Japan Newspaper Publishers and Editors

Mike Mansfield 1903-2001
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NATIONAL MEETING OF CHIEF EDITORIAL WRITERS AND COMMENTATORS
JAPAN NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS AND EDITORS ASSOCIATION
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THE MESSAGE I HAVE FOR YOU TODAY, IS THAT THE
JAPANESE-AMERICAN PARTNERSHIP, THE MOST IMPORTANT BILATERAL
RELATIONSHIP IN THE WORLD -- BAR NONE, IS FUNDAMENTALLY SOUND.
IT IS OF ENORMOUS BENEFIT TO BOTH OF US. AS PRESIDENT REAGAN
SAID LAST MONTH, "NO TWO NATIONS ARE MORE MUTUALLY DEPENDENT
THAN THE U.S. AND JAPAN." OUR PARTNERSHIP IS ESSENTIAL. WE HAVE
A STRONG OBLIGATION TO OUR OWN PEOPLE AND TO EACH OTHER TO
ENSURE ITS CONTINUED VITALITY. I WOULD LIKE TO EMPHASIZE THAT
OUR RELATIONSHIP IS ALSO OF IMPORTANCE TO THE REST OF THE WORLD,
BECAUSE OUR TIES ARE SO DEEP AND WIDE THAT WHAT WE DO ALONE AND
TOGETHER HAS AN IMPACT FAR BEYOND OUR SHORES. IF WE WORK
SUCCESSFULLY ON THE VARIOUS BILATERAL ISSUES OF INTEREST TO US,
WE CAN HAVE A MAJOR IMPACT UPON THE LARGER COMMUNITY OF NATIONS
WHO BASICALLY HOLD IDEALS AND OBJECTIVES IN COMMON WITH US.
Today, I would like to focus on the larger international context in which our partnership exists, and on what we together can accomplish in our own interests and that of other countries as well.

Such a discussion requires a brief description of the existing conditions in each of our countries. First, in the U.S., most economic indicators suggest that we are now on the road to economic recovery. A strong, healthy America will be better able to fulfill its traditional commitments, to meet the ambitious goals we have always set for ourselves of social equality and economic prosperity at home and peace abroad. Recent decades have seen U.S. responsibilities and burdens increase but I believe that as Americans we will fulfill those responsibilities and carry those burdens.

Japan, during the same period, has made remarkable progress. The progress has been so great and sudden that there is a certain time lag in the awareness of some Japanese as to how strong Japan really is. At the moment, you have the second largest economy in the free world. Your country is enjoying one of the highest economic growth rates among OECD nations. Your per capita income, while still less than the United States, is very high and still growing. Japanese technology and industrial output are famous throughout the world. Japanese citizens are present and prominent in every corner of the globe, buying and selling to keep your economy strong.
More importantly, these tangible indicators of Japanese strength and influence are leading the world to pay much more attention to Japan. There is increasing interest in America in all things Japanese, including the study of your language. More and more news stories are appearing worldwide with a Japanese dateline. Another result is the increasing amount of yen currencies on deposit in foreign banks looking for investment opportunities. Japan has joined the U.S. and Western Europe on the international stage. Together we are the major players in the free world. Japan and the U.S. account for 30 percent of the world's total production, almost 20 percent of total world trade and 45 percent of total OECD foreign economic assistance. We are moreover the largest sources of investment capital.

Thus our two nations have tremendous influence on the economies and welfare of the world as a whole. Yet large and important as we are, neither of us is able, acting alone, to guarantee the prosperity of other countries, or even, for long of our own. Japan could not enjoy growth for any long period while its major trading partners experienced recession. Nor could the U.S. We cannot be safe or prosperous for long while others live in fear or poverty. Much is made these days of the idea of interdependence but, actually, I think "interdependence" is the right word to characterize the world we live in.

What happens in Europe with respect to negotiations on intermediate-range nuclear forces clearly will affect Asia; developments in Southeast Asia reverberate in other regions; and
THE MIDDLE EAST IS OF IMPORTANCE TO US ALL. INTERDEPENDENCE IS A REALITY WE CANNOT DENY, BUT WE NEED NOT BE OVERWHELMED BY THE CHALLENGES IT IMPLIES. Indeed, it may offer an opportunity.

This may be especially true in Asia, where Japanese and American interests and responsibilities interact more than in any other region. The U.S. does more business with Asia and the Pacific than with any other part of the world and this business is the fastest growing. Concurrently, we see every sign that Asia as a region is the most rapidly progressing part of the world with the highest growth rates, the highest productivity, and the most imaginative entrepreneurs.

Americans are increasingly involved with Asia, and we recognize that to participate in the region's growth we must exercise responsibility and fulfill our obligations as good partners. To engage in trade and international commerce, we must contribute to the maintenance of a stable and peaceful environment in which people can carry on business without fear and uncertainty.

