

AMERICA AND JAPAN — BUILDING AN ASIA-PACIFIC COMMUNITY

(September 1994 -- Speech In U.S.)

A YEAR AGO I ARRIVED IN TOKYO TO BEGIN MY DUTIES AS THE UNITED STATES AMBASSADOR.

I WAS HEARTENED TO HEAR OF THE MANY WHO SUPPORTED MY NOMINATION TO THIS OFFICE. A REPUBLICAN FRIEND OF MINE WROTE ME TO SAY THAT HAD HE KNOWN THAT PRESIDENT CLINTON WAS GOING TO SEND ME OUT OF THE COUNTRY, HE WOULD HAVE VOTED FOR HIM.

I QUICKLY LEARNED THAT MY NEW JOB HAD ANOTHER ADVANTAGE. WHEN WASHINGTON IS AWAKE, I AM ASLEEP. EVEN BETTER, WHEN I AM AWAKE, WASHINGTON IS ASLEEP! IT IS MY HOPE THAT TODAY, WHILE WE ARE ALL IN THE SAME TIME ZONE, WE CAN ALL REMAIN AWAKE TOGETHER.

IT IS REFRESHING TO START A NEW PUBLIC CAREER AT MY YOUNG AGE. I DID NOT ACCEPT THE JOB IN TOKYO TO GET AWAY FROM THE LONG MINNESOTA WINTERS OR BECAUSE I PREFERRED THE RING OF "MR. AMBASSADOR" TO "MR. VICE PRESIDENT." I AGREED TO SERVE AS OUR AMBASSADOR TO JAPAN BECAUSE I AM CONVINCED THAT OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH THIS GREAT COUNTRY, MORE THAN ANY OTHER OF OUR BILATERAL TIES, WILL SHAPE OUR NATION'S FUTURE AND THE FUTURE OF THE ASIA-PACIFIC REGION AND THE WORLD. HOW THE U.S. AND JAPAN WORK TOGETHER— OR FAIL TO WORK TOGETHER - WILL HAVE A GREAT IMPACT ON THE KIND OF WORLD ALL OF OUR GRANDCHILDREN WILL INHERIT.

MUCH HAS BEEN WRITTEN AND SAID ABOUT "THE PACIFIC CENTURY," AND THIS ADMINISTRATION HAS GIVEN UNPRECEDENTED ATTENTION TO THE ASIA- PACIFIC REGION, REFLECTING THE IMPORTANCE WE ATTACH TO OUR TRANS-PACIFIC CONNECTIONS. THE PRESIDENT'S FIRST OVERSEAS VISIT WAS TO THE ASIA-PACIFIC REGION -- JAPAN AND SOUTH KOREA. HE HOSTED THE FIRST APEC SUMMIT IN SEATTLE IN NOVEMBER, AN INITIATIVE THAT HAS GREATLY STIMULATED THE MOVEMENT TOWARD ECONOMIC COOPERATION AND INTEGRATION. THE PRESIDENT WILL VISIT JAKARTA IN NOVEMBER FOR THE SECOND APEC SUMMIT AND GO ON TO MANILA, SYMBOLIZING OUR CONTINUED ENGAGEMENT. STILL, I BELIEVE THAT MUCH MORE NEEDS TO BE DONE TO BRING HOME TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE THE STAKE

WE HAVE IN THE FUTURE OF EAST ASIA AND THE PACIFIC AND THEREFORE IN A SUCCESSFUL RELATIONSHIP WITH JAPAN. THIS IS THE MESSAGE I HOPE TO CONVEY TODAY.

FEW WOULD DISAGREE THAT ASIA-PACIFIC ECONOMIES WILL BE THE ENGINE OF GROWTH IN THE 21ST CENTURY. I BELIEVE THAT WITH THIS RISING ECONOMIC GROWTH WILL COME POLITICAL AND STRATEGIC INFLUENCE THAT WILL BE FELT THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

