

SPEECH OF AMBASSADOR MONDALE  
TO THE KEIZAI DOYUKAI  
(As Prepared For Delivery, March 10, 1995)

Mr. Hayami, thank you so much for that kind introduction. It is a pleasure to be here at Keizai Doyukai's 8th National Seminar and to be speaking before such an impressive group. I especially want to express my thanks for the work of the Keizai Doyukai and of Mr. Hayami personally.

Today is a very important day in the history of Tokyo and Japan for, as you know, it was on the night of March 9 through the dawn hours of March 10, fifty years ago, that the citizens of this city suffered so greatly in the wartime firebombing of Tokyo. The Tokyo municipal government will be hosting an event commemorating the firebombing this afternoon and I appreciate your understanding in accommodating your schedule today to allow me to participate in the Tokyo Peace Day event and to express our sorrow over that great human tragedy.

That event should remind us how far we have come in the last fifty years. The remarkable alliance that we share today is one of the great success stories of the 20th century, or for that matter, of any century. When World War II came to a close, our two nations, with great courage, chose to turn away from our strife-torn past and instead, look to the future to build a better world. And this is exactly what we have done. Today, the U.S. and Japan share in one of the most productive partnerships in the history of humankind.

There are those who say that the end of the Cold War means that our two nations no longer need to maintain a strong security relationship, that we are drifting apart on trade, and that somehow our stake in working together around the world is dwindling.

I do not believe that any of these concerns are true or can be true. So today I want to address these concerns from an American

perspective and talk to you about America's security interest in the region. My country has a vital stake in the Asia-Pacific region and a tremendous shared interest with Japan in its stability. America's active presence in this region and Japan's cooperation in providing stability are essential to Asian-Pacific peace and prosperity now and for the foreseeable future.

We live in one of those rare periods in history when it is possible to know that we are at an important juncture even without the benefit of hindsight. We have closed the book on one international order, the cold war, and have opened another, the chapters of which we can read only dimly. Many unknowns remain. We have witnessed a transformation of unprecedented proportions, marked by the collapse of the Soviet Union, an uncertain Russia, a stronger China, a continued stand-off on the Korean Peninsula, and a much more politically integrated and economically developing Southeast Asia. How the remaining Communist powers on the continent -- China, North Korea, and Vietnam -- handle political succession problems will provide an important counterpoint. Each of these changes would be momentous in itself, together they will form the basis of a new East Asian international order.

All of these changes are unfolding as the East Asian region grows immensely in importance to American peace and prosperity. American economic interdependence with the region is one of the singular facts of our age. The Pacific Rim is America's largest trading partner. Over forty percent of our trade is with this region, accounting for 2.8 million American jobs. How we shape our economic relations with the region is vitally important to our economic health as a nation.

The importance to the U.S. of stability in this region is beyond question. In this century we have 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.

Over the last two weeks, my government has issued two documents outlining our security strategy for the East Asia-Pacific region. Both reports underscore the central role that Japan plays in our Asian-Pacific strategy and they should make it apparent to everyone that the U.S. is in this region to stay.

As the East Asia Strategy Report makes clear, the best guarantees of regional peace, prosperity and stability throughout this region is the spread of democracy, open markets, and a sound security structure. Security and trade are not an "either-or" proposition. Enhancing our security depends not only on maintaining a strong defense capability and strengthening U.S. Japan defense cooperation, but also on expanding trade, spurring global economic growth, and promoting democracy abroad.

The U.S. - Japan security partnership endures because it is in both our interests. As Joe Nye recently said, "security is like oxygen; you don't tend to notice it until you begin to lose it." We both have a vital stake in continued regional peace and stability, open trade, access to raw materials, and secure sea lines of communication. We both wish to see a stable, democratic, and reforming Russia participate more fully in this region. We both want to see a China that can overcome the complications of the succession, continue economic reform, and move toward democracy while engaging constructively in the region and the world. We both want a Korean Peninsula free from the threat of North Korean nuclear proliferation and conventional war. And we both look forward to the integration of the nations of Indochina into international society.

Nearly all countries of this region welcome us as a force for peace and stability. They understand that the presence of U.S. forces

helps increase predictability and reduces the chances of destabilizing conflicts or arms races. Nowhere is this more apparent than on the Korean Peninsula, where despite our recent nuclear agreement with Pyongyang we continue to face a formidable conventional threat across the DMZ.

