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MANSFIELD ORAL HISTORY COLLECTION
AMBASSADOR WITH FORMER MEMBERS OF CONGRESS 10/2/81
OH #22-322

SIDE A

- 000-049 MJM is talking. He says he's tried to bring honor and credit to the Congress in serving as a politically appointed Ambassador to Japan. His policy has been to advocate his government's policies since he serves as the President's personal representative in Japan. Politics doesn't enter into it. He tries to be as honest as he can in reporting to the State Department. He says the relations between the two countries are not always good as they should be. Nor are they as bad as they are sometimes painted to be.
- 050-099 There are difficulties in the trade areas. Trade restraining actions. Domestic government subsidies to industries. Refusal of private organizations to use foreign products. Lack of transparency in the government decision-making process in matters affecting trade. Arbitrary classification of imports for customs purposes which requires payment of a higher duty rate. Preferential access to capital for domestic investors over foreign investors. Progress is being made in these areas. Japan is not as closed a market as is thought in the U.S. Government procurement has recently been opened to foreign competition.
- 100-149 Mentions the NTT as being now open to foreign bidding. MJM calls this the most important bilateral relationship in the world. He says that some of the things he has anticipated for years are now beginning to come to pass. Future of the Pacific Basin is where the future of the U.S. is. Too much attention has been given to Europe and the Atlantic.
- 150-199 But he sees a change occurring, a change for the better. The U.S. has been out in the East Asia region for one hundred years. Asiatic Squadron. Asiatic Fleet. Now the Seventh Fleet. This Fleet has not been strong enough until Afghanistan and Iran situations. The Fleet is in better shape, but still not good enough. He talks about the area the Seventh Fleet has to cover. The strategic needs of the region and the Fleet.
- 200-249 Talks about the Mideast and oil producing regions which are in the Fleet's territory. MJM brings up the security treaty between Japan and the U.S. Japan is not getting a free ride in terms of being under the U.S. nuclear umbrella. The U.S. is in the region to defend its perimeters, not only to defend Japan. The importance of the U.S. bases in Japan. The treaty is

not one-sided as it might appear. It is in this part of the world where there is the largest business development. He talks about amount of trade between U.S. and Japan/East Asia.

- 250-299 The trend shows increasing amounts of investment in this region. Return on American investment in East Asia is the highest in the world. Important to think about this area as a region, not on the basis of a particular country. Talks about the lack of natural resources in Japan. Nuclear power plants in Japan.
- 300-349 Japan is dependent on outside sources, on imports. Compares Japan with Montana in terms of size, population and resources. Montana is a developing state. Japan is a developed nation. Japan's primary resource is its people. Japanese recognize how vulnerable their country is both in economic and strategic terms. Proximity of PRC, Soviet Union, U.S. Korea and Japan.
- 350-399 Soviet Union is the U.S.'s third nearest neighbor. MJM says that Americans don't understand enough about this area, but they will come to an understanding because of circumstances and because of business opportunities. MJM goes on to talk about Japanese defense expenditures in recent years. They have been increasing their expenditures. He details some of the purchases or projected purchases by Japan.
- 400-449 Continues with details of military purchases. Japan is modernizing their air forces in line with U.S. hopes and suggestions. Mentions Japan is modernizing its navy. He says they are doing enough with their army. When one recognizes the obstacles faced by the Japanese government in bringing about increases in military spending, one will be able to appreciate what they have accomplished. Article Nine of the Constitution.
- 450-499 Military relations between the Japanese and the U.S. couldn't be better. It's the best relationship in the world. Joint exercises are being held between U.S. and Japanese Air Force and Navy. Some limited joint exercises between the ground self-defense forces and U.S. Marines. MJM says Japan is doing a great deal with what it have to work with. Background to present self-defense forces.
- 500-549 Japan needs to be aware of the attitudes of other countries in the region, especially the ASEAN countries, regarding its military build-up. Japan has been providing a large amount of foreign aid to other countries, especially the ASEAN countries. Mutual confidence and understanding is developing between the countries in the region and Japan. It is unnecessary

to have Japan become a regional power. The U.S. is interested in Japan providing more in the way of its own self-defense.

