US Military Bases in Okinawa
A Different Perspective

Regional Security and Okinawa in the U.S.-Japan Alliance
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Why should the United States consider Okinawa’s perspective?

The Futenma issue is a domestic matter between Tokyo and Okinawa.

However, the United States have been involved in the Okinawa policies for more than sixty years. The way the U.S. treats Okinawa may damage the dignity of Okinawa people, as well as the dignity of the U.S. government. The U.S. should not benefit from the unfair treatment of Okinawa by Tokyo.

This presentation is a sincere proposal for more reasonable handling of the Futenma issue and beyond. Simply, Okinawa deserves fairer policy.
(1) Recent development of Okinawa politics
    Broken Bargain between Tokyo and Okinawa: Base ⇔ Money
(2) The Futenma Issue blow up
(3) "Current" stage of the Issue
(4) Futenma as a Deterrent?
(5) Go back to the Basics
Futenma Issue Timeline-1

1995
  September  Rape incident
  October    Prefecture rally
  November   SACO(Special Action Committee on Okinawa) established

1996
  December  SACO Final Report

1997
  December  Nago city Referendum (Anti-Henoko Base)

1998
  February  Nago mayoral election (Pro-Henoko Base)
  November  Okinawa gubernatorial election (Pro)

1999
  November  Okinawa governor agreed to the Henoko base construction

2002
  February  Nago mayoral election (Pro)
  July      Offshore 2000m runway/dual use/15 year limit plan agreed
  November  Okinawa gubernatorial election (Pro)
Timeline-2

2004
April    Henoko environmental assessment/sit-in protest began
August   CH53-D helicopter crashed in the Okinawa International University campus
September Work on Henoko suspended

2005
October  SACO plan was scrapped/New L-shape runway-port plan/no dual purpose/no 15-year limit

2006
January  Nago mayoral election (Pro)
May      V-shape “current” plan
November Okinawa gubernatorial election (Pro)

2007
May      JMSDF mine-sweeper “Bungo” was dispatched to Henoko for apparent political purpose
2008
  June  Okinawa prefectural assembly election (Con 26 – Pro 22)
  July  Prefectural assembly resolution to call for cancellation of Henoko

2009
  May   “Guam Agreement”
  August General election (DPJ take over/all 4 Okinawa seats won by anti-base candidates)

2010
  January LPD Okinawa branch turned to anti-new base position
  January Nago mayoral election (Con)
  February Okinawa prefectural assembly unanimously passed anti-new base resolution
  May    Hatoyama administration’s self-imposed deadline
  November Okinawa gubernatorial election
Timeline-summary

• 1995-1997  Return of Futenma as a compensation
• 1998-2006
  *Henoko new base construction as political tool to mobilize conservative interests in Okinawa
  *Civic movement against Henoko base continued

• 2007-  Tidal change in Okinawa politics
  The ”Bargain” is broken.
Current Plans on Table

- Offshore V-shape plan
- USMC Futenma integration to USAF Kadena
- Camp Schwab land plan
- Guam Relocation plus training relocation to various sites in Japan
Futenma Issue in a proper perspective

- Futenma was deemed obsolete and dangerous in 1995
  ⇒ East Asian political situation since 1995

- Is Futenma more important than Kadena?

- Should/Could Okinawa’s opinion be completely ignored?
Okinawa’s Burden

• 18% of the land are of the Okinawa Island, and 12% of the prefecture is occupied by the US military bases and facilities.
• More than 85% of the Marines in Japan are stationed in Okinawa.
• Municipalities with large % of area taken by the US bases:
  Kadena 82.5; Chatan 52.9; Yomitan 35.8; Okinawa 34.1; Ginowan 32.4
Hatoyama’s Predicament

New administration-same bureaucracy:
  Who really make policies?
Japanese media as a propaganda machine for US?
Japanese society’s attitude toward Okinawa
USMC as a Deterrent?

• Against North Korea?: Missiles?
• Against China?: Senkak?; Taiwan?
• (Map from a public domain page)
Okinawa’s Perspective

• Immediate Closure and Return of USMC Futenma
• No New Replacement Base in Okinawa
• Remove the Marines out of Okinawa (In the words of former conservative Okinawa Governor Inamine.)

⇒ Acknowledgment of Kadena’s value
This will lead to a more stable US-Japan alliance.
Back to the Basics

• Think about USMC Futenma again:
• Should it be shut down and returned immediately?

• The Futenma issue has become the “Henoko” and transformation/new base construction issue, because of (1) Turf war within the US military, and (2) The Okinawa’s appetite for more construction projects.

⇒ Both are obstruction to more reasonable discussion, and the condition (2) has changed.

(The next four panels from the Ginowan City site)
The Futenma “ISSUE”
“Clear Zone” in the Ginowan city
Helicopters fly over the city
August 13, 2004

- CH53D Helicopter crashed on Okinawa International University campus.
- The crash and the handling of the incident after it have become the symbol of Okinawa’s status: Double subjugation.
- (Next four panels are from Okinawa International University archives.)
Environment

• Do not forget about the environmental destruction a new base construction in Okinawa would bring in.

• (Next three panels are from Okinawa prefecture and other published governmental sources.)
Henoko New USMC Base Plan
この図は施設の大まかな設置場所等を示すイメージ図であり、「2+2」共同文書とは別のものである。
この図は施設の大まかな設置場所等を示すイメージ図である。
This chart shows an image of location and size of the facility.

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<tr>
<th>区域</th>
<th>制限の内容</th>
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<tr>
<td>第2区域</td>
<td>常時入の禁止（ただし、妨げとならない小規模漁業は除く）</td>
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<tr>
<td>第3区域</td>
<td>船舶の停泊、係留などの禁止（ただし、妨げとならない漁業は除く）</td>
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<td>第4区域</td>
<td>潜水などの禁止（ただし、妨げとならない漁業と船舶の航行は除く）</td>
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<td>第5区域</td>
<td>妨げとならない漁業と船舶の航行に制限無し</td>
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