

The History and Political Climate of Okinawa



Part I

Okinawa Culture and Awareness Training

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This presentation, The History and Political Culture of Okinawa, is Part I of your Okinawa Cultural Awareness Training (OCAT). It will take approximately XX minutes.

Agenda

- Objectives of Course
- Historical Discussion
- Perceptions
- Ways to Improve and Deepen Relationship
- Additional Resources

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The agenda is as follows.

Objectives of Course

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Objectives

- **Learn** about the history of Okinawa and its relationship with Japan and the United States
- **Appreciate** this history and Okinawa's perspective on historical issues
- **Understand** the fact that differences may exist in our historical views of issues and historical starting points/perceptions
- **Find** ways to improve and deepen the mutually beneficial relationship between the USMC (USG) and Okinawa/Japan

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The objectives of the course, which is presented through three separate but inter-related lessons, are to: LEARN about the history of Okinawa and its relationship with Japan and the United States; APPRECIATE this history and Okinawa's perspective on historical issues; UNDERSTAND the fact that differences may exist in our historical views of issues and historical starting points/perceptions; and FIND, DISCOVER, and/or REFLECT on ways to improve and deepen the mutually beneficial relationship between USMC (USG) and Okinawa/Japan.

Historical Discussion

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2. Historical Discussion

- 2,500 BCE Islands inhabited from this date
- 779 AD First written reference to "Okinawa"
- 1187 -1879 Dynastic rules in the Ryukyu Islands
 - Shunten – 1187-1259
 - Eiso – 1260-1349
 - Satto – 1350-1405
 - First Sho – 1406-1469
 - Second Sho – 1470-1879
- 1422 Okinawa united and becomes Ryukyu Kingdom



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The southern islands of the Ryukyu Islands chain, particularly the Miyako and Yaeyama Islands, have been continuously occupied since 2500 BC.

The first recorded use of the word "Okinawa" was made in 779 CE in the biography of Jianzhen, a famous Buddhist monk who introduced the Ritsu school of Buddhism to Japan.

By the 11th Century AD, castles were built throughout the island. A series of dynasties were founded beginning in the 12th century. The Shunten Dynasty, from 1187-1259, was followed by the Eiso Dynasty (1260-1349), the Satto Dynasty (1350-1405), the First Sho Dynasty (1406-1469), and the second Sho Dynasty (1470-1879).

Following the removal of the Second Sho Dynasty, Okinawa was made a prefecture of Japan with governors appointed from Tokyo up until 1945.

Several important events took place during this period of dynastic rule:

- King Satto established tributary agreements with China in 1372 which added tremendously to the culture of Okinawa and the political structure.

-The First Sho Dynasty unified Okinawa in 1422, and during this period, Shuri Castle was built.

History (Continued)

- 1609 Satsuma clan invades and take control of islands' trade network
- 1853 Commodore Perry visits Naha
- 1871 Okinawa becomes a "domain" of Japan—Ryukyu Han
- 1879 Okinawa becomes Japan's 47th prefecture



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In 1609, the Satsuma clan invaded from Western Japan (current Kagoshima Prefecture in Kyushu) and controlled majority of the island. It used Okinawa to trade with the outside world, as Japan itself had closed itself off. This self-isolation lasted approximately 250 years, until the mid-19th century.

By 1879, following the Meiji Restoration in mainland Japan, the Ryukyu Kingdom was brought under Japan's control by force and was then referred to as the Okinawa Prefecture.

History (Continued)

- June 1944 Japanese soldiers sent to Okinawa
- October 1944 Americans commenced bombing in preparation for eventual landings and disrupt other operations
- March 1945 American troops land on Kerama Island
- 1 April 1945 Invasion of main island; battle lasted
- 23 June 1945 11 weeks with heavy casualties on both sides, Okinawans civilians included
- 2 September 1945 Japan officially surrendered to Allied forces marking the end of World War II



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- During World War II, the Japanese recognized the U.S. would need the Ryukyu Islands chain to in the latter's plans for invading Japan.

- By June 1944, Japanese soldiers were dispatched to Okinawa to defend the country from the American invasion.

- By October of that year, American forces employed saturation bombing against the Japanese army on Okinawa prior to invading it.

- In March of 1945, the first American troops landed on the Kerama Islands which were used to establish a foothold prior to moving onto Okinawa.

- On 1 April, the American invasion of Okinawa began. After 11 weeks of intense fighting, the battle ended on 20 June. During the battle of Okinawa, total American casualties were over 49,000 , including 12,500 killed or missing in action. Japanese military losses were approximately 60,000 killed. Additionally, approximately one-third of the Okinawan population, about 150,000 people, died.

- On 2 September 1945, the Japanese surrendered aboard the USS Missouri (BB-63) in Tokyo Bay, officially ending the War in the Pacific.

History

- Approximately 150,000 or 1/4 of population died in the Battle of Okinawa's "Typhoon of Steel"—*feelings among people that "nothing good comes from war" and that they were sacrificed by Japan.*
- Military occupation of Okinawa from 1945-1952, followed by U.S. administration of islands until 1972—*with limited local autonomy.*
- 1951 Peace Treaty signed with Japan, which gives United States administrative control of Ryukyu islands
- Large construction of military bases continues in 1950s, forcing people off their land and causing island-wide protests
- Reversion (to Japan) movement begins, leading to 1969 decision to return Okinawa (completed in 1972)



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Okinawa lost approximately ¼ of its population in the battle. A strong pacifist sentiment grew after the battle.

During the battle, U.S. forces began occupying the islands and the rebuilding of the islands got underway. Okinawa's first hospital was established, along with a civilian newspaper, bank, legal and political system. Okinawa had restarted foreign trade and its civil government was in place throughout the island by 1950.

In 1951, the U.S. and its Allies signed a Peace Treaty with Japan. Article 3 of the treaty permitted the U.S. to assume administrative control over the Ryukyu Islands indefinitely.

Due to the Cold War, the U.S. expanded existing bases and started construction of new bases in Okinawa, forcing people off their land in the process. The compensation was small, and the land-leases were long. This led to island-wide protests in 1956, and further fueled the reversion movement.

