

Host Nation Support (HNS) for United States Forces in Japan (USFJ)

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Abstract

This paper examines the Host Nation Support (HNS-or OMOIYARI YOSAN in Japanese) for United States Forces in Japan (USFJ) . In March 2011 , Japan faced the most disastrous earthquakes and Tsunami that have ever occurred in the Japanese history along with the nuclear reactors accidents in Fukushima Prefecture. In spite of the fact that the Japanese government needs all the money to quickly carry out the reconstruction of the disaster, it wastes a huge amount of money including HNS. Therefore, the paper recommends that Japan ask the United States to give up HNS for the next five years. Or, the United States should voluntarily abandon HNS for the next five years to show that the United States is a real friend of Japan's. Reviewing why HNS started, the paper asks the following questions: why does the Japanese government continue to pay huge amount of HNS to USFJ even after the Cold War ended?; Is it a social cost for Japan to deal with the United States?; Is it natural for the Japanese people to pay HNS since USFJ protect them?; Is the amount appropriate or too much? In conclusion, the paper recommends the following policy: The Japanese government abolishes HNS since: The Japanese government's budget is in red ink; USFJ in many cases did not protect the Japanese people, but hurt them; and USFJ are in Japan not to defend Japan but to keep a strict watch on China and to be sent to the Middle East.

Keywords: The Host Nation Support (HNS) , OMOIYARI YOSAN, and United States Forces in Japan (USFJ)

Introduction

Under the Status of Forces Agreement between the United States and Japan (SOFA) , Japan is obliged to provide the United States with land and the existing facilities but is not obliged to pay HNS. It is the responsibility of the United States government to pay the maintenance cost of USFJ. In the 1970s and 1980s, Japan's economy looked invincible and appreciation of yen against American dollar was taking place while the United States economy was experiencing serious problems. Therefore, the Japanese government decided to help the United States with a small amount of HNS or " OMOIYARI YOSAN " (a sympathy budget) . Since then, HNS had continued to increase every year until 1999 . Unlike the economic situation in the 1970s and 1980s, however, Japan's economy has been in serious depression over the last two decades. Japan cannot afford to show its sympathy for the United States any more. On the contrary, in the

1990s during the Clinton Administration, the United States economy remarkably improved and steadily grew. It is now Japan that should be sympathized.

In March 2011, northern part of Japan was hit by big earthquakes and huge Tsunami followed by nuclear reactor accidents in Fukushima Prefecture. As a result, Japan faces a unprecedented crisis, but lacks budget to quickly carry out the reconstruction of the disaster-stricken region. Nevertheless, the Japanese government continues to waste national tax including HNS. In 2011, the Japanese government pays 188.1 billion yen for HNS to USFJ that in many cases did not protect the Japanese people, but hurt them. Moreover, in spite of the fact that the Japanese government lacks fund for the reconstruction of the disaster, the government will pay 188.1 billion yen for HNS each year from 2011 for five years. Now, the Japanese government discusses at least a four-percent-increase of the consumption tax to cover a part of the reconstruction cost or the social welfare cost. However, the Japanese government should spend HNS to support the victims of the disaster instead of levying additional tax on the Japanese people. Of course, HNS is not enough to cover the reconstruction cost. The government should cut waste budget of each ministry/agency, abolish AMAKUDARI (A system that guarantees retired high-ranking bureaucrats a high-paid job in a private sector.), and eliminate unnecessary government-affiliated corporations or independent administrative institutions before the consumption tax is hiked.