The growing Soviet naval presence in Asia is a challenge to this stability and is a concern to all peaceful nations. The expansion of intermediate-range SS-20 missiles into Asia and the continued occupation of Kampuchea by Vietnamese forces are issues which disturb not only the U.S., but all our friends and allies. Last Monday, March 21, the European Parliament, the Congress of the United States, and other parliaments around the
world commemorated Afghanistan Day in honor of that valiant, tragic country. These various developments in Asia have strengthened American resolve to meet increased military power and aggressive behavior by potential adversaries with firmness.

The visit by Secretary of State Shultz earlier this year to Japan and other countries confirmed the similarity of views we have concerning the commonly perceived threat. Through regular consultation with our allies and friends, the U.S. intends to maintain its defensive role in the Asia and Pacific region to meet the challenge. We believe that the peace and stability we currently enjoy here is a prerequisite which will permit more prosperity and cooperation among many diverse and energetic peoples.

The partnership we have forged is a positive example of what cooperation can achieve. Our two nations have faced a number of political and economic differences over the past two decades which might have seriously weakened our relations. But, what we discovered, of course, was that those differences were inconsequential when compared to the ideas and assets we held in common -- a commitment to individual liberty, equality, and a free economic system. Our shared goals and beliefs have fostered an association which has become enormously productive for both countries.

The challenge before the two of us now is how to proceed. Will we continue to find imaginative responses to seemingly
INSOLUBLE PROBLEMS AS IN THE PAST? WILL WE REMEMBER THAT OUR RELATIONSHIP IS NOT A ZERO-SUM EQUATION WITH ONLY ONE WINNER AND INEVITABLY RESULTING IN A LOSER, BUT THAT INSTEAD, WE CAN BOTH ENJOY THE FRUITS OF PROGRESS IF WE CONTINUE TO WORK TOGETHER? AND WILL WE BE ABLE TO KEEP IN MIND THAT IN AN INTERDEPENDENT WORLD, THE CONSEQUENCES OF OUR SUCCESS -- AND OF OUR FAILURES -- HAVE IMPLICATIONS BEYOND OUR TWO NATIONS?

These questions involve attitudes and mutual perceptions. Generally, we have realized that our differences were merely points of departure for further discussion and negotiation, not rigid positions which led to endless confrontation. Once, some Americans believed that Okinawa was of such strategic importance that we could never return the island to Japanese administration. Many Japanese once felt that Japan was too vulnerable to do away with various forms of protection from foreign competition. Yet Okinawa was returned to Japan; and Japan is further opening its economy to foreign trade. The U.S. has certainly not suffered from Okinawa's reversion; and Japanese agriculture has not collapsed because more foreign beef and citrus fruit is now sold here.

Flexibility and compromise, based on a sympathetic understanding of our respective problems are basic tenets which should continue to guide our successful partnership. All nations have domestic constituencies seeking special attention and facing potentially difficult financial circumstances. We
WILL BE ABLE GRADUALLY TO DEAL WITH OUR GENUINE CONCERNS, IF WE DO NOT OVERLOOK THE ENORMOUS BENEFITS WHICH HAVE AND CAN CONTINUE TO ACCRUE TO US BOTH BY PERSEVERING AND FINDING SATISFACTORY SOLUTIONS TO THESE PROBLEMS.

Two years ago, the U.S. International Trade Commission declared that the problems of the American automobile industry were not caused primarily by imported vehicles. Obviously, many American manufacturers and workers were disappointed by this decision. The automobile industry as a whole was experiencing then, as now, serious hardship. But the ITC decision supported the Reagan Administration's contention that protectionism was neither warranted nor desirable as a solution to the problem. The United States Government managed in this instance to keep an eye on the large objective -- the benefit to all our people from liberal trade based on healthy competition and the tastes and choices of the consumer.

In February of this year, the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative, headed by Ambassador Brock, decided that the problems of the American steel industry, cited in their petition to the USTR, did not warrant protection from imported steel. The USTR therefore rejected the petition. This particular action has not received the same degree of Japanese press attention as the ITC decision two years ago, but it is no less an affirmation by this Administration of its support for free trade. Again, we tried to protect principles and policies benefitting our overall relationship, despite difficulties.
THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT AND INDEED ALL YOUR NEWSPAPERS HAVE STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF FREE TRADE TO JAPAN'S CONTINUED PROSPERITY. RECENT STEPS TAKEN BY YOUR GOVERNMENT TO IMPROVE FOREIGN ACCESS TO JAPANESE MARKETS ARE A WELCOME REFLECTION OF JAPANESE POLICY. AS I HAVE SAID PREVIOUSLY, THE JAPANESE MARKET IS MORE OPEN THAN SOME OBSERVERS REALIZE. A MAJOR REASON FOR THIS PERCEPTION GAP COME FROM AMERICAN MEMORIES OF A TIME NOT SO LONG AGO WHEN YOUR MARKETS WERE INDEED HEAVILY AND JUSTIFIABLY PROTECTED. I BELIEVE THESE PERCEPTIONS WILL CHANGE FURTHER BUT ONLY IF TRADE LIBERALIZATION CONTINUES IN WAYS THAT LEAD TO TANGIBLE CHANGES IN THE ABILITY OF FOREIGN COMPANIES TO DO BUSINESS SUCCESSFULLY IN JAPAN.

