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FOR THE PRESIDENT AND THE SECRETARY FROM AMBASSADOR
MANSFIELD

DEPT ALSO PASS WHITE HOUSE FOR RICHARD ALLEN

EO 12065: RDS-3 1/26/01 (MANSFIELD, M.) OR-M
TAGS: PEPR, JA, US
SUBJECT: (U) US POLICY TOWARD JAPAN

1. (S) ENTIRE TEXT.

2. DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

- FIRST, LET ME EXTEND MY WARMEST CONGRATULATIONS
ON YOUR INAUGURATION AND ASSUMPTION OF THE AWESOME
RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE TOUGHEST JOB IN THE WORLD. I
ALSO WISH TO EXPRESS AGAIN TO YOU AND TO SECRETARY
HAIG MY GRATITUDE FOR THE HONOR YOU HAVE DONE ME IN
ASKING ME TO CONTINUE AS YOUR REPRESENTATIVE IN JAPAN.
I HAVE MADE NO SECRET OF MY BELIEF THAT OUR ALLIANCE
AND PARTNERSHIP WITH JAPAN IS THE MOST IMPORTANT BI-
LATERAL RELATIONSHIP THAT WE HAVE IN THE WORLD. TO CON-
TINUE TO DEEPEN AND EXPAND IT WILL BE MY HIGHEST ENDEAVOR.

- IT OCCURS TO ME THAT AT THE BEGINNING OF YOUR AD-
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**REVIEW AUTHORITY: Charles Lahiguera, Senior
Reviewer**

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MINISTRATION YOU MIGHT FIND IT USEFUL TO HAVE MY VIEWS
ON OUR POLICIES HERE AND MY RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE
FUTURE. I HAVE KEPT THEM BRIEF AND, I HOPE, GENERAL
ENOUGH TO PROVIDE PLENTY OF ROOM FOR FLEXIBLE ELABORA-
TION. ALTHOUGH I HAVE CLASSIFIED THIS MESSAGE AND
LIMITED ITS DISTRIBUTION IN THE FIRST INSTANCE, I WOULD
HAVE NO OBJECTION TO ITS BEING MADE AVAILABLE AT YOUR
DISCRETION TO ANYONE YOU BELIEVE SHOULD BE INVOLVED OR
CONCERNED, INCLUDING THE CONGRESS.

3. INTRODUCTION

- AFTER THREE AND A HALF YEARS IN TOKYO, I AM MORE THAN EVER CONVINCED THAT OUR SUCCESSFUL BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP WITH JAPAN NOT ONLY ENSURES RELATIVE STABILITY IN ASIA AND THE PACIFIC BUT IS A MAJOR ELEMENT IN MAINTAINING THE VIABILITY OF THE ALLIANCE OF INDUSTRIALIZED DEMOCRACIES AS WELL.

- WE ALL KNOW ABOUT THE ECONOMIC MIRACLE OUT HERE WHICH, IN SPITE OF OCCASIONAL SERIOUS FRICTION IN CERTAIN INDUSTRIAL SECTORS, HAS HELPED TO MAKE JAPAN OUR LARGEST OVERSEAS CUSTOMER. BUT WE SOMETIMES OVERLOOK THE ACCOMPANYING POLITICAL MIRACLE--JAPAN IN THIRTY-FIVE YEARS HAS BECOME ONE OF THE WORLD'S MOST STABLE DEMOCRACIES, UPHOLDING, IN SPITE OF ITS TOTALLY DIFFERENT CULTURAL TRADITIONS, THE SAME VALUES OF INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM, PRIVATE ENTERPRISE AND TOLERANCE OF DISSENT WHICH INSPIRE OUR OWN NATION, AND SHARING WITH US THE SAME CONCERNS OVER HOW BEST TO DEFEND THESE VALUES IN AN INCREASINGLY HOSTILE INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENT.

