

((NOT GIVEN -- SNOWED OUT OF WASHINGTON))

NATIONAL PRESS CLUB

JAN. 10, 1996

I AM PLEASED TO BE AT THE NATIONAL PRESS CLUB ONCE AGAIN. OVER THE YEARS I HAVE VERY MUCH ENJOYED THE CHANCE TO SPEAK HERE. THE ROLE OF THIS FORUM CONTINUES TO BE CRUCIAL TO OUR NATIONAL DIALOGUE. I SEE MANY FAMILIAR FACES IN THE AUDIENCE -- THANKS FOR BEING WITH ME AGAIN TODAY.

MIKE MANSFIELD SAYS THAT "THE U.S.-JAPAN RELATIONSHIP IS THE MOST IMPORTANT IN THE WORLD BAR NONE." AS USUAL, HE IS RIGHT. JAPAN AND THE U.S. ARE THE MOST VIBRANT NATIONS IN A RAPIDLY CHANGING WORLD. BY WORKING TOGETHER, WE HELP LEAD THE WORLD TOWARD A BETTER FUTURE.

OVER THE YEARS, JAPAN HAS UNDERSCORED ITS STRONG COMMITMENT TO ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH THE UNITED STATES BY SENDING ITS VERY BEST TO WASHINGTON AS AMBASSADORS. JUST A FEW WEEKS AGO, AMBASSADOR KURIYAMA, WELL KNOWN AND RESPECTED BY ALL OF US, COMPLETED HIS TERM HERE. I AM VERY PLEASED TO HAVE HIS SUCCESSOR, AMBASSADOR KUNIHICO SAITO (AND HIS WIFE AKIKO) HERE WITH US TODAY.

AS YOU KNOW, AMBASSADOR SAITO HAS HELD THE HIGHEST CAREER POST IN JAPAN'S FOREIGN MINISTRY -- THAT OF VICE MINISTER. DURING MY TOUR AS AMBASSADOR, I HAVE WORKED MORE CLOSELY WITH AMBASSADOR SAITO THAN WITH ANYONE ELSE IN THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT. HE IS A GOOD FRIEND, A SUPERB PUBLIC OFFICIAL, A SOLID SUPPORTER OF THE U.S.-JAPAN RELATIONSHIP, AND A VERY NICE PERSON. HE WILL DO A SPLENDID JOB REPRESENTING JAPAN. YOU WILL LIKE HIM, AND YOU WILL LIKE AKIKO. I ASK YOU ALL TO MAKE THEM FEEL WELCOME.

1995 WAS A SPECIAL YEAR FOR OUR TWO COUNTRIES, FOR IT MARKED THE 50TH YEAR SINCE THE END OF WORLD WAR II. MANY AMERICAN AND JAPANESE LEADERS WERE CONCERNED THAT THIS ANNIVERSARY WOULD REAWAKEN THE BITTER MEMORIES OF THAT WAR AND COMPLICATE OUR RELATIONSHIP. THIS WAS A DELICATE TIME, BUT THE TWO COUNTRIES CARRIED OUT SUCCESSFULLY MANY COMMEMORATIVE EVENTS, LIKE THOSE AT PEARL HARBOR, OKINAWA AND IWO JIMA, ON A FORWARD-LOOKING, POSITIVE NOTE. THIS WAS POSSIBLE BECAUSE, IN ONE OF THE GREAT

DIPLOMATIC SUCCESS STORIES IN MODERN HISTORY, JAPAN AND THE UNITED STATES HAVE OVERCOME WAR AND HOSTILITY TO FORGE A SOLID ALLIANCE.

WE NOW ENJOY A BROAD NETWORK OF STRATEGIC, POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND CULTURAL INTERACTION THAT IS A MODEL FOR THE WORLD. I WANT TO FOCUS TODAY ON OUR SECURITY ALLIANCE, BUT FIRST LET ME REVIEW BRIEFLY THE OTHER ELEMENTS OF OUR RELATIONSHIP.