Anti-base and anti-Vietnam War sentiment grew in Okinawa. Combined with the reversion movement, this put great pressure on the Japanese government to request Okinawa's return. Eventually, the U.S. decided to return Okinawa in 1969, with the arrangements completed in 1972. Under the terms of the agreement, the U.S. was to retain its rights to bases on the island, but these were to be nuclear-free. The 1960 SOFA and Security Treaty were applied to the bases and U.S. personnel in Okinawa as well.

History

- 15 May 1972 Reversion – Okinawa returned to Japan
- 1975 Okinawa International Ocean Exposition
- 1995 50th Anniversary of End of World War II;
Cornerstone of Peace erected; rape incident and
start of large protests
- 1996 Special Action Committee on Okinawa Report
released
- 2000 G8 Summit held in Okinawa
- 2004 CH-53 Helicopter Crash
- 2006 Defense Policy Review Initiative Report released



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Full administrative control of the Ryukyu Islands was returned to the Japanese on 15 May 1972, and Okinawa once again became the 47th Prefecture of Japan. In all areas of social, administrative, and legal life, Okinawa was to become “Japanized” again following 27 years of American influence.

1975 Okinawa International Ocean Exposition was conceived, in part, to commemorate the American handover of Okinawa to Japan in 1972. The theme of the exposition was the oceans, and focused on oceanographic technologies, marine life, and oceanic cultures. The event was located on the western end of the Motobu Peninsula. Thirty-seven nations participated. This was a significant event for Okinawa, and Japan, at the time.

In 1995, which was also the 50th anniversary of the end of WWII, the Cornerstone of Peace was created. It is a monument in Itoman (southern part of the island) commemorating the Battle of Okinawa and the role of Okinawa during World War II. The names of over two hundred and forty thousand people who lost their lives are inscribed on the memorial.

1995 was also the time when a rape was committed by two Marines and a sailor, after they abducted a 12-year old girl in the village of Kin. The incident, and the handling of it by the Japanese government, touched off island-wide protests and nation-wide protests. It was the very low point for the U.S.-Japan relationship, and especially the Marine Corps in Japan.

In response, the two governments agreed to make recommendations to reduce the “burden” in Okinawa, and in 1996, the report by the Special Action Committee on Okinawa was released, calling for the consolidations and relocation of bases, relocation and mitigation of training, etc. It was at this time that the decision to relocate MCAS Futenma to the Camp Schwab area was first decided.

In 2000, the G-8 summit was held in Nago, with Prime Minister Mori and President Clinton, among other leaders in attendance. The decision to hold the summit there was political, as a way to thank Okinawa and Nago in particular for agreeing to accept the Futenma Replacement Facility there.

Relations with Mainland Japan



Okinawa Governor Hirokazu Nakaima (sitting) with Japan P.M. Naoto Kan



Governor being quizzed by the local media

- Many Okinawans view themselves as Okinawan first, Japanese citizens second
- Lack of opportunities in the prefecture have caused many to look for jobs on the mainland
- Central and prefectural government have often taken opposite sides in the base issue debate
- Okinawa is a big tourist destination for mainland Japanese

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Attitudes among Okinawans vary widely. A majority of Okinawans view themselves as more Okinawan than Japanese, while the minority view themselves as patriotic Japanese citizens.

Okinawans have experienced discrimination by mainland people and organizations who view them as backward and non-Japanese since they were forcibly made a part of the Japanese empire back in 1879.

Consequently, many Okinawans felt that they lacked opportunities in mainland private business and government organizations operating in the prefecture. High unemployment in the prefecture have led to a large number of Okinawans moving to mainland Japan in search of jobs.

-The central and prefectural government have often taken opposite side of the U.S. base issue over the last twenty plus years. The central government wants the troops and bases to remain (because it can't find an alternate location on the mainland). The prefectural government wants the troops and bases reduced citing numerous incidents involving U.S. service members over the years as well as the inherent problems of hosting numerous bases.

Relations with United States



MCAS Futenma surrounded by densely- packed Ginowan City



- Political division locally over advantages and disadvantages of the U.S. military presence
- Okinawan - U.S. military issues include:
 - Military bases occupy 10.4% of land area
 - Bases located in densely populated areas
 - Noise pollution and environmental damage
 - Crimes often caused by military members
- Okinawan proposed solutions:
 - Change the Status of Forces Agreement (SOFA)
 - Relocation of U.S. military bases
 - Reduction in military personnel
 - Closure of Futenma Air Station

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The majority of political problems in Okinawa are related to the presence of the U.S. military, or better said, the politics of Okinawa use the base issue for leverage on a number of levels locally and nationally.

The U.S. presence is viewed by some as beneficial to the Okinawan economy. Bases provide jobs to locals, rents are paid to owners of land occupied by the bases, and the multiplier effect of the U.S. spending off base stimulated the local economy. Many aspects of Okinawan culture have been influenced by U.S. presence, e.g., food (taco rice), recreation (diving), conservation efforts beach and ocean front clean-ups), retail trade-particularly those catering to Americans, etc.

The problems that Okinawans have with the U.S. military's presence include:

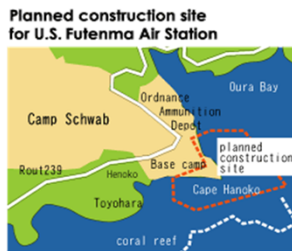
- The bases occupy 10.4% of Okinawa's entire land mass.
 - Some of them are in densely populated areas, e.g., Futenma MCAS in Ginowan City.
 - Military bases cause noise pollution and environmental destruction.
 - Military members are perceived as troublemakers and capable of serious crimes, e.g., the 1995 rape of a 12-yr old by two Marines and a sailor.
 - Other issues, such as training and on/off-duty accidents and incidents
- Okinawans have called for: a change in the Status of Forces Agreement (SOFA) that would give them more jurisdiction in investigating and prosecuting criminal cases both on and off base. Those on American bases formally had the right of extraterritoriality (exemption from jurisdiction of local law); relocating military bases outside of Okinawa prefecture; and a reduction of U.S. forces based in Okinawa.