- THE VAST MAJORITY OF JAPANESE, INCLUDING MOST EM-
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PHATICALLY PRIME MINISTER SUZUKI AND HIS GOVERNMENT, REGARD AN OPEN AND CONSTRUCTIVE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE UNITED STATES AS ESSENTIAL TO THE MAINTENANCE OF THESE DEMOCRATIC VALUES AND A STRONG AND DYNAMIC MARKET ECONOMY HERE. THESE SAME JAPANESE ARE ALSO COMING TO REALIZE THAT JAPAN MUST SHARE WITH THE UNITED STATES A GREAT DEAL MORE RESPONSIBILITY FOR COPING WITH THREATS TO THESE SHARED VALUES. TO ENCOURAGE THESE TENDENCIES WE MUST CONTINUALLY GUARD AGAINST ALLOWING INDIVIDUAL ISSUES BETWEEN THE TWO NATIONS TO OBSCURE OUR INTEREST IN PRESERVING AND EXPANDING THIS VITAL BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP. I BELIEVE THEREFORE THAT WE MUST DEAL WITH JAPAN IN A COHERENT AND INTEGRATED WAY; WE SHOULD NOT PERMIT ONE OR ANOTHER PAROCHIAL INTEREST IN EITHER COUNTRY TO DAMAGE THE BASIC FABRIC OF THE RELATIONSHIP IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE A SHORT TERM GAIN OR "WIN" A CONTENTIOUS TRADE ISSUE.

- I AM WELL AWARE THAT DEALING WITH THE JAPANESE CAN OFTEN BE A FRUSTRATING AND TIME CONSUMING PROCESS, MORE SO THAN WORKING WITH OUR EUROPEAN ALLIES WHO AFTER ALL SHARE A COMMON CULTURAL AND LINGUISTIC HERITAGE. THEY ARE SKILLED NEGOTIATORS WHO OFTEN STRIKE A HARD BARGAIN ON ECONOMIC MATTERS. THEY SEEM CONGENITALLY UNABLE TO REACH DECISIONS RAPIDLY AND OCCASIONALLY MAY EVEN USE THE NEED FOR CONSENSUS AS AN EXCUSE FOR INACTION RATHER THAN AS A VEHICLE FOR DECISION-MAKING. THEY OFTEN FAIL

TO SEE WHY THEY SHOULD CONCERN THEMSELVES WITH ISSUES THAT DO NOT OBVIOUSLY AND IMMEDIATELY AFFECT JAPAN. THEY AVOID THE COLORFUL TURN-OF-PHRASE, THE ATTENTION-RIVETING POLICY CHANGE, AND THE SPECTACULAR INITIATIVE FOR THE

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SLOW, SOMETIMES LABORIOUS PURSUIT OF COMMONLY AGREED ON GOALS. NEVERTHELESS, THE END RESULT IS IMPRESSIVE. THEIR DECISIONS, THOUGH NOT SPECTACULAR, ARE RELIABLE AND DURABLE. WHILE THERE MANIFESTLY IS NO WELL-OILED "JAPAN INCORPORATED," THE JAPANESE HAVE CREATED AN EXTRAORDINARILY SUCCESSFUL SOCIETY WHICH HAS VIRTUALLY WITHOUT EXCEPTION LINED UP WITH US ON EVERY MAJOR WORLD ISSUE. WE MUST THEREFORE COME TO UNDERSTAND AND WORK WITH THEIR DECISION-MAKING PROCESS (AS THEY HAVE WITH OURS FOR SO LONG).

4. OUR POLICY GOALS

- I FULLY AGREE WITH WHAT I UNDERSTAND TO BE THE GOALS OF OUR POLICY TOWARDS JAPAN BUT I BELIEVE THEY NEED TO BE STATED MORE EXPLICITLY (POSSIBLY IN CONGRESSIONAL PRESENTATIONS AND PUBLIC SPEECHES BY ADMINISTRATION LEADERS) THAN THEY HAVE IN THE PAST. IN THE FIRST PLACE, WE WANT TO INVOLVE JAPAN EVEN MORE INTENSIVELY IN THE WESTERN DECISION-MAKING PROCESS. WHETHER WE CALL IT INTERNATIONAL BURDEN SHARING, DIVISION OF RESPONSIBILITIES OR EXPANDED ALLIANCE DIPLOMACY, THE PURPOSE IS THE SAME: TO SEE JAPAN EMBRACE A MORE GLOBAL OUTLOOK. WE WANT TO ENCOURAGE JAPAN TO PLAY A MORE ACTIVE AND INDEPENDENT ROLE IN ASIAN POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND, IN THIS CONTEXT, TO EXPAND SIGNIFICANTLY ITS