ALREADY, 40 PERCENT OF OUR TRADE IS WITH THE ASIA-PACIFIC REGION. ALMOST TWO AND A HALF MILLION AMERICAN JOBS ARE DIRECTLY RELATED TO OUR EXPORTS TO ASIA. THE WORLD'S SECOND LARGEST ECONOMY - JAPAN - AND THE WORLD'S FASTEST GROWING ECONOMIES - CHINA, SOUTH KOREA, THE ASEAN COUNTRIES - ARE IN EAST ASIA. BY THE YEAR 2000, IT IS ESTIMATED THAT TRADE AND INVESTMENT FLOWS ACROSS THE PACIFIC WILL BE DOUBLE THE TRANS-ATLANTIC VOLUME. IN THE YEARS AHEAD, THE REGION WILL HAVE A CRITICAL IMPACT ON AMERICA'S ECONOMIC GROWTH -- ON TRADE, JOBS AND OUR NATIONAL PROSPERITY.

LAST JULY, IN A SPEECH AT TOKYO'S WASEDA UNIVERSITY, PRESIDENT CLINTON LAID OUT HIS VISION OF A NEW PACIFIC COMMUNITY — BASED ON "SHARED STRENGTH, SHARED PROSPERITY AND A SHARED COMMITMENT TO DEMOCRATIC VALUES." THESE THREE PILLARS ARE MUTUALLY REINFORCING: SECURITY IS ESSENTIAL FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. ECONOMIC PROGRESS PROMOTES DEMOCRATIC CHANGE. AND PROSPEROUS DEMOCRACIES MAKE FOR PEACEFUL NEIGHBORS.

THE U.S. - JAPAN PARTNERSHIP IS THE BEDROCK OF THE NEW PACIFIC COMMUNITY. ONLY IF OUR TWO COUNTRIES WORK TOGETHER - STRATEGICALLY, ECONOMICALLY, AND ON TRANSNATIONAL ISSUES SUCH AS THE ENVIRONMENT AND AIDS - CAN THE PROMISE OF THIS DYNAMIC REGION BE FULFILLED. AND ONLY IF THE ASIA-PACIFIC COMMUNITY FLOURISHES CAN THE PROSPERITY AND SECURITY OF JAPAN AND AMERICA BE ASSURED.

DRAWING ON THE THEMES SET DOWN BY THE PRESIDENT A YEAR AGO JULY, I SEE THREE MAJOR CHALLENGES FACING THE REGION IN THIS DECADE. TO MEET SUCCESSFULLY EACH OF THESE CHALLENGES AND TO ADVANCE OUR ENDURING INTERESTS, THE U.S. MUST CONTINUE TO BE FULLY ENGAGED IN THE ASIA-PACIFIC REGION.

THE FIRST CHALLENGE FOR BUILDING A NEW PACIFIC COMMUNITY IS TO ENSURE REGIONAL STABILITY.

IN THIS CENTURY THE UNITED STATES HAS BEEN DRAWN INTO THREE CONFLICTS IN ASIA AND SACRIFICED TENS OF THOUSANDS OF AMERICAN LIVES TO RESTORE AND MAINTAIN THIS STABILITY. THANKS IN LARGE PART TO THIS AMERICAN SACRIFICE AND TO OUR CONTINUING MILITARY PRESENCE AND POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT, EAST ASIA TODAY IS FREE OF SIGNIFICANT MILITARY CONFLICTS. AND WITH SOME NOTABLE EXCEPTIONS, DEMOCRACY IS SPREADING, AND THE STANDARD OF LIVING IS RAPIDLY RISING.

THERE ARE SOME AMERICANS WHO ARGUE THAT THIS VERY SUCCESS MEANS THAT OUR WORK IS DONE. THEY SAY THAT WITH THE END OF THE COLD WAR, WE NEED TO DEVOTE OUR FULL ATTENTION TO AMERICA'S DOMESTIC AGENDA. THEY POINT TO THE PROSPERITY OF KEY COUNTRIES IN THE REGION AND SUGGEST THE TIME HAS COME FOR US TO TURN OVER THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR REGIONAL SECURITY TO OTHERS. THIS SENTIMENT IS UNDERSTANDABLE, BUT I BELIEVE IT IGNORES THE REALITIES OF THE REGION AND THE LESSONS OF HISTORY.

