

In the US, around the same time, I was the Trade Subcommittee Chairman. So I was making a lot of the demands. And I had the opposite complaint—I felt Japan only said “no.”

But I have come to believe neither of us was quite right. Like the blind sages in the Japanese folk tale, we were trying to describe an elephant by examining bits of it. And the past ten years of Japanese history have revealed to us, if not the whole beast, then at least a more complete animal.

If we look at Japan's response to its bank failures; reform of the Finance Ministry; or the Asian financial crisis, we see a Japan that, to exaggerate only a little, cannot say “yes,” cannot say “no,” and simply waits for problems to go away. And the reason is obviously not that Japanese cannot understand issues or make decisions. It is the nature of governance in Japan.

Bureaucrats have too much power and too little accountability to politicians or courts. Ministers appoint virtually no senior ministry officials and have little power over their subordinates. Thus Prime Ministers have few means to make ministries work together. Governments have too little power to set policy. And citizens have too little control over the whole system.

As a result, regulatory, trade and financial policies set decades ago, for a nation recovering from war and only beginning to develop civilian industry, continue to guide Japan today. They no longer work and they will not work. And this is the root of all the problems I cited earlier, from failure to stimulate the economy, to the slow pace of banking reform and the lackluster response to the Asian financial crisis.

#### POLITICAL REFORM

And thus, Japan must go beyond deregulation and fiscal policy. It needs thorough political reform. A system that can make a decision and make it stick.

It must give more power to ministers at the expense of their bureaucrats; elected politicians at the expense of ministries; towns and prefectures at the expense of Tokyo; citizens at the expense of the state.

That will take enormous willpower and vision. But I am totally convinced that Japan can do it. Recall the explosive reforms and industrial growth of the Meiji era, and the rebuilding after World War II. Remember that in the right circumstances, Japan's people are among the most creative, energetic and hard-working in the world. And look ahead to a brilliant future.

If Japan can make this leap, our relationship will reach its full potential—as a creator of wealth for our countries and our neighbors, a source of ideas, invention and science that will astonish the world, and the world's strongest guarantee of peace.

And if that sounds like a daydream, remember how far we have come, from the end of the Second World War to this era of peace in the Pacific. Set

aside Health Ministry regulations, fiscal policy, Defense Guidelines and every thing else, and reflect on the amazing fact that today, more than at any time in human history, ordinary people can live a decent, safe, secure life.

Our alliance for Japan helped make it happen. And Mike Mansfield, on his 95th birthday, deserves as much credit for this as anyone alive.

It is quite a legacy. The best possible tribute to it would be that, in the next century, we complete the work he has begun so well.

#### PRIVILEGE OF THE FLOOR

Mr. BAUCUS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to allow Angela Marshall of my staff to be on the Senate floor during the introduction of the Emergency Marketing Assistance Act.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(The remarks of Mr. BAUCUS pertaining to the introduction of S. 1762 are located in today's RECORD under “Statements on Introduced Bills and Joint Resolutions.”)

Mr. BAUCUS. Mr. President, I yield the floor and suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, what is the state of business at the moment?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. We are in morning business until 12 noon.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may speak for not to exceed 15 minutes and that the stated order for the Senate at 12 noon be delayed until I complete my remarks, which will not be longer than 15 minutes at most.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### SENATOR MOYNIHAN'S BIRTHDAY

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, today, March 16th, marks the birthday of a man whom Shakespeare could have been describing when he said in “Henry VII,” “He was a scholar, and a ripe and good one, exceeding wise, fair-spoken, and persuading.” The man whom that description fits like a glove is the respected senior Senator from New York, Senator DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN, who today celebrates his seventy-first birthday. O, to be 71 again. O, to be 71 again. I have to rejoice in Senator MOYNIHAN being only 71 today. I am pleased to offer Senator MOYNIHAN my best wishes for a very happy birthday, and my thanks for the intellectual vigor, the stubborn veracity, the scrupulous accuracy and the wise counsel that Senator MOYNIHAN has brought to the Senate.

Senator MOYNIHAN's curriculum vitae is as widely known as it is broadly based—his humble beginnings, his climb up the academic ladder which, despite being interrupted by World War II, culminated in a doctorate from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy; a period of teaching economics—wouldn't I like to have sat in his class—a period of teaching economics, sociology and urban studies at Harvard and at the Joint Center for Urban Studies; and a distinguished series of positions in the Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon administrations before winning election to the Senate for the first time in 1976. Few Senators come to this body with so much academic and practical experience. No one who observes Senator MOYNIHAN on the Senate floor would guess that as a young man, he once arrived at a test with a dockworker's loading hook tucked in his back pocket.

William Shakespeare has also said in “Twelfth Night,” “But to be said an honest man . . . goes as fairly as to say a careful man and a great scholar.” And that description also reflects the character of Senator MOYNIHAN, a lifelong scholar who has never shirked from the sometimes unpleasant duty of informing the Senate and the nation and Presidents of the hard facts of this or that issue. His carefully studied analysis and his insight into complex issues ranging from poverty in America to the future of social security keep Senators on the floor and staff glued to C-Span, because we have all come to rely on the fact that when Senator MOYNIHAN speaks, we all will learn something of importance, something that may fundamentally shift our thinking. His skill with words is equally finely honed, imbuing every thoughtfully parsed sentence with meaning and wit. He is, to hearken back to Shakespeare's description, “fair spoken, and persuading,” in speech and in the many books he has authored.

In an age of ten second campaign slogans, bumper sticker rhetoric, and simplistic, feel-good legislation, Senator MOYNIHAN is an anachronism, a throwback to the days of thoughtful consideration of complex issues and reasoned debate on the merits of different possible solutions. He thinks on a grander, a grander scale than do most people and, as a consequence, he is able to foresee problems long before they become costly, messy, politically dangerous quagmires that few people have the courage to tackle, let alone solve. When I have doubts about some new program being proposed, or some radical change being suggested without the benefit of hearings or committee consideration, and Senator MOYNIHAN also voices concern, or briefly sketches possible unpredicted outcomes arising from the proposal, then I know that my hesitation is vindicated.

In another sense, too, Senator MOYNIHAN is a figure from a different, more polite age, for he is a gentleman. Edmund Burke has observed that “A king