEMARU, you said that Prime Minister NAKASONE will be re-elected, if he does not make a mistake in policy. What was your viewpoint, to say that?

No Special Diet Session in Autumn

KANEMARU: There are factions, because the top leader of a faction becomes a candidate for the posts of Prime Minister and LDP President. If there is no candidate from that faction (TANAKA Faction), I think that it is reasonable for us to give support to Prime Minister NAKASONE, because we once recommended him in unity. This is not the problem of whether we like it or not. (As for the re-election mood:) It is not true that I intentionally created the current. But, if we are in the same faction, we know what others in the same faction think. I think that there is also a tacit understanding among us. If there is someone (as a candidate) from our faction, what more can I say?

-- If the Prime Minister tides over the current Diet session, can you give a passing mark to him as to re-election?

KANEMARU: I think that the weight of the Bill for Revision of the Health Insurance Law and the Bill for Establishment of A Provisional Educational Affairs Deliberation Council accounts for about 70% of all bills. Even if the NTT Bill or the Monopoly Corporation Bill fails to pass the Diet, we can probably say that he will be given a passing mark. It is ideal that all bills pass the Diet. However, the Opposition Parties also have their own principles and assertions, and there will probably be rather strong resistance from them. Even in the case of whether the Bill for Revision of the Health Insurance Law will pass the Diet or not, I am not sure it is absolutely certain. However, we must have this Bill at least pass the Diet.

-- At one time, you showed your own view, to the effect that there will be a dissolution of the Diet, due to confusion in the Diet session. Do you still think that there is such a possibility?

KANEMARU: Actually, the word "dissolution" was heard at one time from a source very close to us. However, as time passes, I came to feel that a dissolution can be avoided, and that there is no worry.

-- Will a special Diet session be called this autumn?

KANEMARU: There will be an LDP Presidential election too. Therefore, we must set about checking into the current taxation system, as early as possible, before starting to formulate a budget which is expected to become severe. I think that there cannot be a special Diet session unless there is some exceptional reason.

-- In that case, it is likely that things after the end of the current Diet session will be covered with an atmosphere for the Presidential election. Will preliminary elections be carried out?

KANEMARU: I strongly feel that we cannot but carry out the main elections. Speaking from my sense, preliminary elections will not be carried out. According to the findings of a public opinion survey, the rate of support for Prime Minister NAKASONE is higher than that for the successive Prime Ministers. I wonder if another candidate will run, without seeing such a fact. There is a line-up of persons regarded as candidates, but none of them thinks that it is meaningful for them to run. Some persons think that once they run, they must win. Those who will run in losing elections are fools.
Majored in Far East History

Changing from a mining engineer in a copper mine company to a student, I enrolled at Montana State University in 1931. I entered the History and Political Science Department, and my major was Far East history. I also studied Latin American history.

There was a big difference between life in the mine pit and on the university campus, but I did not feel out of place. Missoula, where the University was located, was a town which was completely the opposite of Butte, where the copper mine company was located. It was a beautiful place, and it is beautiful, even today. Life at the University was a completely new and refreshing experience for me. In those days, the campus was small and there were only about 1,300 students. The relationship between the faculty and students was also very good.

However, it was not that there were professors among the faculty who were especially knowledgeable about Asia. The professors who gave the lectures were not experts on the Far East. I think this fact also shows the actual state of education in America, in regard to the Far East, in those days.

This was not limited to this University alone, but Americans, generally speaking, did not pay much attention to matters of the Far East. There is a difference in degree, but even today, the situation is somewhat similar, and history textbooks centered on Europe and America. Furthermore, they tried to describe America better than it actually was. They took up only the good aspects of America and tried to dodge the unpleasant sides.

The situation, however, is coming to change. With citizens of Asian ancestry increasing, textbooks will come to change, in the direction of placing more importance on this region. Also, when America's relationship with Japan and other Asian nations advances, and things come to develop, centering on the Pacific region, American textbooks will come to take up Asian problems more, and the people's understanding and awareness will also come to deepen.

