

DCM at 18 Nichi no Kai
SEPTEMBER 30, 1996

GOOD AFTERNOON. MR. TAKEISHI, AND DISTINGUISHED MEMBERS OF THE JU-HACHI-NICHI-NO-KAI, THANK YOU FOR INVITING ME TODAY.

I HAVE BEEN ASKED TO SPEAK ABOUT MY PERSONAL VIEWS ON U.S.-JAPAN RELATIONS. FOR A DIPLOMAT, THERE IS NO SUCH THING AS A STRICTLY PERSONAL VIEW, BUT I WOULD LIKE TO SPEAK INFORMALLY ABOUT WHAT I THINK IS THE PERSPECTIVE OF AMERICAN LEADERSHIP ON RELATIONS WITH JAPAN.

THE DAILY HEADLINES TEND TO FOCUS ON PROBLEMS AND TENSIONS BETWEEN US -- AUTOMOBILES, SEMICONDUCTORS, INSURANCE, TROUBLE IN OKINAWA -- SO THERE IS A PUBLIC PERCEPTION IN BOTH COUNTRIES THAT THE U.S. AND JAPAN ARE MORE RIVALS AND COMPETITORS THAN PARTNERS AND FRIENDS. OF COURSE, WE ARE BOTH.

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN COUNTRIES, LIKE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN INDIVIDUAL PEOPLE, PRIVATE COMPANIES, AND OTHER INSTITUTIONS, ARE INCREASINGLY COMPLEX AND USUALLY INVOLVE BOTH COMPETITIVE AND COOPERATIVE ELEMENTS. THIS IS PARTICULARLY TRUE BETWEEN THE U.S. AND JAPAN, AS IS OFTEN EVIDENCED IN THE TRADE ARENA: WE ARE AT THE SAME TIME MAJOR ECONOMIC PARTNERS AND COMPETITORS.

ON THE POLITICAL STAGE, WE WORK TOGETHER IN EAST ASIA AND AROUND THE WORLD, BUT THERE ARE PLACES WHERE OUR INTERESTS ARE DIFFERENT AND OUR POLICIES ARE NOT IN HARMONY.

WE ARE TECHNOLOGICAL PARTNERS IN A WIDE RANGE OF FIELDS FROM SPACE AND AVIATION TO MEDICINE AND ENVIRONMENTAL SCIENCE, WHILE WE COMPETE FOR LEADERSHIP IN THE SAME AREAS.

WE HAVE A STRONG ALLIANCE, BUT THERE ARE FRICTIONS IN THE DAY-TO-DAY OPERATIONS OF THE SECURITY TREATY.

THESE CONTRADICTORY ELEMENTS CREATE A CONFUSING PICTURE OF THE FUNDAMENTAL NATURE OF OUR RELATIONSHIP FOR THE PEOPLE OF JAPAN AND THE UNITED STATES AS WELL AS FOR THOSE IN OTHER COUNTRIES. PARTICULARLY WITH THE END OF THE COLD WAR AND GENERATIONAL CHANGE IN BOTH COUNTRIES, IT SOMETIMES APPEARS THAT THE BONDS THAT HAVE HELD US TOGETHER FOR THE LAST FIFTY YEARS ARE WEAKENING, AND WE ARE BECOMING MORE RIVALS THAN FRIENDS.

I BELIEVE, HOWEVER, THAT JUST THE OPPOSITE IS TRUE. I THINK THAT FOR THE UNITED STATES, COOPERATION WITH JAPAN ON SECURITY, POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND GLOBAL ISSUES IS BECOMING MORE IMPORTANT THAN EVER. ALTHOUGH I CANNOT SPEAK FOR JAPAN, I THINK JAPANESE LEADERS ARE REACHING THE SAME CONCLUSION.

WHY DO I SAY THIS? LET ME BEGIN WITH THE BASICS.

THE FACT IS THAT AMERICAN AND JAPANESE INTERESTS COINCIDE IN ASIA AND AROUND THE WORLD. WE CAN DO MUCH MORE TOGETHER THAN WE CAN BY WORKING SEPARATELY -- WHETHER WE ARE MAINTAINING PEACE AND STABILITY IN EAST ASIA, DEFUSING TENSIONS ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA, STRENGTHENING THE GLOBAL ECONOMY, OR ADDRESSING PROBLEMS IN WAR-TORN BOSNIA, DISEASE-STRICKEN AFRICA, OR THE ENVIRONMENTALLY IMPERILED RAIN FORESTS OF SOUTH AMERICA. WE WORK WELL TOGETHER ON ALL OF THESE FRONTS.