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FOREIGN ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS. IN THE CONTEXT OF MAINTAINING THE EXTRAORDINARY SUCCESSFUL MUTUAL SECURITY TREATY SETUP, WE WANT TO STIMULATE JAPANESE DEFENSE CONSCIOUSNESS IN ORDER TO MAKE JAPAN'S MILITARY POSTURE MORE CREDIBLE. WE NEED TO ACCOMPLISH THIS WITHOUT INVITING EITHER MASSIVE OR NUCLEAR REARMAMENT OR STIMULATING A NATIONALIST BACKLASH AGAINST EXCESSIVE US PRESSURE. WE WANT TO ENCOURAGE EVEN FURTHER INTERNATIONALIZATION OF THE JAPANESE ECONOMY SO AS TO PERMIT EXPANDED ACCESS TO THE INTERNAL JAPANESE MARKET, GREATER JAPANESE COOPERATION IN RESOLVING INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ISSUES AND A MORE ACTIVE JAPANESE ROLE IN MULTILATERAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS AND ARRANGEMENTS. WE WANT TO BUILD EVEN FURTHER ON OUR EXTENSIVE SCIENTIFIC RELATIONSHIP BY ENCOURAGING A GREATER TWO-WAY FLOW OF TECHNOLOGY. WE WANT TO DEVELOP A TRULY COOPERATIVE NUCLEAR ENERGY POLICY WHICH REINFORCES JAPAN'S COMMITMENT TO ABJURE THE DEVELOPMENT OR TO FACILITATE IN ANY WAY THE PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS.

- I AM VERY WELL AWARE THAT ALL OF THESE GOALS PRESUPPOSE A MUCH MORE ACTIVE AND BROADLY ORIENTED JAPANESE DIPLOMACY. THIS WILL INEVITABLY MEAN THAT, WHILE CONTINUING TO SHARE THE SAME BASIC INTERESTS WITH US, THE JAPANESE WILL DEVELOP THEIR OWN APPROACHES TO ISSUES WHICH UP TO NOW THEY HAVE BEEN CONTENT TO LEAVE TO US. WE MAY FIND OURSELVES DIFFERING MORE OFTEN WITH THEM IN TERMS OF TACTICS OR EMPHASIS. WE THEREFORE WILL HAVE TO BUILD UP A STRONGER AND WIDER NETWORK OF CONSULTATIVE FORUMS TO MANAGE THE RELATIONSHIP. I AM BY NO MEANS SUGGESTING THAT WE NEED TO CREATE MORE FORMAL INSTITUTIONS. RATHER, I THINK A FLEXIBLE PATTERN OF CONTINUOUS CONTACTS AT ALL LEVELS OF THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD BE WHAT

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WE SEEK TO CREATE AND NURTURE.

5. THE SUCCESSSES

- IN SPITE OF ALL OF THE WELL PUBLICIZED POINTS OF CONTENTION, MAINLY OVER ECONOMIC ISSUES, BETWEEN THE TWO NATIONS IN RECENT YEARS, WE CAN BE JUSTIFIABLY PROUD OF THE US STEWARDSHIP OF THE RELATIONSHIP. WE HAVE SUCCEEDED IN RESOLVING IN A MUTUALLY SATISFACTORY MANNER, OR AT LEAST IN DEFUSING, THE MAJOR BILATERAL ECONOMIC ISSUES, WITH THE NOTABLE EXCEPTION OF AUTO IMPORTS. THE JAPANESE HAVE STEADILY INCREASED BEEF AND CITRUS IMPORTS, MADE IT EASIER TO SELL US TOBACCO PRODUCTS HERE, NEGOTIATED AN ORDERLY MARKETING AGREEMENT

ON COLOR TVS, ACCEPTED OUR SYSTEM OF TRIGGER PRICES FOR REGULATING STEEL IMPORTS, COOPERATED ON TEXTILE QUESTIONS AND ENCOURAGED ADDITIONAL JOB-CREATING INVESTMENTS IN THE US. BY AGREEING LAST FALL TO A COMPETITIVE BIDDING SYSTEM FOR NTT, THEIR QUASI-GOVERNMENTAL TELECOMMUNICATIONS NETWORK, THEY REMOVED THE LAST MAJOR OBSTACLE TO IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ACCORDS NEGOTIATED IN THE MULTI-LATERAL TRADE NEGOTIATIONS (MTN).

