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The following index lists the major topics in the audio recording and the approximate point when they occur in the recording according to an analog cassette recorder's tape counter. This tape counter index (TCI) has not been edited for accuracy by Archives and Special Collections.

Mansfield Oral History Collection
Ambassador with Nihon Shimbun Kyokai 4/9/81
OH #22-312a

[SIDE A]

000-070 An announcer comments that MJM's speech will be on the record. He doesn't think that it is necessary to review MJM's career but he does want to say a few things about him. MJM was born in New York, he is 78 years old. He was raised in Montana and graduated from Montana State University. MJM taught Far Eastern history at MSU. In 1942 he became a Representative and later a Senator. From June 1977 he became the 22nd US Ambassador to Japan. As a Senator he served as Chairman of the House, Ways and Means Committee and Foreign Affairs Committee. He visited China three times. With the upcoming visit of Prime Minister Suzuki to the US, they would like MJM to give them some frank views. He then announces MJM.

071-085 [Defect in the recording].

086-130 MJM begins by stating that there is no more important relationship in the world than that between the US and Japan. MJM comments on the importance that this bilateral relationship has meant over the past few decades. MJM says that by reading most of the newspapers it appears as though there is a great deal of trouble between the US and Japan. MJM intends to comment on the things that the two countries have in common today.

131-200 MJM asks the question of what the two countries have in common. He notes that they are both democracies, free market economies. Exports represented about 9% of the total US GNP last year. MJM states that as industrial nations both the US and Japan are faced with environmental and technological problems. MJM comments that with such close and intense economic trade with each other, the US and Japan should expect to have some problems.

201-250 MJM comments that the visit of Foreign Minister Ito to Washington produced the statement from the President that he intends to enforce the principle of free trade. MJM talks about the American auto industry facing a serious adjustment problem that is costing the jobs of 1 million auto and related industry workers. MJM talks about the fact that US and Japanese auto companies need to work together to solve the problems in the market otherwise everyone will suffer in the end.

251-300 MJM says that we must approach the area of defense in the same manner. MJM says that the US recognizes the

restraints that the constitution puts on the Japanese defense spending. MJM talks about the need for Japan to accept more responsibility for its own defense. MJM talks about the increasingly difficult times in the world and the fact that no ally of the US has contributed so much as Japan has.

- 301-350 MJM mentions the support that Japan has been giving in many areas of the world, mostly economic. MJM comments that a recent public opinion poll concluded that 84% of the people surveyed felt that Japan is important to the US. 68% of the people surveyed felt that the US should come to the aid of Japan if it were to be attacked.
- 351-400 Asked about the attributes which describe Japan most people said, stable, hard working, quality products etc.. 76% of the people polled felt that Japan's industrial development is a threat to American jobs. The recent trade friction between the US and Japan, especially with autos, did not change the overall view of most American people about Japan.
- 401-450 MJM comments on the policies of the Reagan administration. The new administration wants to cooperate fully with Japan in bilateral and global matters. MJM says that the administration has two goals. One is to strengthen the US position against a strong Soviet posture around the globe. Two, to rebuild the American economy. MJM comments that the US cannot achieve either of these goals without the cooperation and understanding of its allies.
- 451-500 MJM comments on the US talks with leaders of other nations in reaffirming the need to cooperate in today's world. MJM mentions that the US has undertaken new responsibilities in the Persian Gulf. MJM talks about the recent visits to Washington from leaders of a have a dozen countries. These occurred within a few days of each other and it shows the increasing relations that the US is trying to built in the world.
- 501-550 MJM comments on the visits to Japan of some key groups of Americans. One group of people is a team of government officials that are here to explain the US policy on autos. MJM comments that the US and Japan deal in many of the same fields of technology etc. but with a different viewpoint. What must be remembered is that both the US and Japan are in a world in which we have the same problems and an equal stake in solving them.
- 551-585 MJM talks about the great cooperative relationship between the US and Japan. He is sure that this relationship will continue to grow in the future. He then concludes his speech.

585-615 There are two people speaking in Japanese.

616-700 Someone else is speaking in Japanese.

701-760 The question is translated into english. The questions addresses the concern of the economic problems that the US has been having. The person says that the current group of people here in Japan to discuss the problems in auto friction. He thinks that it is rather extraordinary that this is a briefing mission. He proposes that the group is actually conducting negotiations and if this is so the public should know about it. He proposes that Mr. Brock, of the USTR, should come and mediate the negotiations properly.