I graduated from the University in 1933, and in the following year, I received my Master's degree. However, this was in the very midst of the Great Depression. It was impossible to find any work. So, I returned to the University and secured a post as a lecturer, with salary of 25 dollars a month.

I taught Far Eastern history in general, and also the history of the Philippines, which was still under American rule, at the time. I also taught Latin American history, especially the history of Mexico and the Caribbean countries. Naturally, my experience of visiting the Far East when I was young, was helpful. In the end, I taught for nine years in all. As a teacher, I think I can say that I was about average, neither especially good nor poor. However, I made many acquaintances among the students. When I entered the world of politics, they became my very strong supporters.

Why did I wish to leave the classroom and enter the political world? Essentially, Americans of Irish ancestry have a passion for politics. In my own case, too, I thought that there was a possibility of my winning in the Congressional election for the House of Representatives, and so, I walked around the constituency and talked to people who seemed willing to listen to my views. This was in 1940. However, I failed in my first challenge. I placed third.
Supported by My Wife's Help

It was rather adventurous for a complete newcomer to skip local politics and to aim at the Federal political world from the start. However, I aimed high, and I think this was right. In this case, too, it was my wife's help, which made it all possible. She wanted me to distinguish myself in something or other.

My campaign slogan was to make the State of Montana, which is called the "Big Sky Country," with its wide open spaces, better, to make efforts for peace, and to prevent America's becoming embroiled in war (World War II). In those days, I seem to have been an isolationist, to some degree.

The population of the State of Montana in those days was less than 500,000, and political party organizations also existed only in name. Therefore, even the campaign activities were very home-made, such as to visit the towns and shake hands with the people. Wearing out your shoes, you tried to meet as many voters as possible. I supplemented my lack of funds with hand-shaking operations, but as it was a time before television, the campaign was much easier than today.

My earlier life in the copper mine was also a big help in my campaign activities. Butte, where the copper mine company was located, and nearby Anaconda were the center of the Democratic Party forces in the State, and I had many acquaintances there. These two cities were my biggest vote sources.

Achieved "Goal" on Second Try

On my second try in 1942, I succeeded in securing a seat in the House of Representatives. I was elated, and I headed for Washington, 3,000 miles (about 4,800 kilometers) away. It was in the middle of December. I put my wife and my three-year old daughter in my beloved Ford, which already showed a mileage of 100,000 miles (about 160,000 kilometers), but by the time we crossed the Montana-North Dakota State border, we were freezing. Fortunately, however, the heater was working, and we were also able to find a hotel when we came to the town of Fargo. We arrived in Washington seven days later. It was a long trip. My beloved car also bore up wonderfully.

Why did I not take the train? In Washington, I would need a car, but it was during the War, and it was difficult to get a car. Also, I am not certain whether I could have paid the train fare for the three of us.

(To be continued)
EDITORIAL

ANZUS Structure, Which Is Being Shaken
....................................................(Tokyo Shimbun Jul 20 a.m. p 5).... 1

ARTICLES

To My Japanese Friends; US Ambassador to Japan
M. MANSFIELD (Part 6) ..........(Tokyo Shimbun Jul 21 a.m. p 1).... 2

Various Thoughts Concerning NTT Bill;
Government and LDP -- Cool Eyes Also with
View to Autumn; JSP -- Toward Continued
Deliberations If No Concession; Zendentsu
(Japan Telecommunications Workers Union) --
Enthusiasm toward Earnestly-Hoped-For Right
to Strike .................................(Asahi Jul 19 a.m. p 2).... 4

Will Not Lead to H.M. the Emperor's Return Visit;
Foreign Minister Refers to ROK President's
Visit to Japan ...............(Nihon Keizai Jul 21 a.m. p 2).... 5

Time to Review Structure of Six-Ocean-Going
Shipping Companies; Shipping White Paper
Emphasizes Necessity of Enterprises'
Efforts ...............................(Nihon Keizai Jul 20 a.m. p 5).... 6