Between 1952 and 2008, excluding Okinawa before 1972, the total number of accidents and crimes caused by USFJ personnel, civilian employees, and their family members (hereafter referred to as USFJ members) was 206,892, and the number of the Japanese death was 1,084.¹ On average, 3,694 accidents and crimes took place per year. In other words, there were ten cases per day. However, it is important to emphasize that this number does not include that of Okinawa before 1972. Since Okinawa hosts the largest USFJ throughout Japan, the number mentioned above will certainly increase if the case of Okinawa is included. Every day, the Japanese people suffer from accidents and crimes caused by USFJ members. According to the United States-Japan Security Treaty (hereafter referred to as the Security Treaty), USFJ are in Japan to protect the Japanese people's life and property. However, the above statistics clearly show that USFJ are in Japan not to protect those of the Japanese people but to harm them. Nevertheless, the Japanese people pay huge HNS to the people who hurt them. It does not make sense.

Therefore, it is important to examine why the Japanese government continues to pay a huge amount of HNS to USFJ even though many Japanese people suffer from accidents and crimes caused by USFJ members. Japan does not face imminent danger. Why does Japan need so many American soldiers (somewhere between 30,000 and 40,000) in its own soil? After the introduction, the paper briefly tells about accidents and crimes caused by USFJ members. It explains how USFJ enjoy extraterritoriality in Japan. The paper also analyzes history of HNS. How did a small amount of HNS in 1978 develop into a huge financial support for USFJ twenty years later? Then, the paper moves to contents of HNS. What items does HNS cover? The paper reveals that HNS covers vast areas and the amount is huge. HNS clearly shows that USFJ enjoys financial extraterritoriality in Japan. In conclusion, the paper recommends that the Japanese government abolish HNS to save people's tax.

USFJ Enjoy Extraterritoriality

Many statistics show that Japanese law does not control USFJ. For example, between 1973 and 2009 , the total number of criminal cases against the Japanese people caused by USFJ was 7,334 . Among them, there were 39 murders , 454 robberies , 36 arson, and 184 sexual assault.² The average number was 203 cases per year. That is, criminal cases brought about by USFJ take place almost every other day in Japan. USFJ disturb the peaceful life of the local people rather than protect them. USFJ personnel violate the Security Treaty or neglect their duties, which are supposed to defend Japan and protect the Japanese people.

If we take a look at all “ off duty ” and “ on duty, ” cases, it is obvious that USFJ is beyond the Japanese law. Between 1952 and 1977 ,the total number of all cases that were on duty was 36, 075 and 486 Japanese lost their lives. However, none was tried at the USFJ military courts. In addition, between 1978 and 1995 , none involved in the cases was tried in the USFJ military courts. Between 1996 and 2004 , only one person was tried. Between 2006 and 2008 , 1,058 USFJ personnel, who committed crimes (including traffic accidents) , were not indicted. Only ten people were indicted. These 1,058 people were comprised of all the people, whom Japan had the primary right to try the case, but did not exercise its right. In the same three-year period, there were 434 USFJ personnel, who committed crimes (including traffic accidents) and whom USFJ had the primary right to try a case. However, none of these 434 people were tried at the USFJ military courts.³ These figures do not include cases in Okinawa before 1972 . Okinawa was under the United States military occupation from 1945 to 1972 . If we include cases in Okinawa before 1972 , the number will certainly increase. For twenty-seven years , 486 Japanese were killed by USFJ. However, none of USFJ personnel took responsibility of 36,000 cases of accidents and crime including the 486 deaths in Japan. From the point of view of many victims, where is justice? Americans often say that the United States is based on justice and law, but I must assume that their justice and law do not apply to the Japanese victims.

Between 2001 and 2008 , the total number of all cases that were off duty including traffic accidents was 3,827 and 645 people were indicted and 3,182 people were not indicted. In other words, only 16.9% of all cases were tried by a court and 83.1% were not tried. If we exclude traffic accidents, the total number was 1,260 cases with indictment of only 218 people or an indictment rate of only 17.3% . More than 82% of those who committed crimes walked away without punishment or 1,042 people were not tried.⁴ This is an extraordinary situation. This clearly shows that USFJ are lenient with the suspects, whose fact in turn leads to the repeat of many crimes and accidents.

