



Regional Security Policy Research Report 2014

—OKINAWA IN THE ASIA-PACIFIC REGION—

平成 26 年度 地域安全政策調査研究報告書
～アジア太平洋地域の中の沖縄～

* Shinkosen-no-Zu (Tributary Ship)*

Source : Okinawa Prefectural Museum & Art Museum Collection



OKINAWA PREFECTURE

Executive Office of the Governor
Regional Security Policy Division
Research Section

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Regional Security Policy
Research Report 2014
—Okinawa in the Asia-Pacific Region—

Okinawa Prefectural Government
Executive Office of the Governor
Regional Security Policy Division
Research Section

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Message from the Governor

Takeshi Onaga

Governor of Okinawa Prefecture

On this occasion, we present our research findings concerning the regional security policy in Okinawa following last year, and I would like to thank everyone for their cooperation.

Okinawa is deeply involved in many important security issues confronted by Japan, the United States, and Asian countries. In order to accelerate the efforts to realign/reduce military bases, utilize the land for realizing affluent living for residents, and deepen peace-promoting exchanges with neighboring countries, Okinawa needs to carefully consider the security environment behind these issues.

Chapter I contains highlights from the Okinawa Asia-Pacific Partnership Forum where, under the theme of Creating Perspectives on Security with Regional Partners, the local governments hosting the U.S. military bases shared their case studies and domestic and international experts had the rational and open discussions from academic perspectives.

Chapter II introduces reviews of the attitude survey regarding regional security by Professor Narushige Michishita of the National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies, Associate Professor Shin Kawashima of the University of Tokyo Graduate School, and the research fellows of Okinawa Prefectural Government.

Chapter III shares an overview of studies conducted jointly by outside researchers including instructor Shinji Kawana of Kinki University, specially appointed professor Itsuki Nakabayashi of Meiji University Graduate School, and Professor Kumiko Haba of Aoyama Gakuin University Graduate School among others, and the research fellows of Okinawa Prefectural Government. Chapter IV contains summaries of seminars held internally by Okinawa Prefectural Government and papers written by our research fellows.

These contents are the individual writings and analyses by experts from their own perspectives and do not directly represent the views or policies of Okinawa Prefectural Government. However, their ideas and opinions contribute significantly to the development of our ability to formulate prefectural policies for reduction of the burden of U.S. bases in Okinawa.

Again, I would like to extend my deepest appreciation for the cooperation of all those involved.

I . Okinawa Asia-Pacific Partnership Forum



“Bankoku Shinryo Bell”

Okinawa Prefectural Museum & Art Museum Collection

“Bankoku Shinryo” means “bridge between nations,” and it comes from the Bankoku Shinryo Bell. The inscription reflects the spirit of an age when the Kingdom of Ryukyu flourished as the crossroads of Asian trade.

Find out more about the Okinawa Asia-Pacific Partnership Forum at the following website:
http://okinawa-institute.com/forum_list/en/

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3rd Okinawa Asia-Pacific Partnership Forum
“Creating Perspectives on Security with Regional Partners”

Main Forum

Opening Remarks

Governor of Okinawa Prefecture

I would like to say a few words upon this holding of the Okinawa Asia-Pacific Partnership Forum.

First of all, I am delighted that we are able to have the presence of prominent experts representing the Asia-Pacific region. Especially this year, I am truly pleased to have leaders from Japanese local governments hosting the U.S. military bases like Okinawa, namely, Mr. Masao Kurokawa, Vice Governor of Kanagawa Prefecture; Mr. Norio Tomonaga, Mayor of Sasebo City in Nagasaki Prefecture; Mr. Koichiro Maita, Deputy Mayor of Misawa City in Aomori Prefecture; and Mr. Mitsuhiro Murata, Director General for Policy Coordination of Iwakuni City in Yamaguchi Prefecture.

Additionally, it is my great pleasure to hear the youth forum was successfully concluded this morning.

Okinawa Prefecture is a place involved in security and crisis management issues which the East Asia and Pacific region faces. As a result, Okinawa has no choice but to be committed to those various issues.

That is why the purpose of this forum is to continue to offer this place, Okinawa, as a venue to promote regional dialogues and mutual understanding.

In this forum, specialists from each country and region will conduct discussions from an academic perspective in a rational, composed and open manner. Also, representatives of local governments hosting the U.S. military bases will give us presentations on their numerous efforts to tackle issues.

I would like to conclude my remarks hoping that this forum will be an opportunity for not only the people of Okinawa but everyone in Japan and our regional neighbors, to contemplate the future of regional exchange.

July 17, 2014

Hirokazu Nakaima

Governor of Okinawa Prefecture

3rd Okinawa Asia-Pacific Partnership Forum
“Creating Perspectives on Security with Regional Partners”

Main Forum

Session 1

U.S. Bases in Local Perspectives
—Reports from Communities Neighboring Bases—



Kanagawa Prefecture's Policies for Bases

Masao Kurokawa

Vice Governor of Kanagawa Prefecture

Kanagawa Prefecture, known as the second major “base prefecture” in Japan after Okinawa, has its own unique set of issues. I will talk about Kanagawa’s initiatives to tackle its base problem.

One major characteristic about Kanagawa’s U.S. bases is that there are thirteen bases in total and many of them are located in densely populated areas. Some key bases for the U.S. forces that are located in the prefecture: the Naval Command at Yokosuka, the Army Command at Camp Zama, and Carrier Air Wing 5 at Atsugi. Around Atsugi base, over two million residents were affected by the aircraft noises.

Kanagawa has many residents that work on base—which is another characteristic of this prefecture—and many of them demonstrate outstanding maintenance skills that the U.S. forces highly value. Kanagawa has had numerous bases since the Imperial Army days; those bases were seized by the U.S. after the war and are now being used as U.S. bases. One of the major differences between Okinawa and Kanagawa is that the rate of state-owned land used by the bases is higher in Kanagawa. Regarding the land return issue, reduction of the financial burden of the municipalities that are affected by the sale of the state-owned land is a major issue.

Next, I would like to talk about our initiatives. The prefecture’s basic position toward base issues is to have a comprehensive view with a focus on the Japan-U.S. Security Arrangements, given its enormous significance, take initiatives to organize and reduce the bases and work to get the land returned, and participate in various other efforts to reduce the burden caused by the bases. For example, the Prefecture-City Liaison Council on U.S. Military Base makes requests to organize and reduce bases, as well as the return of the land they are on; the council also issues an urgent request whenever an incident/accident occurs. As a result of these initiatives, three facilities have been returned in recent years, and another facility is scheduled to be returned next year.

As for the noise issue in residential areas, we have established the Conference on Measures against noise from Atsugi base and patiently called for implementation of nighttime landing practice in Iwo Island and abolishment of demonstration flights on open base-access days, which eventually became a reality.

Furthermore, the transfer of aircrafts that was scheduled from Atsugi in 2014 is being delayed; Kanagawa is coordinating with the central government to expedite the process.

The governor of Kanagawa is also the head of the Governors' Association for Military Facilities in Japan. He has led the efforts to approach the central government and the U.S. side, along with other prefectures. The Association has called for the review of the Japan-U.S. Status of Forces Agreement (SOFA), but if this cannot be done immediately, the Association asks that a special agreement be reached to secure a more suitable environment. As a result, in December 2013, Prime Minister Abe expressed his desire to begin a negotiation with the U.S., concerning the issue of environmental management with U.S. forces. Last April, the Association made a special request concerning the signing of a bilateral agreement on environmental management. We have great expectations for a practical bilateral agreement being reached in the near future.

Lastly, building on its cooperative relationship with U.S. forces, Kanagawa believes that it should take initiatives to solve issues by having the municipality and the bases work cooperatively in order to fully utilize the presence of the U.S. bases. For example, the commanders of the U.S. Army and the Navy, and the governor exchange opinions on various topics, which enables facility visits and also strengthens the cooperation among the parties on the administrative level. A disaster relief framework between the municipality and the U.S. military was also built. Kanagawa continues to seek a better relationship by expanding the scope of cooperation, such as tourism and medical service.

What kind of relationship can a municipality build with U.S. bases by engaging in a dialogue and exchanging opinions? Kanagawa would like to seek an answer to this question by doing just that with the Commands of U.S. Army and Navy in Japan in order to solve the issue of U.S. bases.



Sasebo City and Bases

Norio Tomonaga

Mayor of Sasebo City

The City of Sasebo is located in the northern part of Nagasaki Prefecture, at the westernmost tip of Kyushu, and like Okinawa Prefecture, the location is important in terms of defending our country's southwestern region. Nagasaki and Okinawa share many similarities and commonalities including population and being an island prefecture.

The city of Sasebo cannot be talked about without mentioning its port. It has developed with the Navy for 125 years. Many facilities at Sasebo Port were built by the Navy during the Meiji period until the end of World War II in 1945, and most military installations that came out unscathed in the Sasebo Air Raid (1,200 deaths, over 65,000 affected) remain to this day being used by private corporations, JSDF, or the U.S. military. For this reason, there are U.S. military and JSDF installations as well as private facilities at Sasebo Port. Access to about 80% of the water inside the port zone is restricted in some form – among other restrictions; the city has been working on a clear zoning scheme within the port for many years, and requesting the central government to have some of the land occupied by U.S. military installations returned so that the port can fully maximize its potential.

The JMSDF has the Sasebo District HQ here, where the 2nd Escort Flotilla of the Fleet Escort Force is stationed. The Sasebo District Unit is responsible for the southwestern part of Japan, spanning from Yamaguchi Prefecture in the north to Okinawa Prefecture in the south – all the way to the border of Taiwan; its responsibilities include defense and patrol, as well as logistical support to the JMSDF fleets. The Sasebo district is home to about 4,900 members, and the total area is roughly 108 hectares. Fifteen escort ships, including three Aegis ships, make Sasebo their home port.

The JGSDF has the Western Army Combined Brigade, which is a training unit, and the Western Army Infantry Regiment, whose responsibility is to defend, patrol, and provide disaster relief to the Kyushu and Okinawa regions, including the remote islands. The number of personnel is about 1,000, and the total facility area is roughly 170 hectares.

U.S. Fleet Activities Sasebo is home to a total of 5,855 servicemen/women, civilian employees, and their families. Task Force 76 of the U.S. Navy's 7th Fleet is stationed here with four landing ships, four minesweepers, and seven air-cushion type landing ships called LCAC. We must not forget that these landing ships and the Marines were deployed immediately to the affected-site of the Great East Japan Earthquake in 2011 to engage in relief/support activities – a contribution that was immeasurable. In addition to a command function, Sasebo's Navy installation also has mooring facilities for landing ships. There are two oil depots as well, and combined with another depot outside Sasebo, the total storage capacity is 800,000 kiloliters. It also has two ammunition chambers and 75 ammunition

I. Okinawa Asia-Pacific Partnership Forum: Main Forum

storage facilities. We understand this to be the biggest U.S. military ammunition chamber abroad. There are ten other facilities within city limits occupying approximately 406 hectares.

Sasebo residents and U.S. forces interact actively, and one example of that is the American Town Festival; it is an event oriented through participation and hosted by the local shopping arcade cooperative to be held for about a month starting in early July every year. The relationship between Sasebo City and U.S. forces spanning nearly 70 years has also had a cultural impact, and Okinawa might have had a similar experience. Indeed, the U.S. base is a burden, but we also have to try to make the best out of the unfavorable situation and create something positive.

I have regular meetings with the Sasebo base commander to build a better relationship with U.S. military servicemen. We believe a good relationship can be maintained through discussions on topics ranging from a return of facilities to manners/etiquette of servicemen residing in the city; issues concerning the base are addressed to reach a solution. Past commanders knew very well that the understanding of local residents was critical to a reliable operation of the base and educated their subordinates well. The good relationship we have between the base and Sasebo residents is built on these efforts.

In spite of these efforts, one criminal incident by a serviceman could significantly undermine our good relationship. That is why the city calls an annual meeting of the U.S. Navy Sasebo Base Crime Prevention Committee whose members include representatives from the U.S. military, the Ministry of Defense, prefectural and local police departments, Nagasaki Prefecture, and Sasebo City in order to eliminate incidents/accidents by U.S. military servicemen and their associates.

The city prioritizes the return of the Maehata ammunition chamber, all 58 hectares of it, over anything else. The facility is located in a densely populated residential area, which is an obvious concern for the residents, and the city has been requesting for its return since 1971. However, because of the difficulty in doing so, the city changed its request in 1998 with a proposal to integrate it with another ammunition chamber, the Hariojima ammunition storage at the Hariojima site. Negotiations between Japan and the U.S. followed, and a basic agreement for its return was reached through a joint committee in January 2011.

The condition for a return includes redevelopment of the existing facilities at the Hariojima ammunition storage and construction of some replacement facilities on a landfill in the nearby waters. The size of the landfill has not been determined yet, but since the Maehata ammunition chamber occupies 58 hectares, a landfill equivalent to this size is expected. This will require a substantial amount of time to complete, but the return of the Maehata ammunition chamber is a long-cherished wish of Sasebo residents. The city will continue to approach and work with the city council and the central government to make this happen as soon as possible.

I. Okinawa Asia-Pacific Partnership Forum: Main Forum

Equally important as the Maehata ammunition chamber issue is the issue of how to utilize the Sakibe district. The east side of the district (12.9 hectares) is a service facility of the U.S. Navy, and the west side (13.4 hectares) is owned by a private company. The east side had been used as a temporary parking apron for seven LCAC units, but after these were officially transferred to another parking apron on the other side of the port in March 2013 with expense of 25 billion yen, the city has requested that the east side be returned as soon as possible and be used by the JMSDF instead. In March of this year, the senior vice-minister of defense announced the government's intention to provide the east side for the JMSDF to use, and potentially select the west side as a site to deploy amphibious vehicle units that constitute the Amphibious Rapid Deployment Brigade as per the new basic defense program.

I gave this plan my consent and requested that it be executed as soon as possible.

The city receives financial support from the central government for having a base: a base subsidy is received to replace a fixed asset tax, in addition to receiving another subsidy from the Ministry of Defense for public facility development. However, these only amounted to 1.6 billion yen in 2013, and we believe the government's financial support is lacking.

Some say that the burden of national defense should be borne equally, but given the strategic positioning and the impossibility of equally distributing defense installations nationwide, we believe that having certain regions and municipalities shoulder more burden than others is unavoidable. National defense policies are deliberated and decided by the Diet and the central government, but as the head of a municipality with a defense installation, I have expressed my intent at every opportunity I have received to cooperate as much as possible in developing and enhancing facilities required for national defense. I believe my position is being supported by the city council and many Sasebo residents, and I will continue to stand firm with this approach.



Misawa Air Base as Seen by Misawa City

Koichiro Maita

Deputy Mayor of Misawa City

Misawa City is located in the southeastern part of Aomori Prefecture, which is the northernmost prefecture of Honshu. The relatively flat land of 120 km² is home to about 50,500 people—42,000 Japanese residents and 8,500 U.S. military personnel and their family members. It is a city of international colors as one in five residents is a foreigner. Misawa Air Base is located at the center of the city, occupying 16 km² of land, and its runway is 3,000 m long from east to west and 46 m wide. There is also the 7 km² Misawa Firing Range in the north, which is the only firing range in Honshu. These military installations account for one-fifth of the city's total area. Misawa Air Base is jointly used by the U.S. military (Army, Navy and Air Force) and JASDF. In fact, Misawa Air Base's runway is being used by three parties: U.S. military, JSDF, and commercial airlines. One hundred ten aircrafts are stationed here, and about 80 of them are fighter jets, which is the most in Japan. U.S. forces are equipped with 40 F-16 fighter jets in addition to combat-ready Air Force, Navy and Army units. JASDF's assigned forces—the 3rd Air Wing with 40 F-2 support fighter jets and the Northern Aircraft Control and Warning Wing—are stationed here under the command of the Northern Air Defense Force.

As a part of U.S. military realignment, Misawa Air Base became a training ground for U.S. forces in 2007 to reduce base burden on Okinawa, and last month, for the first time ever, air-to-ground firing training was held at the Misawa Firing Range as a part of the reinforcement of U.S. military realignment. Two Global Hawks of the U.S. Air Force began their deployment in rotation. JASDF has a plan in the works to deploy 20 stealth aircrafts (F-35A) at Misawa starting from the end of 2017, also for the first time ever.

Since the base has about 110 aircrafts of U.S. military and JASDF on a regular basis with various forms of training being held daily, the number of noise incidents exceeds 30,000 per year. F-16 fighter jets of the U.S. Air Force in particular recorded over 100 decibels in residential areas during demo flight training, and the city is requesting that the training be stopped as it is causing serious hazards to the lives of local residents.

The central government has designated noise zones based on the recorded noise levels, but almost 40% of the households in Misawa, or 8,000 households, live inside these zones. Nearly 1,000 houses in five zones around the base have been relocated (includes individual and group relocations) by the government's program, but still almost 500 households left off the program zoning scope and ranchers claiming damage are requesting relocation. In addition, nearly 2,000 cases for residential sound-proofing work are backlogged due to a lack of budget allocation by the central government, and many residents are voicing their displeasure about the situation.

In the area of disaster prevention, the Misawa Fire Fighting Headquarters and the U.S. Fighter Wing at Misawa have concluded a fire-fighting mutual support agreement, and disaster prevention training and rescue operation training are held periodically with Misawa City's emergency rescue team and doctors of the U.S. military hospital.

Misawa City has maintained a municipal policy of "Co-Existence and Co-Prosperity" with the base. The city promotes intercultural exchanges and mutual understanding in order to prosper with the base. Misawa Air Base was built in 1938 as an air base for Japan's Imperial Navy and was seized by U.S. forces after war. A Community Relations Advisory Council was established in 1953 in accordance with an ordinance to resolve various issues that occur year after year. In the past through this council, the U.S. side requested orientation support for incoming members and the provision of English traffic signage, and the Japanese side requested temporary access to U.S. facilities and land for events as well as measures to ensure traffic safety.

One example of these Co-Existence and Co-Prosperity initiatives is Japan Day. The event celebrated its 27th year the other day, and foreign participants were treated to calligraphy, kimono fitting and ikebana (flower arrangement) classes. In return, our U.S. counterpart has also organized American Day for 26 consecutive years; the event is held on the street by City Hall and introduces various aspects of American culture. In addition, there are events such as the Japan-U.S. Christmas concert, the Japan-U.S. bon-odori dancing event, and the international children's ice festival. Furthermore, U.S. forces' volunteer activities at Misawa take many forms, and when a big tsunami struck Tohoku in 2011, some servicemen at Misawa Air Base were first to arrive with their vehicles to help. There are other military personnel that visit the homes of the physically weak elderly who live on their own to help remove snow. Misawa Air Base has also been cooperating with the Misawa City Community Chest Committee since 1960 and is an active participant in charity activities every year.

Municipalities with a base have to deal with accidents/incidents attributable to the base, and Misawa City is no exception; the city, when necessary, protests firmly and demands resolution. People that live in a city with a base have to shoulder a burden, and the municipal government has to deal with complicated administrative processes, and at times, makes tough decisions. Our issues and problems vary because each municipality has its own unique history, culture, and customs, but it was very worthwhile to exchange opinions on base issues.



Reports from Communities Neighboring Bases

Mitsuhiro Murata

Director General for Policy Coordination, Iwakuni City

Okinawa and Iwakuni share significant commonalities, issues and concerns as municipalities that have to cope with a USMC presence, but I believe that until now, the two seldom collaborated, communicated, or interacted. However, the transfer of KC-130 units connected us on a level never before witnessed, and I believe we have been able to build a very good relationship.

Our mayor's basic attitude toward base and security issues played a role in this relationship as well. The situation in Iwakuni would have been completely different if it were not Mayor Fukuda sitting at the helm. Around 2007, the unrealistic attitude of the previous mayor had stalled the progress of various issues critical to the future of Iwakuni City as he collided with the city council. Iwakuni residents were helpless and felt a sense of stagnation. That is when Mayor Fukuda stood up to put a stop to the conflict, reunite people, and reinvent Iwakuni. As a former Lower House member, Mayor Fukuda has experience in national defense and security policy and is able to see issues from a national perspective. Since his political base is home to the Iwakuni base, he pays much attention to the voice of Iwakuni residents. He is a politician with unwavering ideals and commitment of a clear vision of how our national security should be with the Japan-U.S. alliance at the core, and the role prefectures/municipalities should play within that scheme.

After Mayor Fukuda took office, the subsidy freeze on the city hall building project was lifted. Meanwhile, residents of Iwakuni and Yamaguchi Prefecture wanted an airport using the Iwakuni base's runway, but negotiations had been stalled. Mayor Fukuda led the effort to restart the negotiations, and as a result, Iwakuni Kintaikyo Airport began its operation on December 13, 2012. It is maintaining a good number of visitors, about 540,000 in one year and seven months since the opening, and it is expected to play a role in the revitalization of the region.

Furthermore, at the time the city had about 100 hectares of land that had been allocated for the Atagoyama residential development project, but due to low housing demand, it had been put on hold. The city agreed to sell this land to the Ministry of Defense and develop housing, athletic facilities, a baseball field, a softball field, and a track by 2017 for U.S. military personnel. The athletic facilities will be accessible to local residents without having to present their identification; the city is currently in negotiations with the U.S. side concerning the term of its use and management. Free access for locals to U.S. military facilities is going to be a breakthrough. The city will continue to make efforts to complete this project as early as possible and hopes this new framework will encourage positive interaction between locals and U.S. military personnel.

In May 2010, Iwakuni Airport's runway transfer project was completed, and it began operating immediately. The new runway is a kilometer offshore and is farther away from the city center; therefore, noise levels (WECPNL) compared to pre-transfer values are lower, and residents are less concerned about incidents/accidents. The transfer is already having a positive impact.

The transfer of KC-130 units from Futenma to Iwakuni is the first major event involving a Futenma unit since the governments of Japan and the U.S. agreed in 1996 on the return of Futenma Air Base in its entirety. A total of 15 units are scheduled to be transferred by August 31. To have this forum during the transfer period is somewhat symbolic, and I feel a special bond between Okinawa and Iwakuni.

When Mayor Fukuda and I visited Okinawa last November to inspect Okinawa's situation and the operation of Futenma Air Base, Governor Nakaima and Mayor Sakima of Ginowan told us that the transfer of KC-130 units would reduce the base burden of Okinawa and Ginowan residents. Mayor Fukuda said the city of Iwakuni is prepared to do what is necessary, within its capability, to realize the return of Futenma. There are those in Iwakuni who are against the transfer, but the undeniable fact is that Okinawa is being forced to shoulder most of the base burden. The city of Iwakuni believes that many residents are in understanding of this transfer.

Despite the media coverage of Okinawa's base issues, I believe that not many citizens are truly aware of the burden that the prefecture endures even though they think they understand it. Iwakuni residents, on the other hand, most likely do. The KC-130 transfer gave us an important opportunity to revisit the Okinawa base issues, rethink our own base policy, and reconsider the ways we collaborate with other municipalities with bases.

The central government highly appreciates Iwakuni's decision to accept the KC-130 units to reduce Okinawa's burden in a tangible way when no other municipality did. The city of Iwakuni has been requesting the central government to create an environment where citizens can discuss and show interest in national defense and security issues because these issues are a subject that concerns all of us, not just the municipalities with bases. Base burden, in principle, should be borne by all of us, but the reality is that only some municipalities are having to shoulder all the weight. We need to continue to approach the central government and work closely with them to change the status quo and awareness of Japanese citizens. We expect the central government to understand our situation and make improvements in tangible ways and create an environment where it is easy for citizens to discuss national defense and security issues. Municipalities with bases should continue to collaborate to eliminate the inequality being created by bases.

3rd Okinawa Asia-Pacific Partnership Forum
“Creating Perspectives on Security with Regional Partners”

Main Forum

Session 2

Comprehensive Security

—Current Realities of East Asia and the Role of Okinawa—



Current Realities of East Asia and the Role of Okinawa

Akio Takahara

Professor, University of Tokyo

Nearly 70 years have passed since the end of World War II, and now I believe a certain sense of stagnation clouds over the world. I believe a major reason for this is the global financial crisis in 2008, which obliterated neoliberal “illusions” such as the American Model and the Washington Consensus, that is the “illusion” of increasing people’s happiness through continued deregulation and marketization, creating a world without a model.