THE FACT IS THAT ONLY A CONTINUING AMERICAN MILITARY PRESENCE, CENTERED ON THE U.S.-JAPAN SECURITY TREATY AND SUPPLEMENTED BY OUR OTHER BILATERAL ALLIANCES, CAN MAINTAIN REGIONAL STABILITY FOR THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE. THE UNITED STATES IS ACCEPTED AS AN HONEST BROKER AND OUR MILITARY PRESENCE IS WELCOMED BY ALL THE MEMBERS OF THE ASIA-PACIFIC COMMUNITY, WITH THE POSSIBLE EXCEPTION OF NORTH KOREA. BECAUSE OF LINGERING SUSPICIONS BASED ON HISTORICAL ANIMOSITIES, NO OTHER COUNTRY CAN PLAY THIS ROLE.

MOREOVER, IN EAST ASIA THERE IS NO FRAMEWORK SUCH AS NATO OR THE CSCE IN EUROPE TO MANAGE INTRA-REGIONAL PROBLEMS. INDEED, EAST ASIA IS ONLY JUST BEGINNING TO DEVELOP A REGIONAL DIALOGUE ON SECURITY ISSUES. IN JULY, THE FIRST MINISTERIAL MEETING OF THE ASIAN REGIONAL FORUM (ARF) WAS HELD IN BANGKOK. THIS GROUP WILL NOW MEET ANNUALLY TO DISCUSS WAYS TO ENHANCE REGIONAL SECURITY. WE FULLY SUPPORT THIS DIALOGUE, AND WE BELIEVE OVER THE LONGER TERM THE ARF CAN MAKE A REAL CONTRIBUTION TO STABILITY IN EAST ASIA, HOWEVER, FOR THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE IT WILL BE THE U.S. PRESENCE THAT MAINTAINS THE STABILITY THAT WE HAVE SACRIFICED SO MUCH TO ACHIEVE AND IN WHICH WE HAVE SUCH AN ENDURING INTEREST.

WE MUST REMEMBER THAT EVEN WITH THE END OF THE COLD WAR AND WITH ALL THE PROGRESS THAT HAS BEEN MADE IN RESOLVING REGIONAL DISPUTES SUCH AS CAMBODIA, THERE ARE STILL THREATS TO STABILITY IN EAST ASIA. THE MOST VISIBLE REMINDER OF THIS

IS NORTH KOREA'S EFFORTS TO ACQUIRE NUCLEAR WEAPONS. ONCE AGAIN IT IS THE UNITED STATES WHICH IS TAKING THE LEAD IN WORKING WITH THE UNITED NATIONS, JAPAN, THE ROK, AND OTHER KEY COUNTRIES IN ADDRESSING THIS THREAT. THERE ARE ALSO COMPETING TERRITORIAL CLAIMS IN THE SOUTH CHINA SEA AND OTHER FRICTION POINTS THAT CANNOT BE IGNORED.

THE UNITED STATES MUST CONTINUE TO LEAD IN ENSURING REGIONAL STABILITY, BUT THERE IS THE NEED FOR OTHERS TO SHARE MORE OF THE RESPONSIBILITY. I AM HAPPY TO SAY THAT THIS IS STARTING TO HAPPEN. THE HEART OF OUR MILITARY PRESENCE IN EAST ASIA IS OUR BASES IN JAPAN AND SOUTH KOREA. WE HAVE ROUGHLY 47,000 AMERICAN SERVICEMEN AND WOMEN STATIONED IN JAPAN AND ALMOST 30,000 IN THE ROK.

UNDER AN AGREEMENT CONCLUDED FOUR YEARS AGO, THE GOVERNMENT OF JAPAN IS ASSUMING MORE THAN HALF THE COST - SOME \$4 BILLION OR 10% OF JAPAN'S DEFENSE BUDGET - ASSOCIATED WITH OUR BASES. THE REMAINING COST TO THE AMERICAN TAX PAYER - AGAIN ABOUT \$4 BILLION - REPRESENTS LESS THAN 2% OF THE TOTAL U.S. DEFENSE BUDGET. IT IS ALSO LESS THAN IT WOULD COST THE U.S. TO STATION THESE SAME FORCES AT HOME.