Relations with United States

- U.S. response thus far:
 - Strict adherence to rules and regulations with regard to use of facilities
 - Observe no-fly and other reduced training days due to holidays, anniversaries, school test-taking, etc.
 - Consolidate/close smaller bases, e.g. the Elephant's Cage in Yomitan
 - Sharing with local authorities greater police powers with respect to crimes/accidents committed off base
 - Move Futenma base activities to Camp Schwab - Henoko area (northern Okinawa)
 - Reduce Marines by 8,000 and move them to Guam



Demolition of the "Elephant Cage" Sobe Communication Site in 2007



Futenma base relocation plan



Arrest of U.S. service member by local authorities

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U.S. response thus far has been:

A stricter adherence to rules and regulations with regard to the use of facilities

The observance of no-fly and other reduced training days due to holidays, anniversaries, school test-taking, etc.

Consolidation/closure of smaller bases, e.g. the Elephant's Cage, a listening post located in Yomitan that acted as a lightning rod for base protestors. It was demolished in 2007 after its functions were relocated to Camp Hansen.

Sharing with local authorities greater police powers with respect to crimes/accidents committed off base. Military members can now be incarcerated in Japanese jails prior to their cases being held as well as once they are sentenced. Police can now come on base and arrest those who have committed crimes in the local community.

Moving of Futenma base activities to Camp Schwab - Henoko area (northern Okinawa). This is no longer a popular idea, however, particularly because the proposed runway is being built on a part of the reef that endangers fishing as well as dugongs in the area.

Reduction of Marines by 8,000, and their dependents, and move them to Guam (this is part of the 2006 DPRI agreement, and is conditioned on several things happening first)

Relations with China and Taiwan

- China traditionally provided a strong cultural influence over Okinawa
- Chinese scholars have called for a return of Okinawa to Chinese control
- Senkaku Islands issue causing concern in Okinawa
- Both China and Taiwan have a direct economic impact , principally tourism
- Okinawa often deals directly with the Taiwanese government



The banner says "Return Ryukyu, Release Okinawa"



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- China, which lies a short distance to the east, has traditionally influenced Okinawa, which was a tributary power for many centuries. For example, Okinawan religious and cultural beliefs have their origins in China. Exchanges of scholars between the two countries over centuries also had an impact on everything from literature to political organization. This relationship lasted up until Japan took control of the island kingdom in the early 1600s and later formally incorporated it into the Japanese empire in 1879.

- As a result of its every increasing economy, China will continue to influence Okinawa in terms of trade. The tourist trade is the most visible sign of Chinese impact on the local economy. Imported manufactured goods are also turning up in stores.

- "China still has a right to Okinawa." This kind of inflammatory assertion has recently been gaining favor among Chinese scholars. The basis for their view is that when Okinawa was known as the Ryukyu Kingdom, it had close interactions with China, and existed as a subordinate to it. Nowadays, with the disturbance of the alliance between Japan and the US due to the Futenma base problem, and the straining of relations between Okinawan and Japanese leaders, the call to 'return Okinawa' has been strengthening in China.

-The Senkakus Issue, however, has cooled ties between China and Japan, and China and Okinawa recently.

- Both China and Taiwan have had a positive impact on the local Okinawan economy in terms of increased tourism over the past decade. Chinese and Taiwanese products are also making their way into stores as they are less expensive than a similarly made Japanese good.

- Its autonomous stature allows the Okinawan prefectural government to deal directly with the Taiwanese government, instead of going through the central Japanese authorities.

Formal Political Structure

- Three branches of Okinawa government:
 - Executive (governor)
 - Legislative (prefectural assembly)
 - Judicial (courts)
- Governor (4-year term) =Hirokazu NAKAIMA
- Municipal (city mayor and councils)=41 cities, towns, and villages
- Okinawa Prefectural Flag
 - White "O" is the prefecture initial letter
 - Inner small red disc stands for progress of Okinawa
 - Outer red circle for sea surrounding Okinawa

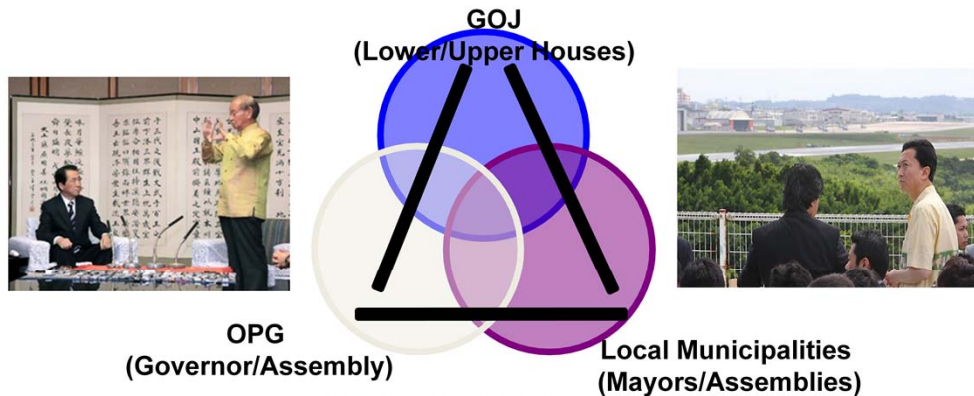


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There are three branches of Okinawa government:

- The Executive Branch of the Okinawa government is led by a Governor. The current Governor is Hirokazu Nakaima. The Governor has significant influence at the national government level regarding issues in Okinawa. One of the major duties of the Governor is to coordinate between the national government and the U.S. military. The Governor is popularly elected to a 4-year-term.
- The Okinawa Prefectural Assembly consists of 48 members, who are elected by a popular vote to four-year terms. The next scheduled election will be in June 2012.
- And the judicial (i.e., the courts)
- As well as the local (mayors and city/town councils) The local level government is governed at the municipal level. Each city is led by a Mayor, who is popularly elected to a 4-year term. The largest cities in Okinawa are Naha (the Prefectural Capital), Okinawa City, Uruma, and Nago.