Right-wing movements in Europe and their anti-immigrant campaigns have raised doubts about democracy all over the world. Fortunately, nobody has raised doubts about the value principles of democracy, i.e. liberty, equality, and fraternity. Building on this foothold, the time is now to rethink what kind of new order we want to develop. We are witnessing a rise of irrational nationalism in this stagnant state, but I believe this is exactly the time we must restrain our emotions and be the voice of reason.

Indeed, the international order is unstable, and the situation is critical as major powers are changing the status quo unilaterally. A sense of stagnation clouds over each nation in East Asia as well. It is clear to everybody that China is the fastest growing nation in East Asia, but how will China use that enormous power? That is an inevitable issue that is staring right into our eyes. Over 18 months have passed since Xi Jinping assumed power, and his words and actions have contradicted one another at times; those actions are one of the reasons for the rising tension among East Asian nations.

The following three means are important in easing this tension: first is sharing international norms, but China still seems to be preoccupied with the paradigm of increasing national wealth and military power. I strongly feel that we must all aim at sharing norms. Second is strengthening mutually dependent relationships. Although interdependence does not guarantee peace, it is obvious that the stronger the mutually dependent relationship, the less tension there would be. More economic exchange should be done precisely for this reason, but globalization should take care of this naturally to a degree. Third is maintaining the balance of power. Power balance cannot be ignored, and a sudden tip of this balance would bring instability to the order. To avoid an arms race in this region, we must not only strengthen our alliance networks, but build trust through dialogue and cooperation.

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What kind of role can Okinawa play in this situation? I am beginning to think that it can serve as the gravity center of East Asia—the center of balance in the region in many ways.

First is the “gravity center of the order of power,” the foundation on which people’s agreement and trust are based. There is also the “gravity center of emotions,” bringing relief and comfort to all people; this is evident in Okinawans’ attitude to mourn every one that died in the war, irrespective of his/her nationality, which is symbolized by the cornerstone of peace. In that sense, Okinawa may become the “gravity center of emotions.”

When we think about the “gravity center of the order of norms,” we see Okinawa as the stage on which dialogue and cooperation is promoted. This is because the only way to reach an agreement about the rules and values this region’s order should be based on is through dialogue and cooperation.

For example, intercultural exchange and understanding along with multiculturalism are a global issue and a key to building a “role model” society in Okinawa. How can we build this society, or how can we create a place of learning to get closer to this goal? These were some of the ideas discussed during the Youth Forum today. Young people are showing us important hints to break through this cloud of stagnation that hangs over us.

For Okinawa to function as the gravity center of East Asia and increase the efficacy of the three means of easing tension, a multilateral endeavor is necessary. In this sense, I believe the Okinawa Asia-Pacific Partnership Forum can provide an important venue for such multilateral cooperation.



**Creating Perspectives on Security
with Regional Partners: A Chinese View**

Tiejun Yu

Associate Professor, Peking University

The Chinese concept of comprehensive security includes traditional security and non-traditional security elements and is similar to the concept of comprehensive security upheld by other countries in that it is “overall” security. The security situation in East Asia has been changing dramatically in the last 2-3 years, but President Xi Jinping has expressed his intention to ensure both traditional and non-traditional securities to maintain comprehensive security.

Security issues in Asia are becoming more complicated because of delicate issues like military conflict, religion, and ethnicity; General Secretary, against the backdrop of additional issues such as terrorism, cross-border crime, environmental security, cyber security, energy resource security, and large natural disasters, said that traditional security threats and non-traditional security threats are interwoven today, leaving one big “security” issue.

One of the major traditional security issues is the nuclear weapon issue. When President Xi Jinping visited South Korea recently, he expressed his resolve to eradicate the Korean Peninsula of nuclear weapons and emphasized that this policy would not change. This could be interpreted as China’s declaration to the security of the Korean Peninsula.

Territorial disputes have occurred in the East China Sea, and the South China Sea, which is creating a great deal of uncertainty. The year of 2012 should have been the time to celebrate the 40th anniversary of diplomatic normalization between Japan and China, but the Diaoyu/Senkaku issue blew away all the festive moods and the Japan-Chinese relationship is now at its worst since 1972 – the year of normalization.

Both countries are criticizing one another as the relationship continues to deteriorate further. The confrontation between the China Coast Guard and the Japan Coast Guard in waters near the Diaoyu/Senkaku Islands needs to be stabilized perhaps through establishing a joint operational code. Furthermore, the issue of the air defense identification zone (ADIZ) is making the situation worse. The ADIZs of Japan and China overlap one another, creating a risk of military aircraft engagement. On the other hand, the U.S. always has had a role in security issues in East Asia. President Obama recently clarified the scope of U.S. security coverage under Article 5 of the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between the United States and Japan. This was aimed at China and its action concerning the Diaoyu/Senkaku Islands, and now China has a new issue to deal with.

In the South China Sea, Vietnam’s claimed line, China’s nine-dotted line, and the Philippine’s claimed line overlap one another as well; it is clear how serious and dangerous the maritime territorial dispute is in the South China Sea.

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Non-traditional security includes environmental security, disaster relief and rescue, terrorism, epidemic, cross-border crime, and also energy resource security. Japan and China provided mutual assistance to each other during the 2008 Great Sichuan Earthquake and the 2011 Great East Japan Earthquake, respectively. Terrorism is on the rise in China in recent years, and it has become a serious issue that the government has to address.

Attempts have been made around the world to solve these issues, but an ideal resolution model has not yet been found. Even in the EU, where the concept of comprehensive security is the most advanced, we saw a weakness in the Ukrainian crisis and identified several issues with the OSCE. Some criticize the ARF (ASEAN Regional Forum) for doing nothing other than holding lecture events, and there are some limitations on the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, too. Security in Northeast Asia is in critical condition but no solution has been found. In order to find a solution, we have to build a foundation of security in East Asia and facilitate a place for dialogue.

Okinawa's geographical location and history are special. The prefecture once prospered as a kingdom built on trade but was tragically devastated during World War II through ground battles, and today it endures an overwhelming presence of U.S. military bases. Because of what Okinawa has gone through, the region holds a special significance in maintaining peace in East Asia. Okinawa plays the role of a communication bridge and support hub. To have this event in Okinawa on the topic of comprehensive security is very fitting of a body that seeks to practice a new security concept in Asia. I believe Okinawa has the power to help entrench four new security concepts in China: common security, comprehensive security, cooperative security, and sustainable security. Eventually, Okinawa will become a very special place—a model for historical reconciliation and trust-building. The history issue is an important factor in terms of East Asia's international politics, and Okinawa, with its unique history, is the most suitable place for us to think about peace and cooperation.

The security situation in East Asia is ever-changing, and we have to find a comprehensive framework that integrates traditional and non-traditional security concepts to meet the changing needs. Establishment of a comprehensive security framework in this region would reduce "security dilemmas," and although we do not have a viable solution yet, it is certainly worth a try. To that end, I believe Okinawa can play a unique role in promoting security in Asia based on Okinawaology (the study of Okinawa).



Rethinking Balanced Comprehensive Security and the Role of Okinawa

Cheol Hee Park

Professor, Seoul National University

Today, the world has its eyes set on East Asia where economic activities are brisk and vivacious. China, Japan, and South Korea in particular are three countries that serve as major economic powers not only in East Asia but in the world. However, at the same time, these regions are in the midst of a global power transition, and as a result, face a wide variety of issues.

First of all, the rise of China is an issue. As the term, “New Style of Great Power Relationship” suggests that China is no longer a “sleeping giant,” and China seems to be recognizing itself as a major power and gradually changing the regional order in its favor, represented by the establishment of an ADIZ and the Asia Infrastructure Investment Bank. On the other hand, Japan is alarmed by the rise of China, and Prime Minister Abe is focusing on restoration and rehabilitation while implementing various policies to establish a new governance framework with more discretion and enhanced defense measures. Changes to defense measures in accordance with the development of the Senkaku situation is justifiable, but history revisionism creates tension and uncertainty among neighboring countries, and in this sense, these neighboring countries including South Korea will have to seek a way to handle the new Japan.

Another challenge we face is the issue of the Korean Peninsula. Kim Jong-Un’s power is unquestionable in North Korea, but the nation’s unpredictable behavior is creating concerns. It has announced its intention to send a support team to the Asian Games to be held this September, but at the same time, it is shooting missiles weekly into the Japan Sea. This unpredictable behavior is creating seeds of doubts in our minds, and that is why North Korea is seen as a nation that “upsets the balance of order.”

South Korea is located in between China and Japan. South Korea would like to maintain a good relationship with China and capitalize on it for economic development, but it has to maintain a good relationship with the U.S. and Japan at the same time to ensure the security of South Korea.

Overall, the issue before us now is the rising tension and clash among countries in East Asia, and the contributing factors are the following: 1) an inadequate regional security mechanism, 2) a lack of crisis avoidance mechanism and crisis management, and 3) a lack of trust among major powers in the region. As mutual economic dependence in East Asia grows, the flow of people increases and mutual cultural understanding is reinforced, but political and military conflicts become more serious, and there seems to be no end to history and territorial disputes. Solving these issues is a big challenge.

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Under these circumstances, I believe the time has come to rethink the concept of comprehensive security. Comprehensive security includes not only military security but also economic security and human security, and therefore, it is not limited to any particular area of security but rather “comprehensive” in its nature.

However, actual events suggest that this original concept of comprehensive security is lost, and that countries are only concerned with their own sovereignty and not paying enough attention to regional cooperation. The primary factor for this is the rise of nationalism, but security is not the sole responsibility of a nation state. Regional governments and citizens each have a significant role in building a framework of comprehensive security.

I believe Okinawa should utilize not only its geographical advantage but also its unique “power.” Okinawans have the ability to understand deep emotions, and their passion for peace is represented by a phrase like, “Nuchi du Takara (Life is a treasure).” This passion is linked to all things liberal in Japan and should be cherished.

In terms of geographical advantage, Okinawa is located at the center of East Asia and also has cultural diversity, which makes Okinawa suitable to assume a leadership role to rediscover the concept of comprehensive security and the balance thereof; Okinawa should become the center for security cooperation and regional cooperation. I believe Okinawa has a very strong soft power, and it could drive cross-border exchanges in East Asia by connecting soft powers in this region.

Finally, I would like this type of forum to be elevated to become a place to understand regional issues and discuss sophisticated security issues to reduce tension. Okinawa is a great tourist destination, and that impression enhances how people perceive Okinawa’s soft power. I would very much like to see a peace movement by Okinawans all around the world—a movement not just in Okinawa and Japan but also overseas.



**U.S. Rebalancing Asia Policy from
the Perspectives of Religious Idealism and
Geo-Economic/ Political Realism**

I-hsin Chen

Professor, Tamkang University

A month ago, when I was conversing with a Chinese researcher in the office, she asked me why the U.S. was criticizing China's deployment of drill ships in the South China Sea, and why the U.S. was supporting Vietnam. She didn't understand why sending a couple of drills to the South China Sea would lead to U.S. criticism when there are over a hundred oil platforms there. I told her that one would need to explore a theological framework to correctly interpret international affairs. In relation to this topic, my presentation today will not focus on U.S. policies but rather on what is happening in Asia.

My theological framework, or the concept thereof, dates back to the latter half of the 19th century when the American missionaries first moved to China, and brought Christianity and western ideas to the Chinese. American missionaries intended to bring salvation to souls of Chinese people at that time.

Around that time, religious trust of the Chinese toward Americans was complemented by economic trust, which paved the way for American merchants and industries to enter China. Also at the same time, U.S. Secretary of State John Hay announced the Open Door Policy in China, which was well-received by the Chinese. This was the first wave of integration between religious idealism and geoeconomic and geopolitical realism. However, after communists assumed political power in China, the U.S. shifted its attention to Taiwan, Japan, South Korea, and SEATO (Southeast Asia Treaty Organization) member states.

This first wave ended in 1949, and the second wave began the following year in 1950. The second wave died in 1991 after the Korean War, the Vietnam War, and the dissolution of the Soviet Union.

The third wave began in 1992 while President George H. W. Bush was preparing to promote his structural strategy in the Asia-Pacific region but was unable to follow through due to his defeat in the presidential election.

Bill Clinton promoted constructive engagement and enlargement of democracy as his main policy in the Asia-Pacific region. After Clinton, we had George W. Bush's hedging strategy, and now President Obama has been promoting the rebalancing policy. Although past U.S. presidents supported Japan's administrative rights over the Senkaku Islands,

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none had ever explicitly demonstrated their position. President Obama, however, did exactly that, which is another phase of the evolution of the third wave of integration between religious idealism and geoeconomic and geopolitical realism.

Many question why the U.S. changed Vietnam's communist regime. The U.S. has transformed a communist regime into a democratic regime in the past, as in the case of Eastern Europe. With the support of the U.S., Vietnam was reborn—but how has Vietnam responded to the U.S. in return?

In July 2013, President Obama and Truong Tan Sang, the president of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, agreed to a comprehensive partnership framework. Vietnamese Prime Minister Nguyen Tan Dung had pointed out in June of the same year not to depend too much on the Chinese economy. It is a well-known fact that Vietnam is dependent on China's market and economy, but the prime minister is trying various ways to change the status quo. General Secretary of the Communist Party of Vietnam Nguyen Phu Trong, who is the leader of Vietnam, has said that Vietnam needs to prepare for a potential contingency including war, and Chairman of the National Assembly of Vietnam Nguyen Sinh Hung, fourth in the political hierarchy, strongly criticized China's trespassing in the East China Sea.

China is beginning to realize how difficult it is to control Vietnam given that the pro-China force in Vietnam is becoming a minority today. One way or another, a possibility of war cannot be dismissed, and unless the two countries are willing to compromise, the situation may escalate into a war.

Lastly, the third wave of integration between religious idealism and geoeconomic and geopolitical realism can lend its support to the U.S., which is supporting Japan, Vietnam, and the Philippines. The success of President Obama's Asian rebalancing policy depends on the advancement of the integration between religious idealism and geoeconomic and geopolitical realism. Additionally, the current tension in the South China Sea may develop into a war unless China, Vietnam, or the U.S. backs down.



Mike Mochizuki's Remark

Mike Mochizuki

Professor, George Washington University

The concept of comprehensive security is believed to have originated in the late 1970s under the Ohira administration. What is significant about comprehensive security is the emphasis it places on food security and energy security alongside traditional military issues.

After the Cold War, academics in the U.S. and Europe started to pay attention to untraditional security issues. Even after the 9/11 attacks in New York and Washington DC, many believed that the concept of comprehensive security and non-governmental actors were important elements in security studies, and the national security strategy of the George W. Bush administration assumed that a crash of major powers was practically unthinkable even in the face of terrorist attacks. However, the world has changed over the last few years unfortunately, and I believe we are now in an “era of despair.” The challenge today is to reduce the tension among nations, and I strongly support the policies of Japan and the U.S. for recognizing this significance and stressing the importance of deterrence.

However, deterrence alone is not sufficient to achieve comprehensive security today, and this region lacks strategic trust. This is particularly evident in Northwest Asia, and a similar trend is developing in Southeast Asia. One of the issues on comprehensive security in the next decade is to consider ways to not only ease tension among nations but also to promote and foster strategic trust in them. The concept of “trust” is new in international political studies, but I believe it is a concept deserving of more attention.

There are five ways to promote a trusting relationship. 1) Build a long-term cooperative relationship. 2) Understand historical heritages and build trust. Past behavior plays a role in whether or not you can trust a country and its people. Therefore, facilitation of historical reconciliation is necessary to build a trusting relationship, and this is just as important as deterrence in terms of security policy. 3) Engage in intercultural exchange, tourism, and people-to-people exchange through youth study exchange programs. 4) Seek out and develop a common identity and shared values. It is necessary to seek out what kind of values we should have and share, in order to establish a common identity. For example, this sort of common identity is already in place in Europe and for this reason, an all-out war in Europe is highly unlikely. 5) Respect norms and rules. If they become common practice, countries will know what is expected of them and of others, which enables better visibility and predictability.

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With all considered, I believe a main issue for the next decade will be the promotion of strategic trust. The subject of comprehensive security is an area where countries can find ways to cooperate on sensitive issues, and extending the period of such cooperation will enable countries involved to build strategic trust.

One specific area of note is energy security. In recent years, energy security is becoming a factor that drives a tension among major countries. However, a careful observation of the energy security situation today reveals that the situation is not very serious despite an increase in energy demand in China, India, and other countries whose industries are developing at an enormous scale. We are in the midst of a global energy market structural reform represented by the shale gas revolution. Countries can cooperate in areas like efficient energy use, resource storage, and nuclear safety to strengthen our cooperative relationship and tackle energy issues at the same time.

Another area is environmental security. There are many concerns in the Asia-Pacific region, but a threat that really demands the attention of the world and people in the Asia-Pacific region in particular is the issue of environmental degradation and pollution. A military threat may not necessarily materialize, but environmental threats like degradation and pollution do. Because pollution impacts regions through the air, rivers, or seawater, it is necessary for countries to cooperate and approach this issue as a group. In this sense, the issues of environmental degradation and climate change are an opportunity for countries competing on a military front to build a cooperative and trusting relationship.

Lastly, Okinawa is a special place for the promotion of comprehensive security and also an important place for the development of human capital. It has potential to become a center for efficient energy use and environmental protection, a center for historical reconciliation and justice in East Asia, and a center for health, longevity, and promotion for a quality of life. In order to make this happen, however, human capital development is crucial, and Okinawa should continue to develop people with language proficiency and global perspectives, as well as those who have the ability to engage in an international dialogue and undertake international research projects. Developing such talents would give Okinawa a stronger presence and a larger role in ensuring security in the Asia-Pacific region.

3rd Okinawa Asia-Pacific Partnership Forum
“Creating Perspectives on Security with Regional Partners”

Main Forum

Session 3

Panel Discussion

Panel Discussion

In the panel discussion coordinated by Kurayoshi Takara, Vice Governor of Okinawa Prefecture, panelists Akio Takahara, Tiejun Yu, Cheol Hee Park, I-shin Chen and Mike Mochizuki had in-depth discussion about the topics covered in session 2.

Takahara: It is clear President Xi Jinping has made some very good comments, but his actions seem to be creating frictions with other countries. How do Chinese intellectuals understand this situation?

Yu: It has only been a year and a half since he became president, and he needs more time to develop and streamline policies. He is focusing on China's relationships with neighboring countries and China's emphasis on diplomatic power, but the challenge is how to implement the policies, and this will require time and a viable system. There are many issues like improving the position of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and cooperation among decision-making agencies/organizations.

Park: Taiwan is seeing the confrontation between Japan and China over the Senkaku Islands, literally being in between the two nations. China is also in military confrontations with the Philippines and Vietnam. What is the position of Taiwan in this situation?

Chen: Taiwan read the Senkaku issue well and secured a benefit in its favor by signing a fisheries agreement with Japan. However, this does not mean we waived off our sovereignty of the Senkaku Islands. Despite being a major power, China has not been able to solve this issue. This is a complicated issue that will require many years to solve, so Taiwan is prioritizing the resolution of its own fisheries issue. When the Philippines Coast Guard patrol boat shot and killed the captain of a Taiwanese fishing boat in 2013, Taiwan demanded an apology from the Philippines, to which the Philippines complied and opened negotiations with Taiwan concerning fisheries resources.

Mochizuki: From the viewpoint of American democracy, the most complicated issue is the deteriorating relationship between Japan and South Korea. What should be done to improve this relationship, and what can the U.S. do?

Park: The Japan-South Korea relationship is very emotional and cannot be solved easily. On the issue of comfort women, Japan should align itself with the Kono Statement or Murayama Statement and seek a resolution. Prime Minister Abe and the cabinet members should be fair in their statements and stay away from the Yasukuni shrine. As long as Japan is willing to resolve the history issue, South Korea should respond to Japan with sincerity.

Chen: How should China and the U.S. build trust in each other?

Mochizuki: If China's goal is to drive the U.S. out by strategically creating a tension, then sustaining a stable relationship in the Asia-Pacific region would be difficult. This is

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because the position of the U.S., as President Obama indicated, is that the U.S. is “a Pacific power and will remain so.” However, other countries like Japan need to be considered as well, not just China and the U.S.

Yu: President Xi Jinping has said that issues in Asia should be resolved by Asian people. In order to build a new model of major power relationships between China and the U.S., one needs to substantiate the concept, such as how to tackle regional issues and build strategic trust. A new relationship between the U.S. and China would necessarily involve countries other than the U.S. and China as well.

Chen: Over 300 agreements have been reached in six-party talks or China-U.S. economic dialogues, but the most important thing is how many we can implement.

Yu: Dr. Takahara said he observed inconsistency between President Xi’s words and actions, and I find that interesting. The Diaoyu/Senkaku issue was actually started by Japan’s nationalization of the islands in 2012, and the establishment of an ADIZ was merely our response to the frequent surveillance activities by JASDF aircrafts, which we regarded as Japan’s provocation. China has to react to these events in some forms, especially to keep its people’s reaction under control.

Takahara: This type of view seems to be universally shared in China, but interpretation of the facts differs because the Chinese and the Japanese don’t share the same common sense. If we want to solve the Senkaku and Yasukuni issues, academics should get together and examine the facts and conduct an academic investigation as to why Japanese, South Koreans and the Chinese interpret things in different ways.

Takara: I would like to read some questions from the floor. China is driven by Sino-centrism and communism and is run by one-party monopoly. In this situation, what should Japan and China do to share the same norm, engage in a dialogue, and cooperate? What kind of stance should Japan take in its approach?

Takahara: There are completely different opinions even in China. Some people are demonstrating more Sino-centric and self-centered tendencies because China has become a major power, but information is coming into the country through exchange students and the internet, which is driving China’s internationalization in some areas. We should think about how we can collaborate with these highly talented people.

Takara: Non-traditional security includes freedom from poverty and human rights suppression. I believe terrorist attacks in Xinjiang and Yunnan are a resistance against human rights suppression by the Chinese government. How do you see this issue from the viewpoint of comprehensive security?

Yu: Non-traditional security should include human rights issues, but basically we do not think the Uyghur issue is a human rights issue. This is an act of terrorism that has taken the lives of innocent people. Protection of minority ethnic groups and their human rights is an issue that is becoming more complicated by the day. China’s family planning policy actually is benefiting minority ethnic groups more than the Han Chinese in some areas.

Takara: For a long time, South Korea has depended on the U.S. to provide security, but now South Korea is seeking to build a stronger tie with China. Doesn't this have an adverse impact on the stable security of East Asia?

Park: A great majority of people in Japan believe that South Korea is unquestionably closer to China, and that impression is justifiable. Prime Minister Abe and President Park have not yet had a top-level meeting, but President Park and President Xi have already met five times. Prime Minister Abe and President Park should be more flexible in their approaches. The problem is, however, that the media is running too far ahead. Japanese magazines have been printing the toughest criticism against South Korea in the last two years. I can say for certain that South Korea will never entrust China with its security as long as North Korea remains a potential threat at the very least.

Takara: Could you elaborate on the term, "religious idealism"?

Chen: Religious idealism is an idea used to improve China's position and education in the latter half of the 19th century—an idea to protect their resources by engaging in modern action based on Christian values. In fact, religious idealism and American pragmatism, that is the pursuit of economic development, stopped European forces from entering the Chinese market.

Takara: What should Okinawa Prefecture do to build more trust between Okinawans and Americans?

Mochizuki: We tend to think that Okinawa is shouldering the burden of U.S. military bases for the security of Japan and this region, but it could also be seen as an opportunity to further promote the development of human capital and internationalization. Okinawa's education can be further internationalized with the support of the U.S. military presence, and that would help the U.S. military and Okinawans build a stronger bond.

Takara: What do you think about collective security and the right of collective self-defense, as approved by the Japanese cabinet?

Takahara: I do not think it would directly impact the region's stability or instability, but it could raise concerns among neighboring countries so the Japanese government should explain it well.