550-599 In order to get the funds for increases in military spending, the Japanese government must get a consensus on the part of the people. In doing this, they must deal with the strong anti-military feeling of the Japanese. Finally, it has to be recognized that Japan is operating under a very austere budget. The Japanese have been running a deficit budget.

600-649 While the private sector in Japan is in good shape, the government is not in good shape financially. Significantly in this year's budget, defense spending percentages have surpassed social welfare spending percentages. Speaks of other budget specifics. Foreign aid spending figures.

650-699 Continues speaking of Japanese foreign aid spending. MJM says Japan can, should, and will do more in the defense field. But they can't be forced into increasing their military expenditures. Speaks of some of the recent issues of contention between Japan and U.S. Sinking of Japanese ship. Use of the word alliance. Resignation of Ito(sp). Alleged cutting of fishing lines.

700-749 Reischauer interview. Opposition to the USS Midway coming into harbor. Speaks of report on the sinking of the Japanese ship.

750-799 Agriculture is the bright spot in the trade picture. Speaks of the specifics of Japanese purchases of U.S. agricultural products. Citrus.

800-849 Continues talking about citrus products trade. Beef trade and purchases by Japan.

850-899 MJM says American beef industry is not export conscious. Major portion of beef export was bought by Japanese.

900-947 Grain exports to Japan. And the trend is up for grain.

948 END OF SIDE A

SIDE B

000-049 MJM is talking about showing appreciation for the things Japan has done for the U.S. Reduction of auto exports to U.S. Responses to Iran during crisis. Afghanistan. Olympic boycott. Japan is voluntarily tied to the U.S. It recognizes the importance of the relationship between the two countries. MJM expects

the LDP to stay in power for some years to come.

- 050-099 Continues to talk about the LDP in recent years. Changes of Prime Minister. MJM claims that the large majority of Japanese think of themselves as middle-class. He says that translates into conservatism, which translates into a desire for continued stability. MJM says again that it is in this region where the U.S.'s future is.
- 100-149 Questioner is reminded of a quote about the Pacific being the ocean of the future. He talks about the meaning of this. Also the lack of interest on the part of Americans in understanding the Far East.
- 150-199 He finishes by asking for further information on the sinking of the Japanese ship by the USS George Washington. MJM tries to explain his understanding of the incident. Japanese expect apologies first and explanations later. Inquiry was conducted.
- 200-249 Continues talking about the incident. The U.S. was to blame and is taking responsibility for damage payments.
- 250-299 MJM adds that not only is there the bulk of the people in the world in this region, but also resources, markets and the fact that the U.S. is welcome in this part of the world. Questioner asks about relations between Japan and China. MJM says relations are excellent. Japan is China's most important trading partner. Contracts between China and Japan.
- 300-349 Government in China now wants to look to Japan and the West. MJM has feared a reconciliation between the Soviet Union and China. He sees no prospect in the immediate future for such a reconciliation. PRC's attempt to draw Taiwan into its orbit. Accommodation of Taiwan's current economic and defense structures.
- 350-399 MJM thinks that sometime down the line the Chinese on Taiwan and the Chinese on the mainland will get together. A Chinese solution to the problem. PRC has wanted the recognition that Taiwan is a part of China. Mentions Hong Kong lease situation. Hong Kong provides needed hard currency for PRC to carry out the Four Modernizations. Mentions Macao.
- 400-449 Gambling on Macao also funnels hard currency into PRC. Taiwan is a possibility for funnelling hard currency into PRC also. Questioner mentions that Pan-Pacific cooperation is a priority of the Former Members Organization.
- 450-499 She continues talking about this. MJM responds that this is encouraging and is happy about the spread of

the idea of the importance of the Pacific Basin concept. He would like to see the objectives reached by the end of the century.

500-549 MJM says the next century is going to be the century of the Pacific. He again repeats his contention of what this area holds. Questioner mentions the offering of a fellowship sponsored by the Japanese government to have an person come to Japan to study the psychiatric educational system.

550-586 MJM says the more than can be done to enhance the inter-dependence between the countries, the better off everyone will be. The future of the Pacific Basin depends on the U.S. and Japanese relationship.

587 END OF INTERVIEW