# Host Nation Support Economic Benefit for Japan?--A Case of Okinawa

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#### Abstract

This paper deals with pros and cons of keeping United States Forces in Japan (USFJ) including the Host Nation Support or OMOIYARIYOSAN from the Japanese economic viewpoint. It argues that there are some advantages of having USFJ in the neighborhood. However, there are more problems than the benefits to host USFJ in your local area. The local governments face a dilemma, which means that the municipal governments want to receive subsidies for promotion of their economy in exchange for hosting US bases, but are concerned about crimes, environmental destruction, and accidents. The paper argues that economic development takes place in many places after the sites of the US bases were returned to Japan. Therefore, the paper indicates that there is a possibility of new industry in Okinawa without USFJ and bases.

Key words: The Host Nation Support, OMOIYARIYOSAN, USFJ, and subsidy

#### Introduction

According to the public opinion polls conducted by Asahi Shimbun and Okinawa Times in May 2012, 50% of those who participated in the survey in Okinawa said "yes" whereas 29% of other people in the mainland Japan said so when they were asked whether the reason why the United States military bases had not decreased stemmed from discrimination against the people in Okinawa. The polls also asked the future of the United States military bases. Only 12% of the people in Okinawa supported the status quo, 49% said that they would prefer reduction, and 37% advocated total withdrawal of the bases. (Asahi Shimbun, 9 May 2012) This opinion polls show that the majority of the people in Okinawa do not welcome USFJ. Only those who get benefits from business with USFJ members support the status quo. 86% of those who participated in the survey supported either reduction or withdrawal of the bases. Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld once said that the United States forces would not stay if they were not welcomed. It is obvious that USFJ in Okinawa is not welcomed. Therefore, they should go home. According to the 21<sup>st</sup> century vision of Okinawa prepared by Okinawa Municipal Government, the areas of USFJ bases in Okinawa are 10.2% of the whole of Okinawa and about 20% of the Okinawa mainland. However, economic contribution of USFJ bases to Okinawa is 6.3%. Gross Income of Okinawa is 3.95 trillion yen and revenue gained from USFJ bases is 5.3% and revenue from tourism is 10.9%. (Maedomari, 2012, pp. 124-25) As compared with the areas that USFJ occupies in Okinawa, its economic contribution is small. Okinawa gains more revenue from tourism than from USFJ bases. If there is no USFJ in Okinawa, tourism would further develop since USFJ occupies many important areas in such as good beaches and commercial locations.

Kei Ooshiro argues that it is not proper to describe income related to base as revenue since it is the cost to keep the base. According to the Okinawa Municipal Government quoted in his article, revenue from the base is still a large source of income which supports the economy of the prefecture and plays an important factor among economic activities in Okinawa. The Okinawa Prefecture states that the existence of the base produces revenue from the base and gives economy in Okinawa a plus effect. In fact, many economists hold the view that revenue from the base is a plus in economic effect, Ooshiro says. However, he argues that revenue from the base is too small since the revenue is a part of the entire maintenance cost to keep combat function of USFJ and if one considers sacrifices that the people in Okinawa have made since the end of World War II. (Ooshiro, 2009, pp. 56-57) It is difficult to say that revenue from the base is large since revenue gained from USFJ bases was only about 5% of Gross Income of Okinawa and economic contribution of USFJ bases to Okinawa was only about 6% given the fact that the areas of USFJ bases in Okinawa are about 10% of the whole of Okinawa.

Since the end of the war in 1945, the industrial structure in Okinawa has been changing because of USFJ. Before 1945, Okinawa was basically an agricultural prefecture, which about 80% of its population engaged in agriculture. However, due to the construction of the base after 1945, people in Okinawa lost their land for agriculture and industry. By the time of 1970, the ratio of those who engaged in agriculture was reduced to the 20% range whereas the ratio of service industry increased from the 10% range in 1945 to over 50% in the 1960s and over 60% at the time of reversion. The ratio of manufacturing industry also reduced from the 10% range before 1945 to less than 10% now while construction industry increased to the 20% range at the time of reversion. The Japanese mainland, on the one hand, accomplished high economic growth and development promoting such industries as oil, steel, shipbuilding,