Yu: It is up to the Japanese people whether or not to exercise the collective self-defense right, but from China's standpoint, I believe the Japanese government needs to be very careful when exercising this right, given what has happened in the past.

Park: South Koreans are quite critical in general of Japan's approval of the collective self-defense right. Since a majority of the Japanese is against this, I do not believe it is wise to rush the decision. I think Japan should follow a set of proper democratic procedures and coordinate with neighboring countries before approving and exercising such a right.

Chen: I support Japan's collective self-defense right. There are many objections and criticism in China and South Korea concerning this issue because they still see Japan as a

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nation of militarism. That is, however, all in the past. Japan can no longer will its way by militarism anyway because China, South Korea, and Taiwan have all grown and gained power now.

Mochizuki: I have supported Japan's exercise of its collective self-defense right and individual self-defense right for the past 25 years. All United Nations member states can exercise their right of collective self-defense, and Japan should have the ability to exercise this right as well. However, Japan needs to prioritize historical reconciliation with South Korea and China because they have concerns about it.

Takara: Dr. Chen, what can we expect from Okinawa?

Chen: Okinawa's strategic location is very important in the Asia-Pacific region, and I believe it will serve as a front-line base for Japan and the U.S. I think Japan and the U.S. will make various investments and make Okinawa one of the most important military bases.

Takara: We discussed comprehensive security today, not just the military issues but also issues like natural disaster, disease, and poverty. Can I ask each of you to comment on Okinawa and what you expect the prefecture to do?

Park: Security is like the air. You appreciate its true value when it is taken away from you. Regions like Okinawa and South Korea are in the front-line and bearing a heavy burden, and we must not forget that they are providing a public asset. Their burden should be valued correctly. We should always remember that enhancing military strength alone will not lead us anywhere.

Takahara: There was a wide range of suggestions from Okinawa's youth in Youth Forum. We can create a language center and offer a place for foreign language education. A place like this may also serve as a place for intercultural exchange and multicultural understanding. One way or another, Okinawa Prefecture has to think of ways to implement ideas suggested by its people.

Mochizuki: The government of Okinawa Prefecture can promote youth exchange by becoming a sponsor. It can offer scholarships and fellowships to students coming to Okinawa as well as those studying abroad. More Okinawans will contribute to the achievement of comprehensive security if the prefecture offers more opportunities to study abroad.

Takara: We have many different opinions and understanding in certain areas, but it is clear that security in its broad sense cannot be achieved without the effort to build, maintain, and enhance a trusting relationship through mutual understanding. It is the intention of Okinawa Prefecture to continue to facilitate a place for dialogue among experts.

(Edited by Research Section)

3rd Okinawa Asia-Pacific Partnership Forum

“Creating Perspectives on Security with Regional Partners”

Youth Forum



Security—Conceptual Summary

Hiromu Arakaki

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In this report, I will talk about how the concept of “security” is being discussed in the context of international politics and international relations, how it changed over time, its definition and some characteristics of the concept from a personal perspective.

The word “security” began to be used in the world of diplomacy and international politics in European countries after the start of World War I in 1914. It is said to have begun when France, learning from the experience of World War I, integrated its traditional defense and diplomatic efforts and renewed its framework of safety for the state. After World War II, the words “security” and “national” began to be used in association, and later became synonymous, so much so that today when we say “security” we mean “national security.” Conceptual discussions about security gained full momentum in the post-Cold War era.

Security has two faces: a state “without concern,” and “securing safety,” which is a notion meaning “to actively construct a state of safety.”

Arnold Wolfers, an American professor of international politics, defined security as “the absence of threats in both subjective and objective senses.” On the other hand, the definition proposed by Mataka Kamiya of National Defense Academy of Japan is “the act by a principal through some means, from some threat, to defend some value indispensable to the principal.” The definition of Ken Jimbo of Keio University is “the act by an acting principal through some means to defend some value from a threat that seeks to deprive the principal of it, either on its own or in collaboration with another party.”

In fact, this concept of security is better understood if one sees it as a function comprised of five variables: subject (principal)/object, value, threat/danger, collaboration, and means. It is important to recognize what security is comprised of in order to have a meaningful and in-depth discussion because the meaning of security changes with the meaning of each element.

Next, I will talk about how the concept of security changed over time, with a particular focus on “national security.” The “subject” variable is the state and its people, the “value” is the lives, assets, and territories of the people, and the idea is to defend them through diplomatic and/or military “means” from “threats” of invasion or some attack by force by some hostile state(s). It is also possible to achieve this goal by “collaborating” with an ally or the United Nations.

In the post-Cold War era, the concept of national security expanded to include

“threats/dangers” like terrorism, cyber-attack, natural disaster, infectious disease, and financial issues, and to keep them contained, we have added new political “means” including police, judiciary, telecommunication, medicine, finance, and education. Because of this, the need arose to “collaborate” with ministries/departments in other countries and also with NGOs. These are called “non-traditional” elements because it is only in recent years that they began to be discussed in the context of national security.

Another noteworthy concept is that of “human security.” In the post-Cold War era, threats like civil war, displacement, poverty, and suppression of human rights began to emerge, and the value of “human safety” increased as a result. The roles of the United Nations, international institutions, and NGOs are important for this concept as political means, such as preventive diplomacy, humanitarian intervention, social integration, and human development, play a key role. The emergence of this new concept, in addition to the concept of national security, is attributed to the fact that states today that are supposed to protect their people are often pushed beyond their limit of governance capacity when dealing with civil war or cross-border issues.

The concept of security took root as “national security” during the Cold War, with a nation state as the subject. It expanded after the Cold War as the element of “non-traditional security” was added. Birth of the “human security” concept is another factor that contributed to the expansion of the concept as a whole.

As we have seen, “security” is comprised of a number of elements, and thus it is important to look at the content (element) of each “variable.” The “subject (principal)/object”, “value,” and “threat/danger” variables are particularly important as they define the whole concept in that given context. National security will continue to be an important concept, but as threats/dangers expand and become more diverse and complicated, how domestic and international subjects/principals collaborate will become increasingly more important for progression.



Role of Tourism in Realizing Peace

Yoshikazu Higashi

Chief of Okinawa Branch, Japan Association of Travel Agents

The topic of this presentation is tourism, which is an economic activity but also plays a role in building a peaceful and safe society.

Okinawa's policies are being implemented according to the 21st Century Vision Plan which defines five visions that Okinawa is to pursue. Okinawa aims to be an island that 1) respects and values its unique nature, history, tradition, and culture, 2) is spiritually rich and is safe and secure, 3) is full of hope and energy, 4) is open to the world and full of exchanges and harmony, and 5) develops various abilities and opens the way to the future.

Although tourism is the leading industry in Okinawa, many recognize the importance of creating an export-oriented industry to earn foreign capital and to eventually build a self-sustaining economy that is robust and flexible.

Currently, Okinawa is in the fifth phase of its tourism promotion basic plan and target frame. The targets are: 1 trillion yen in tourism income, 5 days of stay on average, approximately 40 million man-stays, and 10 million visitors (8 million domestic, 2 million international). The number of domestic visitors in 2013 was approximately 6 million (+7.4% from 2012), and the same figure for foreign visitors was 620,000 (+64.0% from 2012). Given the rate of increase in the number of foreign tourists and the addition of flight routes, the target for foreign visitors is expected to be reached first.

The root of the word “tourism” is “seeing the light of the country” according to the *I Ching (Classic of Changes)* of Confucianism. “The governor (leader) shall travel his land and other countries and observe the lives of inhabitants,” it advocates, and that “people’s lives are a reflection of the political state, and under good governance, a village shall shine brightly.” Seeing the light of other countries to improve the governance of your own country—this is the root of the word “tourism.”

Textbooks distributed in Okinawa describe the significance and mission of tourism to “make a positive contribution to mutual understanding and peace exchange,” “respect and value the nature and traditional culture of the region,” and “contribute to the economic development of the region.” Moreover, in September 2011 at the General Meeting of the United Nations World Tourism Organization in Osaka, South African President Nelson Mandela stated in his message that the mission of tourism in the 21st century is to “achieve and maintain peace” and “eradicate poverty.”

I. Okinawa Asia-Pacific Partnership Forum: Youth Forum

The United Nations, in the 21st General Assembly held on November 4, 1966, defined tourism as “a passport to peace,” expecting it to play a large role in achieving world peace. Additionally, UNESCO states in the preamble of its constitution “the peace must therefore be founded, if it is not to fail, upon the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind.” It essentially states that peace made by governments or through economic dealings is not true peace, as peace can only be achieved by individuals sharing the same sense of solidarity beyond borders in order to build a peaceful society.

The notion that peace cannot be achieved through tourism is the perspective of the passive peace industry. Not only that, tourism should be promoted in order to allow us to recognize and accept different cultures through human interactions, and deepen mutual understanding to create a peaceful society. This, I think, is the tourism as an active peace industry.

We are said to live in a globalized world today. However, it is important to remember that a globalized world is not a world of survival of the fittest, but a world where we can share our joy and values.

This globalized world needs people who understand, accept, value, and respect cultural differences. They have to be sensitive to their abilities and human rights (rights of women and ethnic minorities), and have the willingness and determination to protect them and resolve issues in a non-violent manner, in addition to think critically and systematically, and have the desire and ability to participate in the regional, national, and international politics.



Collaboration in Asia through Disaster Prevention

Hironobu Nakabayashi

Fellow, Research Section, Regional Security Policy Division,
Executive Office of the Governor, Okinawa Prefectural Government

In the context of non-traditional security, “crisis management” is seen as a way to create regional collaboration, and I will discuss its feasibility in Asia.

First, the word “crisis” can be expressed with the following three variables: 1) recognition of threat, 2) urgency, and 3) uncertainty. We must first recognize something to be dangerous to be able to start thinking about what to do. This is recognition of threat. Urgency means whether or not you have time. Uncertainty is not knowing how bad the situation can potentially become.

The key to “crisis management” is to correctly recognize a threat and amply prepare for it in order to reduce the impact of urgency and uncertainty. There are four phases to this: disaster mitigation, disaster prevention, action, and reconstruction/rehabilitation.

Second, let’s observe the disasters that have occurred in Okinawa and the rest of the world. The numbers of disasters and the amount of monetary damage caused by them have both been increasing. As we saw in the Great East Japan Earthquake and the Indian Ocean Earthquakes off the coast of Sumatra, the amount of monetary damage is an increasing trend.

Okinawa Prefecture’s Regional Security Policy Division conducted a security awareness survey in the prefecture in 2013. Many Okinawans raised concerns of having many remote islands and being far away from mainland Japan in their responses. This is exactly why Okinawa needs to reach beyond its prefectural boundary for cooperation. Okinawans were also concerned about the following top five crises: large earthquake, large typhoon, large tsunami, aircraft accident (military aircraft), and infectious disease. Among these, everything except aircraft accidents will have an impact on surrounding regions; this presents an opportunity for Okinawa to engage in regional cooperation with East Asian countries to solve the problem together.

“Crisis management” and “security” are closely related; the magnitude of disasters in recent years poses a real danger of demise to any state. In the field of security, the term HA/DR (Humanitarian Assistance/Disaster Relief) is often used, and this can be characterized as one of the major responsibilities of a military force/self-defense force. However, what I would like to stress here is that, rather than just relying on the military/JSDF (Japan Self-Defense Forces), it is necessary for various principals to cooperate—that is, every single one of us have to support and participate in these matters. This is a key when we think about crisis management.

What are some examples of regional cooperation for crisis management? One is the EU

Civil Protection Mechanism. This is a framework that enables the EU to render its assistance as a whole if an EU member faces some domestic or international contingency. There is a monitoring center that is in operation throughout the year, and if a contingency surfaces, a notice is sent to member states immediately. There is also a fully functional civil protection module that contains pumper trucks, fire-fighting aircrafts, and supplies for rescue and support – all which are shared by all member states.

What do civilians think of the EU civil protection mechanism? One question in a 2009 survey by the EU asked: “Why should the EU support crisis management of its member states?” The majority of respondents answered “solidarity of member states.” This is an opportunity to reinforce and share the feeling of solidarity among the member states through a framework that is the EU. The sense of solidarity motivates people to help those in need, and the cooperative structure enhances the sense of solidarity.

On the other hand, in Asia, disaster prevention training is held among capital cities of ASEAN countries, China, Korea and Japan, but the initiative has not been elevated to the state level. However, China is becoming more active in the area of non-traditional security since 2002 by collaborating with ASEAN. Taiwan held a joint marine rescue training in September of 2010 at China’s marine search and rescue center. Ministers in charge of disaster prevention in Japan and Taiwan have agreed to do a joint training after the Great East Japan Earthquake in 2011. Disaster relief and disaster prevention support initiatives are being developed among ASEAN countries in accordance with the ASEAN Regional Forum vision statement and the Hanoi Plan of Action. There is no initiative yet that involves the entire East Asia, but countries around Japan and Okinawa seem receptive to a cooperative framework for disaster crisis management.

In sum, given the disasters seen in recent years, crisis management is becoming very important in the area of non-traditional security. If the regions cooperate in the areas of disaster prevention and crisis management, we can expect those efforts to be an important element in securing the stability of the regions. In Asia, neighboring countries and regions like China and Taiwan are receptive to the idea of international cooperation in the area of disaster control. Okinawa, positioned at the heart of Asia, has the potential to be the keystone that supports such efforts, and may be even expected to assume that role. This is a responsibility that Okinawa has to accept.

Okinawa Asia-Pacific Partnership Forum Report Contest Results

Okinawa Prefecture held a contest where it asked applicants to submit a report stating their opinions and suggestions concerning the presentations and discussions at the Okinawa Asia-Pacific Partnership Forum held on July 17, 2014. The purpose of the contest is to give the people of Okinawa and Japan an opportunity to think and deepen their understanding about the issues regarding security and military bases, and many applications were received from high school and college students.

Unfortunately, the Report Contest Selection Committee, whose members consist of academics and organizers, did not find a report deserving of the Excellence Award. However, each report did demonstrate a flash of brilliance in their consideration and understanding, and the Committee looks forward to further progress and development.

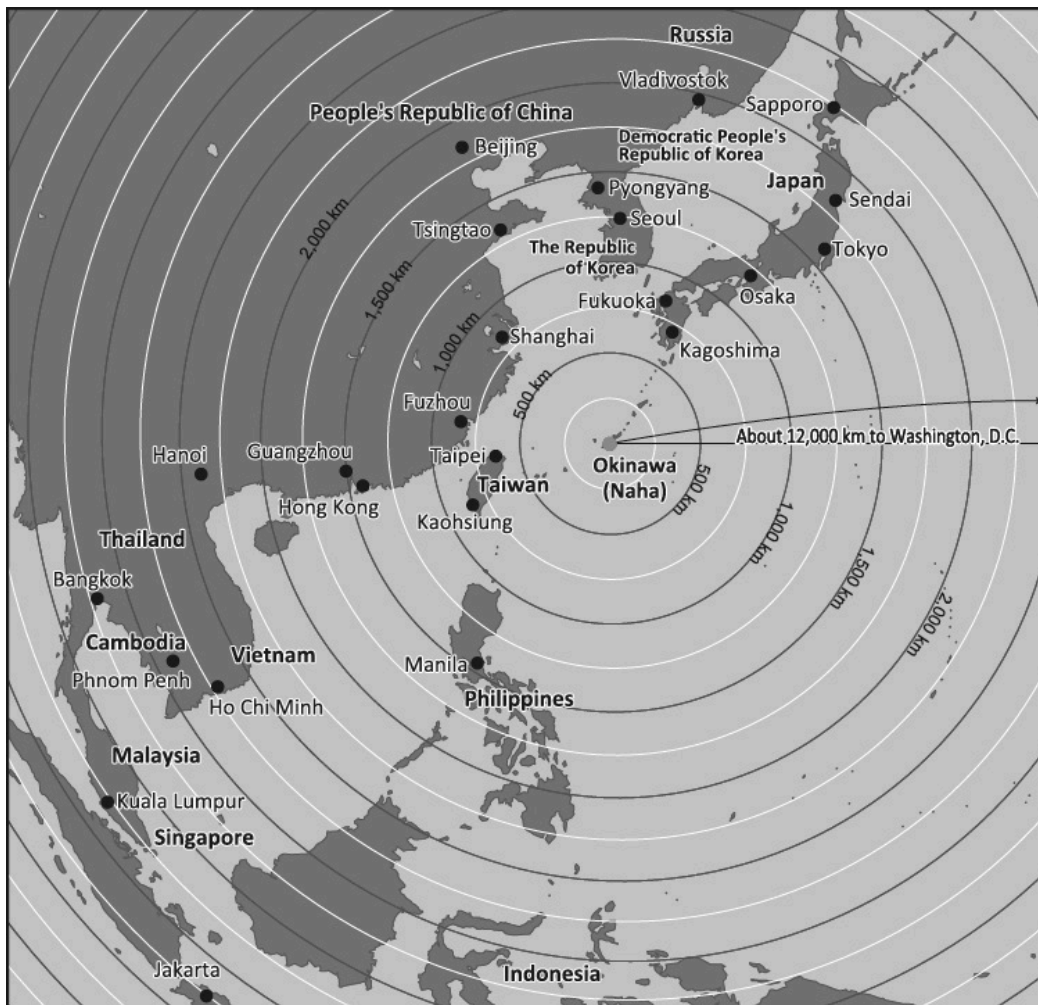
One applicant had a unique viewpoint of “re-positioning Okinawa’s U.S. bases as one element of collective security framework with the U.N. at its center,” and another pointed out that “U.S. bases, in reality, are threatening the lives and safety of local residents and Okinawans for the sake of security,” which is an important remark.

Other reports expressed their high level of awareness of the issue by suggesting that “Okinawa, assuming a central role, should find a way to share historical and cultural values by expanding the scope of interactions with people from other countries,” and identified “the need for each to take an interest in security issues as the one involved in the midst.” Each report made it evident that the youth that participated in the Forum were intellectually stimulated and enlightened.

Okinawa has no choice but to be involved in various issues because security issues in East Asia and the Asia-Pacific region tend to develop in and around Okinawa. I sincerely wish that this initiative—which gives Okinawans and the Japanese, including the youth, a chance to think about the region’s history as well as the issues of security and bases—will continue for many years to come.

Mamoru Akamine
Professor, the University of the Ryukyus
Report Contest Selection Committee Member

II. Survey Report



Location of Okinawa

II. Survey Report: Survey on Okinawa's Attitude toward Regional Security
Survey Result

Survey on Okinawa's Attitude toward Regional Security

Conducted by: Regional Security Policy Division, Executive Office of the Governor,
Okinawa Prefectural Government

1. Overview of Survey

(1) Survey Title	Survey on the Okinawa's Attitude toward Regional Security	
(2) Purpose of the Survey	To study the attitude of the people in Okinawa regarding regional security and use this as basic information for policy-making.	
(3) Survey Subject	Population	Male/ female residents of Okinawa Prefecture between the age of 15 and 75
	Sample size	3,000 people
	Sampling method	Stratified two-stage random sampling
(4) Survey Method	By post mail (a thank-you/ reminder note in postcard format was sent once to all survey subjects)	
(5) Survey Period	November 20 through December 11, 2014	
(6) Collection Results	Number of valid responses (percent) 1,142 persons (38.1%)	

II. Survey Report: Survey on Okinawa's Attitude toward Regional Security Survey Result

Comparison of Survey Results

For a reference, the results are from the public opinion survey on foreign affairs and the public opinion survey on the JSDF and defense issues, conducted by the Cabinet Office, and also the result of the 2014 Japan-China Joint Opinion Survey that was conducted by the Genron NPO, but comparison of survey results should be done carefully since the contents and the timing of the surveys vary.

The results of the surveys on Okinawans' Impression of China for 2012 and 2013 are shown also for a reference, but comparison of these survey results should be done carefully as well since the contents (this year's survey is focused on security) and the timing of the surveys vary.

Abbreviation*	Survey Name	Organization	Subject	Survey Period
2013 FA	Public opinion survey on foreign affairs	Cabinet Office	Japanese nationals aged 20 years or older	Sep. 26 to Oct. 4, 2013
2014 FA	Public opinion survey on foreign affairs	Cabinet Office	Japanese nationals aged 20 years or older	Oct. 16 to Oct. 26, 2014
2011 DF	Public opinion survey on the JSDF and defense issues	Cabinet Office	People in Japan aged 20 years or older	Jan. 5 to Jan 22, 2012
2014 DF	Public opinion survey on the JSDF and defense issues	Cabinet Office	Japanese nationals aged 20 years or older	Jan. 8 to Jan. 18, 2015
2014 NPO	2014 Japan-China Joint Opinion survey	Genron NPO	Males and females nationwide, 18 years or older (excluding high school students)	Jul. 24 to Aug. 10, 2014
2012 OKI	Attitude survey on China	Okinawa Prefecture	Male and female Okinawa residents 15 years or older, up to 74 years old	Nov. 21 to Dec. 12, 2012
2013 OKI	Attitude survey on China	Okinawa Prefecture	Male and female Okinawa residents 15 years or older, up to 74 years old	Nov. 21 to Dec. 12, 2013
2014 OKI	Attitude survey on regional security (this particular survey)	Okinawa Prefecture	Male and female Okinawa residents 15 years or older, up to 74 years old	Nov. 20 to Dec. 11, 2014

*Other surveys shown in charts

II. Survey Report: Survey on Okinawa's Attitude toward Regional Security Survey Result

- Values used for comparison with this particular survey were cited from the following surveys:

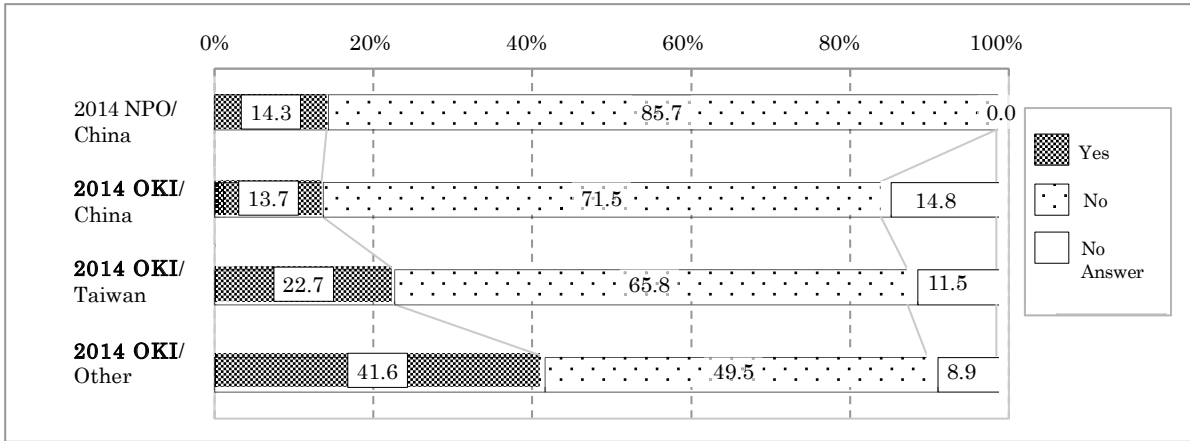
Issue in the Survey	2013 FA	2014 FA	2012 DF	2014 DF	2014 NPO	2012 OKI	2013 OKI
Q1. Traveling China					○		
Q3. Chinese (excluding Taiwanese) acquaintance					○		
Q4. Affinity toward U.S.		○					
Q4. Affinity toward China		○					
Q4. Affinity toward South Korea		○					
Q4. Affinity toward southeast Asian Countries	○						
Q5. Importance of Japan-China relations					○	○	○
Q8. Impression of China					○	○	○
Q8-1. Reason for having a favorable impression of China					○		○
Q8-2. Reason for not having a favorable impression of China					○	○	○
Q9. Impression of Taiwan						○	○
Q9-1. Reason for having a favorable impression of Taiwan						○	○
Q9-2. Reason for not having a favorable impression of Taiwan						○	○
Q10. Okinawa's role in ensuring friendly Japan-China relations							○
Q11. Military Conflict Between Japan and China					○	○	○
Q13. Risk of Japan being involved in war			○	○			
Q13-1. Reason for believing that Japan has a risk of being involved in war			○	○			
Q14. Impression of the Self-Defense Forces			○	○			
Q16. On Japan-U.S. Security Treaty			○	○			
Q17. Issues the Self-Defense Forces needs to work on			○	○			