- IN THE MILITARY FIELD, WE TOOK A GIANT STEP FORWARD WITH THE BASE COST-SHARING AGREEMENT AND WE ARE WITNESSING THE FIRST SERIOUS EFFORT AT JOINT DEFENSE PLANNING. OVERALL, THE JAPANESE HAVE CREATED THE POPULAR SUPPORT NECESSARY TO MOVE STEADILY IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION ON DEFENSE AND, AS EVIDENCED BY BOTH THE DEFENSE AGENCY'S WHITE PAPER AND THE FOREIGN MINISTRY'S BLUE BOOK, ARE AT

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LAST PUBLICLY RELATING THESE EFFORTS TO THE STRATEGIC CONCERNS OF THE ALLIANCE.

- WHILE ON ANY GIVEN ISSUE MOVEMENT IN THE SHORT TERM MAY HAVE SEEMED GLACIAL, IN THE LAST DECADE THE JAPANESE HAVE COME A VERY LONG WAY INDEED DOWN THE ROAD TOWARDS FULL-FLEDGED AND SIGNIFICANT PARTICIPATION IN THE WESTERN ALLIANCE. MORE THAN ANY OTHER MEMBER OF THE ALLIANCE, THEY HAVE BACKED US FAITHFULLY, VIGOROUSLY AND CONSISTENTLY IN REACTING TO BOTH THE IRAN HOSTAGE CRISIS AND THE SOVIET INVASION OF AFGHANISTAN. THEY HAVE ASSUMED SOME VERY SIGNIFICANT NON-MILITARY BURDENS OF THE ALLIANCE BY SUPPLYING CREDITS TO THAILAND, PAKISTAN, EGYPT AND

TURKEY, BY UNDERWRITING A LARGE PART OF THE UN'S VIETNAM REFUGEE PROGRAM, AND BY PLAYING A LEADING ROLE BOTH IN AND OUT OF THE UN IN TRYING TO SECURE THE WITHDRAWAL OF VIETNAMESE FORCES FROM CAMBODIA. THEY HAVE GIVEN STRONG POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC BACKING TO ASEAN, ENCOURAGING ITS FIVE SOUTHEAST ASIAN MEMBERS TO STRENGTHEN THE LINKS AMONG THEM. THEY HAVE SUPPORTED THE GRADUAL TRANSFORMATION OF THE SEVEN-NATION SUMMITS FROM STRICTLY ECONOMIC CONCLAVES INTO GATHERINGS ATTEMPTING TO COORDINATE APPROACHES TO THE MAJOR POLITICAL ISSUES WE FACE. THEY HAVE RECOGNIZED, PERHAPS TO A GREATER EXTENT THAN OUR EUROPEAN FRIENDS HAVE YET REALIZED, THE NEED FOR A

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POLITICAL BUT NON-MILITARY LINK WITH THE MAJOR EUROPEAN DEMOCRACIES IN ORDER TO STRENGTHEN TRIPARTITE COOPERATION ON ISSUES OF CONCERN TO US ALL.