History of Host Nation Support

In 1978 when HNS first started as a temporary measure, the amount was only 6.2 billion yen. Then Director General of the Defense Agency Shin Kanemaru said that Japan should help the United States with consideration. In Japanese, a word “ consideration ” was translated into OMOIYARI. Direct translation of OMOIYARI YOSAN, however, is a sympathy budget, but there is no such word in English and the Americans did not like to be sympathized. As a result,

Host Nation Support was adopted in English usage while in Japanese the mass media use OMOIYARI YOSAN. More than thirty years, the Japanese government has been paying HNS to USFJ. The demand for Japan to share the cost to keep USFJ from the United States stems from the secret agreement between the United States government and the Japanese government over reversion of Okinawa. In 1971, the United States government demanded that the Japanese government pay US\$65 million for the rebuilding cost of barracks in American military bases in Iwakuni and Misawa. It also requested that the Japanese government accept flexible interpretation of Article 24 of SOFA concerning burden of the necessary cost. In other words, the United States government wanted the Japanese government to bear the cost to keep USFJ, which violates Article 24 of SOFA. Under the above article, Japan has no obligation to pay for the maintenance of USFJ except for the land and the existing facilities. In exchange for the reversion of Okinawa, Japan accepted the United States demands. This secret agreement sowed seeds, which would become HNS later.⁵

In other words, in exchange for Okinawa, Japan was forced to pay a huge cost, which has been lasting for more than thirty years. HNS clearly violates Article 24 of SOFA, but the Japanese government had to accept the United States demands. This is an example of Japan being an American vassal state. While the Japanese government does not try to change legal status of USFJ members in SOFA, it easily accepted the change of the financial support clause of SOFA. This case clearly shows that the Japanese government gave priority to USFJ over its own citizen.

From 1976 to 1978, the United States government began to expand its demand for the cost sharing from the maintenance cost for the facilities to the construction cost of new housing for USFJ family members to wages for the Japanese workers in the United States military bases. Since 1951, the United States government had paid wages for the Japanese workers. Behind these demands, there was appreciation of yen. It became very difficult for many USFJ members to live in Japan since 1971. The United States asked Japan to help USFJ to ease effect of weaker dollar. In order to solve the problem of appreciation of yen, both the foreign and defense bureaucrats of the United States and Japan took the leadership in providing HNS to USFJ. Instead of saying "No" to the United States, the Japanese bureaucrats came up with an excellent idea for the United States. Against such background, Director General of the Defense Agency Kanemaru decided to provide USFJ with HNS in 1978.⁶

In the decision-making of providing HNS to USFJ, bureaucrats took the leadership, not the politicians such as Kanemaru. With weak political leadership of Japan's prime minister and the director general of the Defense Agency, foreign and defense bureaucrats laid the foundation of HNS. This is an example of the Japanese politics led by the bureaucrats. Without strong political leadership, it is difficult for Japan to eliminate HNS since the bureaucrats work according to the precedents. They do not like a change or antagonizing the United States.

When HNS first started with the welfare cost for the Japanese workers in the United States military bases, the amount was 6.2 billion yen. However, in 1979, HNS expanded to 27.9 billion yen to cover such cost as the allowance adjustment, language study allowance, and a part of retirement allowance for the Japanese workers, and housing construction cost for USFJ members.⁷ In just one year, the amount of HNS increased to more than four times. It is difficult to

understand how helping the Japanese workers with language study allowance or retirement allowance can contribute to Japan's defense. The United States government or the Japanese workers themselves should cover this kind of allowance.