Political Climate (National-Okinawan Relationship)



Complex Interrelationships (all of which affect U.S. interests):

- Japan is a highly centralized state, and Okinawa depends on Tokyo. At the same time, it desires greater autonomy (and among extremists, “independence”)
- History/social issues (guilt factor), which Okinawa fully takes advantage of.
- Japan is consensus- and process-oriented country, yet is often opaque in its decision-making which bothers local communities, especially Okinawa
- Personal relationships are key; those of new government in Japan and Okinawa are weak. **In particular, the ruling party of Japan is reformist and the governor of Okinawa conservative (huge disconnect/tables-turned).**

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Okinawa is Japan’s 47th Prefecture. It is the newest and one of the most autonomous; however, it is also the smallest and one of the poorest prefectures in the country and thus is heavily dependent on central government outlays. The most contentious political issue, and one that has often made Okinawa front page news, revolve around issues over the status of U.S. military bases and U.S. military personnel based in the prefecture. The prefecture and local communities that host the bases leverage this in their relations with the central government.

The relationship between the three agencies Okinawa Prefecture Government, Government of Japan, and the municipalities is unique and depends on the situation. This is also, similar on the mainland for Iwakuni and Fuji but not as pronounced.

GOJ looks for consensus from all players before moving forward on most issues/projects. Examples include FRF; shared use; training issues (sensitive days; arty relocation; parachute drop zones).

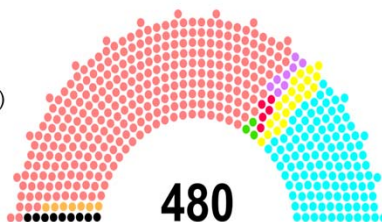
US Military’s presence on Okinawa is a common interest of the three parties. However, each has its own objective regarding the US Military. To GOJ, US Military is an important ally that provides deterrence against threats; to OPG and mayors, the US Military is a source for economic boost (subsidies, infrastructure development, negotiation leverage due to US Forces presence when coordinating issues/projects with GoJ).

Political Climate—National Level

- Japanese politics were dominated by the conservative pro-alliance ruling party throughout the postwar period, but in August 2009, the largest opposition party (opposed to the bases) won and formed a fragile coalition government.
- **Democratic Party of Japan is now the governing party and must learn how to be more realistic and responsible.**
- While it has an absolute majority in more powerful Lower House, it lacks a majority in the Upper House

“Reformist/Liberal” political parties:

- Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ)
- Social Democratic Party (SDP)
- Japan Communist Party (JCP)
- People’s New Party (PNP)



Representation in Lower House

“Conservative” political parties:

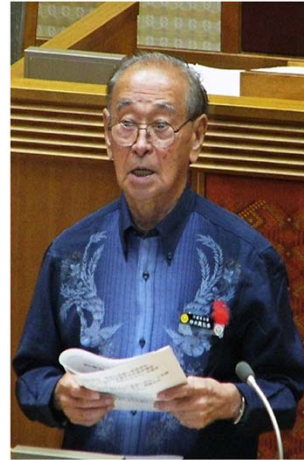
- Liberal Democratic Party (LDP)
- New Komei Party (NKP)
- Other smaller LDP breakaway parties, such as Your Party (YP)

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Japanese politics changed dramatically with the inauguration of the opposition party as the ruling party. Japan had been essentially led by one party for most of its postwar period, and had almost no experience in change of governments and bipartisanship. The new government, led by the Democratic Party of Japan, must learn how to be a governing party rather than in the opposition. At the time of this writing, three of its party heads have become prime minister in less than two years.

Political Climate—Prefecture Level

- Conservatives have been elected 24 of the past 38 years.
- The current conservative governor was re-elected in November 2010 for a second four-year term. However, even conservative governors have chosen to move to the Center/Left publicly on basing issues, especially the Futenma Replacement Facility, for political reasons.
- Situation compounded due to change in government at national level, to an anti-FRF, anti-base Left-leaning administration. Okinawan politics (and traditional vested interests on which they rest) were thrown into chaos.



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Okinawa, like mainland Japan, has long been dominated by conservative leaders.

Conservatives have served as governor for 24 of the last 38 years.

The current governor, first elected in 2006, ran on a conservative agenda.

However, even conservative leaders will adopt the agenda of the anti-base forces when it serves their political interests or in an effort to show a unified front vis-à-vis the central government.

Political Climate (Okinawa Pref Assembly)

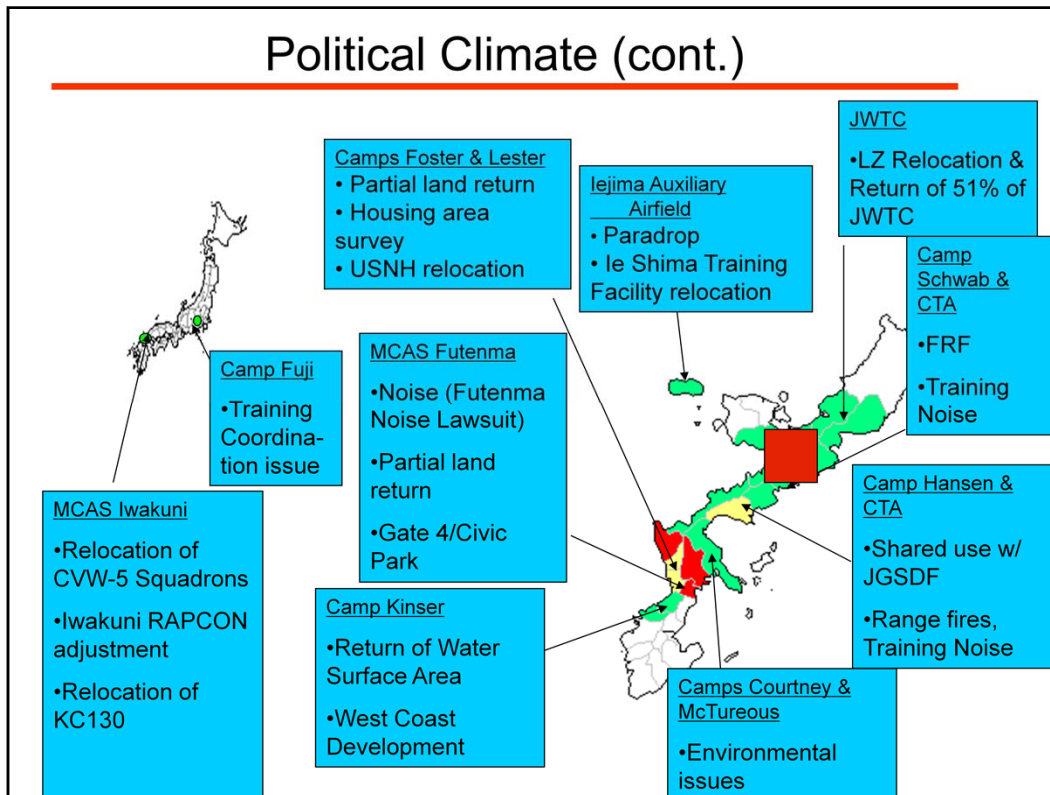


- Okinawa Prefectural Assembly
 - Speaker: TAKAMINE Zenshin
 - Total No. Seats: 48 (26 reformists/22 conservative)
 - July 2008, six groups within OPA passed (by majority vote) a resolution calling for FRF relocation out of prefecture
 - February 2010, OPA unanimously passes resolution calling for relocation out of prefecture (first time since 1996 that a unanimous resolution against FRF passed—at that time against FRF *within* prefecture)
 - Next election for OPA—June 2012