IN MY JUDGMENT, THIS IS A TREMENDOUS BARGAIN FOR THE AMERICAN TAX PAYER IN TERMS OF THE CONTRIBUTION IT MAKES TO OUR SECURITY, INFLUENCE, AND PROSPERITY. IT IS ALSO A TREMENDOUS BARGAIN FOR JAPAN. IN SUM THIS ARRANGEMENT SERVES THE INTERESTS OF THE UNITED STATES, JAPAN, THE REGION AND THE WORLD.

WE MUST PRESERVE AND STRENGTHEN OUR STRATEGIC INVESTMENT IN EAST ASIA BY MAINTAINING OUR ALLIANCES AND OUR MILITARY PRESENCE, BY HELPING TO BUILD A FRAMEWORK FOR REGIONAL SECURITY COOPERATION, AND BY CONTINUING TO DEVOTE THE TIME AND ATTENTION TO EAST ASIA THAT IT DESERVES.

THE SECOND CHALLENGE FOR THE PACIFIC COMMUNITY IS TO ADVANCE THE OPPORTUNITIES FOR PROSPERITY.

THE FREE FLOW OF TRADE AND COMMERCE AMONG NATIONS IS A CRITICAL ELEMENT IN IMPROVING REGIONAL AND GLOBAL PROSPERITY. MOVING TOWARD MORE OPEN MARKETS IS WHAT GATT IS ALL ABOUT. THAT'S WHAT NAFTA IS ALL ABOUT. AND

THAT'S WHAT APEC-- THE ASIA-PACIFIC ECONOMIC COOPERATION FORUM-- IS ALL ABOUT.

NOW THE MEMBERS OF APEC HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO SPUR REGIONAL AND GLOBAL GROWTH BY FURTHER TRADE AND INVESTMENT LIBERALIZATION. AS THE MAJOR ECONOMIC POWERS IN THE REGION, THE UNITED STATES AND JAPAN MUST TAKE THE LEAD IN SECURING THE PROSPERITY OF THE ASIA-PACIFIC COMMUNITY IN THE 21ST CENTURY.

THE U.S. NEEDS TO CONTINUE ITS ROLE AS A ENGINE OF GROWTH FOR THE REGION. WE MUST KEEP OUR MARKETS OPEN. WE SHOULD INCREASE THE FLOW OF AMERICAN INVESTMENT CAPITAL. WE NEED TO DO MORE TO SEEK MARKETS FOR OUR INNOVATIVE, HIGH-QUALITY, COMPETITIVELY-PRICED GOODS AND SERVICES. THE U.S. GOVERNMENT AND PRIVATE SECTOR ARE MAKING A NEW COMMITMENT TO WORK TOGETHER TO EXPAND EXPORTS AND INVESTMENTS IN THIS DYNAMIC MARKET TO ENSURE THAT AMERICAN FIRMS AND AMERICAN WORKERS SHARE FULLY IN THE BENEFITS OF ASIA-PACIFIC GROWTH.

JAPAN, FOR ITS PART WILL CONTINUE TO BE THE MAJOR SOURCE OF ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE AND DIRECT INVESTMENT AND THE MAJOR PROVIDER OF MANUFACTURED PRODUCTS. THESE ARE IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTIONS, BUT I BELIEVE THEY ARE NO LONGER SUFFICIENT: IF WE ARE TO TAKE FULL ADVANTAGE OF THE OPPORTUNITIES FOR REGIONAL GROWTH AND PROSPERITY, JAPAN WILL NEED TO OPEN ITS ECONOMY MORE COMPLETELY TO THE REGION AND THE WORLD.

IN THE POST- WORLD WAR II PERIOD, JAPAN HAS BEEN AMONG THE GREATEST BENEFICIARIES OF THE OPEN WORLD TRADING AND FINANCIAL SYSTEMS. IT HAS TAKEN FULL ADVANTAGE OF FREE ACCESS TO THE AMERICAN AND OTHER MARKETS TO EXPAND EXPORTS AND BUILD ITS ECONOMY INTO THE SECOND LARGEST IN THE WORLD.