In 1982 , the United States government decided to deploy F16 fighters to Misawa and demanded that the Japanese government pay 75% of the construction cost for the deployment. As a result of this deployment, Japan had to pay 66 billion yen for HNS to cover the facility cost for 3,500 soldiers and their family members. From 1980 to 1987 , 1,218 houses were built with the cost of 29 million yen per house, whose floor space was between 90 and 130m² per house. By this time, HNS was no longer a sympathy budget, but an obligated cost for Japan.⁸ A floor space of 130m² is large for a Japanese house although for many Americans, this is small. One can see how considerate the Japanese government is for USFJ members. While many Japanese live in rabbit hutches, their government provides USFJ members with larger houses. In other words, these houses are built with the tax of many Japanese who live in rabbit hutches. Instead of building large houses for its own citizen, the Japanese government used tax for the people who harmed them.

In 1987 , the United States government and the Japanese government signed a special agreement over the labor cost for the Japanese workers in the United States military bases since the Japanese government could not justify paying HNS any more within the framework of SOFA.⁹ Since 1987 , both governments have signed special agreements concerning HNS. The most recent one was signed in 2011 , which guaranteed 188.1 billion yen for HNS per year for the next five years. In spite of the fact that the Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ) came to power, the Japanese government did not abolish HNS.

Contents of Host Nation Support

The United States has been restructuring its armed forces throughout the world over the last ten years. Many United States military bases in Germany, South Korea, and other countries have been reduced. However, reduction is not taking place in Japan. It is because Japan is the most generous country among the United States allies in terms of HNS. In other words, it is very comfortable for United States military personnel to live in Japan. If an apartment owner pays up to 75% of your rent, you would love to stay. That is why USFJ have not decreased.

In the past, the Japanese government built a church and a day nursery for USFJ with HNS.¹⁰ A church for USFJ in Okinawa cost US\$3.7 million in 1983 . A day nursery for USFJ cost US\$12 million in 1996 . Construction and maintenance of schools for USFJ in Atsugi, Kanagawa Prefecture cost US\$15 million between 1979 and 1996 . Construction and maintenance of schools for USFJ in Sasebo, Nagasaki Prefecture cost US\$10 million between 1979 and 1996 . All of the construction mentioned above was paid for by HNS. Moreover, HNS built 854 houses in Ikego, Kanagawa Prefecture, which cost 78 million yen per house, and 11,363 houses with a 140 to 160m² floor space for USFJ between 1979 and 2007 , which cost 48 million yen per house.¹¹ How does a church, a day nursery, or a house contribute to the defense of Japan? As of October 2010 , there were 48,000 children who were waiting for their entry into day nurseries in Japan.¹² Instead of building day nurseries in the United States military bases, the Japanese

government should first build day nurseries for these Japanese children. Once again, one can see an example that the Japanese government neglects its own people.

HNS is indeed very generous. For example, the Japanese government built 36 schools for USFJ with HNS. All schools of USFJ have air conditioning except for six schools in Misawa in Aomori Prefecture which is located in northern Japan. But only 22.5% of the schools in non twenty-three wards of the Metropolis of Tokyo have air conditioning.¹³ In Nagasaki Prefecture, none of the schools from elementary to high schools have heating, needless to say air conditioning. However, all the schools of USFJ including ones in Nagasaki have heating thanks to HNS. It is difficult to say that the Japanese government does its job for the Japanese children, but it is certain that the government contributes to the children of the USFJ members. This is one more example that Japan is a vassal state of the United States.

HNS covers vast areas of the maintenance cost for USFJ. In 1988 , for example, there were 70 items. They included post offices, fire stations, gas stations, stores, clinics, dental clinics, schools, libraries, child-care facilities, aerobics studios, clubs, gymnasiums, beauty schools, theaters, and so on.¹⁴ Most of them are not related to Japan's defense. Why should the Japanese taxpayers have to support wives of USFJ soldiers who go to beauty schools or aerobics studios? Maintenance cost of post offices, fire stations, gas stations, stores, clinics, dental clinics, schools, libraries, child-care facilities is all the responsibility of the United States government because these facilities are all located within the United States military bases and the Japanese people cannot use them. No government pays such cost for other country's citizen except for Japan.