II. Survey Report: Survey on Okinawa's Attitude toward Regional Security
Survey Result

2. Survey Results

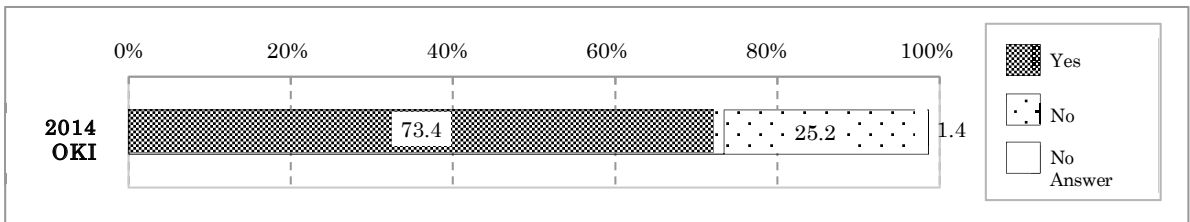
Traveling Abroad

Q1. Have you ever traveled abroad, including destinations such as China and Taiwan?
(Choose one)



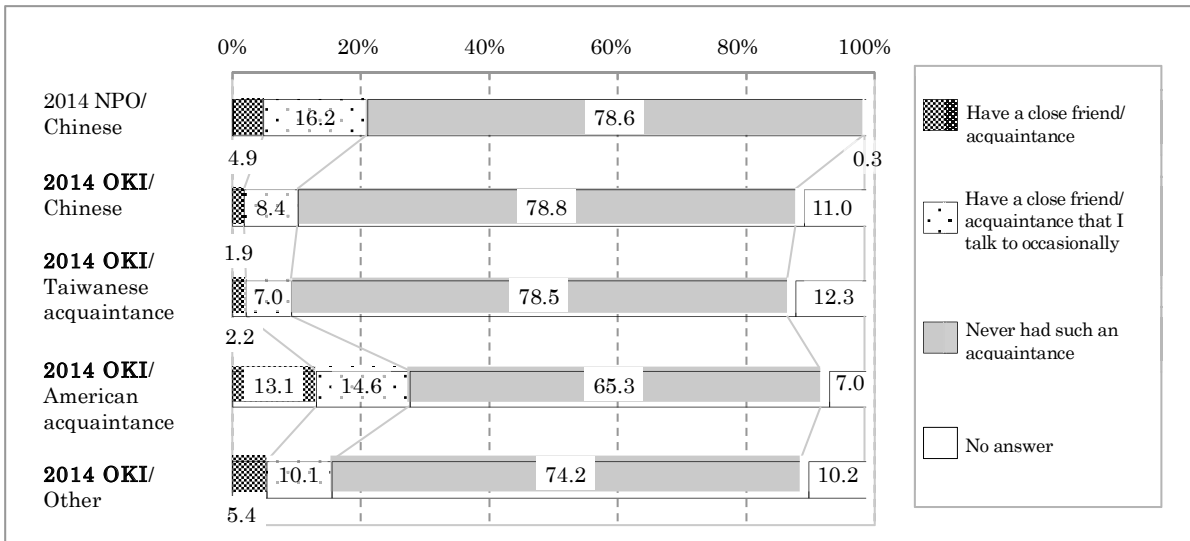
Access to a U.S. Military Base in Okinawa

Q2. Have you ever entered a U.S. military base in Okinawa (including events)?
(Choose one)



Foreign Acquaintance

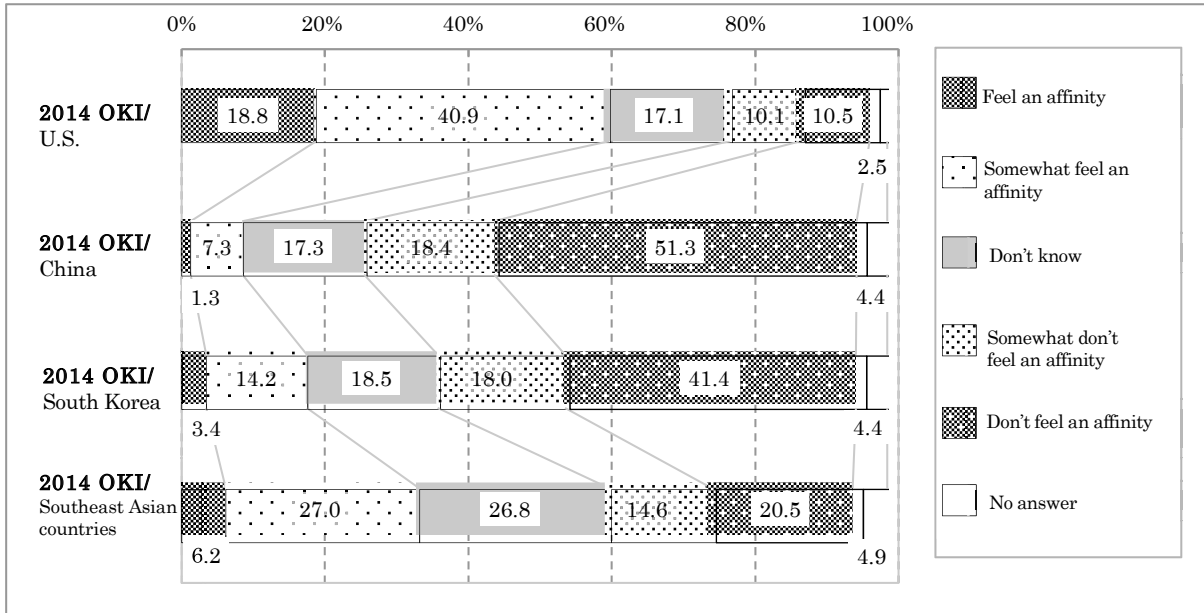
Q3. Do you have an acquaintance who is a foreigner (e.g. Chinese, Taiwanese, or American)? Choose from answers ranging from “1) Have a close friend/acquaintance” to “3) Never had such an acquaintance.” (Choose one)



II. Survey Report: Survey on Okinawa's Attitude toward Regional Security Survey Result

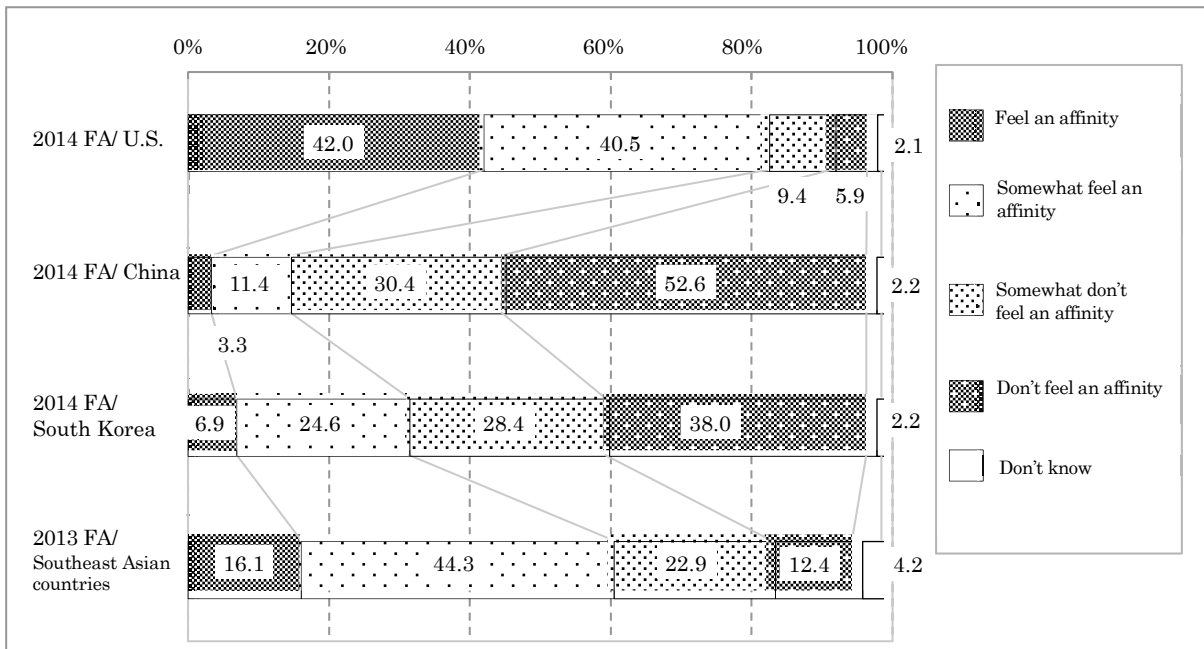
Affinity Toward Other Countries

Q4. Do you feel an affinity toward the following countries? For each country, please choose from a range of answers from "1) Feel an affinity" to "5) Don't know." (Choose one)



National survey (public opinion survey on foreign affairs) results are shown below.

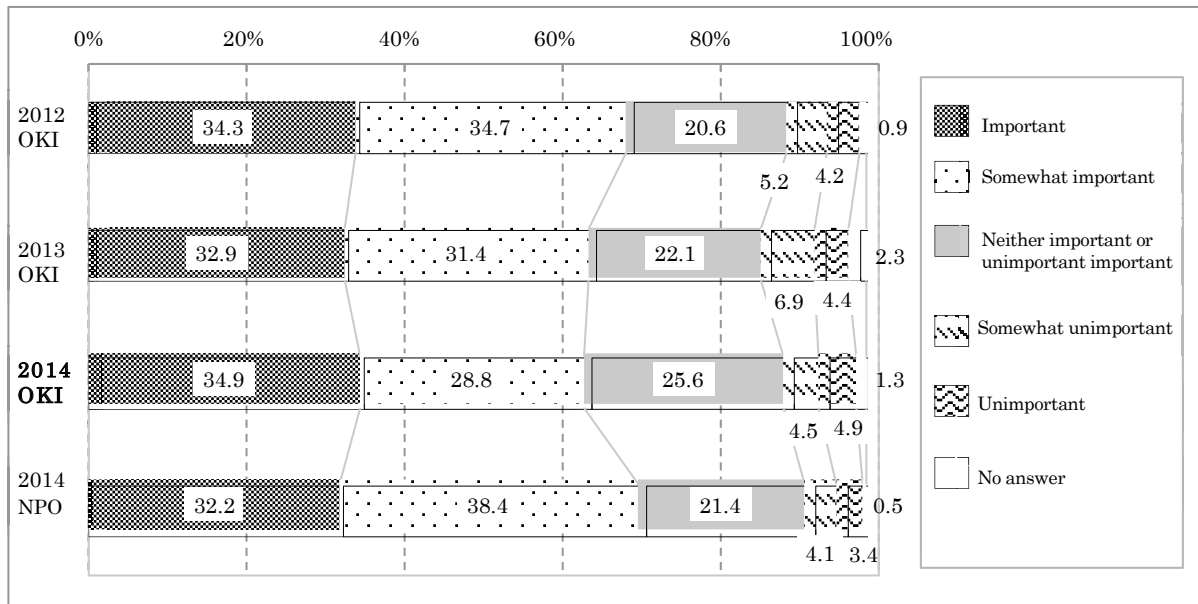
*In the national survey (on diplomacy), a non-response was counted as "Don't know," but in the prefectural survey, the "Don't know" option was made available. This needs to be considered for comparative studies.



II. Survey Report: Survey on Okinawa's Attitude toward Regional Security
Survey Result

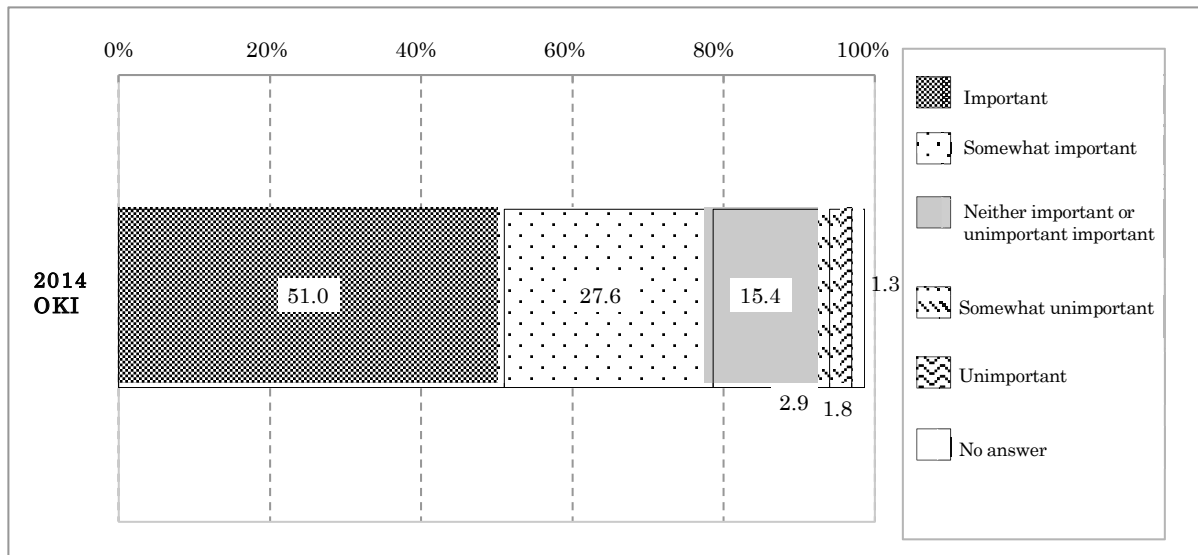
Importance of Japan-China Relations

Q5. Do you think Japan-China relations are important for Japan today? (Choose one)



Importance of Japan-U.S. Relations

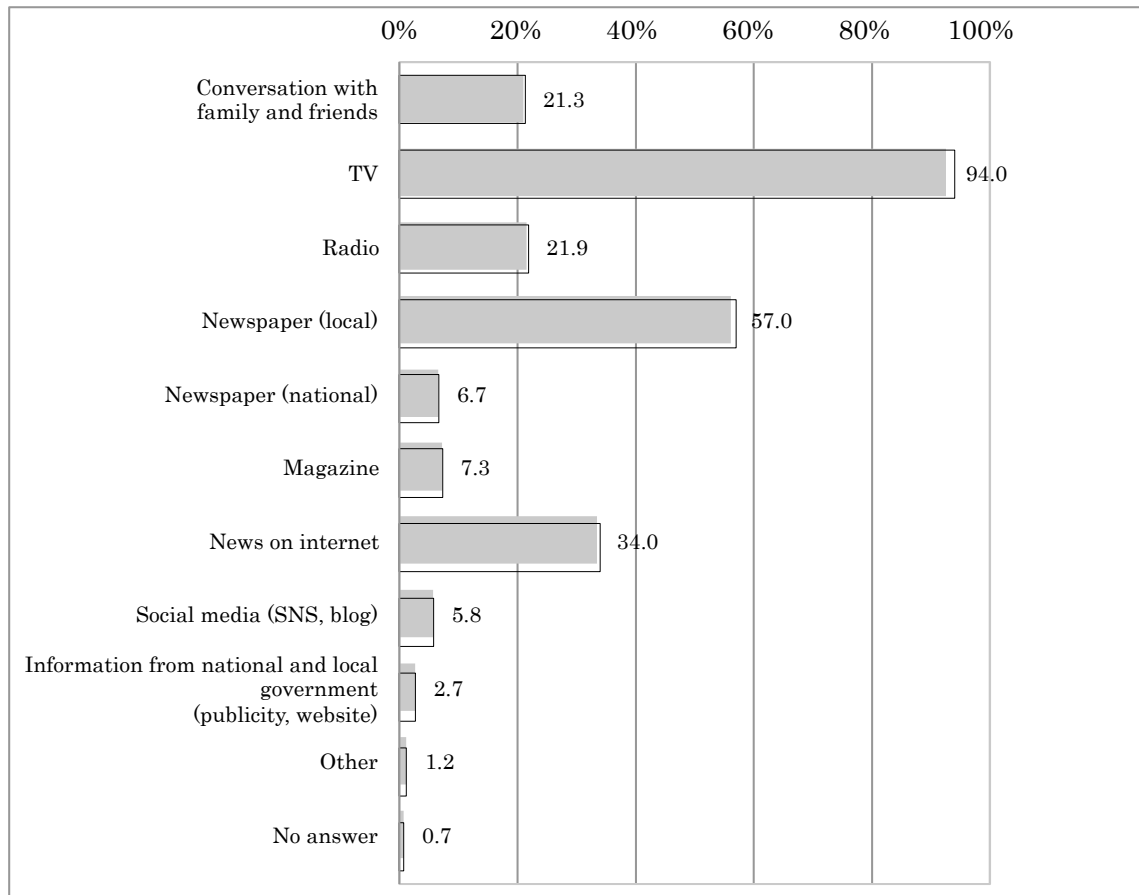
Q6. Do you think Japan-U.S. relations are important for Japan today? (Choose one)



II. Survey Report: Survey on Okinawa's Attitude toward Regional Security Survey Result

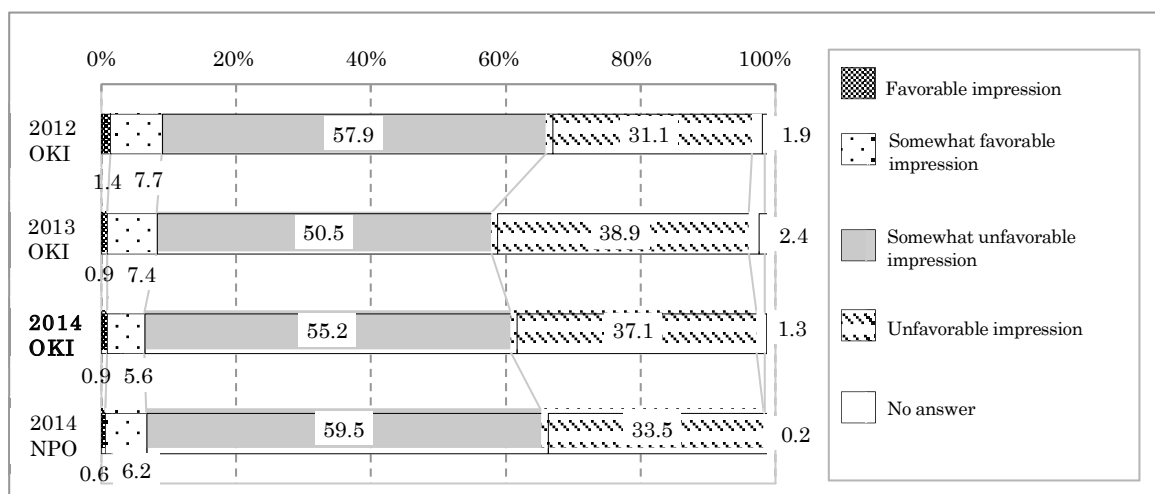
Information Source on China and Japan-China Relations

Q7. Where do you primarily acquire information on China and Japan-China relations?
(Choose up to three)



Impression of China

Q8. What kind of impression do you have of China? (Choose one)



II. Survey Report: Survey on Okinawa's Attitude toward Regional Security
Survey Result

Q8-1 Reason for having a favorable impression of China

To those who answered in Q8 that they have a favorable impression or somewhat favorable impression, why do you have a favorable impression? (Choose all applicable answers)

	2013 OKI	2014 OKI	2014 NPO
Because of the improvement on the quality of life as the Chinese economy grew	10.3	9.7	19.1
Because civil exchanges like student exchanges have made the Chinese closer	22.3	37.0	39.7
Because Chinese culture and history are interesting	59.1	50.7	38.2
Because Chinese food and contemporary music and literature are interesting	18.9	27.8	19.1
Because Chinese people are honest, hard-working, and active	14.3	5.3	13.2
Because words and deeds by Chinese people seem grandeur	2.3	4.0	5.9
Because Chinese products are inexpensive and appealing	12.3	6.2	14.7
Because China began acting as a major power in the international community	10.3	13.7	11.8
Because there is a long history of interaction	49.2	48.5	*
Because the number of Chinese tourists is increasing	16.6	24.7	*
No particular reason	6.3	6.2	11.8
Other	11.6	8.8	7.4
No answer	0.0	1.8	0.0

Unit: %

*This choice does not exist in the survey

II. Survey Report: Survey on Okinawa's Attitude toward Regional Security Survey Result

Q8-2 Reason for not having a favorable impression of China

To those who answered in Q8 that they have an unfavorable impression or somewhat unfavorable impression, why do you have an unfavorable impression? (Choose all applicable answers)

	2012 OKI	2013 OKI	2014 OKI	2014 NPO
Because political system is different	20.0	28.8	30.2	25.7
Because of wars in the past	3.0	4.2	4.3	3.3
Because they criticize Japan about historical issues and so forth	43.6	52.3	51.2	52.2
Because I cannot understand the patriotic behavior and thinking of Chinese people	50.5	46.6	41.7	28.7
Because they appear selfish in terms of securing resources and energy	60.1	59.5	65.8	52.8
Because I am concerned about their military buildup and unpredictability	38.0	43.9	40.0	31.2
Because I dislike China's actions as a world power	21.5	*	*	*
Because China's behavior appears domineering	36.4	44.9	43.8	29.4
Because conflict over the Senkaku Island is continuing	56.0	65.1	60.3	50.4
Because their actions differ from international rules	58.4	58.4	57.7	55.1
Because Chinese media repeatedly reports about Japan in a negative manner	*	*	43.8	41.1
Because nationalism of Chinese is intense	*	*	19.3	18.4
Because Chinese tourists have bad manners	*	40.4	41.7	*
Because I think Chinese people don't have a good impression of us	*	8.8	9.2	*
Because I have come into contact with a lot of negative news about China through the media	*	*	35.4	*
No particular reason	0.1	0.9	0.9	2.3
Other	14.3	5.1	4.0	14.5
No answer	2.9	1.5	1.6	0.1

