

Acceptance Remarks Harriman Democracy Award

I want to thank Paul Kirk for his superb leadership of NDI during these past three years. Paul is a great friend of democracy — both in America and around the world.

As many of you will remember (or, better yet, not remember), I was Ronald Reagan's opponent in the 1984 election. I had wanted to run for President in the worst way — and, as it turned out, I did. (I lost every state except Washington, DC, and my home state of Minnesota.) After that catastrophe, it was Paul who led the rebuilding of the Democratic Party. Thanks to his hard work — and that of the late Ron Brown — today we have a Democrat back in the White House.

I also want to recognize the gifted leadership of Ken Wollack, NDI's president for the past three years. Ken brings to this job a boundless energy and dedication to the cause of democracy. On a tiny budget, he is somehow able to maintain a far-flung empire of democratic programs throughout the world. It's remarkable how much he and the NDI staff can accomplish with so little money. But make no mistake: They need more! (There will be a collection at the end of this sermon.)

I am deeply honored to join Aung San Suu Kyi [Awng - Sahn - Soo - Chee] as a recipient of this year's Harriman Award from NDI. Averell Harriman was one of our nation's greatest public servants — including service as U.S. Ambassador to Moscow during the critical years of World War II, as National Security Adviser to President Truman, and as Governor of New York State. He was both a businessman and a statesman — a member of that distinguished group known as the “wise men,” who

did so much to define America's foreign policy and world leadership in the 20th century.

I probably should explain that, although Averell Harriman was heir to one of the wealthiest fortunes in America, he was also known to be, personally, a rather frugal man. He would no doubt be proud of NDI's own frugality and efficiency. (By the way, Ken, how much do I owe you for the lunch?)

I am especially delighted this afternoon to welcome our many international visitors to the Democratic Convention. The International Visitors Program is one of NDI's special opportunities for democratic activists and leaders. It offers a chance for democrats (small "d") from across the globe to come together — not just to see how we do things here in America, but also to exchange ideas and compare experiences among themselves . . . to gain inspiration and strength from

knowing that democracy is indeed a worldwide movement.

It is amazing to consider what has happened during the past decade: The world has witnessed a truly historic turn to freedom and democracy. The collapse of the Iron Curtain and the disappearance of the Soviet Union have been crucial to this monumental change, but they are not the only factor. Today, the world includes more democracies than ever before in human history.

NDI may not be responsible for all these new democracies. But NDI certainly deserves credit for lending a helping hand — support which often means the difference between democratic success and failure.

I was honored to chair NDI's Board from 1986 to 1993, until President Clinton asked me to serve as our Ambassador to Japan. NDI has a truly special mission in American foreign policy. It is based on an understanding that building

democracy is hard work — and a conviction that democratic nations have a responsibility to help others in building democracy.

Whether monitoring elections ... or strengthening parliaments ... or training members of civic organizations and political parties ... or improving civil-military relations ... or building democratic institutions at the local government level — NDI is there to help.

NDI's reach literally extends from "A to Z" — from Albania to Zambia. In little more than a dozen years of existence, NDI has conducted democratic programs in more than 70 countries. Here are just a few examples of NDI's work around the globe:

- In Latin America, NDI has brought together military and political leaders in Nicaragua to promote dialogue and establish institutions and practices to enhance**

civilian oversight of armed forces.

- In Africa, NDI teamed with “Project Vote” to conduct a three-year project to educate millions of South Africa’s first-time voters about democratic elections.

- In Central and Eastern Europe, NDI has worked with new governments in Hungary and Poland to transform Communist Potemkin parliaments into real functioning democratic bodies.

- In the former Soviet Union, NDI has been working to strengthen the capabilities of Russia's democratic political parties and to develop their regional structures.

- And in Asia, NDI has been supporting Cambodia's democratic transition since 1993 with a wide array of programs. NDI is now assisting civic organizations and government officials with preparations for the first Cambodian-run elections, scheduled next year.

Asia has been my home for the past three years. There, I have had a chance to observe the challenge of democracy in bold relief.

On the one hand, Asia is home to Japan, a stable and prosperous democracy. It is likewise home to South Korea and Taiwan, which recently held their first free elections.

On the other hand, Asia is where we can find some of the most brutal,

repressive regimes in the world — notably North Korea and Burma. In Asia, too, we can hear many of the familiar arguments against democracy. For example:

- that democracy is somehow incompatible with economic growth;**
- that democracy is alien to the “Asian” way of thinking; and**
- that democracy is simply a form of cultural imperialism imposed by**

the United States.

I get sick of hearing these cliches. They are the tired, self-serving excuses of dictators and autocrats threatened by democratic power. The truth of democracy is exactly the opposite of what they say. For example:

- It is now very clearly demonstrated that democratic government and economic progress go hand in hand. (No country in the**

world enjoys long-term economic prosperity without allowing its citizens the freedom to participate fully in society. Consider the fate of Burma: Fifty years ago, it was the wealthiest nation in South Asia. Today, as a result of political repression, it is ranked by the United Nations as one of the ten least-developed economies on earth.)