SECURITY

THE HEART OF OUR RELATIONSHIP HAS BEEN, AND REMAINS, THE SECURITY ALLIANCE. TOGETHER THIS ALLIANCE HELPS ENSURE STABILITY FOR OUR TWO COUNTRIES, THE REGION, AND THE WORLD. WITHOUT IT, WE WOULD FACE A VERY UNCERTAIN AND DIFFERENT FUTURE.

U.S.-JAPAN SECURITY TIES HAVE ALWAYS BEEN ROOTED IN THE COMPATIBILITY OF AMERICAN AND JAPANESE INTERESTS IN EAST ASIA. JAPAN AND THE U.S. ARE BOTH STABLE DEMOCRACIES COMMITTED TO PEACEFUL PROGRESS. WE BOTH BELIEVE THAT MARKET ECONOMIES ARE THE BEST MEANS TO ACHIEVE PROSPERITY, AND WE BOTH SHARE A VITAL INTEREST IN A PEACEFUL, STABLE, AND PROSPEROUS ASIA-PACIFIC REGION.

HAVING CONTRIBUTED SIGNIFICANTLY TO THE END OF THE COLD WAR, THE ALLIANCE FACED A NEW IDENTITY CRISIS WITH THE COLLAPSE OF THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS EMPIRE. OVER THE LAST TWO YEARS, JAPAN AND THE UNITED STATES HAVE REVIEWED OUR ALLIANCE IN LIGHT OF CHANGING CIRCUMSTANCES -- THE ULTIMATE RESULT WAS THE AFFIRMATION OF OUR ALLIANCE BY PRIME MINISTER HASHIMOTO AND PRESIDENT CLINTON IN APRIL OF THIS YEAR.

OUR ALLIANCE IS NOT DIRECTED AT ANY SPECIFIC COUNTRY OR DESIGNED TO COUNTER AN IMMINENT THREAT. IT IS A HEDGE AGAINST UNCERTAINTY. UNCERTAINTIES INCLUDE THE SITUATION ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA, THE NATURE OF CHINA'S FUTURE ENGAGEMENT WITH THE PACIFIC COMMUNITY, THE PROGRESS OF DEMOCRACY IN RUSSIA, UNRESOLVED TERRITORIAL DISPUTES THAT CAN AFFECT -- AMONG OTHER THINGS -- VITAL SEA LANES, AND THE THREAT POSED BY THE PROLIFERATION OF WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION.

OUR ALLIANCE AND THE CONTINUED FORWARD DEPLOYMENT OF U.S. FORCES IN JAPAN HELP ENSURE THAT THESE UNCERTAIN TRENDS MOVE IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION.

OUR ALLIANCE IS BASED ON COMMON INTERESTS, NOT COMMON ENEMIES. WE INDEED SHARE A WIDE RANGE OF STRATEGIC INTERESTS WHICH TRANSCEND THE END OF THE COLD WAR AND CAN ONLY BE ACHIEVED IF THERE IS AN EFFECTIVE STABILIZING FORCE IN THE REGION.

WE ALSO SEE INCREASING MILITARY SPENDING BY MANY ASIAN COUNTRIES. IN THE LONGER TERM, COMPETITION FOR RESOURCES IS LIKELY TO INCREASE AS THE DYNAMIC ECONOMIES IN EAST ASIA PURSUE AMBITIOUS DEVELOPMENT PLANS, AND THIS COULD GIVE RISE TO TENSIONS. IN THIS FLUID ENVIRONMENT, THE REMOVAL OR DRAMATIC REDUCTION OF U.S. FORCES COULD SEND THE WRONG MESSAGE ABOUT OUR COMMITMENT TO 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. IT IS THE U.S.-JAPAN ALLIANCE THAT PLAYS THIS ROLE.