Resolution Passed for Securing of Defense Budget
on Marked Scale; LDP's Joint Meeting
..............(Nihon Keizai Jul 19 p.m. p 1).... 7

Will Develop Opened Economic Structure
Still Further; Debts to the West Have Also
Decreased; Hungarian Deputy Premier Says
in Interview ...........................(Nihon Keizai Jul 20 a.m. p 6).... 8

UN Should Work for Restraints on Arms Exports
to Iran and Iraq; Foreign Minister to Make
Request When Attending UNGA ..(Tokyo Shimbun Jul 20 a.m. p 2).... 9

Interview with EPA Director General
Toshio KOMOTO (KOMOTO Faction) on Political
Situation -- Real Intentions of LDP Men of
Real Ability; Combination of FUKUDA, KOMOTO,
and SUZUKI Factions -- Not Yet Decided;
Preliminary Elections Should Not Be Carried
Out; Coalition with DSP Inconceivable
..............................................(Yomiuri Jul 20 a.m. p 2).... 10

Government Decides on Written Reply of
"Rejection" -- Legislation of Three Non-
Nuclear Principles ......................(Mainichi Jul 20 p.m. p 2).... 12
ANZUS Structure, Which Is Being Shaken

The appearance of the New Zealand Labor Party Administration, which is refusing port-calls by ships carrying nuclear weapons, is creating a big stir in the relations of New Zealand with the US. Japan, with a similar problem on port-calls, should pay attention to the direction of the events.

Of the anti-communist military alliances concluded by the US after the War, the Security Treaty concluded with Australia and New Zealand, both of which the US fought together with in the Korean War, in 1951 (ANZUS) was the one with the least trouble. This is because the two countries are geographically distant from the regions where there is tension in East-West relations, and because they have generally been taking the posture of following US policies from a pro-American standpoint.

However, there was a 180° change in the situation owing to the establishment in March last year of the Labor Party Administration in Australia for the first time in seven and a half years, and the recovery of administrative power on the 14th by the Labor party in New Zealand for the first time in nine years. Such things as the abrogation of the ANZUS Treaty, and the banning of stops by nuclear-powered ships and B-52 bombers carrying nuclear weapons were proposed, one after another, by leftists at the Australian Labor Party Convention held early this month. Although all of these proposals were rejected, and Prime Minister HAWKE's line of pro-American moderation enjoyed a complete victory, there never had been a situation where the Prime Minister flinched at intense anti-American and anti-nuclear challenges.

In the case of New Zealand, the US will have considerable difficulty in dealing with the new Labor Party Administration, which won by making public commitments on the total ban of port-calls by nuclear powered ships and US ships carrying nuclear weapons, and the re-negotiation of the ANZUS Treaty. Although the US Government is taking the policy of not clarifying whether or not a ship is carrying nuclear weapons, the Labor Party is holding that it will refuse port-calls of US warships, if it is not going to be clarified. The US was given the choice between changing its conventional policy of not clarifying the presence of nuclear weapons, and giving up port-calls.

The US probably will not be able to change the policy of not clarifying whether or not a ship is carrying nuclear weapons, also in terms of strategies regarding the Soviet Union. This is a major principle which cannot be conceded to any of its allies, including Japan. Then again, the "ANZUS Treaty will be worth nothing" (Secretary of State SHULTZ) to the US, if port-calls by US ships are not to be allowed in the future.

It is only natural for the US to be angered, saying what is an alliance for, if it is only to defend its allies, and if even occasional port-calls by its ships are not going to be allowed by the allies. We are expecting much of future Prime Minister LANGE, who belongs to the moderate group, in persuading those within the Party.

At the same time, however, the posture of giving careful consideration to the changing sentiments of the people of its allies, instead of taking its alliances for granted, is required of the US.