ECONOMIC TIES

THE ENORMOUS AND GROWING ECONOMIC STAKE THAT AMERICA HAS IN JAPAN AND IN THE ASIAN PACIFIC REGION IS ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT REALITIES IN THE WORLD TODAY. WE NOW EXPORT 60% MORE GOODS TO THIS REGION THAN TO EUROPE. IN A VERY FEW YEARS, OUR TRADE AND INVESTMENT FLOWS ACROSS THE PACIFIC WILL BE DOUBLE THE TRANS-ATLANTIC VOLUME.

IT IS NO SECRET THAT OUR TRADE RELATIONSHIP WITH JAPAN HAS BEEN DIFFICULT. I SPENT MUCH OF MY FIRST TWO YEARS IN TOKYO TRYING TO ADDRESS THE ENORMOUS TRADE IMBALANCE AND OUR MARKET ACCESS PROBLEMS. WE CANNOT DECLARE VICTORY, BUT I CAN SAY THAT PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE. ON THE MACROECONOMIC LEVEL, JAPAN'S GLOBAL SURPLUS IS COMING DOWN, AND OUR BILATERAL CURRENT ACCOUNT AND TRADE BALANCES ARE IMPROVING. U.S. EXPORTS TO JAPAN ARE SHOWING DOUBLE-DIGIT GROWTH RATES. MANY OF THE 17 AGREEMENTS CONCLUDED WITH JAPAN UNDER THE 1993 FRAMEWORK AGREEMENT ARE BEGINNING TO SHOW RESULTS. IF THEY ARE FULLY IMPLEMENTED, WE SHOULD SEE CONTINUING PROGRESS IN GAINING ACCESS TO THE HUGE JAPANESE MARKET. THIS WILL INCREASINGLY BENEFIT NOT ONLY AMERICAN COMPANIES AND WORKERS BUT ALSO JAPAN AND JAPANESE CONSUMERS AS WELL AS THE WORLD TRADING SYSTEM. BOTH GOVERNMENTS, WITH STRONG COOPERATION FROM THE PRIVATE SECTOR, NEED TO MONITOR CLOSELY THESE AGREEMENTS TO ENSURE THEY PRODUCE THE RESULTS WE ANTICIPATE.

THE U.S. -JAPAN ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIP GOES WELL BEYOND OUR BILATERAL INTERACTION. OUR TWO COUNTRIES ARE VITAL PLAYERS IN BUILDING ASIA-PACIFIC COOPERATION. APEC LEADERS RECENTLY MET IN OSAKA FOR THEIR THIRD SUMMIT MEETING, CONTINUING A TRADITION THAT PRESIDENT CLINTON INAUGURATED IN SEATTLE IN 1993. UNDER JAPANESE LEADERSHIP AND WITH STRONG SUPPORT FROM

THE UNITED STATES AND OTHER KEY COUNTRIES, THE OSAKA MEETING PUT FORWARD AN ACTION PLAN THAT MOVES APEC CLOSER TO ACHIEVING THE COMMITMENT MADE AT BOGOR TO CREATE AN OPEN ASIAN PACIFIC TRADING COMMUNITY IN 25 YEARS -- STARTING NOW. I HAVE BEEN AT ALL THREE APEC LEADERS MEETINGS. WHEN ONE WITNESSES THE ENERGY AND ENTHUSIASM OF THE LEADERS AT THESE SESSIONS, IT IS CLEAR THAT ASIA-PACIFIC ECONOMIC INTEGRATION IS AN IDEA WHOSE TIME HAS COME. IT IS ALSO CLEAR TO ME THAT THE LEADERSHIP OF THE UNITED STATES AND JAPAN IS ABSOLUTELY ESSENTIAL TO APEC'S SUCCESS.

POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

U.S.-JAPAN COOPERATION ON THE POLITICAL FRONT IS ALSO CHANGING THE WORLD FOR THE BETTER. PERHAPS ONE OF THE MORE OBVIOUS EXAMPLES IS OUR CLOSE AND EFFECTIVE COOPERATION, TOGETHER WITH THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA, ON NORTH KOREAN NUCLEAR ISSUES. THROUGH OUR COMBINED DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS, WE ARE SUCCESSFULLY ADDRESSING A SITUATION THAT COULD FUNDAMENTALLY DESTABILIZE EAST ASIA. LESS NOTICED IS OUR WORK TOGETHER ON THE MIDDLE EAST, EASTERN EUROPE, LATIN AMERICA AND AROUND THE WORLD.