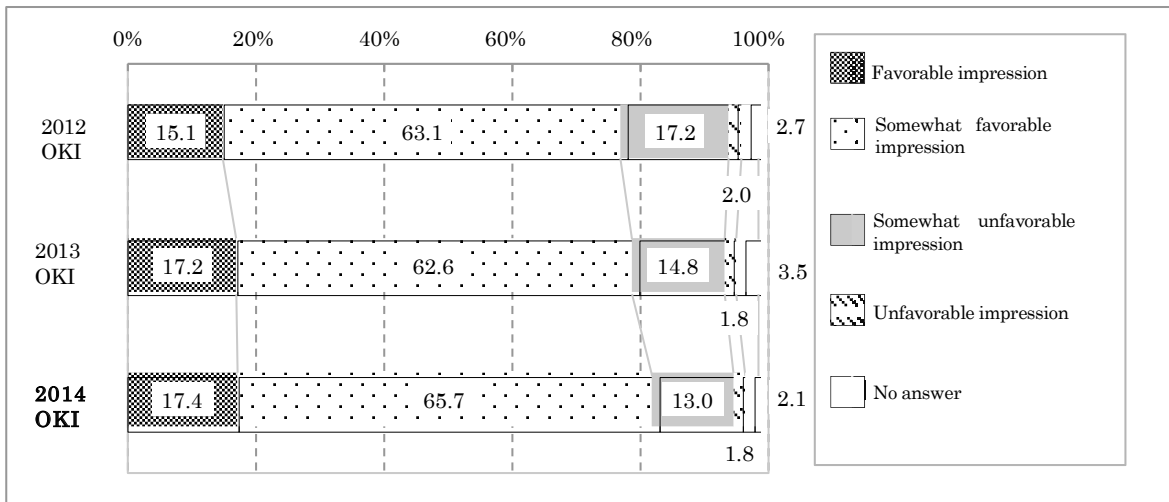
Unit: %

* This choice does not exist in the survey

II. Survey Report: Survey on Okinawa's Attitude toward Regional Security Survey Result

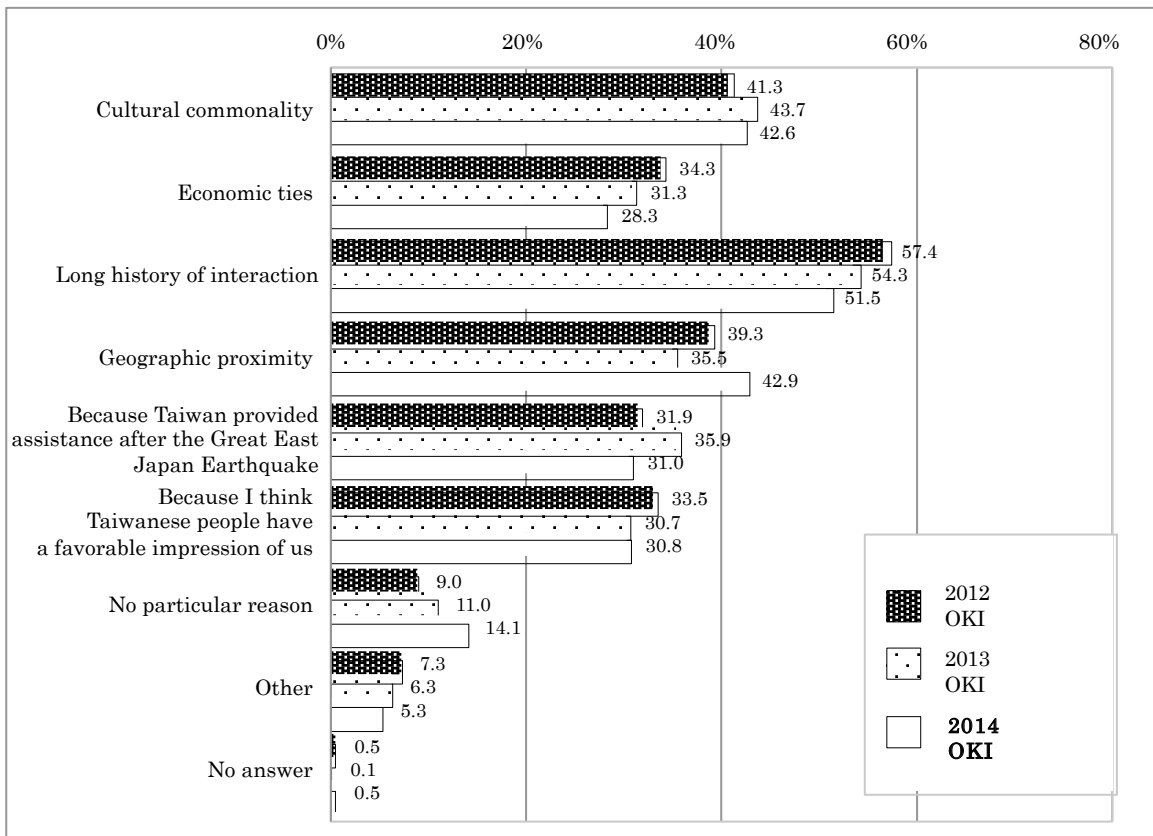
Impression of Taiwan

Q9. What kind of impression do you have of Taiwan? (Choose one)



Q9-1 Reason for having a favorable impression of Taiwan

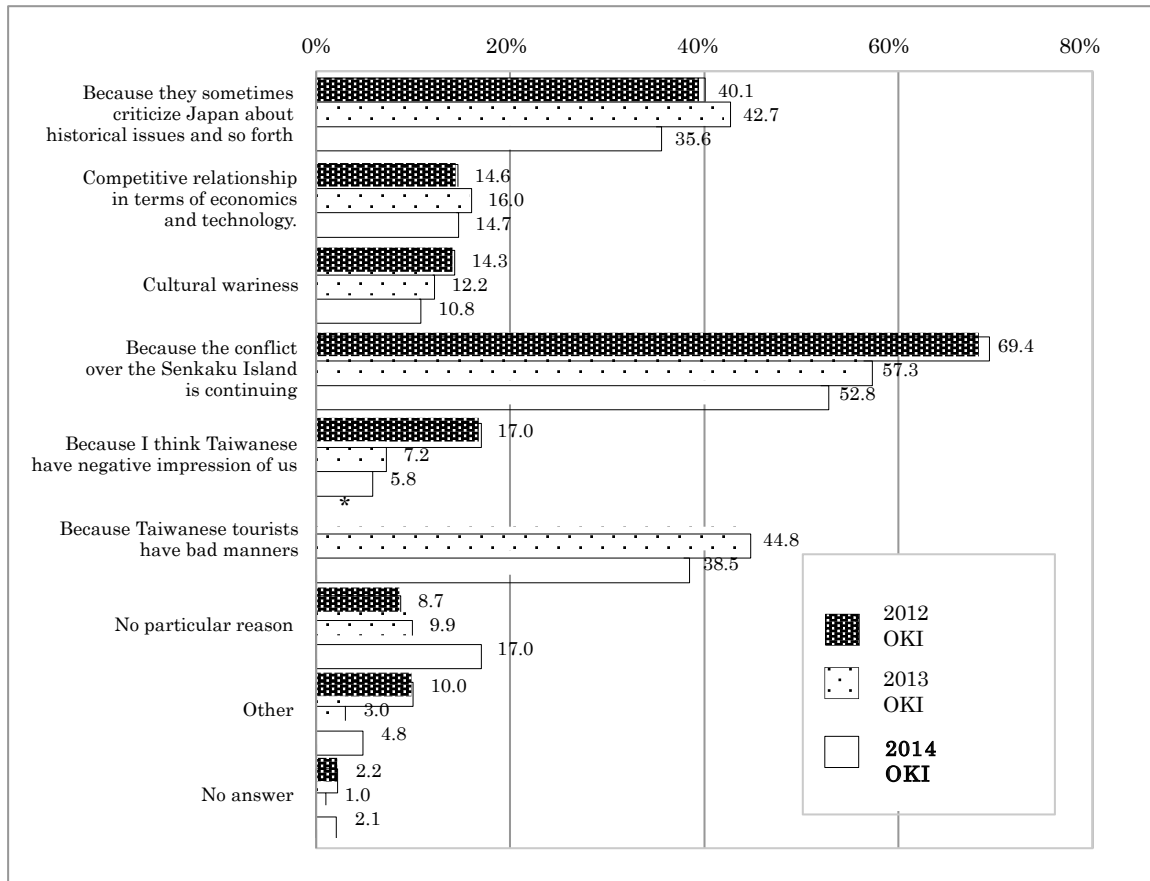
To those who answered in Q9 that they have a favorable impression or somewhat favorable impression, why do you have a favorable impression? (Choose all applicable answers)



II. Survey Report: Survey on Okinawa's Attitude toward Regional Security Survey Result

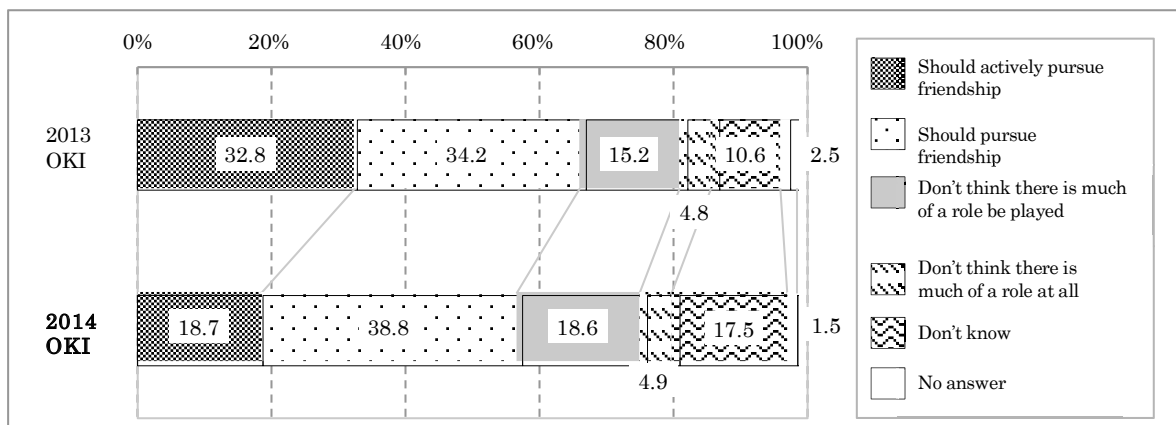
Q9-2 Reason for not having a favorable impression of Taiwan

To those who answered in Q9 that they have an unfavorable impression or somewhat unfavorable impression, why do you have an unfavorable impression? (Choose all applicable answers)



Okinawa's role in ensuring friendly Japan-China relations

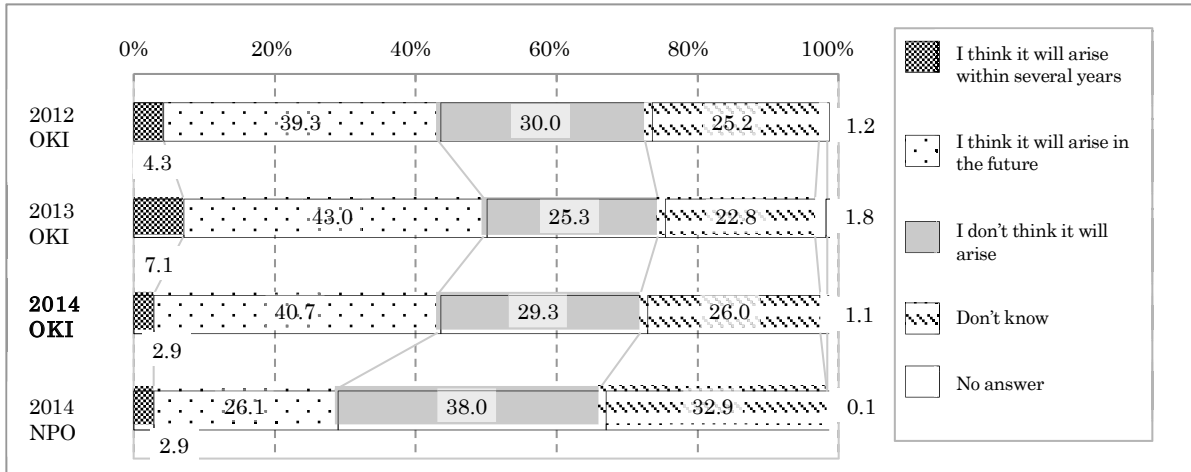
Q10. What do you think is the role Okinawa should play in ensuring friendly Japan-China relations? (Choose one)



II. Survey Report: Survey on Okinawa's Attitude toward Regional Security Survey Result

Military Conflict Between Japan and China

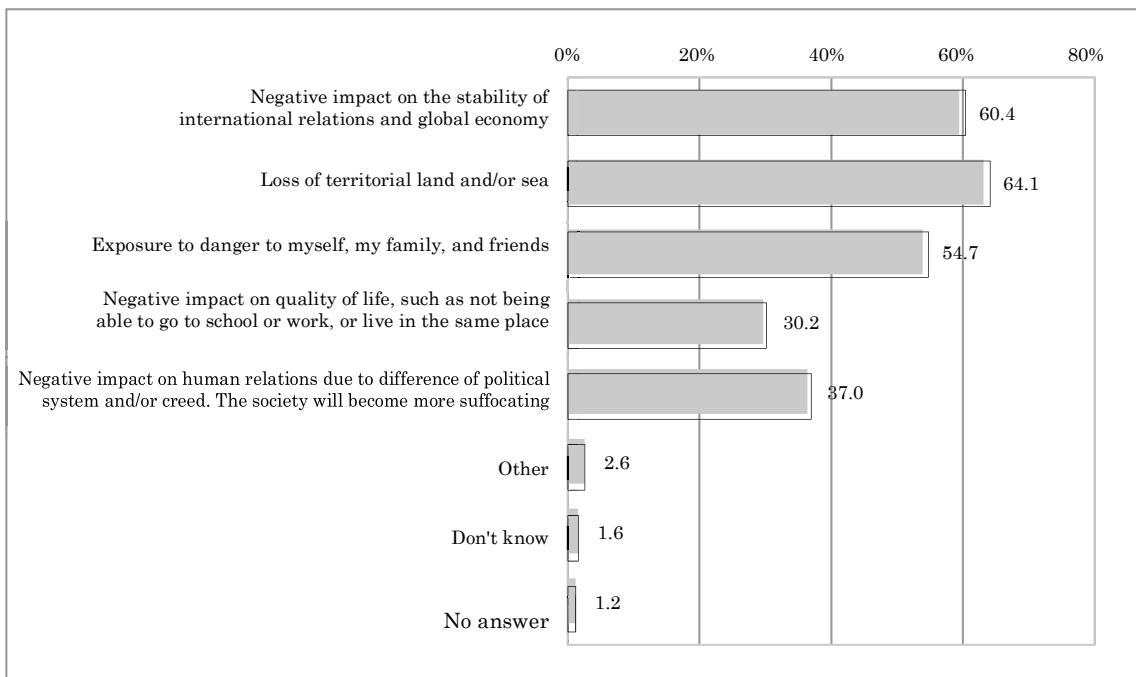
Q11. The confrontation between Japan and China is becoming fierce over the Senkaku Islands and surrounding islands in recent years. Do you think a military conflict between Japan and China will arise? (Choose one)



*In the 2012 study, the question was: Do you think that a military conflict, for example between Japan and China, will arise in East Asian seas?

Q11-1 Concerns About a Potential Military Conflict

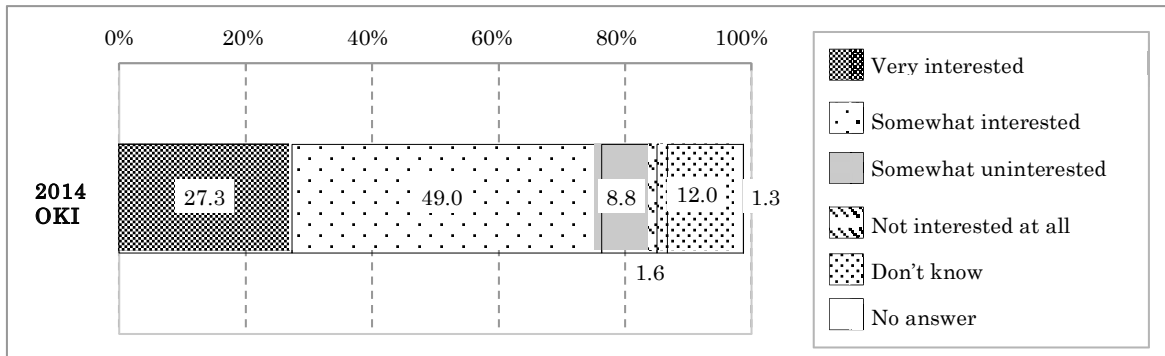
Those that answered “I think it will arise within a several years” or “I think it will arise in the future” in Q11: What is your concern regarding a potential military conflict? (Choose all applicable answers)



II. Survey Report: Survey on Okinawa's Attitude toward Regional Security
Survey Result

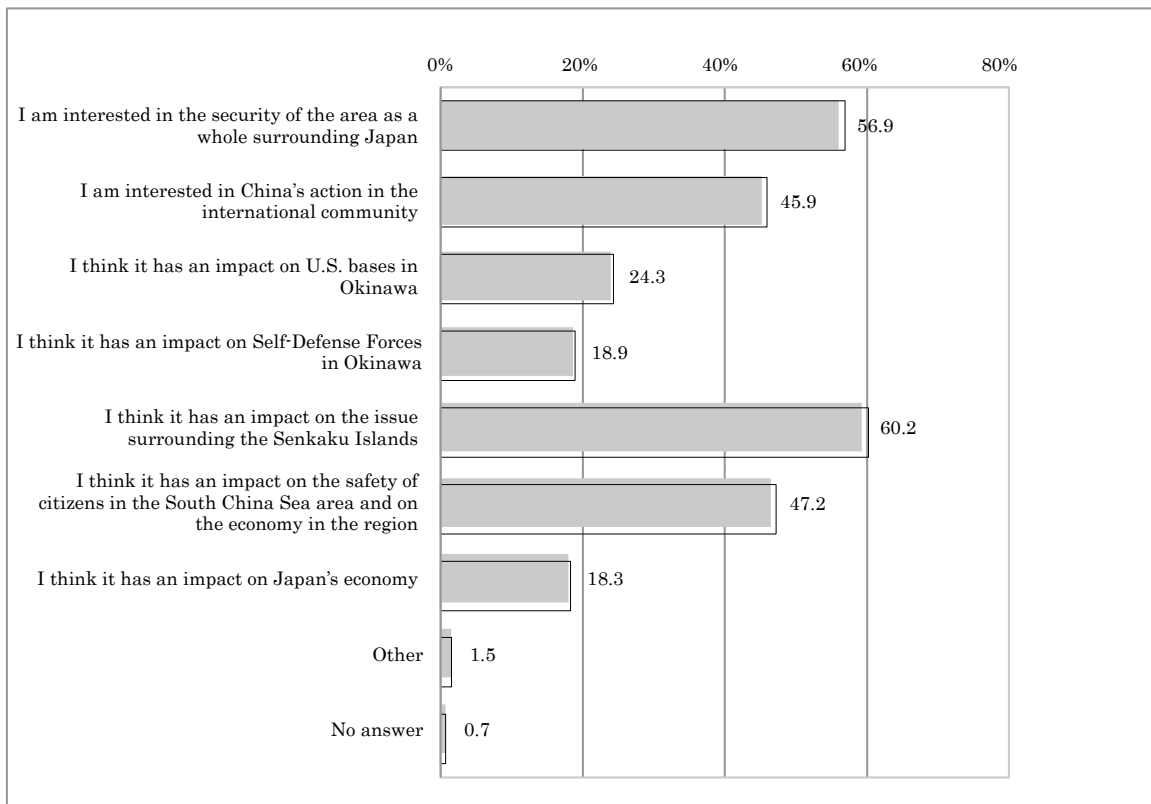
Concerns about the Chinese Navy's Deployment into the South China Sea

Q12. In the South China Sea, ASEAN countries and China have argued over territorial rights, etc., and China has deployed its Naval and public vessels into the Sea in recent years. Do you have any interest regarding this issue? (Choose one)



Q12-1 Reason for Having an Interest in China's Deployment of the Navy into the South China Sea

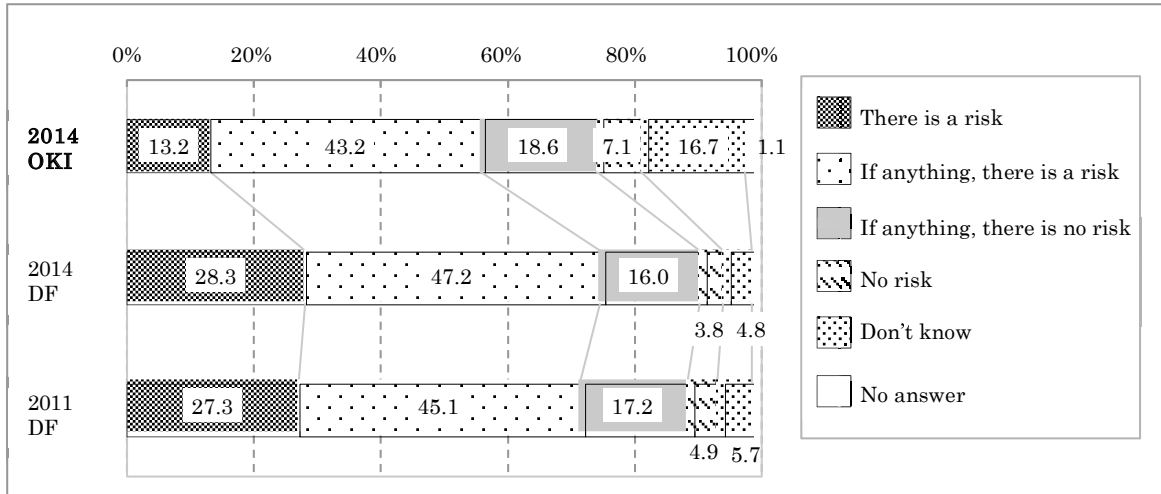
Those that answered "Very interested" or "Somewhat interested" in Q12: What is the reason for your interest? (Choose up to three)



II. Survey Report: Survey on Okinawa's Attitude toward Regional Security
Survey Result

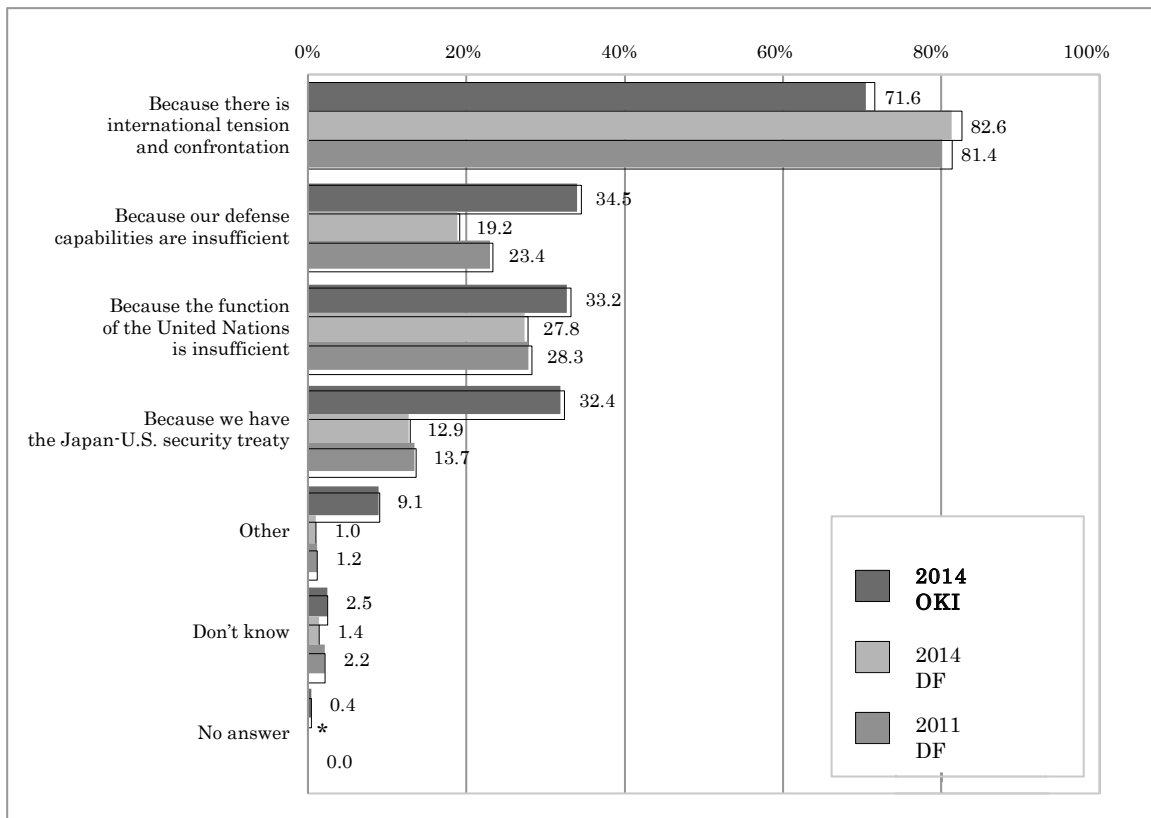
Risk of Japan Being Involved in War

Q13. Considering the situation in the world today, do you think there is a risk of a foreign country waging a war against Japan, or Japan being involved in war? (Choose one)



Q13-1 Reason for Believing That Japan Has a Risk of Being Involved in War

Those that answered “There is a risk” or “If anything, there is a risk” in Q13: What is your reason? (Choose all applicable answers)