While the political dynamics in this region that give meaning to our mutual security alliance are changing, the alliance itself remains as critical to the U.S. and Japan as ever. It provides the basis for our bilateral security; for maintaining regional stability; and for a vibrant worldwide political partnership. For this reason, our latest strategy review reaffirms that the U.S.-Japan Mutual Security Treaty will remain the linchpin of America's security strategy in Asia.

But the vitality of our partnership depends on our capacity to adapt to a changing world. We are now in the midst of this process of adaptation across the broad range of our partnership -- economic, strategic, and diplomatic. No one should expect this to be easy, but I believe that we are headed in the right direction and that we are succeeding.

On the strategic front, my government firmly supports efforts to expand multilateral consultations on security issues, while continuing to strengthen our bilateral partnership with Japan and with others. This is a significant new element of America's Asian security policy. Entering into regional security dialogues in Asia can supplement our alliances and forward military presence, without supplanting them.

The U.S. and Japan have cooperated closely in the establishment of the ASEAN Regional Forum, the first regional security structure in the Asia-Pacific that aims to manage intra-regional problems. We believe the ARF can play a useful role in easing tensions in the region, in curbing arms races, and in building confidence.

We also support the creation of a separate sub-regional security dialogue for Northeast Asia. This dialogue, of course, would be developed in close consultation with our allies. While this multilateral consultation is still at a non-governmental level, we believe that it holds promise.

To strengthen our bilateral security alliance, we are examining new areas for cooperation. We have begun a bilateral feasibility study on theater missile defense. And we are working on greater cooperation in the development and production of military systems and in the exchange of military and dual use technologies. Enhanced cooperation in this area will lead to a more efficient use of scarce resources and will increase the interoperability of our forces.

We are also aware that the training and operational activities of U.S. forces here is inconvenient at times to those who live near our bases. This is particularly so with Okinawa, where most of our forces are located, and we are working to consolidate and realign some of our existing facilities there, consistent with the need to maintain readiness. But we need the continued support of the Japanese government, the prefectural government of Okinawa, and the local community there in order to make these adjustments.

Our world-wide political partnership is also growing, and the U.S. -Japan security alliance provides the underpinning for this partnership. Japan and the U.S. share an interest in the spread of democratic institutions, flourishing international trade, and global peace and stability. We strongly support Japan's quest for permanent membership in the U.N. Security Council and we welcome Japan's growing international role.

This brings up another point that I would like to make today. I know that there is a lot of talk in the press these days on whether the U.S. is "bypassing" Japan -- I think they call it "Japan passing." I believe it is high time that we put this speculation to rest. No one

who understands the depth of U.S.- Japan cooperation, across the board, can consider this seriously.

Politically, we count on this partnership to project our common interests around the world. Economically, no other country, or group of countries, comes close to what the Japanese market means for American business, now and for decades to come. 70 cents out of every dollar of U.S. trade in Asia is with Japan. In terms of security, there could be no stronger affirmation of the vitality of this alliance than that set out in the East Asia Strategy Report. The American public certainly has no doubt about the importance of the U.S.-Japan relationship. A poll recently released by the prestigious Chicago Council on Foreign Relations showed that 85 percent of Americans rank Japan as our number one vital interest.

Fifty years ago, our nations closed the saddest chapter in our history, and opened what was to become the most remarkable, prosperous partnerships in modern times. Today, we are partners in defending the peace and security of the region; we are partners in stimulating global growth; we are partners in supporting democracy and respect for human rights around the world; we are partners in stemming the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction; we are partners in preserving the global environment; we are partners in improving the health of our citizens; and we are partners in advancing the frontiers of science. There is hardly an issue in the world on which our two countries do not cooperate. Multi-laterally, we are on the same side of the table at the United Nations, the G-7, and at APEC. Cooperation with Japan is at the core of America's political approach toward Asia and our coordination is in fact intensifying in the face of new uncertainties.

In this 50th anniversary since the end of World War II, I want us to commemorate the past, but also to recognize the remarkable nature of this alliance and the great promise for the future. Fifty years ago, after a bitter and horrible war, our brave leaders and citizens had the vision to join together to build a stronger U.S. -

Japan partnership and to secure a lasting peace. This vision is as relevant to us today as it was then. Let us make this the lesson of that horrible war, and let us work together, once again, guided by a common vision of partnership and peace for generations to come.

Thank you.





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