UNDER THE SO-CALLED "COMMON AGENDA," WE ARE ACTING UPON OUR SHARED INTEREST IN RESOLVING AN EXTRAORDINARILY WIDE RANGE OF VITAL INITIATIVES TO IMPROVE THE HUMAN CONDITION. WE ARE WORKING TO WIPE OUT POLIO; TO PROTECT THE WORLD'S FORESTS AND OCEANS; TO PREVENT AIDS; TO ERADICATE THE NARCOTICS TRADE; TO DEVELOP ENVIRONMENTALLY SAFE TECHNOLOGIES; AND TO EXPAND THE BLESSINGS OF SCIENCE AND HEALTH TO ALL OF THE WORLD.

THE FACT IS THAT AMERICAN AND JAPANESE VITAL INTERESTS COINCIDE IN THE REGION AND AROUND THE WORLD. WE CAN DO MUCH MORE TOGETHER THAN WE CAN BY WORKING SEPARATELY. WE HAVE FOUND THIS TO BE PARTICULARLY TRUE IN OUR SECURITY RELATIONS, WHICH I WOULD LIKE TO TURN TO NOW.

A FOUNDATION OF STABILITY

AS I HAVE DESCRIBED, WE HAVE AN ENORMOUS ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL STAKE IN ASIA, THE MOST DYNAMIC REGION IN THE WORLD. BUT WE NEED TO REMEMBER THAT THE REGION'S PROSPERITY AND DYNAMISM DEPENDS UPON STABILITY -- STABILITY THAT WE CANNOT TAKE FOR GRANTED. DURING MY LIFE TIME, THREE WARS HAVE BEEN FOUGHT IN THE PACIFIC. FOR MORE THAN TWENTY YEARS, HOWEVER,

THERE HAS BEEN NO CROSS-BORDER CONFLICT IN EAST ASIA, AND THE REGION HAS FLOURISHED. MUCH OF THE CREDIT FOR THIS GOES TO OUR BILATERAL SECURITY COMMITMENTS AND THE U.S. MILITARY PRESENCE. IN PARTICULAR, THE U.S.-JAPAN SECURITY ALLIANCE CURRENTLY SERVES AS THE CENTERPIECE OF ASIAN PACIFIC STABILITY.

THE U.S.-JAPAN ALLIANCE IS BASED ON A WIDE RANGE OF SHARED STRATEGIC INTERESTS. THESE INCLUDE ENGAGING CHINA COMPREHENSIVELY, FOSTERING PEACE AND STABILITY ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA, SUPPORTING THE DEMOCRATIZATION OF RUSSIA, HELPING THE NATIONS IN INDO-CHINA JOIN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, PROMOTING THE PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF LINGERING TERRITORIAL DISPUTES, ENSURING FREE AND SAFE NAVIGATION THROUGH THE VITAL SEA-LANES OF THE REGION, AND PROMOTING ARMS CONTROL.

THESE GOALS TRANSCEND THE END OF THE COLD WAR. THEY CAN ONLY BE ACHIEVED IF THERE IS AN EFFECTIVE STABILIZING FORCE IN THE REGION. UNLIKE EUROPE, EAST ASIA DOES NOT HAVE MULTILATERAL SECURITY STRUCTURES, SUCH AS NATO OR THE CSCU, TO MANAGE THE SHOCKS AND TENSIONS OF A DIVERSE ASIA-PACIFIC COMMUNITY -- OR TO PREVENT A DESTABILIZING POWER VACUUM. FOR THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE, THE REGION WILL NEED TO CONTINUE TO RELY ON U.S. BILATERAL SECURITY COMMITMENTS AND THE AMERICAN MILITARY PRESENCE TO ENSURE A STABLE AND PEACEFUL ENVIRONMENT.