automobiles, electrical machines, electrical appliances, and high technology. Okinawa, on the other hand, became an island of construction industry after the reversion. (Maedomari, 2012, pp. 127-28) The United States forces made about a quarter of the land in Okinawa into military bases and the United States Government brought a large quantity of extra agricultural produce into Okinawa. As a result, many people in Okinawa were forced to become workers at the base and agriculture was destroyed due to imported produce creating Okinawan economy which became dependent on the base. (Arasaki, 2009, p. 226) In this way, USFJ affected the entire life of the people in Okinawa taking away land and jobs from the people. USFJ destroyed agriculture and occupied nice beaches in Okinawa. The Japanese Government's development policy including economic assistance after the reversion also made Okinawa dependent on USFJ bases. With the carrots and the sticks, the Japanese Government manipulated the people in Okinawa.

Financial and monetary policy also played an important role in making Okinawa's economy dependent on the base. At the time of the fixed exchange rate, "B Yen" which the United States Military Government introduced into Okinawa had an exchange rate of 120 yen to the dollar whereas the Japanese yen was fixed to 360 yen. The base took the agricultural land away from the people in Okinawa, higher demand for the construction of the base brought about high wages for the workers in the base in order to get the work force, and the exchange rate of B yen three times higher than the Japanese yen led to an import-led industry making an export-led industry lose competitiveness. As a result, the only option left to the people in Okinawa to get the dollar was to rely on the construction of the base and its related industry. (Maedomari, 2012, pp. 128-130) Financial and monetary policy of the United States Government since the end of the war accelerated Okinawa's dependency on the bases and helped economy in Okinawa change. However, the fundamental problem of Okinawa's dependence on the base stems from the Japanese Government policy to keep the Security Treaty.

According to Tsuneo Oshiro, if Okinawa obtains economic independence from the base, people in Okinawa would further demand for the return of their land to further develop economy, which would lead to the reduction of the base and USFJ. The Security Treaty, which heavily depends on USFJ in Okinawa, would be shaken its basis. Therefore, in order to steadily keep and manage the Security Treaty, both the United States and the Japanese Governments need to maintain the system of how to restrain Okinawa's economic development and how to keep Okinawa's economy unable to survive without the base. (Maedomari, 2012, p. 130) As a result, the income of the people in Okinawa is still the lowest among that of the forty seven prefectures in Japan. This is partly because Okinawa was left behind Japan's rapid economic development after the war since it was under the American occupation for twenty seven years, but partly because the Japanese Government intentionally kept Okinawa's economy under its control using the carrots and the sticks.

### Pros for Having USFJ in Your Neighborhood

While economic effect from USFJ in Okinawa is regarded as negative, people in Sasebo, Nagasaki Prefecture have a different image of USFJ. In Sasebo, the United States naval base concentrates on the side of the port, and therefore, there is no noise of air craft in the center of the city. As a result, people do not regard the base as burden in everyday life and accept the attraction of the base as a part of tourism. Sasebo Burger is very popular among the tourists and contributes to the city economy. (Okinawa Taimusu, 2011, pp. 64-65)

In Yokosuka City, Kanagawa Prefecture, where is a home port for the US Navy 7<sup>th</sup> Fleet, the United States naval base has become a popular tourist destination over the last several years. Among them is "Yokosuka Naval Tour" which tourists can see both the vessels of the Maritime Self-Defense Forces (SDF) and the United States Navy. Some local people say that Yokosuka depends on the United States Naval base for its economy. Yokosuka Navy Burger has also become popular among the tourists. (Okinawa Taimusu, 2011, pp. 67-69)

In Motomachi, Yokosuka City, there is a bustling street of bars and stores keeping an exotic mood for the youth and foreigners which attracts tourists as well. A chairperson of the Motomachi shopping district states that as compared with the past, the district has become less rely on the American soldiers, but in order to keep tourists attracted it must live with the base. He concludes that one cannot deny the existence of the base and the district is the closest place to the United States. (Okinawa Taimusu, 2011, pp. 79-81)