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These are photos of the Okinawa Prefectural Assembly, located next to the Okinawa Prefectural Government building. There are 48 assembly members from throughout the prefecture. Although the governor ran on a conservative platform, his opponents, the Reformists control the Assembly. Over the years, the Conservatives and Reformists have supported bipartisan resolutions against the Futenma Replacement Facility being located in

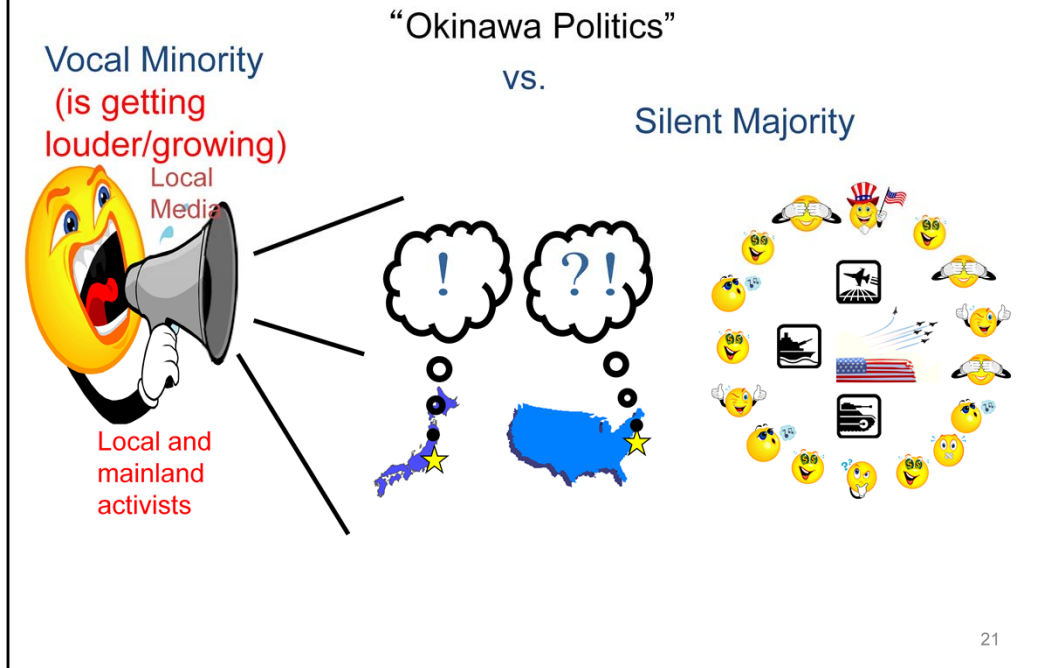
Political Climate (cont.)



This slide shows the political climate of the municipalities hosting the MCBJ camps/stations and some of the key issues. Communities shown in red suggest particularly politically sensitive issues or mayors who are opposed to certain measures. Those in yellow, more moderate, and those in green less sensitive.

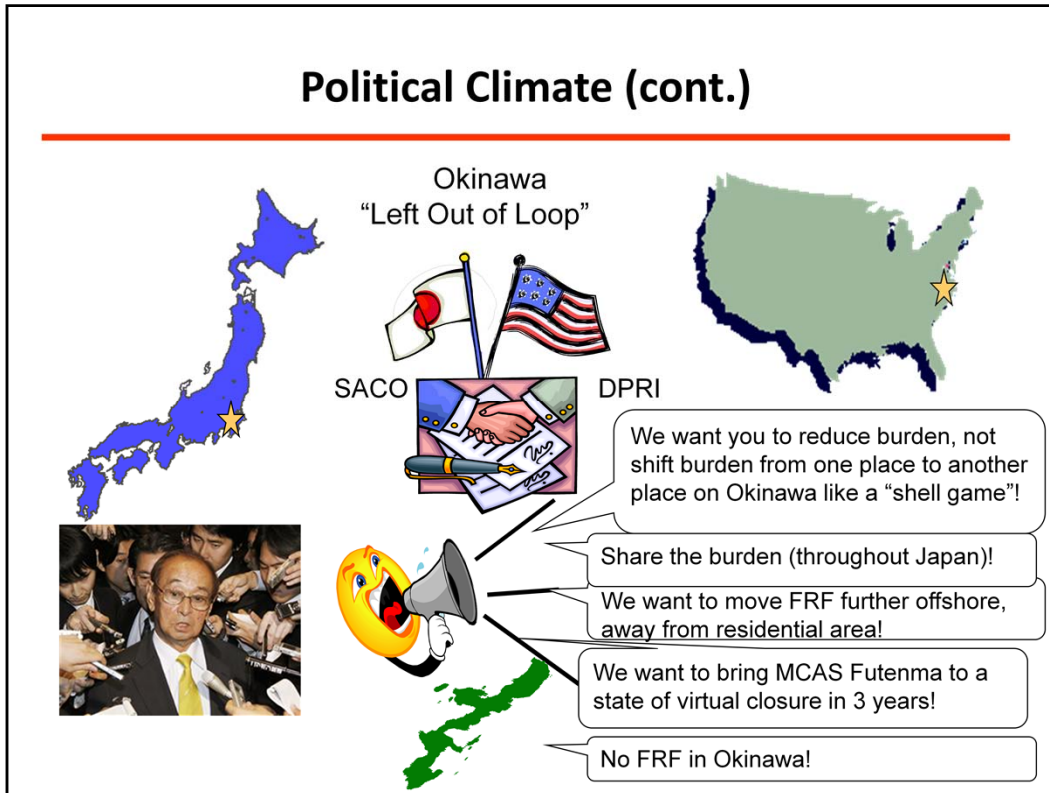
Political climate is less affected by the media in Iwakuni and Fuji because the media in mainland Japan is relatively less biased than the media in Okinawa.