FORTUNATELY, THERE IS NO IMMEDIATE THREAT TO THE ASIA-PACIFIC REGION, BUT THE FUTURE IS NOT WITHOUT UNCERTAINTIES. THE KOREAN PENINSULA REMAINS DIVIDED AND TENSE. INTERNAL DEVELOPMENTS AND THE EXTERNAL POLICIES OF SOME KEY REGIONAL PLAYERS COULD MOVE IN UNSETTLING DIRECTIONS. THERE ARE A RANGE OF UNRESOLVED TERRITORIAL ISSUES, AND WE SEE INCREASING MILITARY SPENDING BY MANY COUNTRIES. COMPETITION FOR RESOURCES IS LIKELY TO INCREASE AS THESE DYNAMIC ECONOMIES PURSUE AMBITIOUS DEVELOPMENT PLANS.

IN THIS FLUID ENVIRONMENT, THE PREMATURE DEPARTURE OF U.S. FORCES COULD SEND THE WRONG SIGNAL ABOUT OUR COMMITMENT TO THE REGION. IT COULD ALSO CREATE A POWER VACUUM WITH POTENTIALLY DIRE CONSEQUENCES. OUR PRESENCE NOT ONLY HELPS TO KEEP THE POSSIBILITY OF A REGIONAL ARMS RACE IN CHECK, IT IS ESSENTIAL TO MAINTAINING THE ATMOSPHERE -- OR THE OXYGEN --

THAT PROVIDES ASIAN NATIONS WITH A SENSE OF STABILITY IN WHICH THEY CAN PURSUE PEACEFUL DOMESTIC GOALS AND DEVELOP REGIONAL COOPERATION, NOT MILITARY COMPETITION.

U.S. STRATEGIC ENGAGEMENT MEANS MUCH MORE THAN STATIONING A GUARD AT THE GATE -- IT MEANS FOSTERING STABILITY IN A BROAD SENSE. INCREASED PROSPERITY HAS BEEN ACCOMPANIED BY THE SPREAD OF DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENTS AND GREATER RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS. THESE FAVORABLE CONDITIONS CREATE EVEN GREATER STABILITY; THUS, A POSITIVE CYCLE IS AT WORK THROUGHOUT ASIA

THE U.S. COULD NOT PERFORM THIS STABILIZING ROLE WITHOUT THE ACTIVE COOPERATION OF JAPAN. ONLY JAPAN HAS THE ECONOMIC, POLITICAL, AND STRATEGIC INFLUENCE TO BE AN EFFECTIVE PARTNER IN MAINTAINING A STABLE AND PROSPEROUS REGION.

SOME ARGUE THAT WE NEED A COMMON ENEMY LOOMING LARGE ON THE HORIZON TO JUSTIFY OUR SECURITY PRESENCE IN ASIA. BUT AS SECRETARY PERRY HAS RECENTLY SAID, OUR ALLIANCE IS BASED ON COMMON INTERESTS, NOT COMMON ENEMIES. FORMER ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE JOSEPH NYE RECENTLY LED AN EXTENSIVE REVIEW OF THE U.S. SECURITY ROLE IN ASIA. THE RESULTS OF THIS STUDY, FOUND IN THE "EAST ASIA STRATEGY REPORT," ALSO UNDERSCORE THE BASIS FOR THE U.S.-JAPAN SECURITY RELATIONSHIP.

AMERICA IS A PACIFIC NATION. TRADE WITH ASIA-PACIFIC PARTNERS HAS A CRITICAL IMPACT ON AMERICA'S ECONOMIC GROWTH. JAPAN IS OUR LARGEST OVERSEAS TRADING PARTNER. ALMOST THREE MILLION U.S. JOBS RELY ON EXPORTS TO ASIA. FOR AMERICA TO PLAY A CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE IN ENSURING THE FUTURE OF THIS VITAL REGION, WE MUST REMAIN FULLY ENGAGED -- ECONOMICALLY, POLITICALLY, AND STRATEGICALLY.