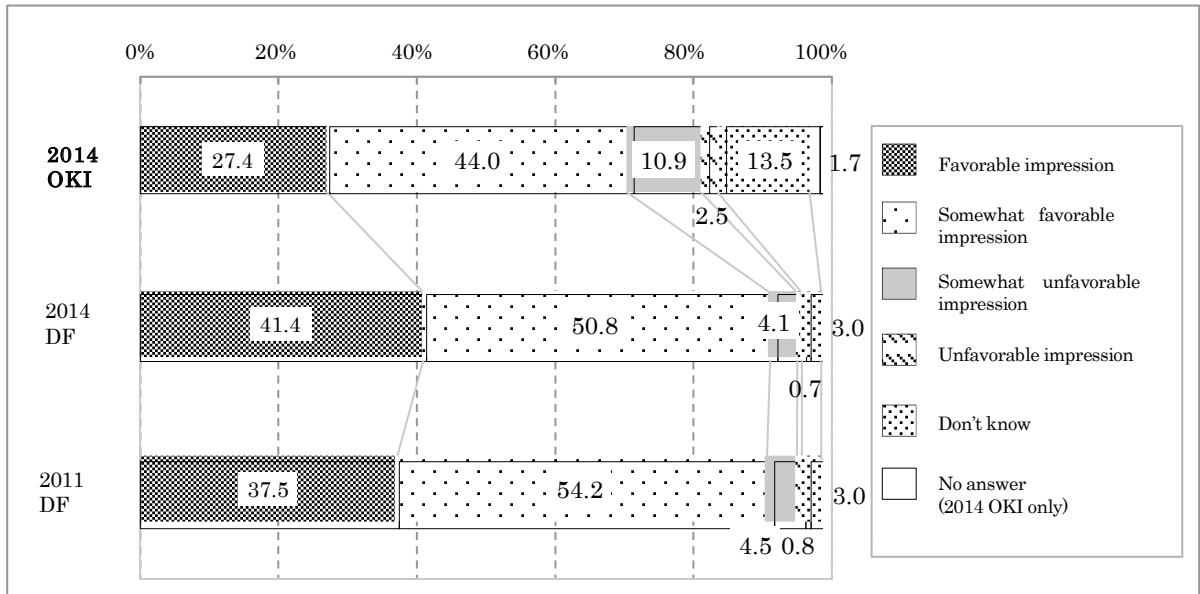


* This choice does not exist in the survey

II. Survey Report: Survey on Okinawa's Attitude toward Regional Security
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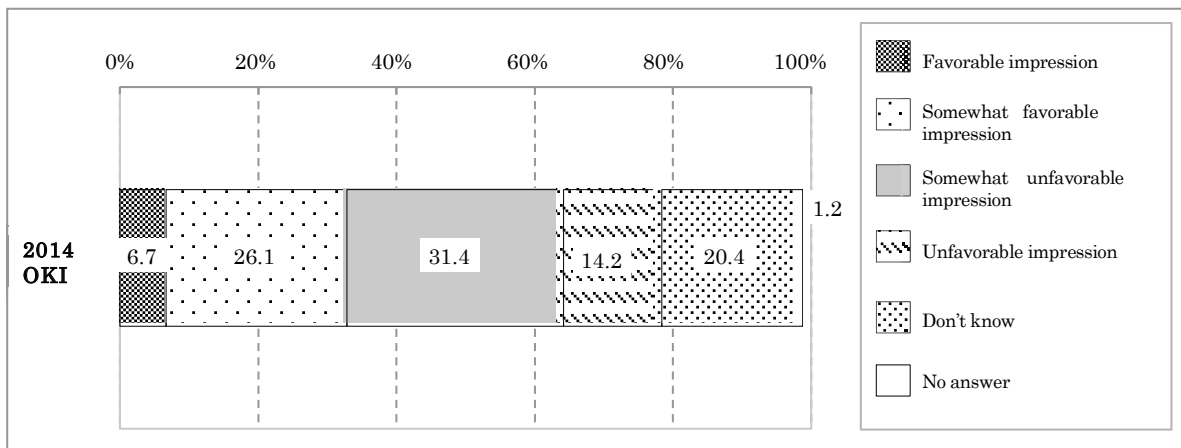
Impression of the Self-Defense Forces

Q14. Do you have a favorable impression of the Self-Defense Forces overall, or do you have an unfavorable impression? (Choose one)



Impression of U.S. Forces in Japan

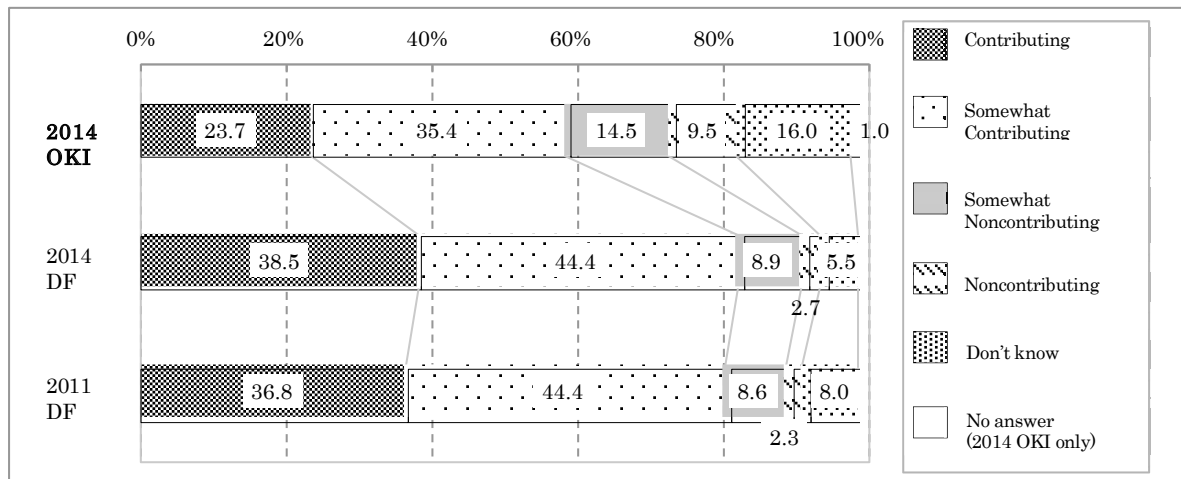
Q15. Do you have a favorable impression of U.S. forces in Japan overall, or do you have an unfavorable impression? (Choose one)



II. Survey Report: Survey on Okinawa's Attitude toward Regional Security
 Survey Result

On Japan-U.S. Security Treaty

Q16. Japan and the U.S. currently have a security treaty in place. Do you think this treaty is contributing or not, in achieving peace and safety in Japan? (Choose one)

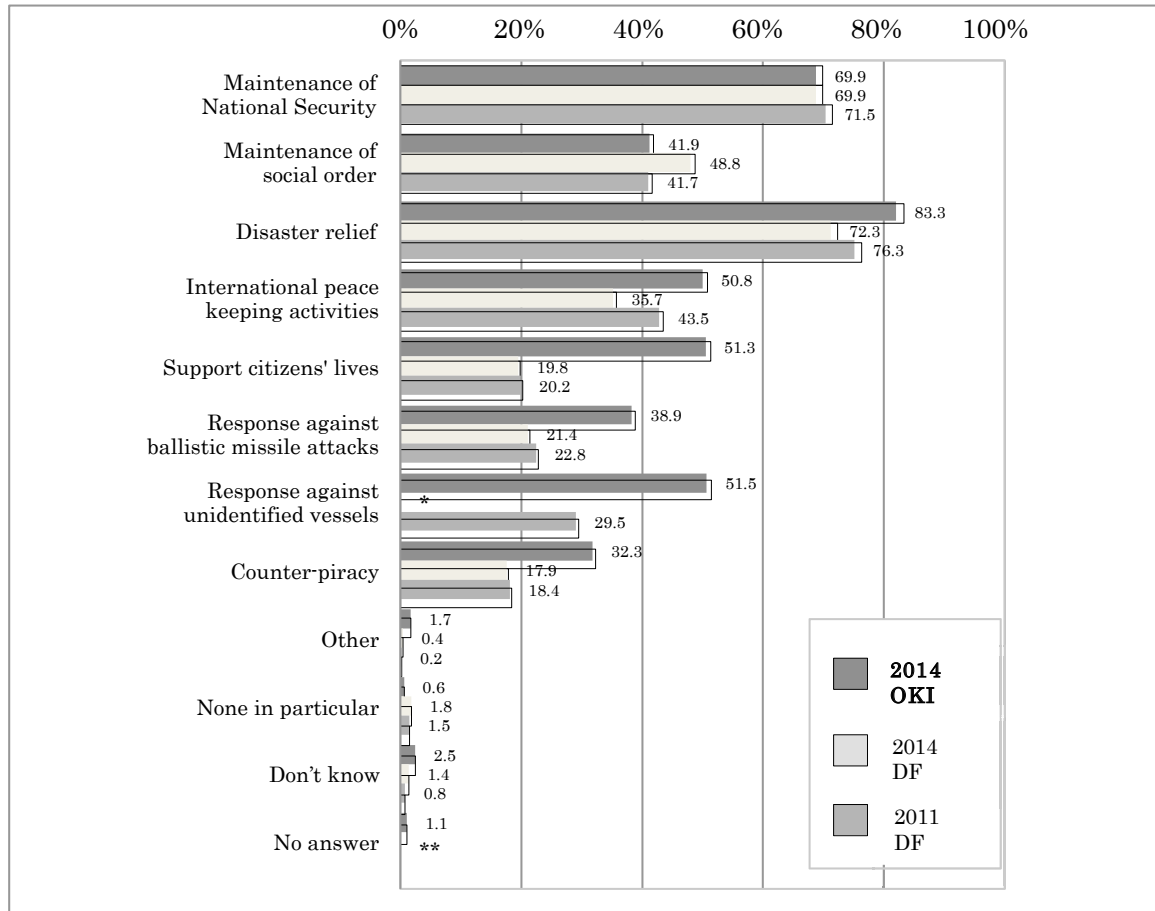


II. Survey Report: Survey on Okinawa's Attitude toward Regional Security Survey Result

Issues the Self-Defense Forces Needs to Work on

Q17. What areas do you think the Self-Defense Forces should work on?

(Choose all applicable answers)



*This choice does not exist in Defense 2014 survey

** Not tallied in Defense 2014 and 2011 surveys

II. Survey Report: Survey on Okinawa's Attitude toward Regional Security Survey Result

Questions below were asked in the Okinawa Survey.

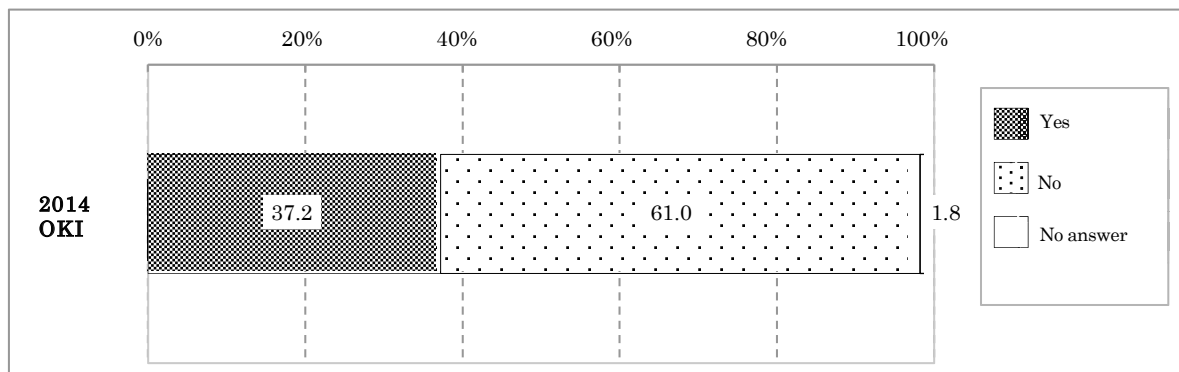
Q17. What areas do you think the Self-Defense Forces should work on?
(Choose all applicable answers)

1. Maintenance of national security (Defense against invasions)
2. Maintenance of social order
3. Disaster dispatch (rescue activities in a time of disaster and emergency transportation of patients)
4. International peace keeping activities (PKO and international emergency aid activities)
5. Support citizen's lives (civil engineering projects, assistance with the National Sports Festival, and unexploded bomb disposal)
6. Response against ballistic missile attacks
7. Response against unidentified vessels and armed operatives
8. Counter-piracy action (initiatives to protect private vessels from acts of piracy off the coast of Somalia and in the Gulf of Aden))
9. Other (Specifically : _____)
10. None
- 11 Don't know

*Check original source for Defense 2011 and 2014 surveys

Recognition of the National Security Strategy

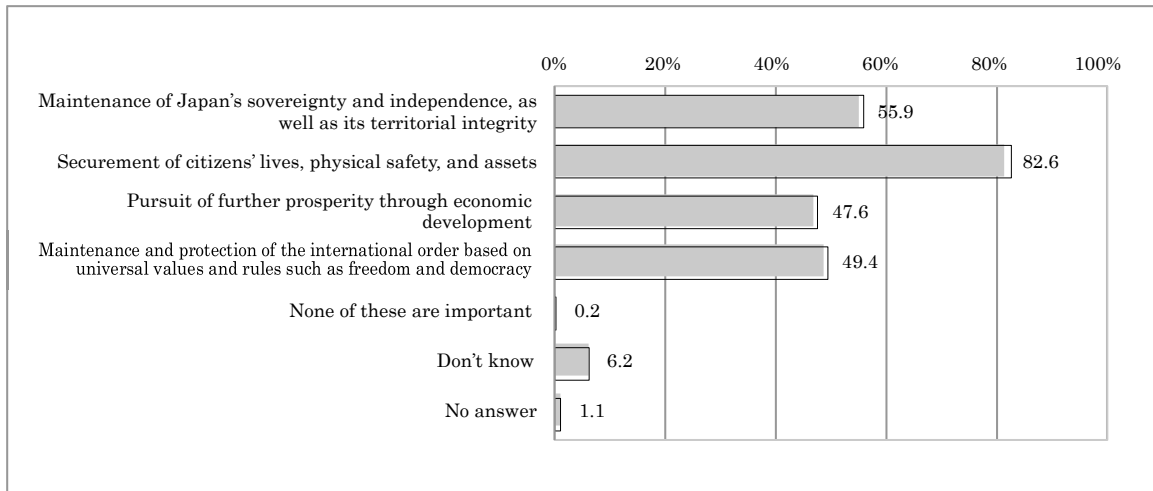
Q18. On December 17, 2013, the National Security Strategy was established as Japan's basic national security guideline by the National Security Council and in the Cabinet Meeting. Did you know this fact? (Choose one)



II. Survey Report: Survey on Okinawa's Attitude toward Regional Security Survey Result

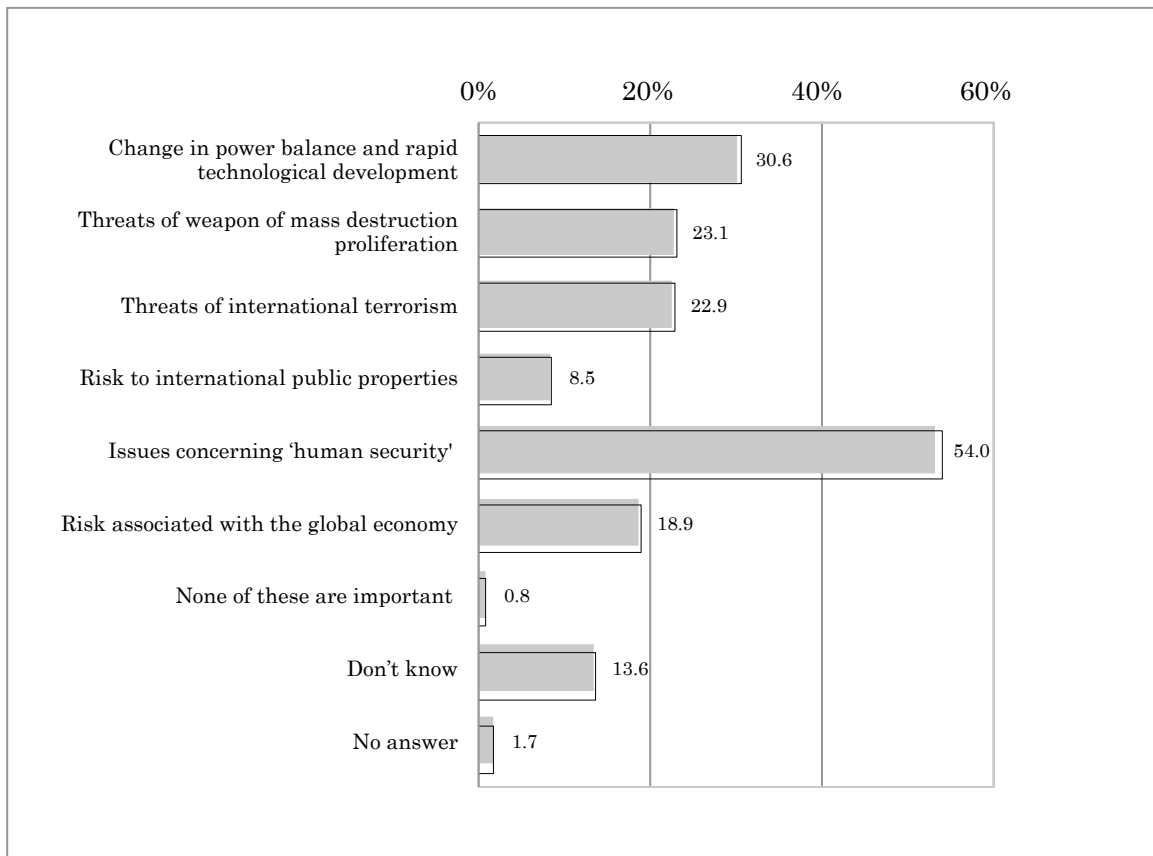
Important National Interests

Q19. Which of the following do you think is important to Japan's national interests?
(Choose all applicable answers)



Japan's Concerned Current State and Issues of the International Community about Security

Q20. Among the following security issues that the international community confronts today, which do you think Japan should concern the most? (Choose up to two)



II. Survey Report: Survey on Okinawa's Attitude toward Regional Security Survey Result

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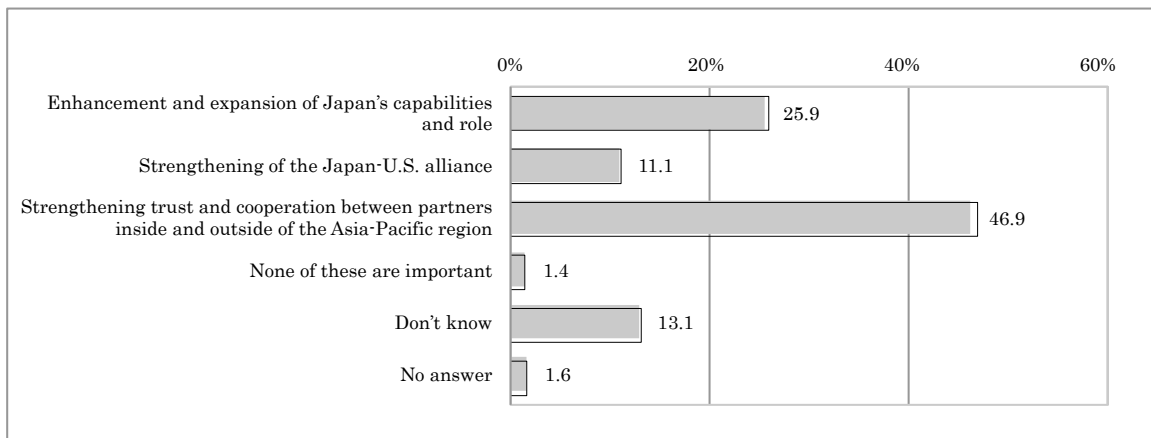
Q20. Among the following security issues that the international community confronts today, which do you think Japan should concern the most?
(Choose up to two)

- 1.** Change in power balance and rapid technological development
e.g. Rise of emerging countries like China, and utilization of advanced technology by terrorists
- 2.** Threats of weapon of mass destruction proliferation
e.g. Nuclear armament by dictatorships and terrorists
- 3.** Threats of international terrorism
e.g. Rise of the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria
- 4.** Risk to international public properties
e.g. Expansion of military use at sea and in space by countries
- 5.** Issues concerning 'human security'
e.g. Widening wealth gap, expansion of infections, humanitarian crisis due to civil war or natural disaster
- 6.** Risk associated with the global economy
e.g. Financial crisis (fall of the Lehman Brothers and the Greek debt crisis) and rising resource prices
- 7.** None of these are important
- 8.** Don't know

II. Survey Report: Survey on Okinawa's Attitude toward Regional Security Survey Result

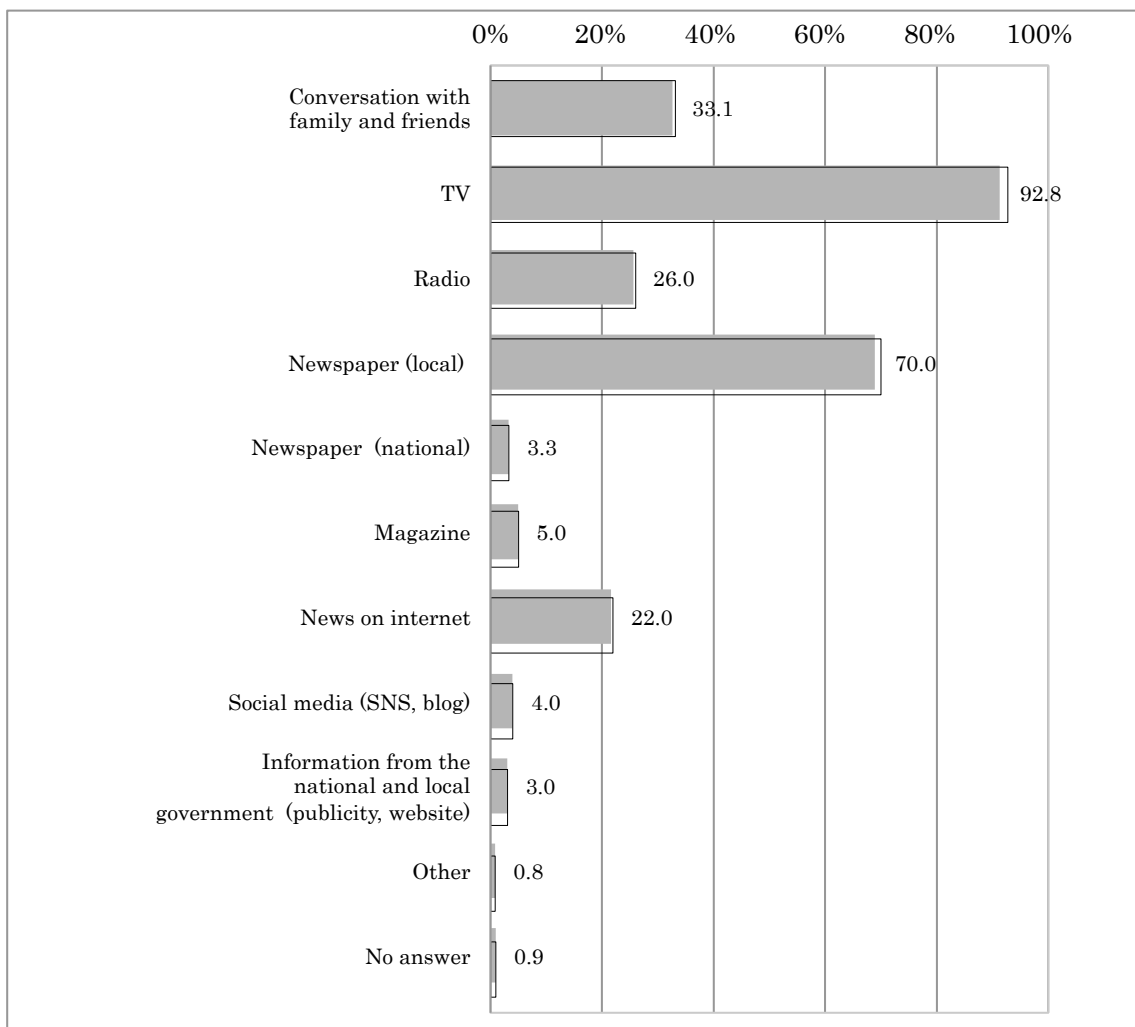
Important Security Policy

Q21. Which of the following do you think Japan should prioritize as its security policy?
(Choose one)



Information source on U.S. forces and their bases in Okinawa

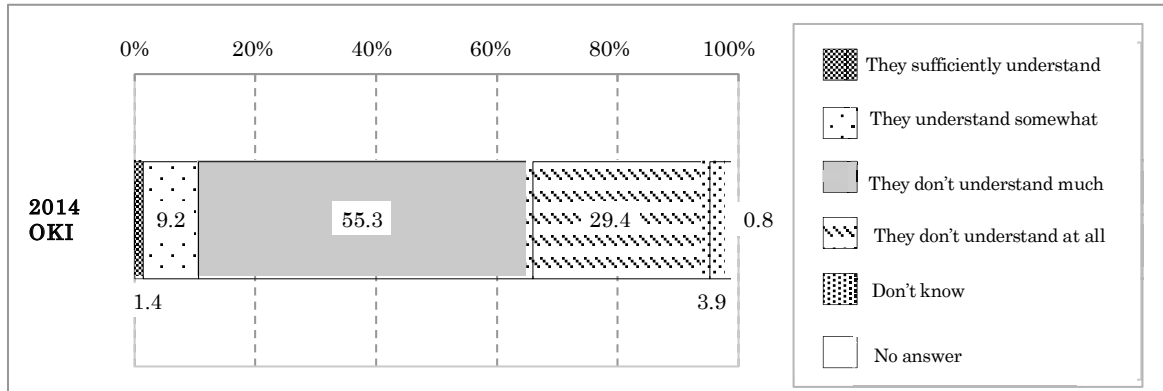
Q22. Where do you primarily acquire information on U.S. forces and their bases in Okinawa? (Choose up to three)



II. Survey Report: Survey on Okinawa's Attitude toward Regional Security
Survey Result

Understanding of Military Base Issue in Okinawa by the people in Mainland Japan

Q23. Do you think the people in mainland Japan understand Okinawa's base issue?
(Choose one)



II. Survey Report: Survey on Okinawa's Attitude toward Regional Security Survey Result

Q24. What do you think are issues about U.S. Military Bases in Okinawa that people in mainland Japan do not understand, or misunderstand?