WE WARMLY WELCOME, FOR INSTANCE, THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT'S NEW DETERMINATION TO SEE TO IT THAT JAPANESE STANDARDS AND CERTIFICATION REQUIREMENTS ARE SOON BROUGHT INTO CONFORMITY WITH THE GATT CODE YOUR GOVERNMENT SIGNED IN 1979. WHILE JAPAN HAS MADE IMPORTANT MOVES TO ELIMINATE VARIOUS TRADE BARRIERS SOME JAPANESE IMPORT PROCEDURES AND REQUIREMENTS REMAIN AT VARIANCE WITH INTERNATIONAL PRACTICE. THE REMOVAL OF THESE OBSTACLES WILL HELP CORRECT THE IMPRESSION THAT JAPAN STILL RESTRICTS ENTRANCE TO ITS OWN ECONOMY, WHILE ENJOYING BENEFITS OF RELATIVELY FREE MARKETS IN THE U.S. JAPAN CAN SERVE ITS OWN INTERESTS BEST BY NOT PERMITTING RESIDUAL PROTECTIONISM HERE TO GENERATE PROTECTIONISM ABROAD.

THE SUBJECT OF SECURITY IS ANOTHER AREA IN WHICH SOME INTERNATIONAL VIEWS OF THE SITUATION IN JAPAN DIFFER FROM
Japanese perceptions. The fact is that Japan has made steady and significant improvement in its own self-defense and has made it clear that policy will continue. We have, as good allies, conducted a dialogue on our mutual security concerns. Fully cognizant of Japan's constitutional and political concerns, we believe Japan can and will more effectively provide for its own self-defense. This policy of Japan is welcomed not only by the U.S., but also by our European and Asian allies and friends. The United States fully understands that Japan does not contemplate any regional military role in Asia. As we cooperate in these bilateral areas, we must give greater attention to longer term issues which confront us: increasing assistance to developing nations; applying new technologies to bettering our people's welfare; improving the International Monetary System.

To deal effectively with these larger problems, individual efforts will not be sufficient. The fine record enjoyed by the Asian Development Bank is an example of successful multilateral cooperation. The ASEAN nations have shown us what can be accomplished when individual countries work together to meet common goals. I am optimistic that the U.S. and Japan, the largest Asian and Pacific partners experienced in problem solving, can meet the future successfully.

Taking advantage of our interdependence to solve problems affecting many countries will be easier if we can at the same time achieve a deeper degree of knowledge about each other's society. Americans still need to become much better acquainted
with Japan and the Asian area. We will have to increase the numbers of our citizens who know your country and your language. And Americans need to be more aware of the important contributions Japan is already making to the economic well-being of other countries and to our mutual security.

In turn, with Japan now a major figure on the world stage, its ability to understand more deeply American and other cultures as well as other languages, especially English, will become increasingly important.

Through the international education of our youth, we can instill in future generations a deeper respect for freedom and the integrity of the individual. The recent conference of seven economic summit countries in Williamsburg, Virginia, is an example of current efforts to increase youth exchanges so that as future leaders of our countries look across negotiating tables, or perhaps tune in to worldwide satellite teleconference meetings, they will be better equipped than we are to preserve and advance freedom and the pursuit of happiness on this small and precious planet.

It is in this global context that our essential goals and the inspiration to attain them can be found. The benefits we have enjoyed from open, constructive political and economic ties have also contributed in real terms to stability and development in Asia and the Pacific. The fundamental qualities that mark our relationship -- freedom to associate and mutual respect --
ARE MODELS FOR INTERNATIONAL FRIENDSHIP NOW AND IN THE FUTURE.

The steps we take now to secure continuity in our social and economic connections will determine not only our bilateral future but will do much to assure a better chance for the democratic ideals we hold to flourish abroad.

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Letters

Are models for international friendship now and in the future.

The steps we now seek, continuity in our social and economic conditions will determine not only our bilateral future but will do much to assure a better chance for the democratic ideals we hold to flourish abroad.

Mike Mansfield Papers, Series 32, Box 3, Folder 6, Mansfield Library, University of Montana.