It probably is good to review the contents of the ANZUS Treaty, which has remained the same for 33 years, on this occasion. The true value of a Western alliance lies in seeking a compromise through frank and friendly talks. There still is time. We want the two countries to talk things over thoroughly.
Politician's World; Exploring of Best Compromise

Also Fully Rewarding

I have heard that, in Japan, politicians are viewed as very dirty business, far removed from the common sense of the general citizens. However, politics is an honorable profession. Politicians are also human beings. They are chosen by the general public, and they are also pulled down from the elected seats by the same general public. I repeat that politics is an honorable and a rewarding profession.

If people who have positive interest in politics and who will give thought to their becoming politicians themselves, instead of just complaining about politicians and politics, would only increase this is also my wish.

Of course, when one enters the world of politics, there will frequently arise situations where one is stung by the pricks of conscience and suffers from the clash of views. However, so far as my experience of five terms, or a total of ten years in the House of Representatives, and four terms, or a total of 24 years in the Senate, is concerned, I think I can say that even situations, which are not exactly as one wishes them to be, can be settled in a fair and just form which will not inflict loss on just one side alone.

That is because, in the world of politics, it is in compromise that one can show one's ability. In other words, instead of complete support or complete opposition, or completely to the left or completely to the right, the answer lies somewhere between the two.

There may be times when it is difficult to arrive at a compromise, and there may be times where behind-the-scenes transactions are needed. Even so, however, in a situation where a settlement, which is absolutely right, cannot be reached, is not a compromise the best way for the conducting of politics? Actually, there are frequently cases where a compromise becomes the best answer, in place of the initial assertions.

When I was the Democratic Party's Senate Majority Leader, there appeared times when I had to maneuver for a compromise. However, I did not have any special secret ways for this. I have never, even once, asked any of my colleagues in the Senate to vote for this or that bill. What I always said was, "If you have doubts, will you not interpret them in a way which will be favorable for me?" That was all.

Whether my colleagues in the Senate met my wishes or not is not a problem. I did not believe in the effects of applying pressure. I think in the same way, even today. Whether in Congress or in diplomacy, I do not think that the applying of pressure is a good method.

Stood Firm on One's Convictions to the Last

Before I became the Senate Majority Leader, Lyndon JOHNSON (Note), who later became President, served as the Leader. He was criticized as a high-handed politician, skilled in behind-the-scene transactions. That, however, was his way of doing things. My way was the complete opposite to his way, and I stood firm on my convictions to the last.

However, this does not mean that Lyndon JOHNSON and I did not get along well with each other. Both of us went our own respective ways, and as the Senate Majority Leader and also as President, he never forced me high-handedly to do something. That is why I got along well with him.
If someone were to ask me, after my having served as Senate Majority Leader, wherein lies the secret, my answer is probably that the secret is that there were no secret methods. If further pressed, I suppose I would say that it is the applying of the Golden Rule. In other words, it is to do unto others what you want others to do unto you. It is to treat others equally, whether that other person happens to be the eldest senior or the youngest member, or a Republican or a Democrat, in the same way that you would have others treat you.

To put this in a reverse say, it will be good to follow the teachings of Confucius. In other words, do not do unto others what you do not want others to do unto you.

Whether it is the teachings of Christ or Confucius, the meaning is the same. In short, you must act toward others in the same way that you would have others act toward you. Then, the other person will also act nicely to you, in return.

Costs Money, But

However, compared with those days, I think it is also true that, for persons who act conscientiously, the political world today has become more difficult to move in. The cause of this lies in television's coming to the forefront and that money has become the first factor in politics. It has come to cost a very great deal of money, and one must admit that politics has become a more difficult profession.

It is also said that today's politicians have become very sensitive to the interests of their own constituencies, and that their unity as a political party has decreased. There are really all kinds of organizations around a politician, and there are many groups, called single issue groups, which forcibly push one single problem. Lobbying groups are also steadily increasing. Election campaigns are also coming to cost more and more money. For this reason, politicians try to obtain funds through these various kinds of organizations and the Political Action Committees (PAC -- organization for the collecting of funds and donations).