BUT JAPAN HAS NOT FULLY RECIPROCATED IN OPENING ITS OWN MARKETS TO FOREIGN GOODS, SERVICES, AND INVESTMENT. TARIFFS ARE LOW ON AVERAGE, BUT A COMBINATION OF EXCESSIVE REGULATIONS AND INFORMAL BUSINESS PRACTICES IMPEDES IMPORTS. AS A RESULT, JAPAN ABSORBS FAR FEWER MANUFACTURED IMPORTS RELATIVE TO THE SIZE OF ITS ECONOMY THAN ANY OTHER INDUSTRIALIZED NATION. JAPAN ALSO TAKES IN VERY LITTLE OF THE WORLD'S FOREIGN DIRECT

INVESTMENT. WE KNOW THAT TRADE AND INVESTMENT ARE CLOSELY CONNECTED; AS A RESULT, THE LOW LEVEL OF INVESTMENT CONTRIBUTES TO THE LOW LEVEL OF IMPORTS.

FOR THE UNITED STATES, JAPAN'S LARGEST TRADING PARTNER, THESE MARKET ACCESS PROBLEMS HAVE A PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT IMPACT. BUT MORE BROADLY, IF THE ASIA-PACIFIC ECONOMIES ARE TO SUSTAIN THEIR GROWTH, JAPAN'S MARKETS FOR GOODS AND INVESTMENT MUST BE MORE ACCESSIBLE TO FOREIGN FIRMS. THE RAPIDLY EXPANDING ECONOMIES OF ASIA--COUNTRIES LIKE MALAYSIA, TAIWAN, INDONESIA, AND, OF COURSE, CHINA--NEED OPEN MARKETS IN WHICH TO SELL THEIR GOODS.

JAPAN FACES A SIMILAR CHALLENGE AT THE MACROECONOMIC LEVEL. OVER THE PAST DECADE, JAPAN HAS EXPERIENCED CHRONIC CURRENT ACCOUNT SURPLUSES. WHAT THE ASIA-PACIFIC REGION AND THE WORLD NEED NOW FROM JAPAN IS A SUSTAINED PERIOD OF DOMESTIC-DEMAND-LED GROWTH THAT WILL INCREASE IMPORTS AND BRING A SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTION IN JAPAN'S ENORMOUS GLOBAL CURRENT ACCOUNT SURPLUS THAT NOW STANDS AT MORE THAN \$130 BILLION. THESE SURPLUSES ARE A GLOBAL PROBLEM BECAUSE THEY HINDER THE EFFORTS OF OTHER COUNTRIES TO EXPAND THEIR ECONOMIES AND INCREASE EMPLOYMENT, THEREBY INVITING PRESSURES FOR PROTECTIONISM.

TO ADDRESS THESE ISSUES ON A BILATERAL BASIS, FIFTEEN MONTHS AGO, THE UNITED STATES AND JAPAN AGREED ON A "FRAMEWORK FOR A NEW ECONOMIC PARTNERSHIP." IN THIS "FRAMEWORK," OUR GOVERNMENT PROMISED TO REDUCE ITS FISCAL DEFICIT AND IMPROVE ITS INTERNATIONAL COMPETITIVENESS -- AND WE HAVE ALREADY MADE PROGRESS ON BOTH.

FOR ITS PART, THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT PROMISED TO IMPROVE MARKET ACCESS FOR COMPETITIVE GOODS AND SERVICES AND TO REDUCE ITS CHRONIC CURRENT-ACCOUNT SURPLUSES THROUGH DOMESTIC DEMAND-LED ECONOMIC GROWTH. WHILE WE HAVE REACHED A NUMBER OF IMPORTANT AGREEMENTS ON CONSTRUCTION, MOBILE PHONES, AND INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY RIGHTS; WE HAVE YET TO CONCLUDE AGREEMENTS IN THE PRIORITY AREAS OF THE FRAMEWORK: GOVERNMENT PROCUREMENT, INSURANCE, AND AUTO AND AUTO PARTS. AT THE SAME TIME, JAPAN'S GLOBAL SURPLUS HAS NOT DECLINED AS DOMESTIC STIMULATION EFFORTS HAVE LAGGED.