(*The list contains all 611 answers. Obvious erratums have been corrected.)

*Following 611 answers are not translated to English.

	Answer
1	運用の実状、基地を抱える事によるリスク、基地が置かれるようになった経緯。
2	沖縄に基地があるおかげで沖縄の経済が潤っているという誤解がある。
3	沖縄県内の何%が米軍基地であるか。それに対する住民への影響（飲酒運転などの事件について）。
4	辛い思いはなかなか伝わりにくい。
5	メリット、デメリット。
6	他人事と思っていそう。
7	あまり本土では報道されていないのでは？
8	あまり関心して見てない。
9	県民が一つになれていないから。
10	本土の新聞、テレビ、ラジオで情報を発信していない。
11	米軍基地の大きさ、事件事故の多さ。
12	民族の違い。
13	基地からの恩恵を受けている。軍用地料や職場を提供されている。
14	『基地がある→補償金や米軍基地があるからお金が入る』の構図は誤解されていると思う。島ぐるみ闘争や海兵隊が起こした事件なども知って欲しいし、跡地を使い、うまく経済が回っているという事例も理解して欲しい。
15	本土に十数年住んでいましたが、沖縄の基地問題について報道も少なく、所詮身の回りに振りかからなければ他人事なのでは？ 政治家(与党)も含めて、本土の友人が来た時、低空飛行や騒音・夜間飛行に驚いていました。誤解というより全然理解していないと思います。 日本の国を守る為とはいえ、どうして沖縄だけが基地を負担しなければいけないのでしょうか？ これから先も？日本は民主主義の国なのでは？沖縄の民意はどうして届かないのですか？ お金ですべて解決ですか？沖縄の基地問題は日本国民すべての問題だと思います。
16	基地が多いのは問題だよ、とは言うけれども、本土の人は沖縄をもう少し考えてもいいんじゃないと、話題にする事があったので全く理解されてないと思った。
17	沖縄の現状。
18	他の事はよそ事である。自分に置き換えてみないとわからないと思う。
19	本土の方は沖縄国民全体が基地反対していると勘違いしている。(報道関係が悪いと思う) 基地賛成の人もいっぱいいる。
20	基地を沖縄に押し付けている。
21	基地が多い事。沖縄に負担がかかっている。
22	説明できない。
23	沖縄は国から多額のお金をもらっているとか、沖縄に対するヘイトスピーチがあったりした。 (東京での辺野古基地反対のデモ行進の時など) 安全保障は大事だと言いながら、どこも基地を受け入れてくれない。すぐに猛反対する。
24	自分達が住んでいる所にはないから沖縄の状況を知らない人が多い。 沖縄が全部引き受けて欲しいのではないかと思う。自分が他の都道府県に住んでいたら同じ事を思う。
25	基地のウエイトの偏重、基地及び関連地中の有害性、基地に伴う住民へのリスク。
26	沖縄全体が基地反対だと思われている。そうでない人も大勢いる。 基地の恩恵、一括交付金など、多大な恩恵を受けていると思われている。
27	沖縄の事を知らなすぎる人が多い。
28	基地問題、沖縄はNOで本土・各県で話し合いをして、本土で受け入れてください。
29	本土に旅行した時、米軍の戦闘機が飛んでいない事、空が静かだった。
30	本土の方は沖縄の事を日本と思っていない！学校で沖縄の事を教科書で教えていない。
31	本土の人にとって「沖縄の基地問題」というのは、「自分の家の近くに原発、火葬場、ゴミ処理場ができるかも…」という問題よりも優先順位が低い事のように思えます。 「理解」というよりは「無関心」。理解以前の問題ですね。

II. Survey Report: Survey on Okinawa's Attitude toward Regional Security Survey Result

Q24. What do you think are issues about U.S. Military Bases in Okinawa that people in mainland Japan do not understand, or misunderstand?

	Answer
32	普天間基地がどれだけ民間の家に近いのか、イマイチ理解してもらってない気がする。
33	沖縄の基地の大きさ、騒音問題。
34	すべての人が基地に反対ではないと言う事。
35	辺野古新基地建設の報道が、あまりされていない事が関心のなさの表れです。
36	沖縄県内で米軍人に対し 20 万～25 万円位で貸家を行っているが、もっとシビアに一般県人の住宅費用と比べ、高すぎる差額を貸人から徴収し県の予算に組み入れるべきです。 軍人犯罪も基地外であればもっと強く対応すべきです。
37	翁長知事は中国の見方？それとも日本？どちらの見方？
38	基地面積の広大さ。
39	自分の目で見たり、爆音を聞いたりしない人は他人事。 沖縄県民がどれだけ多くの不利益、危険を背負っているか分からない。
40	軍用地料が入り、お金があると思っている。 基地内での雇用があり、本土なみに生活が豊かだと誤解している。
41	ニュースが流れない。
42	沖縄の地理を知らない。
43	沖縄では基地問題など度々報道されているのに、本土では報道される機会がとても少ない様に感じられるから。
44	日本全土の 0.6% しかない沖縄県に米軍基地の 74% という負担がある事は知られていないだろうし、旅行でしか沖縄に来ない本土の方には騒音や恐怖等は実感できないと思う。
45	普天間の返還は“ヘノコ”に一部移転しなければ一歩一歩進まない。 先日米軍兵が海岸で日本人夫婦が海でおぼれているのを救助したのを目撃した。 良い事はメディアには報道されない。
46	地元基地がないからと、基地の重要性が本土にはあまりないと思われる。
47	経済振興と基地負担をリンクして考えている。 基地から発生する経済的恩恵は本土大企業を受けている。
48	本土では米軍関連の事件・事故が報道される機会が少ないのではないかと？
49	沖縄の人は基地があるから生活(軍雇用など)が成り立っている、基地がないといけないと思われているのがいや。実際、軍雇用の人達は基地がなくなれば仕事がなく生活できなくなるのは分かるが、自分は基地はいらない。
50	「お金のために基地を受けいれている」と思われている。
51	何十年も基地の中に島がある、基地の中で生活していて日常会話も英語で話をしていると思っている人がほとんど。沖縄の人は日本人よりアメリカ人に頼っているイメージを持っている。
52	沖縄の新聞が悪い。米軍の悪いことだけ取り上げ、ボランティアで色々な事をしていることをもっと県民に知らせるべきだ。平等に。
53	基地・米軍がいるおかげで爆音、暴行、事件、事故などいろんな事が起きているのは分からないと思う。
54	米軍との関わりの全て、特に近年の普天間飛行場の移転に関しては理解されているとは全然感じない。
55	基地のほとんどが沖縄にあって、沖縄だけ苦勞していること。
56	基地がある為、米軍の事件・事故等、民間地域に基地がある事、地元の現状を知らないのでは？
57	観光の一部だと思われている。(本土から来た人は異国の地に来た感じがまだする)
58	沖縄が同じ日本領土内だとしても、やはり他県・他地域の問題であるから、あまり関心を持っていないと思う。
59	テレビなどでよく報道されているが、騒音問題など実際に住んでみないと分からないような点は伝わっていないと思う。
60	県民負担など理解されていない。
61	本土の人との温度差。
62	日本の法律が適用されない。
63	米軍の民間人に対する事件、事故の多さが伝わっていない。 米軍基地の多さや広さに気づいていない。嘉手納基地の爆音のうるささに気づいていない。

II. Survey Report: Survey on Okinawa's Attitude toward Regional Security Survey Result

	Answer
64	もっとテレビや新聞で報道したらいいと思います。 安倍首相は一度、沖縄の基地を見に来たらいいと思う。どうして沖縄ばかりに基地を押し付けるのですか。
65	基地があるから生活が出来ると思われている。
66	沖縄の現状を見ていないと思う。
67	基地で沖縄の人達の生活が成り立っているとされたこと。
68	沖縄の基地に関する事は本土ではほとんど記事にされてないと思うし、人々の関心は「対岸の火事のごとく」感じます。
69	抑止力はまったくない現状。
70	大学で沖縄に来ている県外出身の意見なのですが、県外のニュースでは米兵の不祥事しか取り上げられない為、いい印象はなかった。しかし、それは一部の人であって、いい報道ももっとすれば、このようなイメージが払拭できるのではないかと思います。
71	沖縄の基地負担が日本全国の基地の74%になっているという事実を知っている人が少ない様に思う。そのために県民の基地問題に関する民意が国政に十分反映されていないと思う。
72	県民が基地を反対する理由の一つに米兵の起こす事件・事故があること。
73	沖縄は本土から十分離れているし、基地問題に興味・関心を持っている人は少ないと思う。
74	皆が生活に追われ、自分の事しか考えてないと思う。基地の側に住んでいる者しか興味がないと思う。
75	基地のおかげで経済的に潤っていると思われている。 少しくらいの我慢は仕方ないと本土の人が言っていた。
76	基地問題全般！中央は対岸の火事としか見ていない感はいなめません。
77	実際に住んで基地を見て、騒音を体験していないので理解されないと思う。
78	戦争でたくさんの犠牲者を出したのに米軍基地を押し付けられ、移設の問題が出ているにも関わらず、他府県が少しも負担してくれないところに憤りを感じる。 観光に来て広大な米軍基地を見て、何も感じないのが不思議である。
79	地方紙(新聞)に取り上げられている大きな記事など、全国紙ではあまり見ない。 取り上げられても記事が事務的である。
80	基地の恩恵が沢山と思われている。
81	騒音被害、58号線の真上から横切る米軍機の実態、米軍による犯罪で日米安保条約が多々足かせとなっている実態をあまりにも知らなさすぎることに。
82	沖縄県民は軍用地料で食べている。
83	世界で一番危険と言われている普天間基地の移設を受け入れる県が無いし、このまま普天間に残るのはたいへん残念です。
84	米軍に関する問題が本土で放送されない。
85	基地移設について他人事のようにしか考えていない。
86	軍用地収入で遊んで暮らしていると思われている。
87	軍用地料や軍雇用員など、経済的にプラスになっている(日本政府が払い過ぎ)。
88	米軍による事件・事故について中央で大きく報道されない為、無知であったり他人事であったりする。 基地経済で成り立っていると思われがち。 沖縄の犠牲の上に成り立っている“平和”を理解していないと思う。
89	全員(県民)が基地に反対していると思っている。基地があることを悪い方にだけ思っている。
90	沖縄の人全員が基地反対だと誤解している。
91	基地によりお金が入る(軍用地料)など…。
92	基地経済で沖縄の人が生活できている。
93	基地問題は沖縄の人達の問題とされていて、他人事の用な感じがします。 (自分の県にない人がほとんどなので)
94	基地が減っていない現状。
95	全国のニュースで、あまり大きく取り扱われてないと思うこと。
96	基地があることによるリスクについて。 基地があることによる利益ばかりがクローズアップされているように感じる。
97	基地の過度の負担。
98	ニュースで流れないし、報道されていないから。
99	沖縄から基地を移設できない理由。
100	沖縄に基地が集中していて、騒音などの問題があるということ。 実際に沖縄に来て見てみないと分からないと思う。

II. Survey Report: Survey on Okinawa's Attitude toward Regional Security Survey Result

Q24. What do you think are issues about U.S. Military Bases in Okinawa that people in mainland Japan do not understand, or misunderstand?

	Answer
101	基地のある所では共通する問題は数々あるとは思いますが、普天間基地の様に「世界一危険」な危機に対しての理解はあまり得られていない部分が多いと思います。
102	一部の利権にありつける人のせいで県民全体が補助金目当てで反対のふりをしていると思われる事(ゆすり、たかりの構図)。基地依存経済。 血縁社会の沖縄では、身内に必ず一人ぐらいは基地経済の恩恵を受けている人がいる為に、本当は反対でも声を大きくして基地反対とはいわずらい事。
103	基地があるが為、お金が入る。
104	沖縄の基地問題は本土の人にまあ理解されていると思うが、政治的な問題が前面にだされるなど正しく情報の発信がされていない所があり、また経済的(メリット、デメリット)な面が不足している。これらを踏まえ、各種マスメディア等を活用し、「沖縄の基地問題」を積極的に情報発信する必要があると思う。
105	他人事(福島も含めて)。
106	基地は必要だが、自分の所でなければいいと思っている。 沖縄県内でも軍用地料で潤っている地域や人がいるし、沖縄県内でも温度差はあると思う。
107	米軍基地で雇用されて生活をしている人もたくさんいるし、軍用地代を受け取って生活の足しにしている人もいるから絶対反対ではない事。
108	戦争への危機感が本土の人に理解されていないと思う。
109	沖縄振興特別措置法など、優遇があり→温度差！
110	県民のほとんどの人が米軍基地を沖縄から無くして欲しいと考えていると思われる。
111	沖縄の人々皆が米軍反対としたテレビ、新聞、間違った知識。日本は平等とする発言もできる国なのに偏った見方をやめて欲しい。世界には違うルール、トップの考え次第で何もかも変わる。小さな島国をどうやって大事に残していくのか？考えていかないと日本人(生粋)がいなくなります。人口の多い国があつという間に土地、水、全てここに住んで取りにきますよ！
112	普天間基地返還、辺野古の問題等、県民の意思として判断するのは簡単に白黒つけられないと思う。私達の世代(30代~40代)以降、あまり基地問題のことについて話し合う機会が無い。話し合い、情報交換ができる県民の意識改革(雰囲気作り)が必要だと思います。本土の方のほうが基地問題について詳しい場面もあるような気がします。私達をもっと知りたいし、学びたい。
113	そもそも関心がないと思われる。
114	きれいな事ではない。責任を持って現場を見て欲しい、声を聞いて欲しい。
115	他人事である。
116	沖縄県内の基地問題は、住民の全てが反対派で過激に反対デモを起こしているイメージがあるが、実際話を聞いてみると、基地に近い地域の間でなければ別段反対する理由はなく、むしろ県全体として経済的利益があるならば基地賛成の人もいるという事。
117	沖縄では日常生活が直接基地と関わっている。頻度として沖縄県と違って基地があっても全体的には間接的感覚があるのではないかと思う。
118	身近に基地がある怖さを知らないと思う。
119	他人事のように、ほとんど話題にもならない。地位協定もあまり知られていない。
120	基地の広さ。
121	国より特別措置の補助金を受け取っているため国の施策には我慢が必要では？ 基地の恩恵を受けている(例)土地使用料、雇用等…。 犯罪、事件、トラブル等、あまり関心が持たれていないのでは？
122	あまり自分達には関係のないものだと、沖縄の基地問題は放っておかれていると思う。
123	基地関連補助金の依存度、期待感が強いと思われること。
124	他県のことなので関心がない。
125	基地県外移設のみに視点を置きすぎている。 基地内で働いている人や、軍用地料で生活している人の雇用等についての課題を知っている人はどれだけいるのかと思う。
126	軍用地収入で理解されていないと思う。
127	基地問題は沖縄の人々の生活に根深く絡み合っていて、単にイエス、ノーの答えだけでは決定出来ないものである。ということを知って欲しい。沖縄の人は基地問題に関して矛盾を抱えながら生きている人が多く苦しんでいると思う。

II. Survey Report: Survey on Okinawa's Attitude toward Regional Security Survey Result

	Answer
128	基地で儲けていると思われている。
129	沖縄に住んでいる人全員が基地に気に入らない、というわけではない。
130	基地の中や基地の周り、それに関係する人達の仕事。それらを考えずに基地反対と言うが、それらの保障がどうなるか不透明な事。
131	「米軍基地があることで経済的な恩恵を得ているから仕方ない」という誤解。
132	歴史的な差別による理解力の欠如。日本政府が理解力を育てる要素が表面化しないよう情報操作した。以前は小・中学校の教科書に沖縄の事が出ていなかった。 昭和天皇が沖縄訪問を希望したのに、日本政府は実現させなかった。 沖縄人間の一部が利益優先のメッセージを発信し続けた。沖縄人の努力不足。
133	基地で働いている方、軍人と結婚して子供を持ち生活している方がいる事も考えないといけない。
134	基地経済で県内は維持されているという事。
135	私は今年3月まで働いていました。時給650円、こんな安い時給なのにどうやって生活していますかと、ある人(本土の人)に聞かれた事があります。やはり基地からのお金があるのかとか、色々聞かれたがそれはある一部分の人達です。 切り詰めて生活をしているのに、本土の人達はやれリゾート休日になれば2、3泊で遊びに来て、沖縄の身になる事は何もなく、ゴミだけ捨てていっている様な気がします。
136	沖縄が危険にさらされている事を認識していない。 基地が沖縄にあるのが当たり前みたいに捉えているのでは？
137	実際、沖縄に住んでないから分かりづらいと思う。ニュース等で知っているつもり。
138	基地がある事によってお金を貰っているのだからいいじゃないか！！とか、浅い表面上だけで判断し受け取られている気がする。犯罪や事件等は情報としてないように思う。
139	基本的に本土の方は、沖縄に基地があるのを何の疑問もなく見ている印象がある。 軍用地代や軍で働く沖縄県民もいるのに、どうして反対するのかと思っているのでは？
140	県外マスメディアの沖縄基地問題、それに関わる現状の報道が少ない。
141	沖縄の人全てが基地に反対している訳ではない。
142	米軍の事件。
143	本土の人は基地問題について、県民は選挙の為の争点と思っている人が多々である。
144	基地は沖縄だけでいいと思っている人が多い。
145	基地の安全性。
146	誤解されていることは、沖縄の人は基地反対をしていると見せかけていると思っている。 反対して国からお金を貰っていると思われている。ごねていると思われている。
147	本土の人は沖縄の基地についての知識がほとんどない。その無知から生じる誤解が多い。
148	一言でいえば、本土側の無関心。 米軍犯罪、地位協定の不合理性など、メディア報道も一時的で継続性を欠く。 政府も離島県ゆえか基地を集中させ押し付けている。 経済ももちろん大切だが、基地依存の振興策が誤解を生じていると思われる。 観光やほかの経済策に向かった方が将来は沖縄の為になる。
149	基地問題でお金は落ちているが、県民全員お金を貰っていると思われている。
150	沖縄県民の生活のなかで騒音被害など、どれだけ負担になっているか分かっていないと思う。
151	本土の人々は自らの目の前にない沖縄の米軍など何も考えていない。 日米安保の果実ばかりを享受しながら、その負担に関しては沖縄に押し付け、金を払っているからそれで良いとの認識である。その金は沖縄の住民にとって十分ではないし、沖縄住民が自ら米軍を誘致したことなど無いにも関わらずである。 原発問題とは根本が違うが、大都市圏の国民のみが恩恵を享受し負担を一切引き受けようとしなない点は、沖縄の米軍負担と通ずるものがある。 沖縄住民は日本政府から独立し、自己決定権を手に入れるべきである。その代償は決して小さくはないが、50年、100年の時を考えれば、大きな代償ではないと信ずる。
152	基地のほとんどが沖縄にあるから。
153	情報不足、他人事。
154	沖縄で問題となっているオスプレイ問題を、一つの観光名所として訪ねてくる人が多く、言っている事とやっている事が違う。
155	沖縄の人は基地がある事でいっぱいお金を貰っているではないか、幸せなはずなのに。
156	色々あると思うが、まず基地周辺に本土の人が1~2年住めばわかる。

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Q24. What do you think are issues about U.S. Military Bases in Okinawa that people in mainland Japan do not understand, or misunderstand?