The total amount of HNS and related cost for USFJ, which the Japanese government had paid to USFJ, amounts to about 5.6 trillion yen between 1978 and 2010 . The highest amount was 275.6 billion yen in 1999.¹⁵ Although the amount of HNS since 1999 has been decreasing, it was 188.1 billion yen in 2010 . Moreover, in the next five years (from 2011) , the Japanese government is scheduled to pay 188.1 billion yen per year, including utility fees of 24.9 billion yen for USFJ members.¹⁶ For many Japanese people, this payment cannot be accepted, particularly for the victims of the Great East Japan Earthquake. Japan now faces a serious emergency, so the government should save all the expenses including HNS. There should be no exception.

Paying utilities to USFJ started in 1991 . Since 1995 , the Japanese government had paid 100% of utilities. Currently, the Japanese government pays 72% of utility fees such as gas, water, and electricity that USFJ consume. These utilities also cover family members of USFJ personnel.¹⁷ How can paying utilities to the family members of USFJ personnel contribute to the defense of Japan? This is a waste of the Japanese taxpayers' money. Overall, Japan bears up to 75% of the cost to keep USFJ every year. No other United States ally pays more HNS than Japan does. After 11 March 2011 , due to the disaster occurring at the nuclear power plants in Fukushima Prefecture, Japan faces a lack of electricity. The Japanese government asked the people to save electricity as much as possible throughout Japan. It is doubtful whether USFJ members save electricity since they pay only 28% of the utilities that they use.

As compared with utilities used by Self-Defense Forces (SDF) , one can see the extraordinary amount of utilities used by USFJ members. In 1999 , the utility cost used by SDF and the Defence Agency was 36.2 billion yen, whereas the utility cost used by USFJ was 31.6 billion yen. The difference was 4.6 billion yen. If one considers the total personnel of SDF and the

Defence Agency (excluding their family members) , which was 286,000 as of 2000 , and the total number of USFJ members, which was 97,000 as of 1999 , one can see how extraordinary the amount of utility cost used by USFJ members was. The number of SDF and the Defense Agency personnel was about three times the number of USFJ members. Nevertheless, their difference was only 4.6 billion yen.¹⁸ It is difficult to understand how USFJ members spent that amount of utilities. Even now Japan pays 72% of utilities for USFJ. Given the fact that the Japanese people were asked to save electricity after the Great East Japan Earthquake in March 2011 , USFJ must voluntarily pay at least their utilities because they must pay 100% of utilities if they live in the United States. Now, USFJ members must help the Japanese people as their friends. So far, however, USFJ have no action on this issue. This is another example of Japan being an American vassal state.

In addition to HNS in 2000 , if one includes the cost related to USFJ, the total amount reached 661.9 billion yen. In terms of United States dollar, it was six times larger than the amount that Germany paid for HNS. In 2000 , Japan paid 16 million yen per American soldier per year.¹⁹ The question that many Japanese must ask is whether USFJ are doing their job, which is to defend life and properties of the Japanese people. It is difficult to say that they are worth staying in Japan from the Japanese viewpoint, especially that of the people in Okinawa.

Since the great earthquake, Tsunami, and a nuclear disaster took place, Japan requires tremendous amount of money to recover from this unprecedented catastrophe. The Japanese government should ask the United States government to voluntarily give up HNS between 2011 and 2015 , whose total amount would be about 1 trillion yen. Nevertheless, the Japanese government gives USFJ priority over the victims of the disaster. Given the fact that many USFJ personnel hurt the Japanese people, it does not make any sense at all for the Japanese people to continue paying a huge amount of HNS every year to the people who harmed them. Moreover, many victims of the disaster still live in temporary houses while USFJ members comfortably live in large houses with air conditioning/heating, whose houses and utilities are, of course, provided with victims' tax.