IN JAPAN, THERE IS A CONSENSUS AMONG MAJOR POLITICAL PARTIES THAT THE U.S.-JAPAN SECURITY TREATY SERVES THE NATION'S INTERESTS AND IS A SOURCE OF REGIONAL STABILITY. THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT FORCEFULLY REPEATED THIS VIEW WHEN THE CABINET APPROVED A NEW NATIONAL DEFENSE PROGRAM OUTLINE IN LATE NOVEMBER. THIS REPORT STRONGLY REAFFIRMS JAPAN'S COMMITMENT TO THE

ALLIANCE AS A KEY FACTOR IN JAPAN'S DEFENSE, AND IN THE BROADER STABILITY OF ASIA.

WE HAVE ALSO BEEN WORKING WITH THE JAPANESE ON A SECURITY DECLARATION TO BE RELEASED DURING THE PRESIDENT'S APRIL VISIT TO JAPAN. THIS STATEMENT WILL BE A REAFFIRMATION OF OUR ALLIANCE AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL.

AND THERE IS NO GREATER MANIFESTATION OF JAPAN'S SUPPORT FOR OUR MILITARY PRESENCE THAN THEIR VERY GENEROUS HOST NATION SUPPORT -- SOME FIVE BILLION DOLLARS THIS YEAR, OR ABOUT HALF OF THE TOTAL COST OF OUR BEING THERE. THE JAPANESE DIET LAST NOVEMBER OVERWHELMINGLY PASSED LEGISLATION EXTENDING THIS SUPPORT FOR ANOTHER FIVE YEARS.

THE U.S.-JAPAN SECURITY ALLIANCE IS ALSO WELCOMED BY ALMOST ALL NATIONS OF THE REGION. RECENT STATEMENTS AND EDITORIALS FROM ALL OVER ASIA REAFFIRM THE IMPORTANCE OF AMERICAN FORCES TO THE STABILITY OF THE ENTIRE REGION. OUR ASIAN NEIGHBORS ALSO KNOW THAT A HEALTHY U.S.-JAPAN ALLIANCE IS GOOD FOR THEM.

SECURITY DOES NOT COME WITHOUT COST. IT REQUIRES THE FORWARD DEPLOYMENT OF FORCES -- WHICH MEANS A SUBSTANTIAL SECURITY "FOOTPRINT" IN JAPAN. AS I AM SURE YOU KNOW, JAPANESE SUPPORT FOR AMERICAN BASES HAS BEEN TESTED BY AN OUTRAGEOUS CRIME -- THE RAPE OF A YOUNG SCHOOLGIRL. THIS TRAGIC INCIDENT REVEALED THAT WHILE A SUBSTANTIAL MAJORITY OF JAPANESE CONTINUE TO SUPPORT THE ALLIANCE, MANY QUESTION THE NEED TO MAINTAIN THE CURRENT LEVEL OF U.S. FORCES IN JAPAN.

PEOPLE IN OKINAWA PREFECTURE IN PARTICULAR FEEL THAT THE SECURITY BURDEN HAS BEEN DISPROPORTIONATELY PLACED UPON THEM. OF OUR APPROXIMATELY 47,000 TROOPS IN JAPAN, ABOUT 28,000 ARE STATIONED IN OKINAWA. WE ARE ACTIVELY ENGAGED WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF JAPAN, THROUGH THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A SPECIAL ACTION COMMITTEE, TO REDUCE THE IMPACT OF OUR PRESENCE ON THE PEOPLE OF OKINAWA. WITHIN ONE YEAR, THE COMMITTEE IS TO MAKE RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE REDUCTION OF NOISE AND OTHER IRRITANTS FROM THE PRESENCE OF U.S. FORCES, AND IT IS TO CONSIDER WAYS OF REDUCING THE SIZE OF LAND HOLDINGS.

WE ARE TAKING THIS EXERCISE VERY SERIOUSLY. AT THE SAME TIME IT IS IMPORTANT THAT WE MAKE ADJUSTMENTS IN OKINAWA AND ELSEWHERE IN JAPAN IN A MANNER THAT IS CONSISTENT WITH OUR RESPONSIBILITIES UNDER THE SECURITY TREATY. TO DO OUR JOB, WE MUST HAVE ADEQUATE BASES, AND OUR FORCES MUST BE TRAINED AND READY FOR IMMEDIATE DEPLOYMENT. WE AND THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT NEED TO BE A BETTER JOB OF EXPLAINING PUBLICLY THE RATIONALE FOR OUR DEPLOYMENTS IN JAPAN AND THE KEY ROLE OUR BASES PLAY AS THE ANCHOR OF AMERICA'S COMMITMENT TO THE SECURITY OF JAPAN AND THE STABILITY OF THE REGION.