I BELIEVE THERE IS BROAD SUPPORT IN JAPAN FOR OUR ALLIANCE. THERE IS NO GREATER MANIFESTATION OF THIS SUPPORT THAN JAPAN'S VERY GENEROUS HOST NATION SUPPORT -- SOME FIVE BILLION DOLLARS THIS YEAR, OR ABOUT HALF OF THE TOTAL COST OF OUR PRESENCE HERE. THE JAPANESE DIET LAST NOVEMBER PASSED LEGISLATION EXTENDING THIS SUPPORT FOR ANOTHER FIVE YEARS.

DESPITE THIS SUPPORT AND THE RENEWED COMMITMENT BY BOTH COUNTRIES TO THE ALLIANCE, MANAGING THE MANY ASPECTS OF THE U.S. PRESENCE IN JAPAN HAS BECOME MORE DIFFICULT. THE TRAGIC INCIDENT IN OKINAWA LAST SEPTEMBER BROUGHT TO THE SURFACE FRUSTRATIONS IN OKINAWA ABOUT THE BURDEN OF U.S. BASES.

THERE IS INCREASED QUESTIONING, NOT ONLY IN OKINAWA BUT MORE BROADLY IN JAPAN, OF THE NEED TO KEEP U.S. FORCES HERE AT CURRENT LEVELS. WE UNDERSTAND THE BURDEN ON JAPANESE COMMUNITIES THAT HOST AMERICAN BASES, AND WE WORK HARD TO BE GOOD NEIGHBORS. WE ARE COMMITTED TO REVIEWING OUR FORCE STRUCTURE AS CONDITIONS IN THE REGION CHANGE. AT THE SAME TIME, BOTH THE U.S. AND JAPANESE GOVERNMENTS AGREE THAT AT THIS TIME WE NEED TO MAINTAIN THE PRESENT LEVEL OF U.S. FORCES IN THE REGION AND IN JAPAN.

THE CONCENTRATION OF U.S. BASES IN OKINAWA POSES SPECIAL PROBLEMS TO ADDRESS. THIS IS WHY BOTH GOVERNMENTS CREATED THE SPECIAL ACTION COMMITTEE FOR OKINAWA (SACO) LAST NOVEMBER. BASED ON THE INTERIM REPORT ALREADY RELEASED, THIS JOINT EFFORT IS PURSUING THE RETURN OF 20 PERCENT OF THE LAND USED BY U.S. FORCES IN OKINAWA. WE ARE ALSO MAKING ADJUSTMENTS IN LIVE FIRE DRILLS, PARACHUTE DROPS, AND MARCHES ALONG PUBLIC HIGHWAYS.

MUCH WORK REMAINS TO BE DONE, PARTICULARLY WITH RESPECT TO THE RELOCATION OF THE FUTENMA HELIPORT, BUT WE ARE COMMITTED TO REACHING AGREEMENT BY NOVEMBER. I HAVE JUST RETURNED FROM THE 2 + 2 MEETING IN WASHINGTON WHICH CONFIRMED THIS.

THE REVIEW OF THE 1978 GUIDELINES FOR U.S.-JAPAN DEFENSE COOPERATION WILL ALSO BE A LONG AND COMPLEX PROCESS, BUT IT IS IMPORTANT THAT WE DEVELOP A CLEARER UNDERSTANDING OF WHAT WE CAN EXPECT OF EACH OTHER DURING A CRISIS IN THE REGION. LAST WEEK WE ISSUED A REPORT THAT SETS OUT THE

AGENDA FOR THE REVIEW AND ESTABLISHES THE PRINCIPLES THAT WILL GUIDE IT.
(DETAIL...)

IT IS IMPORTANT TO EMPHASIZE AGAIN THAT THE U.S.-JAPAN ALLIANCE IN GENERAL AND THE REVIEW OF THE GUIDELINES IN PARTICULAR ARE NOT AIMED AT ANY ONE COUNTRY. RATHER, THE PURPOSE OF ENHANCING OUR SECURITY COOPERATION IS TO FOSTER CONTINUED STABILITY AND TO SERVE AS A HEDGE AGAINST UNCERTAINTY. AN EFFECTIVE REVIEW BASED ON CURRENT REALITIES WILL HELP OUR NATIONS TO UNDERSCORE A MORE PEACEFUL AND STABLE 21ST CENTURY.