AS WE FACE DEADLINES UNDER OUR TRADE LAWS AT THE END OF THIS MONTH, WE HOPE THAT WE WILL MAKE PROGRESS ON THE FRAMEWORK. OUR COMPETITIVE FIRMS NEED EQUITABLE ACCESS TO JAPAN, AS DO THE FIRMS OF OTHER NATIONS. AND, AS MANY JAPANESE THEMSELVES ARE POINTING OUT, IT IS IN JAPAN'S OWN NATIONAL INTEREST TO EMBRACE MARKET-OPENING REFORMS. THEY WOULD STRENGTHEN ITS DOMESTIC ECONOMY AND IMPROVE LIVING STANDARDS BY EXPANDING CONSUMER CHOICE AND LOWERING THE HIGH PRICES THAT CURRENTLY PREVAIL IN JAPAN.

WE MUST REMEMBER THAT ENHANCING PROSPERITY DOES NOT SIMPLY MEAN ECONOMIC GROWTH. IT ALSO MEANS IMPROVING THE QUALITY OF LIFE THROUGH PRESERVING OUR ENVIRONMENT, IMPROVING THE HEALTH OF OUR CITIZENS, ADDRESSING THE POPULATION ISSUE, AND ADVANCING THE FRONTIERS OF SCIENCE. THE UNITED STATES AND JAPAN, UNDER THE OUR AGENDA FOR GLOBAL COOPERATION, ARE WORKING VIGOROUSLY ON ALL OF THESE ISSUES, BOTH BILATERALLY AND IN MULTILATERAL FORA, INCLUDING APEC. WITH THE U.S. AND JAPAN IN THE LEAD, THERE IS A TREMENDOUS OPPORTUNITY TO EXPAND REGIONAL COOPERATION ON THESE TRANSNATIONAL PROBLEMS.

THE THIRD CHALLENGE FOR BUILDING A NEW PACIFIC COMMUNITY IS TO EXPAND THE BOUNDARIES OF FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY.

THESE ARE NOT ONLY IMPORTANT VALUES IN THEIR OWN RIGHT. THEY ARE ALSO IMPORTANT TO PEACE AND ECONOMIC PROGRESS — DEMOCRATIC NATIONS TEND TO SETTLE THEIR DISAGREEMENTS WITHOUT RESORT TO WAR AND FREE PEOPLE CONTRIBUTE MORE TO THE PRODUCTIVITY AND CREATIVITY OF THEIR SOCIETIES AND OF THE WORLD AS A WHOLE.

WHILE SOME SUGGEST THAT THERE IS AN "ASIAN" VERSION OF HUMAN RIGHTS, NEITHER THE U.S. NOR JAPAN SUBSCRIBE TO THIS THESIS. WE BOTH ARE SIGNATORIES TO THE VIENNA DECLARATION OF 1993, WHICH REJECTS THE NOTION THAT HUMAN RIGHTS ARE RELATIVE AND WHICH REAFFIRMS THE UNIVERSAL NATURE OF THESE RIGHTS. WE BOTH WORK IN OUR OWN WAYS TO ADVANCE DEMOCRACY AND INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM IN EAST ASIA AND THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

NO ONE EXPECTS DEMOCRACY IN ASIAN COUNTRIES TO LOOK EXACTLY LIKE DEMOCRACY IN THE UNITED STATES, OR BRITAIN, OR FRANCE. WE NEED TO BE RESPECTFUL OF THE DIFFERENT HISTORIES, POLITICAL SYSTEMS AND CULTURES IN ASIA. OUR MESSAGE IS NOT THAT EVERYONE MUST COPY THE AMERICAN SYSTEM. INDEED, WE HAVE SOMETHING TO LEARN

FROM THE EAST ASIAN EMPHASIS ON HARMONY AND SOCIETAL INTERESTS. BUT WE HAVE AN OBLIGATION TO SPEAK OUT WHEN BASIC HUMAN VALUES ARE INVOLVED. TYING OUR HUMAN RIGHTS POLICIES TO MOST FAVORED NATION TRADE STATUS PROVED TO BE COUNTERPRODUCTIVE WITH CHINA. BUT I HOPE WE DO NOT "OVERLEARN" THE LESSON FROM THAT EXPERIENCE.

