

SPEECH OF AMBASSADOR MONDALE TO
THE INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL POLICY STUDIES

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(As prepared for delivery)

Thank you, Mr. Okawara, for that kind introduction and for inviting me to speak today before this distinguished audience.

I have been asked to talk about what the future may hold for U.S.-Japan relations. This is a good question and an important one which I will try to answer today. But I want to warn you that my years in public office have taught me how foolish it is to make predictions. I have a very poor track record on predictions -- the last time I made one was when I ran for President in 1984 and I was wrong by nearly 17 million votes.

When it comes to the U.S.-Japan relationship, there seems to be a tendency to predict the worst. Books predicting a coming crisis between our two countries sell far better on both sides of the Pacific than do stories extolling the virtues of our very productive partnership. I believe that this pessimism is an unfortunate legacy of the darkest pages in our history. I hope that this fiftieth anniversary year will mark a turning point in our relationship, where we can put this legacy of fear to rest and instead move forward with renewed confidence based upon our half century of friendship and peace.

The truth is that since the close of World War Two, the U.S.-Japan partnership has succeeded beyond any of our wildest expectations. Who, at the close of the Pacific War, would have predicted the remarkable peace and prosperity that now characterizes our partnership and this whole region? Who would have predicted that together, our two economies would account for 42 percent of the world GDP? Who would have predicted that our security alliance would have brought about such an unprecedented era of stability to this notoriously unstable region.

We succeeded in moving from confrontation to cooperation not simply by wishing for peace or hoping for friendship, but by a mixture of hard work, vision, and courageous decision making on the part of the leaders and citizens of both our nations. I believe that these are the same qualities that we will need to draw on today to ensure a continuation well into the future of this remarkably successful alliance.

The end of the cold war has given rise to a new political dynamic in the region and the world that is rich with new opportunities, but also fraught with uncertainty. The vitality of the U.S.-Japan partnership will depend on our capacity to adapt our alliance 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 by following this path the people of America and Japan will be assured of a bright future indeed.

Changing Political Dynamics in the Region

No one can doubt that we owe the last fifty years of peace and stability in this region to the remarkable security alliance that the U.S. and Japan share. As Joe Nye has said, "security is like oxygen; you don't tend to notice it until you begin to lose it." While 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, I do not believe that this is true or can be true.

If anything, the end of the cold war has increased our shared interest in working together -- bilaterally, regionally, and globally. New opportunities for U.S.-Japan cooperation have opened up: in expanding democracy and the respect for human rights; in raising the quality of life by preserving our environment; in improving the health of our citizens and addressing over-population; and in

advancing the frontiers of science. At the same time, the collapse of the Soviet threat has given rise to a number of unknowns such as the North Korea nuclear threat; an uncertain Russia; and a stronger China.

My government, like yours, is concerned about the potential danger to the region of North Korea's excessive militarism. North Korea's conventional military build up, its exports of missile technology, and its nuclear capability all act to destabilize the region. In terms of the North Korean nuclear threat, the U.S., Japan, and the Republic of Korea have been working together very hard to arrive at a diplomatic solution to this problem. The conclusion, last October, of the Agreed Framework is a hopeful sign and we believe that, if fully implemented, this agreement will significantly reduce the threat North Korea poses to this region.

China's impressive economic growth coupled with her position as a leading regional military power also makes her an important factor in assessing the potential for continuing peace and stability in the Asian-Pacific region. The U.S. is committed to engagement with China, not containment. We are now in the midst of a military dialogue with China which we hope will lead to greater transparency in China's defense programs, strategy, and doctrine.

Russia's emergence out of the collapse of the Soviet Union is still too recent to allow for predictions. The U.S. - Russia relationship is complex and multi-faceted, with areas of cooperation and disagreement. That said, my government is well aware of the stake that this region and the world have in seeing that the U.S.-Russian relationship remains a constructive one. By maintaining a frank and open dialogue with Russia, by working together on arms control and nuclear non-proliferation, and by continuing our support of Russian economic reform, my government is hopeful that Russia will play an increasingly positive role in world affairs. On this, as in so many areas, we are working closely and fruitfully with Japan.

