

DIET MEMBERS' COUNCIL  
FOR COMPREHENSIVE SECURITY

APRIL 26, 1996

I WOULD LIKE TO THANK CHAIRMAN ITO AND THIS DISTINGUISHED GROUP FOR INVITING ME THIS MORNING TO TALK ABOUT THE U.S.-JAPAN SECURITY RELATIONSHIP. I AM HONORED TO SHARE MY VIEWS WITH YOU.

I WOULD LIKE TO DISCUSS THREE BASIC TOPICS. FIRST, WE SHOULD REVIEW BRIEFLY WHY U.S.-JAPAN SECURITY TIES REMAIN VITAL. SECOND, I WOULD LIKE TO TOUCH UPON THE MEANING AND IMPORTANCE OF THE DECISIONS MADE BY OUR LEADERS LAST WEEK. AND FINALLY, I WOULD LIKE TO POINT OUT A FEW OF THE PARAMETERS THAT WILL HELP US TRAVEL ALONG A PATH OF ENHANCED COOPERATION IN THE FUTURE.

WHY U.S.-JAPAN COOPERATION IS VITAL

THE UNITED STATES AND JAPAN SHARE A VITAL INTEREST IN A PEACEFUL, STABLE, AND PROSPEROUS ASIA-PACIFIC REGION. THE THREATS TO THESE SHARED INTERESTS HAVE EVOLVED OVER TIME, AND WE HAVE WORKED TOGETHER TO COUNTER THEM.

OUR ALLIANCE WAS FORMULATED AT THE HEIGHT OF THE COLD WAR TO CONTAIN THE CHALLENGE OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM. THE AGGRESSIVE BEHAVIOR OF THE SOVIET REGIME, ARMED WITH NUCLEAR WEAPONS, MADE IT RELATIVELY EASY FOR BOTH GOVERNMENTS TO EXPLAIN TO THEIR CITIZENS THE BASIS FOR THE ALLIANCE.

THE 1990S HAVE POSED A NEW AND FUNDAMENTAL CHALLENGE TO THE ALLIANCE. THE COLLAPSE OF THE SOVIET UNION AND THE END OF THE COLD WAR HAVE CAUSED CRITICS IN BOTH JAPAN AND THE U.S. TO ARGUE THAT WITHOUT AN IMMEDIATE MILITARY THREAT, THE RATIONALE FOR THE ALLIANCE HAS EVAPORATED.

FORTUNATELY, THE ASIA-PACIFIC REGION IS NOW MUCH MORE STABLE, BUT ITS FUTURE STILL POSES MANY UNCERTAINTIES. THE KOREAN PENINSULA REMAINS DIVIDED AND DANGEROUS. 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. KEY REGIONAL SEA LANES LIE VULNERABLE TO THESE MANY UNCERTAINTIES. COMPETITION FOR RESOURCES IS LIKELY TO INCREASE AS ASIA'S DYNAMIC ECONOMIES PURSUE AMBITIOUS DEVELOPMENT PLANS. IN THIS FLUID ENVIRONMENT, WE CANNOT TAKE STABILITY FOR GRANTED.

I BELIEVE OUR CITIZENS REALIZE THE VITAL ROLE WE PLAY IN MUTUAL SECURITY. THEY KNOW THAT THE COLD WAR DID NOT USHER IN AN ERA OF CERTAINTY, AND THEY TAKE HEART IN THE FACT THAT JAPAN AND AMERICA RETAIN A STRONG COMMITMENT TO OUR ALLIANCE.

#### THE BENEFITS OF A SUCCESSFUL SUMMIT

LAST WEEK, PRESIDENT CLINTON VISITED JAPAN FOR WHAT I THINK HISTORY MAY SHOW AS THE MOST SUCCESSFUL SUMMIT EVER BETWEEN THE LEADERS OF THE UNITED STATES AND JAPAN. SECURITY RELATIONS WERE KEY TO THAT SUCCESS.

AT THE SUMMIT, PRIME MINISTER HASHIMOTO AND THE PRESIDENT SIGNED A JOINT DECLARATION WHICH REAFFIRMED AND INVIGORATED OUR MUTUAL COMMITMENT TO DEEP AND RICH COOPERATIVE TIES IN SECURITY MATTERS. IN CONCRETE TERMS, THEY AFFIRMED THE NEED FOR BOTH NATIONS TO TAKE A HARD LOOK AT HOW WE WORK TOGETHER, CONCEPTUALLY AND OPERATIONALLY.