Political Climate (cont.)



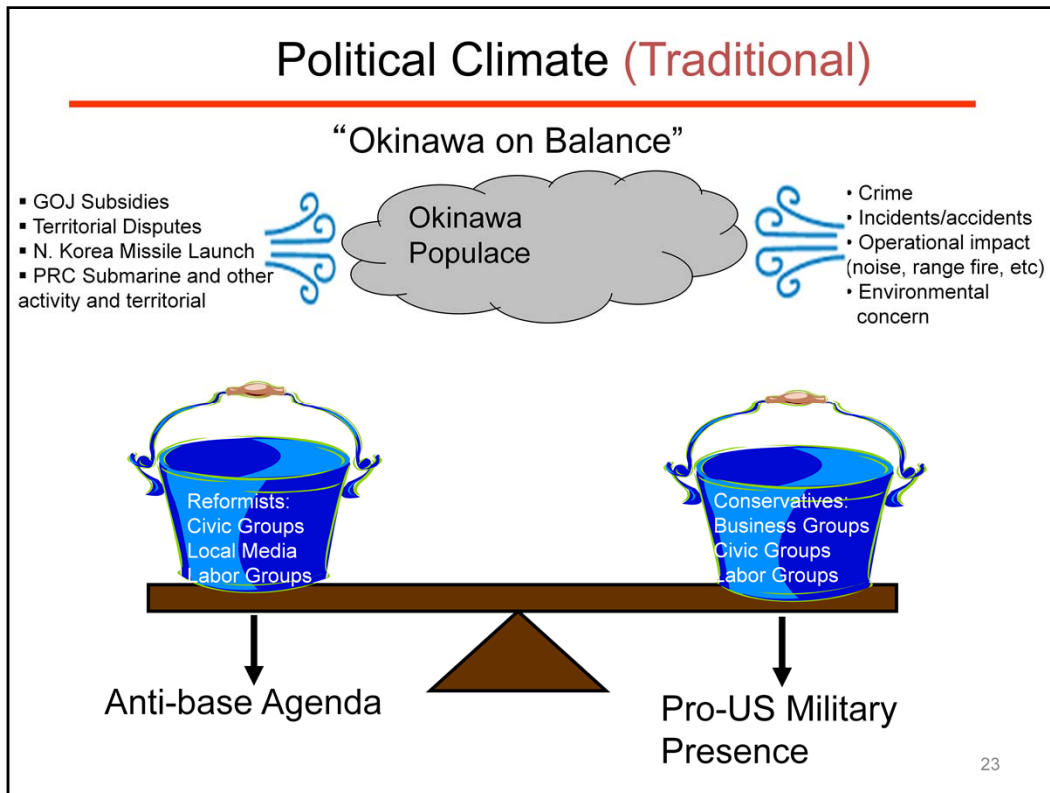
It is difficult to grasp and understand the political climate of Okinawa due to its uniqueness and complexity. The majority of Okinawa's residents remain silent, however there is a vocal minority of anti-base supporters whose voice is amplified by the local media. Which is in turn, causes a reaction by Tokyo and Washington.

Political Climate (cont.)



The US-Japan bilateral agreements, such as the 1996 Special Action Committee on Okinawa (SACO) report and the 2006 Defense Policy Review Initiative (DPRI) report, were agreed by both governments aimed to reduce the impact due to the US military presence while addressing the concerns of the Okinawa citizens.

However, the negotiations and discussions are solely conducted by bureaucrats who prioritize "results" rather than implementation. Most of the time, the local municipalities feel left out of the loop and as a result, the Japanese government faces difficulty in the implementation of the agreement. As pointed out in the previous slide, local consensus is crucial and can influence or interfere in the preliminary and implementation stage of these agreements.



This slide shows the traditional balancing act between the two different groups on Okinawa.

Anti-base is made up of the Reformists which include civic groups, local media, and labor groups

Pro-US-Japan alliance/pro-US military presence forces are made up of Conservatives which include business groups, and some civic groups and labor groups

The populace is shown as a cloud mainly indifferent to either side. However, specific events amplified by the anti-military agenda media can cause it to rain in either bucket tilting the balance.

Examples include:

Servicemember misconduct

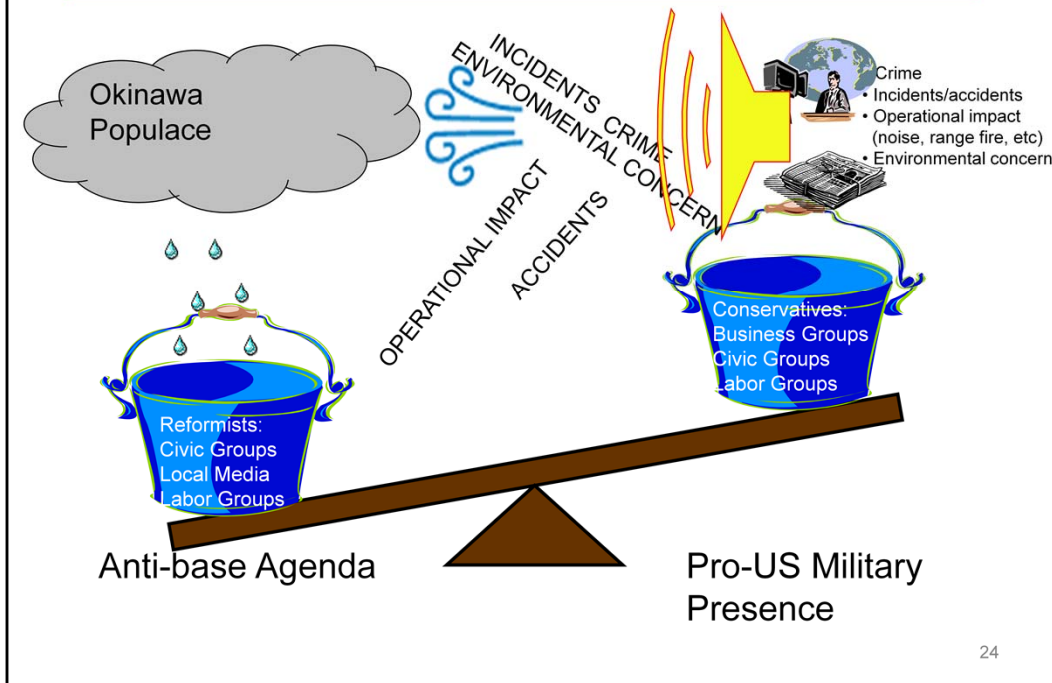
Aircraft mishaps

Operational impact (noise, fire, etc)