However, I wish to repeat, once again, that the more difficult the work of politics becomes, the more important it becomes for good people to run in elections and be elected.

(Note) Lyndon JOHNSON: He was the big boss of the Senate for many years. However, in 1961, he was made Vice President, under the KENNEDY Administration, and after the assassination of President KENNEDY in 1963, he became President. However, due to his unpopularity for becoming too deeply involved in the Vietnam War, it became impossible for him to run in the 1968 Presidential election, in which he aimed at seeking re-election, and he died in disappointment in 1973.

(To be continued)
Various Thoughts Concerning NTT Bill; Government and LDP -- Cool Eyes Also with View to Autumn; JSP -- Toward Continued Deliberations If No Concession; Zendentsu (Japan Telecommunications Workers Union) -- Enthusiasm toward Earnestly-Hoped-For Right to Strike

Although deliberations on the three bills connected with the revision of NTT (Nippon Telegraph and Telephone Corporation), which revision is a major pillar of the administrative reform set forth by Prime Minister NAKASONE, reached their climax on the 18th in the House of Representatives, there were difficulties in negotiations regarding the revision of the Bill between the Government Party and the Opposition Parties. The respective standpoints and thoughts, centered around the problem of restrictions on strikes, which is the focus, of the Government and the LDP, the Opposition Parties, and Zendentsu, are as follows.

Government and LDP

As to restrictions on strikes, the LDP Labor Problems Research Council (Chairman: Kinji MORIYAMA) is setting forth the opinion that "some kind of restrictive measure is necessary," and General Affairs Agency Director General GOTODA is strongly opposing the abolition of restrictions, too. Although Executive Board Chairman KANEMARU alone has flexible ideas, most, in general, are for restrictions, and are of the idea that the response they indicated to the Opposition Parties that "the period for a re-view of restrictions on strikes will be indicated in the form of a response in the Diet" is the greatest concession they can make.

Reasons for this are that (1) some kind of governmental supervision will be necessary even if the telegraph and telephone enterprise is turned over to the private sector, since it is an important field, which is an equivalent of a 'central nerve' of the nation, (2) if the right to strike is granted to telecommunications workers, a similar measure will have to be taken with respect to JNR (Japan National Railways) workers, should the JNR be turned over to the private sector in the future, and there will be big effects on measures concerning labor unions, etc.

To begin with, there was a strong idea within the LDP that "continued deliberations on the treatment of the NTT Bill during this Diet session cannot be helped." Although the LDP began to work for the promotion of deliberations on the NTT Bill upon the instructions of Prime Minister NAKASONE, who is seeking to make accomplishments in administrative reform, after the passing of the Health Insurance Law Revision Bill, which was the greatest pending issue, in the House of Representatives, it is also a fact that there is a cool view within the Party centered around anti-mainstream factions that "Prime Minister NAKASONE will score a hundred in this Diet session, if even the NTT Bill is passed. We do not have to help him score so much."

Opposition Parties

Zendentsu is an important supporter of the JSP. The JSP is of the idea that no special restrictions on strikes, based on the addendum to the Labor Relations Co-ordination Law, is necessary, since Zendentsu is going to become a private labor union. It is natural, in view of the history of the Party, that it persisted until the end on the revision of the Bill in this respect. There also is an atmosphere of expecting concessions, since arguments on flexibility are beginning to show here and there within the LDP.

It will, however, be painful for the JSP to allow the legislation of the NTT Bill in addition to the Provisional Educational Affairs Deliberation Council Establishment Bill, since it would mean "a hundred for Prime Minister NAKASONE. It will be a total defeat for the Opposition Parties" (leader of Diet Counter-Measures Committee). Since there is the opposition that "there is no need to help the Prime Minister to be re-elected" (same as above), there is an atmosphere of not allowing the Bill to be legislated, and leaving it for continued deliberations, unless there is an exceptionally clear concession on the part of the LDP.