761-885 The second point that he wants MJM to comment upon is the extra year of managed trade which is coming up. He thinks that this managed trade should also apply to automobiles. MJM answers that second question first. He comments that if the President of France is holding up Japanese autos in their ports that is their business but this is not the US' idea of managed trade. MJM says of the French policy of holding up these autos as being protectionist and very restrictive. MJM says that the President is seeking to hold back legislation that would impose restrictions on Japanese imports. MJM comments on the way in which the President is trying to hold back the restrictions on Japanese imports.

886-948 MJM returns to the first part of the question. He says that the group over here right now is here only to brief. It is not a negotiating mission and that was made very plain in the instructions given to them. MJM says that in the future it may be necessary for Mr. Brock to come over here but they hope not. They hope that the situation can be solved without any major problems. MJM comments that the current auto problem is due to the lack of understanding the oil shortages in 1973.

[END OF SIDE A]

[SIDE B]

000-050 The Americans kept asking for the larger cars and it was only when the 1977 gas lines started forming in the US that the auto manufacturers started to build the smaller cars which Americans started to buy. MJM comments that the auto companies are spending about \$80 billion to restructure their plants to make mostly smaller cars. MJM says that the result has been that 200,000 auto workers are out of work and another 800,000 people are out of work who deal in auto

affiliated fields, such as textiles for glass, rubber, and carpet. MJM repeats that this is not a negotiating mission.

051-210 Translation of MJM's comments into Japanese.

211-255 Another person is speaking in Japanese.

255-300 [Translation] The person expresses his sympathy with the President's accident. He comments on the auto and defense issues. The person comments that it is becoming very difficult to deal with the auto question as an economic issue. He wonders if we should now treat the issue politically. He also wonders if the Japanese defense spending issue couldn't be linked with the auto issue in bringing about a solution.

301-340 MJM says, no. They are separate and distinct issues. He doesn't remember them ever being tied together and they shouldn't be. Translation of MJM's comments into Japanese.

341-435 Someone is asking a question in Japanese.

436-540 [Translation] He has a question about defense. He reiterates MJM's comments that the US has had trouble building up their defense forces. He mentions that MJM also said that the Japanese ought to increase their defenses to protect the seas around them and to protect their air space. He comments on the Secretary of Defense meeting with officials and press in Japan. Weinberger said that the Japanese ought to increase its defenses north of the Phillipines and west of the Japanese islands. He wonders if Weinberger's and MJM's comments are the total picture of what the US would like to see the Japanese do in increasing its defense. If it is not then he would like MJM to explain what else needs to be done.

541-650 MJM says that his views today considered the islands north of Japan and they are included in the mutual security treaty. MJM says that the US wants the Japanese to build its forces to resist a conventional attack against Japan. MJM notes that although the Japanese forces have increased their total numbers fall short of the national defense programs outline from 1976. MJM says that the world situation is such that Japan should quicken its efforts to build its forces. MJM says that there have been no real changes in what the US seeks in the US-Japanese defense relations. MJM comments that the US and Japan are partners and they have to come to the aid of each other in case of attack. MJM comments that the US security responsibilities have increased, especially in the Indian Ocean. This demands that the US deploy some of

its forces in the Indian Ocean thus taking away strength from the the Pacific. With this situation it is urgent that the Japanese meet the needs of defending their country against a conventional attack.

651-700 MJM continues to comment on the need for the Japanese to protect their country.

701-750 MJM talks about the US is going to increase its defense spending in the face of very serious economic problems. MJM says that defense spending is over \$520 for ever person in the US. In comparison, defense spending in Japan amounts to \$80 for every person. MJM comments that the US hopes Japan will remain a peace loving nation but you can only have peace if you prepare for the worst. MJM comments that the US is only asking Japan to do what it asks its other allies to do.

750-944 Translation of MJM comments into Japanese.

[END OF TAPE]

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OH #22-312b

[SIDE A]