The United States base provided the local economy with good business in Sasebo in the past such as the Korean War. Even today, USFJ in Sasebo and Sasebo City talk about demand of USFJ. For example, the commander of USFJ in Sasebo emphasizes that about 6,000 people within the base make contribution to economy of Sasebo. In reality, however, many local people do not actually feel such contribution except when an aircraft carrier came to Sasebo because of long depression in Japan. Some USFJ member states that prices are 30% cheaper in the base than in Sasebo City. Furthermore, due to yen appreciation USFJ members tend to go shopping within the base. Even so, many people agree that Sasebo cannot live without USFJ base and must live as a city of the base. Moreover, people in Sasebo do not have a feeling that something is wrong with USFJ. Actually, USFJ provides local people with employment. For example, Sasebo Heavy Industries, which is called SSK, an old name of Sasebo Senpaku Kogyo, contracts with the United States Navy for ship-repairing and its related work. (Okinawa Taimusu, 2011, pp. 75, 88-90)

According to some calculation, each year USFJ employs over 9,000 Japanese people in the base who receive income of over 50 billion yen, over 40,000 people living in the base consume 50 billion yen of goods and services, and USFJ provides companies in Okinawa with over 10 billion yen of goods and services. (Maedomari, 2012, p. 134)

In the above places, USFJ provides the local people with good image of the United States, being good neighborhoods, and pretty good economic incentives. Therefore, not all of the aspects of USFJ and its bases have negative influence over the local people. Restaurants, souvenir shops, real estate companies, land owners, bars, saloons, and other entertainment services welcome USFJ members and foreigners. For them, USFJ and bases are necessary. However, overall balance sheet shows that USFJ damages the local people and destroys environment. Therefore, it should be reduced and eventually removed out of Japan to protect the people and environment in Japan.

# The Problems that the Local Governments Face and Promotion of the Economy in Exchange for Hosting Bases

As of the end of March 2008, Kadena Town is the largest town in terms of the ratio of the base area to the city area, which the base occupies 82.5% of the town area. About 13,700 people have to live in the remaining area of only 17% or so. Kin Town is the second largest town, which the base occupies 59.3% of the town area followed by 52.9% of Chatan Town, 50.7% of Ginoza Village, and 41.5% of Higashi Town. (Maedomari, 2012, pp. 132-33) However, the municipalities which rely on the base have a serious financial problem. Kadena Town, Ginoza Village, and Kin Town all depend on the revenue from the base having 40%, 35%, and 35% of dependency ratio, respectively. Revenue from the base is more than twice the tax revenue in all of the above places. As a result, they cannot form a budget without revenue from the base. This is a structural problem. (Miyata, 2009, p. 122) In the 2007 fiscal year, Ginoza Village, Kin Town, Onna Village, Kadena Town, Yomitan Village, and Chatan Town heavily depend on the revenue from the base having 35.5%, 26.5%, 24.5%, 17.1%,

13.2%, and 11.5% of dependency ratio, respectively. (Maedomari, 2012, p. 132) In this way, those municipalities, which rely on the USFJ and bases and economic assistance from the Japanese Government, have difficulty becoming economically independent. It is partly because subsidies are comfortable for the municipalities and partly because large companies would not come to Okinawa due to USFJ and bases.

Since Okinawa was returned to Japan in 1972, the Japanese Government has provided Okinawa with financial assistance for economic development in Okinawa. From the 1972 fiscal year to the 2009 fiscal year, Okinawa received about 8.78 trillion yen. However, this financial assistance has not led to economic independence of Okinawa since the major construction companies from the Japanese mainland got 50% of the jobs. These large companies do not contribute to tax revenue of the Okinawa Municipal Government. For example, according to the financial report of the 2007 fiscal year prepared by Okinawa Prefecture, the ratio of local tax revenue to the total revenue was 19.9%, which was far smaller than the nation-wide average of 33.3%. (Miyata, 2009, pp. 117-18) These major construction companies from the Japanese mainland do not stay in Okinawa for a long time. They leave Okinawa when a project is finished. Therefore, these major construction companies do not contribute to job creation in Okinawa or do not pay constant corporate tax to the local government.

In spite of the fact that Okinawa received more than 8 trillion yen of financial assistance since 1972, average income in Okinawa ranks the lowest among forty seven prefectures staying at 70% of the average income of the nation. Moreover, the unemployment rate increased to 7.4% in 2008 from 3% in 1972. The average rate of the nation was 4%. The rent revenue from the land, which USFJ uses for free, discourages the people in the local areas to work. The unemployment rate in Kadena Town, Nago City, Yomitan Village, Kin Town was 17.5%, 12.5%, 12.4%, and 12.1% in the census of 2005, respectively. They all depended on rent revenue from the land and were all worse than 11.9%, which was the average of the prefecture. There were seventeen municipalities whose unemployment rate was higher than the average. Among them, thirteen hosted the base. The more municipalities received economic assistance from the government, the higher the dependency rate and unemployment rate were. (Miyata, 2009, p. 119 and Maedomari, 2012, p. 133) This indicates that municipalities in Okinawa need independent economy so that people, companies, and municipalities prosper without USFJ or bases or subsidies. In other words, it is obvious that USFJ and bases prevent Okinawa from becoming prosperous