IT CANNOT BE SAID THAT VIGOROUS SUPPORT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IS NAIVE AND INEFFECTIVE. ASK NELSON MANDELA AND THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA . . . ASK THE CITIZENS OF THE PHILIPPINES . . . ASK THE PEOPLE OF RUSSIA AND EASTERN EUROPE . . . ASK THE ARGENTINEANS AND THE CHILEANS. ASK THEM — AND MILLIONS OF OTHERS YEARNING FOR FREEDOM — IF THEY WANT AMERICA TO BE HEARD ON BEHALF OF HUMAN LIBERTY. WE MUST NOT MUFFLE THIS POWERFUL AMERICAN MESSAGE IN ASIA OR ANYWHERE ELSE.

NO COUNTRY SPEAKS WITH GREATER CREDIBILITY AND AUTHORITY ON HUMAN RIGHTS THAN WE DO. THE STRENGTH OF AMERICAN IDEALS AND VALUES AND THE CREATIVITY AND VIBRANCY OF OUR SOCIETY CONTINUES TO BE A BEACON TO THE PEOPLE OF EAST ASIA AND TO PEOPLE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. HOWEVER, TO PRESERVE OUR MORAL AUTHORITY, A PRICELESS ASSET, WE MUST DO A BETTER JOB OF PUTTING OUR OWN SOCIETY IN ORDER.

CRIMINAL VIOLENCE IS A TERRIBLE AND URGENT DOMESTIC ISSUE FOR AMERICANS. BUT, AFTER LIVING ABROAD FOR A YEAR, I CAN SEE THAT IT IS ALSO BECOMING AN IMPORTANT INTERNATIONAL ISSUE FOR US. THE MURDER LAST SPRING OF TWO JAPANESE EXCHANGE STUDENTS IN CALIFORNIA, FOLLOWING THE SHOOTING DEATH OF ANOTHER JAPANESE STUDENT IN 1992 IN LOUISIANA, HAS SEVERELY DAMAGED THE IMAGE OF AMERICA IN JAPAN. IN MY TALKS WITH YOUNG JAPANESE WHO OTHERWISE FIND THE AMERICAN EXAMPLE APPEALING, I HEAR THEM OFTEN EXPRESS FEAR ABOUT COMING HERE AND DOUBTS ABOUT A NATION THAT PERMITS VIOLENCE ON A SCALE UNKNOWN IN THEIR OWN COUNTRY.

I AM OLD ENOUGH TO REMEMBER WHEN OUR NATION'S MORAL AUTHORITY WAS UNDERMINED BY THE FAILURE TO ACCORD EQUAL TREATMENT TO ALL OF OUR CITIZENS BASED ON RACE. THE ADOPTION OF CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION VASTLY ENHANCED OUR POTENTIAL FOR LEADERSHIP THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. TODAY, OUR ABILITY TO LEAD IS SERIOUSLY HAMPERED BY THE WIDELY-HELD PERCEPTION THAT AMERICA IS UNSAFE AND SOMEHOW FALLING APART AS A SOCIETY. IT IS A GROWING IMPEDIMENT TO OUR LEADERSHIP IN THE WORLD.



THE UNITED STATES MUST BE STRONG AT HOME IN ORDER TO BE SECURE ABROAD. OUR FOREIGN POLICY IN ASIA BEGINS RIGHT HERE IN OUR OWN COMMUNITIES — BY STRENGTHENING OUR FAMILIES, EDUCATING OUR CHILDREN, REDUCING OUR BUDGET DEFICIT AND IMPROVING THE PRODUCTIVITY OF OUR WORKERS AND INDUSTRIES.

I HOPE MY MESSAGE HAS BEEN CLEAR. AMERICA'S FUTURE IS INEXTRICABLY TIED TO ASIA. TO SECURE THIS FUTURE WE MUST CONTINUE TO BE FULLY ENGAGED IN THE REGION - MILITARILY, ECONOMICALLY, POLITICALLY, AND MORALLY. WE MUST WORK CLOSELY WITH ALL NATIONS OF THE REGION BUT PARTICULARLY WITH JAPAN, OUR GREAT ALLY. ONLY BY FOLLOWING THIS COURSE CAN WE BUILD FOR OUR GRANDCHILDREN A NEW PACIFIC COMMUNITY THAT IS PROSPEROUS AND PEACEFUL AND REFLECTS OUR VALUES.

THANK YOU.



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