SENIOR U.S. DEFENSE OFFICIALS HAVE MADE CLEAR THAT CURRENT U.S. FORCE LEVELS IN JAPAN AND EAST ASIA ARE BASED ON A THOROUGH ASSESSMENT OF THE POSSIBLE CONTINGENCIES TO WHICH THEY MIGHT NEED TO RESPOND. OF STRATEGIC NECESSITY, THEY ARE NEAR WHERE WE WOULD ANTICIPATE U.S. FORCES BEING CALLED INTO ACTION. THESE FORCE LEVELS ARE NOT IMMUTABLE. WHEN AND IF THE SITUATION CHANGES, U.S. DEPLOYMENTS IN JAPAN AND EAST ASIA CAN AND WILL BE ADJUSTED, IN CLOSE CONSULTATION WITH OUR ALLIES.

AS WE LOOK TO THE FUTURE, WE NEED TO CONSIDER WITH OTHERS IN THE REGION WAYS TO DEVELOP REGIONAL SECURITY STRUCTURES TO SUPPLEMENT (BUT NOT REPLACE) THE AMERICAN MILITARY PRESENCE IN EAST ASIA. LAST YEAR, ASEAN AND ITS DIALOGUE PARTNERS TOOK THE FIRST STEP IN THIS DIRECTION. THEY INAUGURATED THE ASIAN REGIONAL FORUM (ARF), WHICH SEEKS TO PROMOTE TRANSPARENCY AND BUILD CONFIDENCE ON REGIONAL SECURITY ISSUES. THE UNITED STATES IS A KEY PARTICIPANT IN ARF AND LOOKS FORWARD TO ITS DEVELOPMENT. BUT THIS WILL TAKE TIME. MOREOVER, THE PREREQUISITE FOR BUILDING A MULTILATERAL SECURITY FRAMEWORK IS REGIONAL STABILITY, WHICH CAN ONLY BE MAINTAINED IN THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE BY THE U.S.-JAPAN ALLIANCE. OUR ALLIANCE IS THE CRITICAL FACTOR IN THE PACIFIC SECURITY EQUATION.

OUR NATION IS IN THE UNIQUE POSITION OF BEING THE WORLD'S ONLY MILITARY SUPERPOWER; THE WORLD'S MOST OPEN, LARGEST, AND MOST PRODUCTIVE ECONOMY; ONE OF THE WORLD'S MOST STABLE DEMOCRACIES; AND ABOVE ALL, THE NATION TO WHICH THE WORLD LOOKS FOR LEADERSHIP -- LEADERSHIP ACROSS A BROAD RANGE

OF SECURITY, ECONOMIC, AND POLITICAL CONCERNS, AND LEADERSHIP TO ADVANCE THE CAUSE OF HUMAN LIBERTY, SOCIAL JUSTICE, AND HUMAN PROGRESS.

I AM CONVINCED THAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WILL CONTINUE TO MEET THIS RESPONSIBILITY FOR GLOBAL LEADERSHIP. BUT WE CANNOT DO IT ALONE. THE FUNDAMENTAL FACT IS THAT NO SINGLE RELATIONSHIP CONTRIBUTES MORE TO AMERICA'S CAPACITY TO DO ITS JOB WELL THAN DOES THE U.S.-JAPAN RELATIONSHIP. I HAVE ALWAYS BELIEVED THIS FACT, BUT MY SERVICE IN JAPAN AS YOUR AMBASSADOR HAS CONVINCED ME MORE THAN EVER OF THAT COMPELLING REALITY.

THANK YOU AGAIN FOR INVITING ME HERE TODAY. AND THANK YOU, AMBASSADOR SAITO, FOR SHARING THIS OCCASION WITH US.



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