The Japanese Government has been using "carrots and sticks" to make the municipality accept USFJ and the base as already seen in the cases of Okinawa. The business people generally welcome USFJ bases, which they think that the bases would contribute to local economy. In some places such as Sasebo and Yokosuka, USFJ provides local economy with good business. However, in Okinawa the situation is different from other places in Japan. It is mainly because Okinawa hosts the Marine Corps, which is one of the toughest services among the United States Armed Forces.

USFJ and its bases also affect employment in Okinawa. At the time of the reversion, the number of the Japanese workers in the base was about 20,000, but the number has remained around 9,000 since 2005. Okinawa suffers from high unemployment rate and the base is the second largest employer after the Okinawa Municipal Government. (Maedomari, 2012, pp. 131-32) Okinawa has the highest unemployment rate in Japan. It is partly because Okinawa has only limited industry such as tourism. Even tourism, it has difficulty expanding because of USFJ, which occupies many best beaches and disturb the tourists due to high crime rate among the prefectures in Japan.

The base revenue consists of rent for the land, income of the Japanese workers in the base, goods and services provided to USFJ, and direct order from USFJ. Rent for the land continued to increase after the reversion. It increased by 6.3 times to 77.7 billion yen in 2006 from 12.3 billion yen at the time of reversion. The income of the workers increased by 2.2 times from 24 billion yen to 51.6 billion yen. Goods and services increased by 1.8 times from 41.4 billion yen to 74.6 billion yen. (Maedomari, 2012, p. 131) Therefore, those who lend their land to USFJ receive the benefits. Many of these land owners do not want to have the land returned because the land might be contaminated and USFJ has no obligation to clean up the land under the Status of Forces Agreement (SOFA). If the land is contaminated, the land owners must pay for cleaning and they cannot afford to pay. Cleaning the land is too expensive for them.

However, in terms of revenue of the municipal government, USFJ and its bases provided good economic sources for a while. Revenue related to the base in Nago City, for example, increased by five times from 1.9 billion yen in the 1995 fiscal year to 9.1 billion yen in the 2001 fiscal year. (Maedomari, 2012, p. 135) In 1999, the Japanese Government provided Nago City with financial assistance for economic development in Okinawa in exchange for hosting the Marine Corps of the Futenma Air Base. However, the measures did not lead to economic development in the city. As a result, an unemployment rate in Nago City was 12.5% in the 2005 fiscal year up 2.5% from the 2000 fiscal year and a vacant store rate in a shopping district increased to about 20% in 2010. Many people in Nago City do not actually feel that measures for promotion of the economy provided by the government contributed to economic development in the city. Moreover, revenue related to the base among the city's budget began to increase around 1997 and passed over 9 billion yen in 2001 accounting for nearly 30% in the whole revenue. (Okinawa Taimusu, 2011, pp. 94-95) In fact, the Japanese Government provided Nago City with some 60 billion yen of economic assistance during the ten-year period, but the result was not good. Nago City increased debts and unemployment rate while reduced corporate tax revenue. The result also led to further dependence on the revenue from the base. Nago's financial dependence increased from the 6 to 7% range before the 1996 fiscal year to 29.4% in the 2001 fiscal year and 24.5% in the 2004 fiscal year. (Maedomari, 2012, pp. 132,135)

In this way, economy in Nago City was good for a while thanks to USFJ and its related revenue. However, eventually, Nago City became dependent on USFJ and its bases as well as government subsidy. The case of Nago City shows that as long as the municipalities depend on USFJ and bases, there is a limit of economic development. They must invite private sectors and provide jobs to the local people.

#### Economic Development after the Site of the Base was returned to Japan

During the Vietnam War in the 1960s, there were about six hundred bars or cabarets in Koza City (now Okinawa City). But, now most of them were gone and the district of bars or cabarets turned into a shopping district as a result of the municipal policy aiming at getting rid of economy depending on USFJ. (Okinawa Taimusu, 2011, p. 77) This is the beginning of the municipalities becoming economically independent without USFJ and bases. The Japanese Government has to help the local governments to become economically independent by providing subsidies at the beginning.