- As for the alleged “Asian” way of thinking, the people of Japan, South Korea and Taiwan can tell us**

for themselves if democracy is alien to them. (By the way, I can remember not too long ago when it was supposedly “well known” that Catholic countries — like Spain and Latin American nations — could never be democracies.)

- Finally, there is no better example of the homegrown nature of democracy than the figure of Aung San Suu Kyi [Awng - Sahn - Soo - Chee]. Six years of house arrest did not defeat her hope for democracy.

With her personal courage and sacrifice, she symbolizes the genuine democratic aspirations of the Burmese people.

Unlike dictatorship, democracy cannot be imposed from the outside. It must come from within — within countries, within people's hearts. Time and again, we see that the most poignant appeals for democracy — in word and deed — come from the people seeking to realize their own political freedom.

Burma is ruled today by a group with an ominous name that George Orwell would have appreciated — the “State Law and Order Restoration Council,” known as “SLORC” [pronounced with a slurping, swallowing sound]. SLORC may have Burma by the throat, but they cannot silence the voices of hope among the Burmese people.

In the face of violence, in the face of breathtaking cynicism, Aung San Suu Kyi has been a beacon to her

people and to the whole world. In honoring her today, we honor the dream of a free and prosperous Burma — and let us also honor and remember the hundreds of Burmese people who remain imprisoned because they share this dream.

There is, of course, no one “correct” way to do democracy. We in the United States can lend support, offer advice, provide learning opportunities. But we do not pretend to have a democratic

**working staff ... to Aung San Suu Kyi
and the people of Burma ... and to
each of you who is working to build
democracy in your own nation, I say:
Keep up the good work!**

**Finally, I urge all of you to enjoy
this week's Convention. Democracy
is serious business, as you well
know. It should also be fun. We
don't call it the Democratic "Party"
for no reason!**

Thank you for your kindness.



AMBASSADOR OF
THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
TOKYO

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Faxed
ACCJ

To the ACCJ Membership:

America is a nation of individuals. We come from diverse backgrounds, pursue our goals in individual ways, and share our values through various means of expression. But, however rich in our diversity, we are individuals with a collective purpose centering around our Constitution's guarantee of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Our commitment to that common purpose makes us strong.

I have been privileged throughout my career to share the responsibilities of public office in many state and federal capacities. However, no position has been more meaningful to me than that of citizen. We are a democracy in which citizens, making decisions and taking actions one by one, shape the fate of a great nation.

Many Americans pursue their personal, professional, and civic goals outside the boundaries of our great nation, as is the case with the large American community here in Japan. You have seen that in an interconnected community of nations the strength of America is protected and enhanced by our success around the world. Working with this community, my respect for the strength of America has grown during my tenure in Tokyo, as I have seen individuals make great strides to further the interests of our partnership with Japan. The individual efforts are tremendous, the collective result truly phenomenal.

You, the members of the American Chamber of Commerce in Japan, are indeed at the forefront of America's world-class strength. They call you expatriates, which I often feel should be expanded to mean "exceptional patriots." So it is with great pride that I send my greetings to you on the 220th commemoration of our nation's birth. Happy Independence Day.

Sincerely,

Walter F. Mondale

AMERICA AND JAPAN - BUILDING AN ASIA-PACIFIC COMMUNITY

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. 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 IN 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 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, ASIA TODAY IS FREE OF SIGNIFICANT MILITARY CONFLICTS, 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 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 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 ASIAN REGIONAL FORUM CAN MAKE A REAL CONTRIBUTION TO STABILITY IN EAST ASIA. HOWEVER, IT WILL BE YEARS BEFORE A COMPREHENSIVE REGIONAL SECURITY FRAMEWORK IS DEVELOPED. IN THE INTERIM, 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 HAS BEEN THE UNITED STATES WHICH HAS TAKEN 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 THE ROUGHLY 47000 AMERICAN SERVICEMEN AND WOMEN STATIONED THERE. WITHOUT THESE BASES, WE COULD NOT MAINTAIN THE FORWARD DEPLOYED CARRIER BATTLE GROUP AND THE AIR FORCE, MARINE, AND ARMY UNITS NECESSARY TO MEET OUR COMMITMENTS.

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.

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. WILL CONTINUE ITS ROLE AS THE ENGINE OF GROWTH FOR THE REGION. WE WILL KEEP OUR MARKETS OPEN. WE WILL PROVIDE INVESTMENT CAPITAL. WE WILL EXPORT INNOVATIVE, HIGH-QUALITY, COMPETITIVELY-PRICED GOODS AND SERVICES TO IMPROVE THE LIVES OF THE PEOPLE OF THE REGION. THE U.S. GOVERNMENT AND PRIVATE SECTOR ARE WORKING TOGETHER TO EXPAND EXPORTS AND INVESTMENTS IN THIS DYNAMIC MARKET.

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 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 AUTOPARTS. 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 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 ENGAGE 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.



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