Korea Missiles (Conservative)

Continuing Territorial Disputes (Senkaku Island; Rights to oil/natural in East China Sea; Northern Territory)

Political Climate (Problems and Perceptions)



This slide show how incidents can be magnified through the media and become larger issues to tip the balance in favor of the anti-base agenda. Not shown on this slide but important is that crime, environmental, and so forth lead to the reformists exclaiming that they want to revise the SOFA.

Examples include:

Service member misconduct

Aircraft mishaps

Operational impact (noise, fire, etc)

Other issues and dangers associated with the bases

Political Climate (Media Influence)

Okinawa people are generally pacifist/anti-military, not necessarily anti-American (media attention is often generated by professional activists and writers who may be anti-American).

2 major Okinawan daily papers (*Ryukyu Shimpo* / *Okinawa Times*)

- Approximately 360,000 copies daily (98% of market share)
- Only 12,000 copies of daily mainland papers on Okinawa
- Inward and narrow focus, and promotes anti-military propaganda
- Interpretation of Okinawa history – The U.S. military presence is the burden; it is the “Okinawa problem.”
- Claim to report from the “perspective of the citizen”—capturing public sentiment or artificially trying to lead it?

There are 4 major television networks in Okinawa:

- Ryukyu Asahi Broadcasting (QAB) – Affiliated with Asahi which is anti-military
- Nihon Hoso Kyoku (NHK) – National Broadcasting company
- Ryukyu Broadcasting Corp (RBC) – Local broadcasting company
- Okinawa TV Broadcasting (OTV) – Local broadcasting company

In total, there are a dozen mainland media outlets on Okinawa and all belong to the Okinawa Press Club. The “conformist” press club often decides collectively on how the news will be reported, but mainland press generally more “friendly” to U.S. military.

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On Okinawa there is an anti-military political presence with the goal of removing all military forces and abrogation of the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty. This reformist platform is supported by the reformist-oriented news media.

There are 16 media outlets on Okinawa and all belong to the Okinawa Press Club. The press club often decides collectively on how the news will be reported.

Consequently, news stories are often unfavorable or biased.

The Okinawan population has a strong, inward focus. This is reflected in newspaper readership.

The two daily local papers, the *Ryukyu Shimpo* and the *Okinawa Times*, provide the majority of news for the Okinawans. Nearly 360,000 papers are distributed daily in two editions: This is contrasted to the 12,000 circulation of the mainland Japan papers that are more national and international in scope, and provide a better news balance.

Four major television networks:

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(Mainland Japan newspapers are restricted from having a printing press in Okinawa. The circulation is not limited)

Political Climate (Public Opinion)

Okinawans generally have limited sources of information and do not usually go out of their way to find information. (Internet is changing this, but is a two-edged sword.) As such, they see things through their own lens:

Dots and Lines view of incidents/crimes

“Magma” about to explode

Pacifism (anti-base not necessarily anti-American)

U.S. Forces “Occupation Mentality”

It pays to complain. Anywhere offense can be taken, it will be used.

From our perspective, the debate tends to be:

More emotional than logical

Double standards

Failure to take responsibility and initiative, with much “pass-the-buck” phenomenon

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Because of their limited, or in some cases, self-serving approach to news issues, public opinion tends to see issues (or better said, the issues are portrayed to the public) through certain types of lenses.

For example, crimes are viewed in a historical context, which is constantly growing, versus a one time, isolated incident.

Okinawan anger about issues is described as “magma” about to blow.

U.S. forces are criticized as having an “occupation mentality”.

The debate tends to be highly charged and emotional, sometimes, based both on their history as well as the agenda of the media and politicians.

Perpetual Political Issues

“Everything is political.”

- Perceptions
- Crime, incidents, and accidents
- Operational concerns
 - Noise (aviation and ordnance)
 - Training range fires
 - Aircraft issues: Futenma, noise, overflight (CH-53D accident), diverts, etc.
- Reduction of footprint
- FRF
- Environmental impact
- Status Of Forces Agreement
- Potential expansion of military capability
 - Training areas (Range 4)
 - Use of civilian airfields (Shimoji Airport, etc.)
 - Perception of force/capability increase
- Local land owners (Joint use, land return, land lease)

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SOFA status personnel make-up less than 4% of Okinawa's total population. They account for less than 1% of the crime and traffic incidents on Okinawa. Isolated criminal incidents by members of the U.S. military gave impetus to our two government to strengthen the security alliance by reducing the burden on the people of Okinawa that resulted in the establishment of the Special Action Committee on Okinawa (SACO).

Noise from our aircraft and training is monitored by local municipalities with variances protested to U.S. military commands. From our perspective, noise is addressed under the SACO process.

The bases here on Okinawa have a comprehensive environmental and cultural resources management program overseen by a large and dedicated professional staff. Our Environmental Division has trained over 2000 US and 500 Japanese on environmental protection, to include the most up-to-date red soil erosion prevention techniques. Range fires normally caused while conducting live fire training are a highly visible issue with Okinawans who live near our ranges. Through the years, procedures were established between our governments to reduce the chance or spread of fires on our installations. No fires have ever left an installation.

The SOFA is a source of continuous frustration for Okinawans who see our privileges as preferential treatment. SOFA-status personnel enjoy a host of rights and freedoms which were established first in 1952, and then in 1960. The agreement is available to the public, but amendments are protected under Joint Committee rules. The people of Okinawa pay close attention to any potential expansion of our military capability on Okinawa and aggressively fight the same expansion.