6. THE ROAD AHEAD

- LIKE NEWTON'S FIRST LAW OF MOTION APPLIED TO PHYSICAL OBJECTS, US-JAPAN RELATIONS WILL CONTINUE TO OPERATE IN A STEADY AND STRAIGHT PATH UNLESS PERTURBED OR INFLUENCED BY EXTERNAL FACTORS WHICH CANNOT BE PREDICTED OR OVER WHICH WE HAVE NO CONTROL. JAPAN'S CURRENT FORWARD MOTION COULD WELL BE SIDETRACKED OR REVERSED IF WE ADMINISTER SURPRISES TO IT, HECTOR IT WITH CHARGES OF "FREE RIDES" OR ALLEGATIONS OF UNFAIRNESS OR, WHAT I CONTINUE TO FEAR MOST, TAKE IT FOR GRANTED BECAUSE OF ITS GENERALLY SUPPORTIVE POSITION AND RELATIVELY UNDRAMATIC LEADERSHIP. FOR THE FUTURE HEALTH OF THE RELATIONSHIP, I WOULD PRESCRIBE CLOSE AND CONTINUOUS CONSULTATIONS ON THE WHOLE RANGE OF ALLIANCE ISSUES. WE SHOULD CONTINUE TO SEEK TO ENGAGE THE JAPANESE IN DIALOGUE ON THE WIDEST POSSIBLE RANGE OF INTERNATIONAL ISSUES, NOT JUST THOSE WITH AN OBVIOUS ASIAN ANGLE. IN THE DEPARTMENT'S CASE, I WOULD URGE THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE RESUMPTION OF BUREAU-LEVEL CONSULTATIONS ON EVERYTHING FROM GENERAL POLICY PLANNING AND FOREIGN AID TO LATIN AMERICA AND THE MIDDLE EAST POLICIES. IN A BROADER CONTEXT, WE SHOULD RE-FOCUS OUR DEFENSE DISCUSSIONS ON OUR RESPECTIVE SECURITY REQUIREMENTS AND HOW WE PROPOSE TO ATTAIN THEM JOINTLY. THIS WOULD ENABLE US TO BACK AWAY GRACEFULLY FROM AN ESSENTIALLY UNPRODUCTIVE DEBATE OVER THE PERCENT OF JAPAN'S GNP OR NATIONAL BUDGET DEVOTED TO DEFENSE AND ALLOW THE JAPANESE TO ELABORATE TO ITS OWN PEOPLE AS

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WELL AS TO US JUST WHAT IT HAS IN MIND IN TERMS OF

COMPREHENSIVE SECURITY. IT WOULD ALSO PERMIT US TO DEFINE MUCH MORE PRECISELY NOT ONLY RESPECTIVE ROLES AND MISSIONS AND PERCEIVED DEFICIENCIES BUT ALSO OUR VIEW OF HOW THE SECURITY BURDEN MIGHT BE MORE EQUITABLY SHARED.

- THERE IS ONE SOMEWHAT NEGLECTED AREA IN THE BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP WHICH SHOULD BECOME CENTRAL TO THE CONSULTATIVE PROCESS--ENERGY. JAPAN'S PERCEIVED VULNERABILITY TO AN OIL CUTOFF IS LIKELY TO CAST AN EVER LARGER SHADOW OVER THE ENTIRE RANGE OF ITS DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLICIES. BECAUSE OF THE DRAMATIC DIFFERENCES IN THE DEGREE TO WHICH THE TWO NATIONS CAN SATISFY THROUGH DOMESTIC SOURCES THEIR OWN ENERGY NEEDS, WE WILL HAVE TO DEVISE SOME CREATIVE MECHANISMS FOR SHARING THE ENERGY BURDEN AS WELL, OR ELSE AGREE TO DISAGREE ON CERTAIN POLICIES WHICH ARE SHAPED HEAVILY BY CONSIDERATIONS OF ACCESS TO OUTSIDE ENERGY SOURCES. EVEN THOUGH IT WOULD REPRESENT A SIGNIFICANT SHIFT IN OUR NUCLEAR POLICY, I BELIEVE THERE IS ONE THORN IN THE JAPANESE SIDE WHICH WE SHOULD COMPLETELY REMOVE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. I REFER TO THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT'S WISH TO OPERATE WITHOUT INTERFERENCE ITS TOKAI MURA PILOT PLANT FOR THE REPROCESSING OF SPENT NUCLEAR FUEL AND TO CONSTRUCT A STILL LARGER PLANT FOR THIS PURPOSE. GIVEN JAPAN'S LONG-STANDING COMMITMENT TO USING NUCLEAR ENERGY EXCLUSIVELY FOR PEACEFUL PURPOSES AND ITS SUPPORT OF OUR NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION EFFORTS, I SEE NO REASON WHY WE SHOULD NOT RESPOND MORE POSITIVELY TO JAPANESE WISHES ON THIS MATTER.