AS WE LOOK TO THE FUTURE, WE NEED TO CONSIDER WITH OTHERS IN THE REGION WAYS TO DEVELOP REGIONAL SECURITY STRUCTURES TO SUPPLEMENT THE AMERICAN MILITARY PRESENCE IN EAST ASIA. LAST YEAR, ASEAN AND ITS DIALOGUE PARTNERS TOOK THE FIRST STEP IN THIS DIRECTION WHEN THEY INAUGURATED THE ASEAN REGIONAL FORUM (ARF). THE UNITED STATES AND JAPAN ARE KEY PARTICIPANTS IN ARF AND LOOK 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 -- THE CRITICAL FACTOR IN THE PACIFIC SECURITY EQUATION.

EVERY DAY WE ENJOY THE PEACE AND PROSPERITY WHICH ARE BUILT UPON A FOUNDATION OF ASIA-PACIFIC STABILITY. THERE HAVE BEEN MANY CHANGES IN THE INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENT OVER THE LAST 40 YEARS, BUT I FEEL THAT THE VALIDITY AND IMPORTANCE OF OUR ALLIANCE WILL CONTINUE FOR THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE.

OUTSIDE OF THE SECURITY ARENA, ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT WAYS WE ARE COOPERATING IS THROUGH THE VERY SUCCESSFUL YET LITTLE-KNOWN "COMMON AGENDA." WE ARE ACTING UPON OUR SHARED INTEREST IN AN EXTRAORDINARILY WIDE RANGE OF VITAL INITIATIVES: 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.

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. TOGETHER, WE ARE SIMILARLY ENGAGED IN STABILIZING FESTERING POLITICAL PROBLEMS IN THE MIDDLE EAST, BOSNIA, AND AROUND THE WORLD.

AS JAPAN BECOMES A MORE ACTIVE POLITICAL PLAYER INTERNATIONALLY, THE RANGE OF ISSUES WHERE WE WORK TOGETHER IS CERTAIN TO GROW. THESE ARE AREAS, SUCH AS IRAN AND BURMA, WHERE OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS HAVE DIFFERENT PERSPECTIVES, BUT GENERALLY WE SHARE SIMILAR VIEWS ON REGIONAL AND GLOBAL ISSUES FROM ARMS CONTROL TO REFORMING THE UNITED NATIONS.

BOTH NATIONS ALSO HAVE MUCH TO GAIN BY WORKING TOGETHER IN THE ECONOMIC ARENA. AMERICA HAS AN ENORMOUS AND GROWING ECONOMIC STAKE IN JAPAN AND IN THE ASIA-PACIFIC REGION. 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.

JAPAN'S STAKE IN THE U.S. MARKET IS EVEN GREATER. MOREOVER, BOTH JAPAN AND THE U.S. SHARE A COMMITMENT TO AN OPEN WORLD TRADING SYSTEM UNDER THE WTO AND TO OPENING FURTHER THE ASIA-PACIFIC MARKET UNDER APEC.

THE U.S. AND JAPAN ARE THE ANCHORS OF THE ASIA-PACIFIC REGION, WHICH IN TURN IS THE DRIVING FORCE OF THE WORLD ECONOMY. WE ARE THE KEY PLAYERS IN APEC'S DYNAMIC VISION. GIVEN THE IMPACT OF OUR ECONOMIC RELATIONS ON THE WORLD AT LARGE, TOGETHER WE MUST LEAD THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TOWARD THE GOAL OF A TRULY OPEN ECONOMY.

IT IS NO SECRET THAT OUR BILATERAL TRADE RELATIONSHIP HAS BEEN DIFFICULT. BUT I CAN SAY THAT PROGRESS IS BEING MADE. ON THE MACROECONOMIC LEVEL, JAPAN'S GLOBAL SURPLUS IS COMING DOWN, AND OUR BILATERAL CURRENT ACCOUNT AND TRADE BALANCES ARE IMPROVING. MANY OF THE 20 OR SO AGREEMENTS

CONCLUDED UNDER THE 1993 FRAMEWORK AGREEMENT ARE BEGINNING TO SHOW RESULTS.