THIS SUMMIT WAS NOT A TWO-DAY AFFAIR. THE SACO INTERIM REPORT AND THE ACSA AGREEMENT, BOTH INKED ONE DAY BEFORE THE PRESIDENT'S ARRIVAL, WERE EACH THE RESULT OF LONG AND INTENSIVE DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN DIPLOMATS AND DEFENSE PROFESSIONALS IN BOTH NATIONS. THE SUMMIT WAS A REAFFIRMATION OF THIS SUBSTANTIVE EFFORT, AND IT IS WITHIN THAT ONGOING CONTEXT THAT OUR LEADERS MADE THEIR DECISIONS.

#### PARAMETERS FOR FUTURE COOPERATION

WE SHOULD NOT JUST BASK IN THE EUPHORIA OF A WONDERFUL SUMMIT -- ALTHOUGH I MUST ADMIT IT WAS VERY SATISFYING TO SEE OUR LEADERS WORKING SO WELL TOGETHER. WHILE I VIEW THE COMMITMENTS THEY MADE AS TRULY EPOCHAL, I CANNOT STRESS STRONGLY ENOUGH THAT WE HAVE ONLY JUST BEGUN THIS TASK. THE GREATER PART OF THE WORK LIES AHEAD.

I WOULD LIKE TO DISCUSS BRIEFLY A FEW OF THE KEY FACTORS WHICH WILL INFLUENCE HOW WELL OUR TWO NATIONS WORK TOGETHER ON THE SECURITY FRONT AS WE LOOK TO THE FUTURE.

SECURITY DECLARATION: THE JOINT DECLARATION THAT OUR LEADERS SIGNED LAST WEEK REAFFIRMS OUR MUTUAL COMMITMENT TO REGIONAL SECURITY, CHARACTERIZES OUR ALLIANCE AS THE FOUNDATION OF ASIAN PROSPERITY, AND AFFIRMS OUR INTENT FOR STILL DEEPER COOPERATION. AS WE PURSUE THESE WORTHY GOALS, WE SHOULD REFER TO THIS DOCUMENT OFTEN. IT OFFERS A CUMULATIVE VIEW OF WHY ALL OF THIS IS SO IMPORTANT. IT WILL HELP US KEEP THE PROPER PERSPECTIVE EMPHASIZED BY OUR TOP ELECTED LEADERSHIP.

BASE CONSOLIDATIONS -- SACO: WE HAVE ESTABLISHED A COOPERATIVE EFFORT ON BASE CONSOLIDATIONS. TWO WEEKS AGO TODAY, PRIME MINISTER HASHIMOTO ANNOUNCED OUR MUTUAL COMMITMENT TO RETURN FUTENMA AIR BASE AS SOON AS IT'S VITAL FUNCTIONS CAN BE RELOCATED. THAT WAS AND WILL BE A DIFFICULT JOB, BECAUSE THE CRUCIAL ROLE PLAYED BY THAT BASE IS INTEGRAL TO OUR OPERATIONS IN ASIA.

THE EFFORT WE PUT INTO BASE CONSOLIDATION ISSUES IS INDICATIVE OF HOW SERIOUS WE ARE ABOUT OUR SECURITY ROLE IN EAST ASIA. IT SHOWS THAT WE -- AS GOOD NEIGHBORS -- CAN AND WILL CONTINUE TO ADDRESS THE CONCERNS OF OUR HOSTS. THE TIRELESS EFFORT ON THE JAPANESE SIDE IS SIMILARLY SYMBOLIC OF HOW DEDICATED YOUR GOVERNMENT IS TO THIS ALLIANCE.

THE SACO INTERIM REPORT CONTAINS MUCH MORE POSITIVE PROGRESS THAN I CAN RELATE HERE, INCLUDING THE RETURN OF 20 PERCENT OF THE LAND USED BY OUR FORCES IN OKINAWA. THE INTERIM REPORT IS THE WORK OF THE SPECIAL ACTION COMMITTEE, WITH THE EMPHASIS ON "ACTION."

BUT AGREEMENTS ARE ONLY AS GOOD AS THEIR IMPLEMENTATION, AND THE CONSOLIDATIONS ANNOUNCED EARLY LAST WEEK REPRESENT A COMMITMENT TO THE EXTENSIVE WORK WE MUST NOW DO AS WE COMPILE THE FINAL SACO DOCUMENT BY NEXT NOVEMBER. (THIS EFFORT WILL ALSO REQUIRE SIGNIFICANT FUNDING.)