- ON ONGOING OR EMERGING TRADE ISSUES, SUCH AS AUTOS

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THIS YEAR OR SEMICONDUCTORS IN THE FUTURE, I BELIEVE WE SHOULD ALSO ABANDON THE CLICHES OF THE PAST--WHETHER THEY BE FREE TRADE OR PROTECTIONIST--AND SEARCH INSTEAD FOR THOSE PRAGMATIC SOLUTIONS WHICH WILL STRENGTHEN OUR RESPECTIVE ECONOMIES AND CAUSE THE LEAST HARM TO OUR WORKERS. AS A GOVERNMENT, HOWEVER, WE MUST SPEAK WITH ONE VOICE--CONFLICTING SIGNALS FROM OFFICIALS WHO SEE THEMSELVES REPRESENTING DIFFERENT CONSTITUENCIES ONLY MAKE THE ROAD TO EVENTUAL SOLUTIONS THAT MUCH MORE ROCKY. THIS APPLIES WITH PARTICULAR FORCE TO THE AUTO ISSUE. IF THE USG CAN COME UP WITH A COMPREHENSIVE PLAN TO ASSIST OUR INDUSTRY THROUGH A DIFFICULT PERIOD OF ADJUSTMENT, I AM CONFIDENT THAT JAPAN WILL PLAY ITS PART, POSSIBLY THROUGH VOLUNTARY RESTRAINTS, POSSIBLY BY NEGOTIATING AN ORDERLY MARKETING AGREEMENT WITH US, ALTHOUGH I RECOGNIZE THERE ARE ON THE US SIDE SUBSTANTIAL DIFFERENCES OF OPINION ON THE MOST APPROPRIATE METHOD OF HANDLING THE ISSUE.

- OUR PREOCCUPATION WITH CURRENT OR UPCOMING ISSUES IN THE RELATIONSHIP SHOULD NOT KEEP US FROM RECOGNIZING THE URGENT NEED FOR LEADERS AND OPINION SHAPERS IN THE TWO NATIONS TO GET TO KNOW ONE ANOTHER BETTER. WE SHOULD IMPROVE THE ACCESS OF JAPANESE POLICY MAKERS TO WASHINGTON OFFICIALDOM AND INCREASE THE EXPOSURE OF

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AMERICAN LEADERS TO JAPANESE INDIVIDUALS AND INSTITUTIONS. THIS IS CULTURAL EXCHANGE IN THE BROADEST SENSE. WITH THE JAPANESE IN PARTICULAR, GOOD HUMAN RELATIONS ARE THE SINE QUA NON OF A SUCCESSFUL INSTITUTIONAL RELATIONSHIP. THE FIRST SIGNS ARE AUSPICIOUS. THE ATTENTION THAT HAS BEEN GIVEN TO JAPANESE GUESTS AT THE INAUGURATION HAS BEEN WIDELY AND FAVORABLY NOTED HERE. NEXT ON THE AGENDA WILL PROBABLY BE VISITS BY FOREIGN MINISTER ITO AND PRIME MINISTER SUZUKI. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PERSONAL RAPPORT WITH THEM WILL WORK WONDERS IN ASSISTING US IN ACHIEVING OUR GOALS HERE.

- FINALLY, I HOPE BOTH YOU AND SECRETARY HAIG WILL GIVE MOST SERIOUS CONSIDERATION TO A VISIT TO EAST ASIA, INCLUDING JAPAN, SOMETIME LATER THIS YEAR. FOR THE SECRETARY, ATTENDANCE AT THE ASEAN MINISTERIAL MEETING IN LATE SPRING MIGHT PROVIDE THE IDEAL EVENT AROUND WHICH TO PLAN A VISIT TO THE AREA. NO OTHER SINGLE ACTION WOULD SO DRAMATICALLY AND PUBLICLY DEMONSTRATE THE NEW ADMINISTRATION'S INTEREST IN AND CONCERN FOR AN AREA OF THE WORLD TO WHICH OUR FUTURE AS A NATION IS INEXTRICABLY LINKED.

- RESPECTFULLY,
- MIKE MANSFIELD

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