Perpetual Political Issues (cont.)

Crime

- Pre-Reversion memories of soldier misconduct and “undemocratic” military government policies still dominate.
- Okinawa views each incident/accident as a continuum referred as “connected with dots and lines” by Okinawa Prefecture Government, local communities, and citizens groups.
- Every new criminal act is, indeed, one crime too many.
- Actual U.S. Forces per capita crime stats very low but difficult to argue against above perception in our favor.

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U.S. crime is limited to 1% of all crimes in Okinawa (compared to 4% of the population). This low rate can be irrelevant to the people of Okinawa as they tend to view all incidents as vertical vice as a horizontal trend over time and they highlight the seriousness of individual crimes in their opinion “incident would not happened if we were not here.”

Frequently, this issue is closely related to dialogues by local governments for revision of the SOFA which they consider to be “favorable” to the US Military.

Perpetual Political Issues (cont.)

Environmental Concerns

- Contaminated sites on our installations will receive more public and political interest. SOFA calls for land to be returned as is.
- Potential future requests for USMC to remediate installations prior to return to Government of Japan
- Continued focus on environmental stewardship by all military installations.
- Extensive surveys of natural and cultural resources required for many construction projects

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Environment issues are always a concern. U.S. Forces have proclaimed a leadership role in environmental compliance and protection. The environmental protection standards we have established are self-imposed and sometimes exceed any standards established by Japanese law. Future controversy will center around what remedial or cleanup actions will be conducted to correct environmental problems caused by past activities, and who will be responsible for funding such actions.

Marines need a variety of landscapes to conducting training. However, training can degrade a landscape, making it unsuitable for future use. Accordingly, Marine Corps installation commanders must work to guarantee continued access to our land, air, and water resources for realistic military training and testing. Installation commanders must ensure that the natural resources entrusted to the Marine Corps care remain healthy and available for future generations (MCO P5090.2A 11102)

MCB Butler, through the Environmental Campaign, educates military personnel in their responsibilities to minimize land and maneuver damage to the environment, and to comply with appropriate environmental laws and regulations. Options include training courses and materials such as posters, videotapes, logos, maps, field handbooks, leader's handbook, and pocket field guides.

Perpetual Political Issues (cont.)

Status of Forces Agreement (SOFA):

- Usage of facilities (base usage agreement, survey/inspection)
- Environmental preservation of facilities and areas (survey prior to return)
- Criminal jurisdiction (pre-indictment transfer of custody)
- Limiting usage of local ports/airports to emergency purposes
- Taxation (road tax)
- Renunciation of claims (damage compensation)

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The SOFA consists of 28 separate articles applicable across the full spectrum of US Forces activities in Japan. Like other SOFAs, it contains an entire set of judicial procedures applicable to US Forces personnel.

The SOFA establishes the Joint Committee, the forum through which bilateral consultations occur to carry out the actual administration of the SOFA.

The unique nature of our SOFA requires direct interface between COMUSJAPAN, the Ministry of Defense, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and other Ministries and agencies.

- Regulates entire spectrum of US forces activities in Japan
- Judicial procedures regarding US personnel
- Establishes the Joint Committee
- Direct interface with counterparts: Ministry of Defense, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, other ministries and agencies

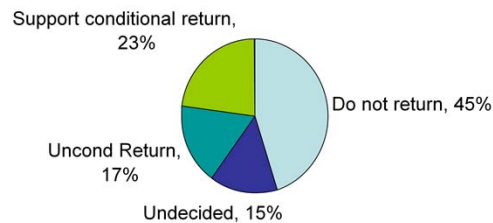
There is constant rhetoric from the anti-base movement for SOFA revision in order to resolve the following issues:

1. Environmental surveys to be accommodated by OPG at contaminated sites on base, such as fuel-leak sites.
2. Transfer of custody from the US to the Japanese side before indictment.

A SOFA Revision Plan drafted by Okinawa Prefecture Government (OPG) calls for revision in areas such as usage of facilities; environmental preservation of provided facilities and areas; criminal jurisdiction; limiting usage of local ports/airports to emergency purposes; taxation; and renunciation of claims

Perpetual Political Issues (cont.)

Land Lease Issues



- Traditionally, large portion of landowners do not want early return of U.S. base land on Okinawa due to high rent, age of land owner, and inability to reutilize land profitably.
- 29,000 of 32,000 voluntarily renewed leases on approximately 70,000 plots of U.S. base land
- Fiscal Year 2006, GOJ spent 77.976 billion Yen (approximately \$77 million) for lease payments on US base land.
- 3,451 landowners refused to renew leases on 191 plots of land totaling approximately 78 acres
 - 187 plots owned by 127 landowners
 - 4 plots owned by 3,324 landowners--"One Tsubo Landowners"
- GOJ has to spend its time, energy and money in expropriating one Tsubo of land through complicated legal procedures.

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For many Okinawans, land rental payments are the sole source of income, and they do not want their land returned. This makes land return a difficult issue.

A Majority of landowners are old and land lease payments are their sole source of income.

The yearly rent paid for an acre of land ranges from \$25,000 to \$55,000. (ODB establishes the value of plots of land)

A 1993 survey conducted by the prefecture showed 45.3 percent of landowners do not want an early return of their land; 22.8 percent hope for land reversion if it is accompanied by a redevelopment program; 17.9 percent hope for unconditional reversion.

They are called one tsubo landowners. (One tsubo equals to approximately 3.3 square meters in size.) They purchased the plot to protest the bases and complicate the land renewal process.

Ways to Improve and Deepen the Relationship

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Next slide, please.

Ways to Improve and Deepen the Relationship

- Show your understanding for the path Okinawa has walked, both its early history as having been its own independent kingdom with extensive trading in the region, as well as its more difficult modern history.
- Go out and learn more on your own about modern and pre-modern history. Have Okinawan friends show you around, including visiting museums and historic sites.
- Most people will appreciate the interest you show in their history

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This slide introduces some ways to improve and deepen the relationship.

Additional Resources

2016/2/11

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Next slide, please.

Additional Resources

- SMP
- MCCA
- ONLINE WEB ACCESS
- OKINAWAHAI.COM

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The following books and resources may be of further reference to you.

QUESTIONS????

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