In addition to HNS, the United States government asked the Japanese government to bear a part of the relocation cost for the Marine Corps in Futenma which were planned to move to Guam. According to the WikiLeaks, the United States diplomatic documents showed the actual sharing ratio of the relocation cost as follows: 66% for Japan and 34% for the United States. However, the United States government requested the padded cost (and the Japanese government accepted it!) , which US\$1 billion was included for the road construction. This road construction was actually not needed, but it was included so that the sharing ratio would be 59% for Japan and 41% for the United States. The total amount of the relocation cost would be US\$10.2 billion.²⁰

The fact that the Japanese government accepted the padded cost tells that Japan is an American vassal state. The United States government exaggerated the total relocation cost in order not to antagonize the Japanese people. The United States government argued that the Japanese government should share the relocation cost since it was Japan that first wanted the relocation of the Futenma base. However, it does not make sense from the Japanese viewpoint because the Japanese people have to pay for USFJ personnel and their family members when

they move back to the United States territory (Guam) . SOFA does not stipulate that the Japanese government must bear the travel cost when USFJ personnel and their family members go home. Moreover, the Japanese government has to share construction cost such as road, housing, and related infrastructure in Guam. It is understandable that the Japanese government must bear such cost if the SDF and their family members would move to Guam. However, Guam is not a Japanese territory. USFJ personnel and their family members are not Japanese citizen. Why should the Japanese people have to pay their tax for these Americans? This is one more example of Japan being an American vassal state.

The position of the United States government concerning HNS is that Japan's HNS is not gratitude to the United States but an important part of Japan's strategic contribution. As a result of HNS, the United States could allocate its resources to other purposes, whose resources are used for promoting mutual benefits of both the United States and Japan which are the defense of the region and the maintenance of deterrence. In this way, the United States regards HNS not as a favor but as an obligation or the cost of the alliance. Therefore, the United States demands for further HNS as a natural right.²¹

If many Americans think that the United States is a master and Japan is its vassal state, the above argument does make sense. Japan, however, provides USFJ with free land under SOFA. While the United States guarantees Japan's defense, Japan grants the United States the right to keep its armed forces in Japan. The Security Treaty is a give and take agreement. Japan is only a size of California, but its population is 125 million, whereas the United States population is 307 million, only 2.5 times the Japanese population. Moreover, Japan is surrounded by many mountains and rivers, and its land for residential, industrial, and agricultural purposes consists of only 15% of the entire land. In other words, Japan is densely populated. Such a Japan provides USFJ with precious land. Moreover, since 1978 , Japan has paid HNS. Given the fact that the United States global strategy would be in a serious problem if there were no USFJ, Americans have to appreciate generosity of the Japanese people, instead of demanding more HNS.

Conclusion

The Japanese government continues to pay HNS even after the United States economy recovered in the 1990s and the Cold War was over. Both the United States and the Japanese governments think that USFJ are very important to keep peace and stability in the Asia-Pacific region. For the Japanese government, HNS is a social cost to deal with the United States or to please the United States. Keeping good relations with the United States is the first priority for any Japanese administration. In other words, in order not to irritate the United States, Japan must keep paying HNS as it was told by the United States. For the United States government, receiving HNS from Japan is natural because many Americans think that the United States defends Japan against China and North Korea with nuclear weapons.

However, if one looks at HNS from a different perspective, HNS is a symbol of Japan being an American vassal state or protectorate. USFJ enjoy extraterritoriality in Japan under SOFA, which means USFJ members are beyond Japanese law. More than 80% of the USFJ members who committed crimes and caused accidents in Japan are not indicted at either a USFJ military

court or a Japanese court. In other words, they disturb a peaceful life of the Japanese people, but do not receive punishment. Moreover, USFJ only pay 25% of their maintenance cost in Japan thanks to HNS.

The Japanese government should tell the United States government to eliminate HNS as soon as possible since Japan cannot afford to help USFJ any more due to budget deficit and particularly after the Great East Japan Earthquake of March 2011 . HNS should be eliminated since USFJ do not protect the Japanese people in many cases. They are mainly in Japan for the United States world-wide strategy and to keep an eye on China. China is, however, now Japan's largest trading partner. Therefore, Japan does not want to confront with China. Marine Corps in Okinawa are not needed for the defense of Okinawa or any place in Japan.