A Reinvigorated Security Alliance

So while the political dynamics in this region that give meaning to our mutual security alliance are changing, the U.S. and Japan agree that the U.S.-Japan security alliance remains as critical to us as ever.

We recently reaffirmed this point in a Department of Defense report outlining America's security strategy in the East Asia-Pacific region. The East Asia Security Report makes clear Japan's central role in America's Asian-Pacific strategy, and that the U.S. is in this region to stay.

But as I said earlier, the U.S.-Japan partnership also must adapt itself to a changing world, or we will miss opportunities for strengthening regional peace and prosperity.

Multilateral fora, for example, are likely to play a growing role in dealing with common Asian-Pacific concerns. We have seen APEC develop over the past six years from its start as a loose, very informal gathering of regional ministers to become a key forum for shaping the Asia-Pacific community. At last fall's APEC meeting in Jakarta, the nations of this region reached a milestone -- committing to fully open trade by the year 2020. I doubt that we could have progressed this far, this quickly without APEC. Japan's chairmanship of APEC this year will be a tremendous opportunity for your government to lend greater definition to APEC by setting forth a blueprint for the future.

The end of the cold war also opens up new possibilities for regional security. My government believes we should encourage institutions like the ASEAN regional forum and sub-regional North East Asian security dialogues. This is a significant new element of America's Asian security policy. We believe that regional security dialogues in Asia can supplement our alliances and forward military presence, without supplanting them. And they can play a useful role

in easing tensions in the region, in curbing arms races, and in building confidence. So while the U.S.-Japan mutual security treaty will remain the cornerstone of America's security strategy in Asia, the U.S. also firmly supports broadening multilateral security consultations through appropriate fora.

In terms of our bilateral security alliance, we are examining new opportunities for cooperation in such areas as theater missile defense, in the development and production of military systems, and in the exchange of military and dual use technologies. Japan's generous Host Nation Support, amounting to about 5 billion dollars this fiscal year, defrays the cost of stationing U.S. forces here and reflects Japan's deep commitment to regional peace and stability. For our part, we are working to make the U.S. base presence here less burdensome to local communities, particularly on Okinawa, where many of our bases are located.

Japan's international role is growing, as is our world-wide political partnership. We strongly support Japan's quest for permanent membership in the U.N. Security Council.

Japan and the U.S. share an interest in the spread of democratic institutions, flourishing international trade, and in global peace and stability. Together, we are committed to putting a halt to the spread of weapons of mass destruction. We both support an unlimited extension of the nuclear nonproliferation treaty and the control of chemical and biological weapons. Incidentally, I note that last week the Lower House of the Diet approved the Chemical Weapons Convention. This is a welcome step.

Prosperity and Stability are Intertwined

Often in Japan I find that discussions of the U.S.-Japan security relationship and of our economic relationship are cast in "either - or" terms. But nothing could be further from the truth. Security and prosperity are deeply intertwined: security is essential

for economic development; economic progress promotes democratic change; and prosperous democracies make for peaceful neighbors. As the East Asia Strategy report sets forth so clearly, enhancing America's 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.

Both the U.S. and Japan are agreed on this interplay between prosperity and stability, and on the need to maintain a secure regional environment to allow for continued Asian Pacific economic growth.

The shifting political dynamics brought on by the end of the cold war come at a time when the east Asia region is growing immensely in importance to global peace and prosperity. Global economic interdependence is one of the singular facts of our age and we all have a stake in the continued prosperity of this region. America's active presence in this region and Japan's cooperation in providing stability are essential to maintaining Asian-Pacific peace and prosperity.

The U.S. - Japan security partnership endures because it is in both our interests. We each 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.

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. 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. This year, half a century since the end of the Pacific War, we commemorate the past. But let us also work together, once again, guided by a common vision of partnership and peace, for generations to come.



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