WE CONTINUE TO WORK HARD ON OUTSTANDING ISSUES SUCH AS INSURANCE AND CIVIL AVIATION PROBLEMS, AND THERE WILL BE OTHER ISSUES IN THE FUTURE. BUT, I AM CONFIDENT THAT WITH GOODWILL AND HARD WORK, WE CAN RESOLVE THESE PROBLEMS.

IT IS IMPORTANT TO REMEMBER THAT TRADE IS NOT A ZERO-SUM GAME IN WHICH SOME WIN AND THEREFORE SOME MUST LOSE. IT IS A WIN-WIN PROPOSITION IN WHICH EVERYONE GAINS. OPEN MARKETS INCREASE HEALTHY COMPETITION WHICH FOSTERS NEW IDEAS, LOWERS COSTS, BENEFITS CONSUMERS, AND STIMULATES ECONOMIC GROWTH. DEREGULATION IS ALSO A FIELD IN WHICH THE JAPANESE STAND TO GAIN AS MUCH OR MORE THAN THE REST OF US. WHAT OUR FIRMS STAND TO GAIN IN TERMS OF GREATER MARKET ACCESS IS VERY SIGNIFICANT, BUT THE POTENTIAL BENEFITS TO JAPAN'S ECONOMY ARE THE REAL STORY.

AS WE COOPERATE ACROSS A BROAD RANGE OF ISSUES, WE ARE ALSO BUILDING HUMAN BRIDGES. THERE ARE MORE THAN 2,000 YOUNG AMERICANS IN JAPAN EACH YEAR UNDER THE JET PROGRAM, AND ALMOST AS MANY ARE IN COLLEGE HERE. WE STILL NEED MORE AMERICANS STUDYING AND LIVING IN JAPAN (20 JAPANESE ARE ENROLLED IN U.S. SCHOOLS FOR EVERY AMERICAN STUDENT ENROLLED IN THIS COUNTRY). I STRONGLY ADVOCATE INCREASING THE NUMBER IN BOTH DIRECTIONS, BUT WE PARTICULARLY NEED TO LOOK AT HOW TO GET MORE AMERICANS TO EXPERIENCE JAPAN FIRST HAND -- SO THAT WE CAN BETTER COOPERATE WITH OUR MOST IMPORTANT ALLY.

THE RECENT ARRIVAL IN JAPAN OF SEVEN MANSFIELD FELLOWS -- U.S. GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS WHO WILL BE WORKING IN THEIR COUNTERPART MINISTRIES IN JAPAN FOR ONE YEAR -- IS ANOTHER STEP IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION. THIS PROGRAM WILL INCREASE THE EXPERTISE AND UNDERSTANDING OF THE U.S. GOVERNMENT TOWARDS JAPAN, AND BUILD STRONG BONDS BETWEEN THE INDIVIDUALS AND THEIR JAPANESE COUNTERPARTS.

WORKING TOGETHER WE CAN DO SO MUCH GOOD FOR BOTH NATIONS, AND FOR THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, THAT WE MUST CAPITALIZE ON PROGRAMS WHICH

HELP US UNDERSTAND EACH OTHER. INCREASED UNDERSTANDING ENHANCES OUR COOPERATIVE CAPACITY.

CONCLUSION

THROUGH BILATERAL COOPERATION ON ALL FRONTS, WE INDEED ENJOY RICH, BROAD, AND DEEP RELATIONS. I HAVE TRIED THIS AFTERNOON TO TOUCH UPON A FEW KEY ASPECTS OF U.S.-JAPAN COOPERATION, WITH A FOCUS ON THE VERY FOUNDATION OF OUR TIES -- SECURITY. I WELCOME YOUR COMMENTS AND QUESTIONS.

FINALLY, I KNOW THAT THOSE OF YOU HERE PLAY DIVERSE AND IMPORTANT ROLES IN MAINTAINING THE STRENGTH OF THESE RELATIONS, AND I LOOK FORWARD TO THE CONTINUED HEALTH OF U.S.-JAPAN TIES THROUGH OUR MUTUAL EFFORTS.

THANK YOU.



MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Copyright in the Walter F. Mondale Papers belongs to the Minnesota Historical Society and its content may not be copied without the copyright holder's express written permission. Users may print, download, link to, or email content, however, for individual use.

To request permission for commercial or educational use, please contact the Minnesota Historical Society.



www.mnhs.org