Takeshi Onaga, Mayor of Naha City, made a speech in 2013 saying that it is true that Okinawa depended on revenue from USFJ and its related revenue consisting of 15% of its GDP under the United States Military Administration for twenty seven years, but now it is 5%. He continued that the land of 215 hectare which USFJ returned to Naha City more than twenty years ago produced remarkable economic benefit. For example, GDP increased by ten times from 5.2 billion yen to 60 billion yen, tax revenue by 15 times from 0.6 billion yen to 9.7 billion yen, and employment from 180 to 20,000 people. Onaga concluded that USFJ in Okinawa was the largest blocking factor of economic development in Okinawa. (Dai, 2013, p. 149) In fact, according to the Planning Division of Okinawa Prefecture, dependency ratio on USFJ, which is the ratio of revenue from USFJ and its related revenue in terms of Gross National Income (GNI) in Okinawa, was 15.5% in the 1972 fiscal year, but 5.2% in the 2009 fiscal year. Economic development and its related effect, which the site of the Futenma Air Base after its return would bring about, is expected to be a jump in the increase of economy up to 371.6 billion yen, 55 times larger than 6.7 billion yen of rent revenue per year in the 2010 fiscal year and the increase of employment from 197 people in the 2011 fiscal year to 32,090 people. (Dai, 2013, p. 150) An airfield (about 43 hectares) and a firing range (about 23 hectares) in Chatan Town were also returned in the 1981 and became popular shopping and business districts attracting the young people. According to the calculation made by Chatan Town, the site of the airfield produced economic ripple effect of about 170 billion yen from 1991 to 2002 and the site of the firing range about 40 billion yen from 1996 to 2002. (Okinawa Taimusu, 2011, p. 96) In the site of the airfield, tax revenue increased by 52 times, economic ripple effect by 81 times, and employment by 22 times. In the site of the firing range, tax revenue increased by 38 times, economic effect by 17 times, and employment by over 100 times. Overall economic ripple effect was over 200 billion yen creating new employment of 5,900 people in both sites as of 2004. (Maedomari, 2012, p. 134)

These examples show that commercial districts rather than military bases would provide the local people with economic prosperity. In terms of economy, military bases produce only limited economic incentives as compared with private business activities. In terms of job creation and income of individuals as well as of the municipalities, private business is much better than the military bases.

Real estate business in Okinawa had become prosperous until July 2009 when USFJ announced that service persons with the family must live within a base. Since real estate business can expect to set a higher rent on housing for USFJ members than the average rent for the Japanese, competition has become keen. For example, property increased by 30% to 1,644 housing in Chatan Town alone from 2006 to 2008. Some are willing to pay for rent from 300,000 to more than 400,000 yen (from \$3,000 to more than \$4,000) per month. Some in real estate business in Okinawa states that housing for USFJ members involves wide business such as construction industry and refurbishing business or industry in Okinawa, it is obvious that Okinawa benefits in business with USFJ and its members. (Okinawa Taimusu, 2011, pp. 70-71) For real estate business or industry might not come to Okinawa after USFJ is gone, it is understandable that real estate business wants USFJ to stay in Okinawa.

Nevertheless, USFJ provides negative effect on Okinawa. While a nationwide average of land productivity is 1.6 billion yen per 1km<sup>2</sup>, that of Okinawa is 0.9 billion

yen as of 2006. It means that Okinawa loses 160 billion yen every year. Judging from the ratio that USFJ occupies the land of Okinawa, it is not economical unless revenue gained from USFJ bases in Okinawa are 800 billion yen per year. In reality, revenue gained from USFJ bases in Okinawa are 200 billion yen. (Maedomari, 2012, pp. 124-25) Since USFJ does not have to pay corporate tax or property tax and its members are tax exempts, the municipalities cannot receive tax from USFJ or its members. If more private companies were in Okinawa in place of USFJ, it would be better for the local government.