The amount of Japan's HNS is outstanding as compared with other United States allies such as Germany, United Kingdom, and South Korea. Given the fact that Japan does not face urgent and imminent danger, the amount is not appropriate. It is too much for Japan whose economy has been serious recession over the last two decades. Instead of helping schools in USFJ, the Japanese government should support schools in Japan, which do not have a heating system. The government first spends the tax on its own citizen. Japan has the best army, navy, and air force in terms of conventional military power in Asia. Therefore, Japan does not need USFJ.

It is not natural for the Japanese people to pay HNS since USFJ do not provide them with security. On the contrary, the Japanese people, particularly people in Okinawa have been suffering from so many accidents and crimes caused by USFJ members over the last sixty-six years. Over the last decade, the United States has been reducing its armed forces and bases overseas. However, the reduction of USFJ does not occur. The major reason why USFJ do not reduce is because the Japanese government pays more than 70% of the cost to keep USFJ. In Japan, USFJ are so comfortable with HNS and SOFA. Unless the Japanese government reduces HNS, USFJ would stay in Japan forever.

Since September 2009 , the DPJ has been in power. It is time for the Japanese government to act on behalf of its own people. The DPJ should negotiate with the United States government over the SOFA and HNS and demand Japan's national interests so that the Japanese government protects its own citizen. It is now the time for the Japanese people to stand up and say " No " to the United States. Otherwise, USFJ will not reduce and the Japanese people, particularly people in Okinawa, would continue to suffer for many more decades.

Notes

¹ Akahata Seijibu Anpo Gaiko Han. *Jyuzoku no Domei* (An alliance that is dependent on the United States) . Tokyo: Shin Nihon Shuppansha , 2010 , p . 111 .

² Ibid.

³ Toshihiro Yoshida , . *Mitsuyaku: Nichibei Chiikyotei to Beihei Hanzai* (A secret agreement: United States-Japan status of forces agreement and crimes committed by American soldiers in Japan) . Tokyo: Mainichi Shimbunsha , 2010 , pp . 214-218 .

⁴ Ibid. , pp.86-89.

⁵ Tetsuo, Maeda. *Zainichi Beigun Kichi no Shushi Kessan* (Settlement of account for United

- States military bases in Japan) . Tokyo: Chikuma Shobo , 2000 , pp . 174-179 .
- ⁶ Ibid . , pp . 180-187 .
- ⁷ Ibid . , pp . 188-189 , 192 .
- ⁸ Ibid . , pp . 196-198 .
- ⁹ Ibid . , p . 201 .
- ¹⁰ Ibid . , p . 203; and *Shimbun Akahata* , 21 March and 5 May 2001 .
- ¹¹ Maeda. *Zainichi Beigun Kichi no Shushi Kessan*, p 203; and *Shimbun Akahata* 23 June 2009 .
- ¹² *Asahi Shimbun* , 8 March 2011 .
- ¹³ Ibid .
- ¹⁴ Maeda. *Zainichi Beigun Kichi no Shushi Kessan*, pp . 205-206 .
- ¹⁵ Akahata Seijibu Anpo Gaiko Han. *Jyuzoku no Domei*, pp . 75 , 77 .
- ¹⁶ *Ryukyu Shimpo* , 22 November 2010 .
- ¹⁷ *Kyodo Tsushin* , 14 December 2010 .
- ¹⁸ Maeda. *Zainichi Beigun Kichi no Shushi Kessan*, pp . 153-157 .
- ¹⁹ Ibid . , pp . 161-163 .
- ²⁰ *Asahi Shimbun* , 4 May 2011
- ²¹ Maeda. *Zainichi Beigun Kichi no Shushi Kessan*, pp . 252-253 .

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