JOINT STUDY OF NEW DEFENSE GUIDELINES: THE PRESIDENT AND PRIME MINISTER ALSO AGREED THAT OUR DEFENSE COOPERATION GUIDELINES WILL BE REVIEWED. THIS WILL UPDATE THE 1978 GUIDELINES, AND FOLLOWS THE DIRECTION SET BY JAPAN'S NEW NATIONAL DEFENSE PROGRAM OUTLINE (NDPO) RELEASED LAST NOVEMBER.

THIS TASK WILL NOT BE ANY EASIER THAN IT WAS 18 YEARS AGO, AND I DO NOT ANTICIPATE A QUICK DASH TO THE FINISH LINE. I WANT TO EMPHASIZE THAT THIS WILL BE A MUTUAL EFFORT, CONDUCTED AT A PACE COMFORTABLE TO BOTH SIDES. WE ARE NOT PRESSING JAPAN IN ANY WAY. I BELIEVE, HOWEVER, THAT WITHIN JAPAN'S CONSTITUTIONAL CONSTRAINTS WE WILL FIND MANY WAYS TO STREAMLINE AND ENHANCE THE EFFICIENCY OF OUR JOINT SECURITY EFFORT.

JAPAN'S SIGNIFICANT AND CONTINUING HOST NATION SUPPORT: ANOTHER KEY FACTOR IN OUR COOPERATION IS THE GENEROUS HOST NATION SUPPORT THAT JAPAN SUPPLIES TO U.S. FORCES. THE FACILITIES YOU OFFER ARE FIRST RATE, AND THE LEVEL OF SUPPORT IS UNMATCHED IN THE WORLD. IMPLEMENTATION OF THE SPECIAL MEASURES AGREEMENT WILL ENSURE OUR ABILITY TO REMAIN USEFULLY ENGAGED IN THIS REGION.

I FEEL THAT JAPAN'S HOST NATION SUPPORT SENDS A POLITICAL MESSAGE TO THE WORLD THAT IS HEARD LOUD AND CLEAR. THE U.S. CONGRESS AND THE AMERICAN PUBLIC, FOR EXAMPLE, ARE VERY ENCOURAGED BY JAPAN'S WILLINGNESS TO LEND THIS SUPPORT. IT STRENGTHENS THEIR COMMITMENT TO A STRONG U.S.-JAPAN ALLIANCE. INTERNATIONALLY, OUR ALLIES AND FOES ALIKE ARE IMPRESSED BY THE LEVEL OF SUPPORT AND DEEP COMMITMENT INDICATED BY JAPAN'S CONTINUED EXPENDITURES IN THIS AREA.

ACSA: JUST PRIOR TO THE PRESIDENT'S ARRIVAL IN JAPAN, FOREIGN MINISTER IKEDA AND I SIGNED AN ACQUISITION AND CROSS SERVICING AGREEMENT (ACSA), WHICH WILL ALLOW FOR MORE OPERATIONAL COOPERATION IN PEACETIME. WE HAVE FOUND SUCH AGREEMENTS WITH OUR NATO ALLIES TO BE INVALUABLE SOURCES OF STRENGTH TO OUR FORCES, AND WITH THIS AGREEMENT WE ANTICIPATE IMPROVED INTEGRATION OF SUPPLY AND SERVICING FUNCTIONS. THIS WILL ALLOW US TO WORK MORE CLOSELY TOGETHER ON PEACEKEEPING AND HUMANITARIAN RELIEF EFFORTS, AS WELL AS ON PEACETIME TRAINING MISSIONS.

## CONCLUSION

WHILE I AM CONVINCED THAT U.S.-JAPAN SECURITY TIES HAVE BEEN VERY STRONG FOR A VERY LONG TIME, AND REMAIN SO TODAY, I FIND THE POTENTIAL FOR INCREASED COOPERATION IN THE FUTURE VERY HOPEFUL. THE DIRECTION SET BY OUR LEADERS IN RECENT WEEKS WILL FURTHER STRENGTHEN OUR ALLIANCE, FOR A MORE SECURE REGION, AND INDEED A MORE STABLE WORLD. THANK YOU.



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