- 000-080 Continued translation of MJM's comments from previous tape.
- 081-120 Someone else is speaking in Japanese.
- 121-200 [Translation] The person comments that MJM said the US is lacking in the automobile field issue and that the US was also lacking in foresight. He thinks that the majority of Japanese share MJM's view on this question. He comments that Japanese people are more aware of the necessity of the bilateral relationship than the American people are. He comments that the Japanese newspapers give more page to the American relations with Japan than any other country. He wonders if the American people are as well informed as the Japanese people are about the economic problems in each others country. He doesn't know if the Japanese Ambassador to the US is working to inform the American journalists of the Japanese problems or not. He says that Americans only turn their faces to Japan after a problem develops. He asks MJM what he thinks of this communication gap.
- 201-240 MJM says that the man is right. He says that the Japanese much more time to the US than the US media gives to the Japanese. MJM says that the new exchange programs between the Congress and the Diet, business groups, political parties and the like, are bringing about a better understanding and greater consensus about what Japan is all about. MJM says that the recent poll taken in the US shows that we are becoming more aware of the Japanese. MJM comments that the pull in the US is to Europe since that is where most Americans came from, but the push is to the west. MJM says that we are learning that the Pacific is important in our future.
- 241-275 MJM comments that our trade last year with Europe was \$89.7 billion. The two way trade with Japan and East Asia amounted to \$113 billion. In 1975 the two way trade between the US and East Asia was \$42 billion. Of last years figure, \$50 billion of the \$113 billion was with Japan.
- 276-370 Translation of MJM's comments into Japanese.
- 371-455 Someone is asking another question in Japanese.
- 456-560 [Translation] The man says that he can understand the

US auto situation with all of the unemployment. He doesn't think that the main problem comes from the importing of so many Japanese cars, however. He wants to know what the US' view is on the imports of cars from European countries. The man states that we should look at the history of US-Japanese trade friction. He notes that there has always been some sort of problem, once you get one settled another takes its place. He comments that after the auto issue is settled the next issue might be the semi-conductor problem. He wants MJM to comment on this also. He also wants to know if there will be a political solution to the auto issue when the Prime Minister visits the US. He also wants to know what the major issues will be on the agenda when the Prime Minister visits the US.

561-600 MJM says that you must distinguish between the the European and US markets for Japanese cars. MJM says that there is no hindrance for the sale of Japanese cars to the US. But there is many hindrances about selling Japanese cars to European countries. MJM says that the Europeans have already done a lot to Japan and there is not a lot Japan can do now to change the car problem.

601-650 As far as semi-conductors are concerned, the US has a very large lead in the world. The US presently controls about 60% of the world market. Last year, however, the Japanese exported \$74 billion whereas the US exported \$67 billion. For the first part of this year the US has regained the lead, however. MJM says that the US should stay ahead in this field but we are going to have to put money into research and development otherwise Japan will overtake the US there also.

651-750 On the question of the Prime Minister's visit to the US, MJM hopes the auto issue will be settled before he goes there. MJM comments on the fairly good shape that Japan is in. Although the government is working under a budget that is a third in debt, the private sector is doing very well. MJM says that the verdict will be with the private sector. He hopes that we can work out some kind of voluntary restrictions. Everyone hopes that it will be decided without having to have Ambassador Brock come over and negotiate the issue. MJM says that the meeting in Washington should be global in scope.

751-775 MJM says that the President may not be able to hold the in depth discussions that he would like to but he will be returning to the White House, probably next Monday. Whatever the case, Prime Minister Suzuki and Foreign Minister Ito will be prepared to answer any questions posed to them.

776-947 Translation of MJM's comments into Japanese.

[END OF SIDE A]

[SIDE B]

000-110 Continued translation of MJM's comments into Japanese.

111-150 MJM says that he must change those figures on Japanese exports of semi-conductors and US exports to Japan. He made a couple of big errors. In 1980 the value of Japanese exports of semi-conductors to the US was \$331 million. This was an increase of 66.9% over the year before. In volume it amounted to an increase of 74.6% over the year before. US exports to Japan in semi-conductors amounted to \$326 million, a decline of 5.6% over the previous year. In volume this was a decline of 10.6% over the year before.

151-175 MJM wishes to add one more point. It is true that when one problem is solved another crops up. MJM comments that the US could alleviate some of the problems by becoming more competitive. However, with the world's two biggest industrial nations trading with each other, there are always going to be problems.

176-240 Translation of MJM's comments into Japanese.

241-300 The interpreter asks MJM about the figure of 3,000 Japanese cars a year being allowed into France. MJM says that he isn't sure about the figures but he notes that the French and the Italians are holding up shipments of autos from Japan in the harbors. MJM says there are five thousand cars right now that are held up in ships in the harbors. Translation of MJM's comments into Japanese.

301-320 The interpreter and MJM discuss what makes up the 3% figure that the Japanese can't exceed in importing cars to France. MJM says that they should ask the guy who asked the French auto question in the first place. The interpreter and the guy are talking back and forth in Japanese. He is not sure what the figure is. They decide to end the meeting.

[END OF TAPE]