Since 1961 up until now, the land of about 12,000 hectare was returned to Okinawa. Returned land was converted into business districts, agricultural land, and residential areas. Makiminato residential area, for example, increased employment by 36 times from 196 to 7,168 people, Orokukinjyo district by 14 times from 470 to 6,796 people, and Tengan communication post by 608 times from 4 to 2,431 people and by 734 times to 2,936 in 2001. Returned land had enormous plus effect providing Makiminato with direct economic effect of 73.5 billion yen, (5.1 billion yen before the return of the land), production trigger of 87.4 billion yen (5.5 billion yen), income trigger of 25.1 billion yen (1.7 billion yen), and tax revenue of 11.3 billion yen (0.6 billion yen). Orokukinjyo also received direct economic effect of 86.9 billion yen, (3.4 billion yen before the return of the land), production trigger of 95.8 billion yen (2.9 billion yen), income trigger of 26.7 billion yen (0.9 billion yen), and tax revenue of 9.4 billion yen (0.3 billion yen). Fifteen to thirty times became larger than before the return in each area mentioned above. In this way, the land provided to USFJ does not produce effective economic effect. (Maedomari, 2012, pp. 136-37) It was obvious that tax which the municipal government received increased, income of the people increased, and local economy prospered after the return.

According to Hitoshi Fukyubara's calculation, output per hectare based on revenue related to USFJ in Makiminato was 73.03 million yen in the 2005 fiscal year whereas output per hectare based on revenue unrelated to USFJ in Urasoe City was 154.97 million yen in the 2005 fiscal year. Economic effect in private areas outside of the base in Makiminato and Urasoe City was quite different. Economic effect in Urasoe City was 2.12 times that of Makiminato. Output per hectare based on revenue related to USFJ in the Futenma Air Base was 25.99 million yen in the 2005 fiscal year whereas output per hectare based on revenue unrelated to USFJ was 66.98 million yen. Economic effect in private areas outside of the Futenma base was about 2.58 times that of the base. (Matsumoto, 2009, p. 186)

All the examples mentioned above show that local economy will prosper if

there is no USFJ. Good effect goes beyond an economic impact. Crime rate and environmental destruction of air, noise, water, and soil will dramatically improve without USFJ.

Possibility of New Industry in Okinawa without USFJ and Bases

Okinawa has comparative advantage in such areas as marine resources, music, clothes, health, food, tourism, and a resort. (Miyata, 2009, pp. 124-25) However, Okinawa is not fully able to make use of them because of USFJ and bases.

The Okinawa Municipal Government did a trial calculation of direct economic ripple effect in 2007. Direct economic effect was 1.0143 trillion yen, production trigger was 1.6991 trillion yen, income trigger was 538.6 billion yen, employment trigger was 134,793 people, and tax revenue effect was 129.5 billion yen. In the long run, although large financial burden would occur due to the development projects at the time of the return of the land, Okinawa can expect larger tax revenue and economic effect than the expenditure of the development projects. The return of the large areas of the base could provide Okinawa with large environmental business cleaning up the base financially supported by the central government, large construction projects, construction of new transportation system, and tourism resources, which were countless limestone caves extended under the ground of the Futenma Air Base. The Kadena Airbase, although not the subject of the return, has two runways of 4,000 m range, which are beyond airport capacity of the Narita Airport or the Kansai New Airport, and large hangars and bunker facilities could become large exhibition halls for an international trade fair. If Okinawa could use these facilities, it could become the cheapest hub airport in Asia. The Narita Airport or the Kansai New Airport currently charges 800,000 to 900,000 yen of landing cost per large aircraft, which is the most expensive fee in Asia whereas the private Kadena Airport would charge only 50,000 to 100,000 yen according to a trial calculation. (Maedomari, 2012, pp.138-39)

If there is no USFJ or bases, income of the people and tax for the municipal government will increase and employment and environment will also improve. Because of an excellent location, Okinawa has potential of becoming a good hub airport in Asia. Okinawa will certainly prosper more if there is no USFJ. Tourism, agriculture, and service industry will become more popular than now without USFJ.

### Conclusion

The paper discussed pros and cons of keeping USFJ from the viewpoint of the Japanese economy. Although there are some good points of keeping USFJ in your neighborhood, there are more disadvantages for the local people who host USFJ and bases such as crimes, accidents, and environmental destruction. Moreover, the paper finds a possibility of new industry in Okinawa after USFJ and bases are gone. Therefore, the paper recommends that USFJ and bases should be eliminated from Okinawa for the economic development and enhancement of living conditions in Okinawa.

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