	Answer
157	沖縄の人は英語で話している。(日常語になっていると言われたことがある) 全く沖縄の事を知っていない人がいる。(40年前、本土に就職した時)
158	基地による危険性の認知度の低さ。県民(全て)が基地から恩恵を受けているという事への誤解。
159	沖縄の人全てが保障金(米軍基地等)を貰っていると思われる。 県外相手の仕事をしているがこれには驚いた。事件・事故(過去)を全く知らない人が多い。 24時間安全面において脅威にさらされている事を全く理解できてないし、知ろうとしない。 災害よりも虫けら同様の扱い、おとりとなっている事(戦場提供場所なのか?!)にも、県民は皆腹を立てている。ネットやブログ等でも無知な人が多い事に驚く、国がらみなのか?
160	いまだに基地がなくならず、普天間基地の問題も解決されていないので!
161	基地と金が欲しいのは日本国政府とその周辺者のみ。沖縄県民や米国政府ではない。 マスコミは真実を報道する力と能力に欠ける。これからも出来ない。
162	全県民が「うるさい」と軍事車両や空からの恐怖に怯えた生活を強いられているのに、今の福島の影響者方に見舞金と同じ様なものを全県民が貰っていると思っているという人々がいるということ。
163	本土の人は基地をブランドの1つとして思っていて、観光等でなくても写真をとる目的にしか思っていないため。
164	戦闘機や輸送ヘリコプターが飛ぶ頻度が増えると戦争が始まりそうで怖い。 他府県の方はあまり感じないと思う。 住宅街上空を飛ぶ飛行機や58号線を低空で横切る戦闘機など、アメリカの行為を国が見て見ぬふりをしての他府県の方は知っているのでしょうか。
165	授業で重要視されてない、教科書で事実を述べてない、沖縄県の戦争は報道されてない、本土の戦争の報道しかされない、なので理解されてないと思う。特に若者、10代。 米軍による事件。
166	思いやり予算のあり方。日本は出し過ぎなのでは…?
167	危険にさらされて生活をしている現状を他人事のようにになっていると思う。
168	普天間の危険除去。
169	「アメリカと友好を結ぶと不幸になる」とキューバで言われている。アメリカという国は戦争で裕福になっている。アメリカはアジア内での戦争をあおっている。どこの戦争の裏にもアメリカが関わっており、アジア国内を守る為にはアメリカを無視することができない。 アジア国内を守るためには、となりの国との結束が大切だ。結束を固めて。 アジアで戦争させないためにもアメリカを信用しないで、一番の大敵はアメリカです。
170	無関心、他人事。
171	日本本土の安全の為。沖縄の基地を無くそうとはしない。
172	基地がある事によってお金を貰っているのだからいいじゃないか!!とか、浅い表面上だけで判断し受け取られている気がする。 犯罪や事件等は情報としてないように思うから予算も多く貰って、潤っていると思っている。 米軍基地跡地開発の北谷や新都心等の経済効果が大きい事等、あまり知られていないと思います。
173	悪いニュースしか報じない。
174	基地による経済収入が大であると思われる。 アメリカ=華やかさ。 基地=戦争であることをあまり考えていない。
175	本土に住む友人の話だと、基地問題の話題になった時沖縄の様子を熱く語っても、他の県の方は、「何それ?」という人事モードで軽くかわされることが多いそうです。 国全体の問題といっても、自分たちの身に関わらない人にとっては、他人事にすぎない遠い問題なのではないでしょうか。県知事集めてくじを引いてほしいです。(基地を次はどこへ負担してもらうか)
176	近隣住民の負担、危険因子を十分に理解していないのではないかと考える。
177	沖縄のことなので、実際自分たちに関係のないことだと思っている人が多いと思う。理解以前の問題。
178	沖縄の人全員が基地反対だと思っている。反対運動をしている人の中にはデモなどの時だけ本土から来る人達もいる。住んでなければなぜ反対なのか、なぜ賛成なのかかわからないと思う。
179	実際に沖縄に来て、基地の敷地の大きさを見ていない。
180	直面しないとわからない問題だと思う。

II. Survey Report: Survey on Okinawa's Attitude toward Regional Security Survey Result

	Answer
181	影響の少ない本土の人にとって関心が低いので、しょうがない部分もあるとは思いますが。また地元紙と全国紙で同じ記事でも取扱いがまったく違うので、それも影響していると思います。
182	戦争の犠牲になった住民や家族の悲しみ、基地に土地提供をしていることや、基地がある為アメリカ兵が沖縄の女性に対して性的被害を起こしている事件等。
183	米軍飛行機のうるさをわかっていないと思う。
184	本土では沖縄のことがあまりニュースに取り上げられない事がある為、理解されてない事が多いと思う。
185	思いやり予算の使いみち。基地をつくるかわりにお金をたくさんもらっていると思われること。
186	報道されている情報しかないため、複雑な実情が理解されていないと感じる。
187	この問題の当事者ではない為、関心度が薄い。
188	現実(基地の占める割合、人間、公的事件、被害等)をもっと分かりやすい様に発信してない県、また発信しても揉み消している(?) 国が悪いと思う。
189	本土ではあまりマスコミに取り上げられず偏っていると思う。 日本全体の中で基地問題は考えるべき内容である。
190	沖縄の人々が米軍を嫌っていると思っているかもしれないけど、そうではない人もいる。私はもっと友好的にしていって欲しいと思っている。
191	基地によって恩恵ばかり受けているだけではない。
192	基地からの被害(騒音、車両事故…)。 基地が沖縄経済の発展を阻害している。 基地は沖縄の諸悪の根源。
193	沖縄の基地問題が沖縄とアメリカ間だけの問題だと思われる。
194	本土での報道が少ない。沖縄では流れていないTV番組での言われように勝手だと感じたことがある。
195	沖縄(日本)の歴史を学ばないと知らない事など誤った言説が多々見受けられる。 沖縄を日本の一県としてしかとらえていない政府、マスコミの無責任さが問題。
196	基地の恩恵を受けて生活している沖縄。地域住民への危険性。
197	他人事、無関心。
198	基地問題に対する本土の報道、情報が少ないと思います。 沖縄のローカルニュースのみ報道が多い。
199	沖縄に住んでいても実際に基地があるという事で格別に被害を受けていると感じた事がない。 住民でさえその程度の理解なので、本土の一部を除く人達の無理解は仕方ないと思う。
200	沖縄の住民の中にもそれほど反対意見を持つ人がいない。また基地があることで生活できる人もいるということ。基地反対といっても基地の撤去は難しいと思う。
201	アメリカの核の下でのんびりする事は良いが、米軍の基地はきらっている。
202	沖縄の人々の声や現状を国が把握していない事と沖縄が陸続きではないので、本土の人々に情報が届いていないと思う。基地がある事で国から恩恵があると思っている人が多いと思っているのでは？私達の生活には何も恩恵がない！！
203	文章にするのは難しいですね。
204	基地からの恩恵を受けている。
205	基地に依存しており、基地なくして経済が成り立たないと思われる。 中国が攻めたくなるとされている。
206	米兵の問題行動、事件も本土の人には完全には知られていないと思います。
207	一日も早く辺野古反対とマスコミや新聞で記載されている事が解決すればいいと思います。
208	全国民基地に対する問題に関心を持って欲しい。(政府にも)
209	テレビのニュースだけでは、わからないと思う。目の前にして見ないと。
210	嘉手納や普天間など、空軍基地や基地の大きさだけは皆さんよく知っているが、そこにある基地問題は理解していないし、理解は出来ない。 沖縄は基地による迷惑などがあると理解をしても、それよりもっと大きく金の恩恵を受けている。お金で沖縄を売っていると言われた事がある。その通り。
211	沖縄県民の人権。

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Q24. What do you think are issues about U.S. Military Bases in Okinawa that people in mainland Japan do not understand, or misunderstand?

	Answer
212	基地問題には、戦争(第二次世界大戦)、沖縄の歴史、戦後の教育がとても影響しています。戦後教育などの違いが平和や国に対する考え方の違いを生んでいると思います。 沖縄が日本の他県の事を本土と言うこと…。そこからも基本的な考え方の違いがあり、理解されていないのではなく、理解できない事もあるのでは。 そして基地問題に沖縄の、そして他県の企業の利害も大きく関わっている事がとても悲しいです。日本人が生きていく上で本当の共存、平和ってなんでしょう！
213	観光客の中には、戦闘機をカッコいい等と言う方もいる。 騒音問題等、実生活で体感しなければ分かってもらえない現状が多いと感じる。 また、もし自分の大切な人が訓練(米軍)中の事故等に巻き込まれたらどうしようという安全面の懸念も、生活して体感しなければ県外の方との理解の溝はうまららないと思う。
214	基地がある為、国より恩恵がある人が多くいるとの誤解。
215	過去の歴史の流れとして、併合により確保した領域であり、国土を守る捨石的な感覚もやむを得ないと考えていると思う。勿論すべての国民とは言わないが、運命共同体という思いは希薄だと思います。
216	全国紙(TV含む)での報道の少なさを思うと、本土の方にはあまり興味深い問題ではなく、遠い場所で起きている事であり、安全保障についても考えた事がないし考えたくない。だからこそ本土ではなく、沖縄に基地があつて欲しいと多くの方が望んでいる。
217	他人事、おしつけ。
218	基地のない所に住んでいるから。
219	安全保障や米軍基地に対する無関心さ。 本土マスコミの冷やかな報道。 安全保障や米軍基地問題が自分のことと理解されず、沖縄問題として認識されている。 それらが無意識の差別になっているとの自覚がない。
220	普天間基地が返還されないのは本土の人達の無関心、協力が得られないから。 軍用地料によって潤っている人達がいると思っているのでは…。
221	沖縄の基地問題が本土のテレビなどであまり放送されてない事。 沖縄のテレビだけで放送されても基地問題は前に進まないと思う。
222	どのように、どの程度の役割を果たしているか。本土の人、沖縄の人もはっきりとは分かっていない。
223	沖縄の基地について、本土の人は関心がないと思います。
224	戦後70年、平和である日本。平和の中で生活している日本本土の人に、遠い沖縄の基地問題についてあまり理解されていないのは当然だと思う。 沖縄の人が本土の各県の抱える問題がわからないのと同様に！
225	基地問題(辺野古移設など)は沖縄県民だけの問題、本土の人には関係ないから勝手に騒いで沖縄県民で解決して、的な無関心な様に感じる。移設反対も結局お金で解決できると思われている気がする。本土に移設しなければどうでもいい。
226	回答がずれているかもしれませんが、実際に沖縄へ来て、見て、分かるものではないでしょうか。報道だけでは十分な理解は出来ないと考えます。
227	沖縄にあるからいいや、とか身近に無いから何とも思っていないと思う。
228	沖縄振興予算のかけ方。
229	本土の人の頭の中には、基地は沖縄だけでいいと思っている。また国からのお金を過分に貰っているとされている。
230	実際に知人から言われた事。沖縄全県民が軍用地料を国からもらっている。 わざと基地のある土地へ住み保証を受けている。どうせ金で動くんだ。
231	お金を沢山もらっているから文句を言うのはおかしい？
232	沖縄に基地があることで経済的に潤っていると誤解されている。また基地があることによる負担が全く理解されていない。
233	本土の人は、危険とかに対する意識が薄いと思う。(基地内外の事故等)
234	基地の危険性と被害について理解されていないし、知ろうとしていないと感じる。 他人事、他県の事として実感が無い。沖縄の負担の大きさを理解すべきだと思います。
235	戦後70年近くたった今でも沖縄の中で米軍が勝手気ままに振る舞い、基地が返還されないことについて、日本は独立国家なのかと疑わしく思うこと。

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	Answer
236	基地があるから経済が潤っていると思っている。
237	基地によって沖縄の経済が成り立っている、と思われている事。または潤っていると思われている事。
238	所詮他人事であり、沖縄イコール観光地であり、基地問題はテレビ等で知り得るだけのこと。自分が本土出身で沖縄には仕事柄住んでいるので、上記のように考える。
239	沖縄に集中している事、(全日本国土面積)6%の県内に70%を超える軍施設が占めている現状等。
240	基地周辺の騒音問題。環境の悪化。(米兵による事件)
241	沖縄の人が基地に対して賛成か、反対かのどちらかの感情しか持っていないと本土の人間は考えている。しかし実際は基地が無いにこしたことはないが、経済や安全保障を考えると共存せざるを得ない。複雑な感情であることが全く理解されていない。
242	県経済は米軍基地経済に依存しているのではないか…という事。
243	基地に関しては他人事。
244	基地があるおかげで沖縄経済が成り立っていると思われている。
245	軍用地料の果実によって経済発展していると誤解されている。
246	報道の温度差。
247	沖縄の人全員が基地に反対しているというような報道の仕方。基地がある事によって、利益がある方もいるという事が全然分かっていないと思う。沖縄から基地がなくなるとしたならば、とてつもない時間がかかるということ。
248	基地がある地域の生活する上での大変さ。
249	本土マスメディアが沖縄の基地問題を積極的に取り上げないこと。
250	基地が住宅密集地にある事。そして基地周辺がどれだけ危険性があるかという事。
251	テレビやマスコミの報道に惑わされすぎている印象があります。沖縄の人が全員反対しているとは限りません。それで収入を得ている人もいます。
252	全日本国土面積0.6%を占める沖縄に74%米軍基地が集中している。それにおける経済発展は邪魔になっている。基地周囲環境の影響など、ここに住んでいないとよく理解できない内容だ。
253	基地の危険性や米軍の飲酒運転、乱暴行為、使われている税金等。
254	国内の米軍基地がほとんど沖縄にあることよっての経済発展の圧迫。米兵の犯罪に対する不公平な対応(法律が適用できない)。本土の人間は異国情緒漂う観光地としか思っていない。
255	沖縄の人は基地問題を一部の、あるいはある時期にだけ反対していると思っているのではないか？
256	全国紙、テレビ等でどれだけ発信されているのか？ 発信不足ではないのか、無関心さに大変理解に苦しむ！
257	オール沖縄と言っていますが、米軍基地・自衛隊に賛成の人も沢山います。
258	東京と沖縄の米兵の質の違い。
259	経済的支援を受けているから、豊かになっていると勘違いされている。
260	多くの基地の中で住む事が大変だということ。
261	理解されていれば基地の負担軽減を本土でも受け入れている。
262	沖縄における現実が見えていない。いつも問題があっても興味の対象にならない。そこに問題がある。
263	一般的に無責任の人が多いと思う。自分の地域が安全である事を重視していると思う。
264	基地問題を沖縄だけに押し付けている気がする。もっと本土の人達も関心をもって考えて欲しい。
265	自分達の県に害がないので他人事に思っている。
266	沖縄は基地で経済が成り立っていると思われている。基地があるから金がいっぱい貰えると思っている人が多い。
267	基地があるがゆえの事件・事故、過去のベトナム戦争時は前線基地として使用された沖縄の基地は、東アジア地区でひとたび紛争が起これば再度巻き込まれ、標的にされる可能性があるということ。
268	私の古里北谷町では、アメリカ人がよく歩いている。普通で何とも思わない。
269	基地があることで沖縄の経済が成り立っていると誤解されている。
270	こんなに領地が広いとは思っていない。知らないはず。
271	本土の友人は、ローカルニュースで毎日基地問題が放送されているのに違和感を覚える様だ。また相当な額の補助金を貰っていると思っている。
272	嫌な事は自分の周りに置きたくない。平等さがない。
273	米兵よりゲート前に陣取っている赤黒く日焼けした本土の人が怖い。
274	基地での雇用。政府からの莫大な補償金を貰っているから(基地があることで栄えているということ)。何より平和、心、自然が大切です。

II. Survey Report: Survey on Okinawa's Attitude toward Regional Security Survey Result

Q24. What do you think are issues about U.S. Military Bases in Okinawa that people in mainland Japan do not understand, or misunderstand?

	Answer
275	米軍人による事件により、沖縄県民が不安を抱いていることが本土の人に理解されていない。
276	基地をなくすのに反対ばかりの人がいると思っている。実際は基地があるべきだと感じている人もいる。
277	基地の恩恵を受けていると思われているが、軍用地・雇用者以外の人には全く恩恵を受けていない。基地があるから沖縄経済が成り立っていると思われている。飛行機の騒音は本当に迷惑である。基地は問題ですが、駐留している米軍の方々が嫌いというわけではなく、むしろ好感が持てる…。でも…基地は縮小すべき。
278	新翁長知事の当選の弁で述べていましたが、「沖縄基地収入で経済が潤っている」という誤解を本土の人達へ与えている。(むしろ逆)
279	全国に報道されて(基地問題)いない部分がある。基地を返還するのに新しい基地を作る事は理解されていない。
280	本土の方々には基地問題を身近に感じていないように思う。基地のある場所で生活してみないと基地問題の重要性は理解されないと思う。
281	マスメディア。
282	あまりテレビ等、メディアに取り上げられない。
283	基地問題の解決のために復帰運動が起ったこと。経済的に基地に依存していること。
284	沖縄に基地が70%あることに本土は安心しているから、だと思います。
285	沖縄経済は米軍基地が無いと成り立たないと本気で考えている人が結構多い。原発と同じ迷惑施設ととらえられているが、原発と異なり、沖縄県民が望んで設置した訳ではないことが忘れられている事がある。米軍関係者による事件・事故が本土では、あまり報じられないため基地による被害が伝わっていないと感じる。
286	身近に基地が無いため、共存しているがゆえの一長一短を知らない。身近に基地が無い為に基地の事を考えた事もなく、問題があるのかすら知らず関心なんて全くないと思う。
287	ニュースで取り上げている事からしか情報を得ていないから、自分で調べて知ろうと思っていない等。
288	沖縄は基地がある事で様々な恩恵を受けていると誤解されている。大きな事件が起きた時しか報道されないで基地問題について知る機会が少ない為、沖縄の人が騒いでいるほどの事はないと軽く考えられているように思う。
289	全国紙で報道されることは少ないので、県外の人には沖縄が基地となった歴史など知らない人が多いし、自分達には関係ないものだと思っている。県外の人だけでなく若い沖縄の人でも知らない人が多く、発信ができてない。被害者意識だけでなく、歴史の事実をきちんと県民の我々も知る(学ぶ)べきだ。
290	米軍基地の危険性がほとんど理解されてない。一部軍人の規律のなさ。(報道されていない事件が多数起っている等)
291	基地経済で成り立っている(飲食店、軍用地代)と思っている人が多い。沖縄本島内の基地の規模がどうなっているか知らない(内地では情報が少ない為とも思います。学校でも教えないではと思います)。
292	近隣に基地がない!
293	メディアが報道していることを鵜呑みにしている。真実が見えなくなっているから、本土の人は何もわかっていないと思う。
294	本土では沖縄の基地問題はあまり報道されていない。予算面で他の都道府県より手厚くされていると思われている。
295	どうして沖縄の米軍基地問題で騒いでいる連中は、沖縄の基地問題しか興味がないのか?それしかメディアが取り上げてくれないから問題だと思う。
296	沖縄の基地が占める面積、広さが理解されていない。米軍はよく基地外に出て回っているが、本土の人は、基地内だけにいると思っている。
297	基地周辺の騒音。
298	関心がなく他人事だと思う。
299	沖縄だけに基地が集中しているから。
300	基地負担がこれだけ大変だとその事が全然理解されていないと思う。

II. Survey Report: Survey on Okinawa's Attitude toward Regional Security Survey Result

	Answer
301	沖縄が日本に返還された 1972.5、自分も生を受けた大和人です。今回のアンケート記入を機に、少し調べてみました。知らなかった事が多々あり、大和人の 1 人として浸透していない事を改めて実感した次第です。ただ米軍兵による事故やレイプ事件で沖縄人の安全保障が犠牲になっている事は、理解されていると思います。 基地の土地代は国が支払っている事、契約の更新がある事など、細かい事を本土の人達に知ってもらう努力をしないと、沖縄と本土の溝は埋まらないと思います。
302	基地の占める面積がとても広いこと。
303	小学校・中学校等で学ぶ必要性。また何故という事をイデオロギーを混ぜず当人になって考える等、機会を与え教育する時間が必要だと思う、小さい時から。
304	自分の地域に基地がないので実感が無いと思う。
305	米軍基地は必要だが、自分の近くにない方が良いとの考えから、沖縄はかわいそうだが仕方ないとの認識が大半なのではないか。
306	そもそもこの問題について無関心だと思います。
307	基地問題を人事のように考えているのではないかと？自分の住む地域だったらという考えをもってもらいたいですね。
308	基地が都市のど真ん中にあり、危険と常に隣り合わせであるという事をニュースで聞いているとしても、その大変さはそこに実際に住む人しか知らないと思う。
309	沖縄の基地問題を他の国、他人事のように考えているように思います。
310	離島住まいの私でも、ニュース等で改めて大変さを思うので本土の方(ましては最近の若い方)に沖縄戦や基地問題等、理解してはもらえない様に思えます。
311	基地は危険なもの、危険な物が身近にあってはいけないという考えが日本人の基本だから。(沖縄は差別されている事を知るべきである)
312	米軍と民間人とのトラブル内容。
313	人事の様に思っていると思います。けど自分の所に基地が来るとなったら、反対するのです！
314	基地があるので外国の物が安く手に入る(かもしれませんが…)、基地により物価が安いと思う方も多いです。賃金は安いのに。
315	沖縄に基地をおしつけては困る。日本(本土)にも分散して基地を作してほしい。
316	情報量が少ないため。
317	旅行でたまに遊びに来る人と、ずっと沖縄(特に本島)に住んでいる人とは、基地に対する思いの重さが大きく異なるのは当たり前だと思う。 沖縄の基地の一部を自らが引き受けるのでなければ、その重さは決してわからないと思う。
318	在米軍基地の 74%がある事。
319	沖縄の歴史(戦争)を詳しく教える教育がなされていない為、「なんとなく」や「自身の事としてのリアル感がない」という思いがある様に考える。
320	基地は本土の人は悪と見ているが、それは違う。 私は抑止力で中国の侵略に対抗する為には米軍には感謝している。日米同盟は強化すべし。
321	本土の TV、新聞等、沖縄の基地問題に関する情報が少なく、あまり関心を持たれていない(関係ない)と思われるように感じる。もっと基地の近くに住んで、生活せざるをえない人達の大変さを知らせるべきだと思う。
322	在日米軍が本島からの撤退により地域住民の仕事をうばっているというコト。米軍基地問題の前に、金目当ての無計画な工事(公共を含む)のほうが自然破壊に通じる。 税金の無駄遣い。アホな政治家、アホな住民。基地問題？もっと前に考えるべきものがあるはず。沖縄は首都圏で回収した血税をだらけた政治家さんが無駄遣いしすぎている。尖閣の問題にふれる前に自らの県を客観的に見るべきだ。ひどすぎる。
323	沖縄は日本国内とっていないのではないのでしょうか？もっと関心を持ってほしいです。
324	基地は沖縄だけで負担すべきものではなく日本全体で対応すべきである。
325	経済的援助を多く受け、恩恵があると思われる。
326	国内の米軍基地の 74%が沖縄にあることを知らない。 県内経済は基地経済によって成り立っていると思っている国民が多いと思うから。
327	同じ日本国民として、沖縄は別社会と考えている人がほとんどではないか。
328	沖縄の人々は基地があるおかげで生活している。(働かなくても生活できると思われている)メディアで色々取りあげられても対岸の火事と思われている。
329	日本は平和すぎて愛国心を育てる教育がなされていない。米軍まかせである。 法律を変えて自国は自国で守る。徴兵制もあっては？2年間とか？基地は自分の県にないから。

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Q24. What do you think are issues about U.S. Military Bases in Okinawa that people in mainland Japan do not understand, or misunderstand?

	Answer
330	基地反対派が多いと思われる。
331	見てみないふりをしている。無関心をよそおっている。沖縄への差別と偏見。
332	いつ戦争があるかわからない。基地があると沖縄ではなくアメリカにいるみたい。ほんとの沖縄を返してほしい。
333	無視されていると思う。
334	県外移設が検討された時も、受け入れ地として手を挙げた地域は大阪、関空、橋下知事、であったが、そこもあっさりと撤回。本土は沖縄に申し訳ないけど我慢してほしいというところ、人ごとのように思っているように思う。
335	決して日米はパートナーではない。米国民の多くが日本(人)に対して快く思っていない事実を知るべきだと思う。米軍人による事件、事故のニュースを目にする度に、沖縄県民として情けない気持ちになる。本土の人にはわからない。
336	沖縄の基地を自分の立場で考えていない。
337	基地を盾にお金を要求する県民だと思われる。
338	沖縄のことは全くわからないと思います。沖縄の基地を本土の人たちにもっと分かってほしい。
339	基地はだれでも出来ればない方がいいと思っはいるでしょうが、基地はあつた方がいいけどあつてもそれを使用しない方がいいと思っはいて、あるとしたら自分が住んでいる地域にはあつて欲しくないと思っはいる人が多いと思っはう。犠牲はだれでもイヤだから。
340	沖縄県は本土を守る消波ブロックでしかないのか？
341	本土の人は米軍自体をカッコいいと思っは人事である。
342	沖縄にだけ基地を押しつけている。沖縄の基地問題を全国に詳細に明かしてない。
343	米軍基地があるために、沖縄経済の振興の妨げになっていること、米兵による犯罪多発及び米軍機からの騒音並びに墜落の危険性がある。
344	宮古島に住んでいる私でもあまり基地問題は関心ないので、そうだと思います。
345	戦争によって住んでいた家や土地が基地となった事等をまだまだ知らないかなと思っはう。いまだに基地があるため、事件事故もなくなるという事も含めて。
346	沖縄県の知事の様に基地を他県に知ってもらうためには、動かず私利私欲のために基地を利用してはいる。沖縄県がひとつとなり基地の現状を知ってもらわなければいけないのだが、県民も基地ありきの人もいて説得力がない。今回の知事の公約破りを目の当たりにして落胆したし、小金の花に目がくらむ人たちが基地を利用するのをやめない限り、基地は沖縄から無くならない。
347	基地があるおかげで経済が潤っている。
348	身近なものとして認識していないので、海外のニュースと同等に対岸の火事として捉えられている。
349	米軍基地が沖縄の人々の生活圏内に大きく存在しているということは理解されていない。沖縄経済は米軍基地によって成り立っていると思われる。
350	基地は日本全体で考える事だと思います。沖縄は植民地じゃありません。
351	他人事。
352	アメリカの基地は少しだけだと思っはいる(沖縄県内)。もっと報道して欲しい。
353	基地は共有すべきだ。
354	沖縄としての統一された意思というものが伝わってないような気がする。基地容認派や反対派などがいて、どうしたいのか不透明な部分がある。
355	戦後の沖縄が今のように立ち直った(復興)事に対して、沖縄戦は大変でしたが基地のお陰という事も理解してほしい。
356	全国紙と地元紙の温度差や報道業界の温度差による断片的なニュース。基地内のルールや秩序が守られていないことが、全国版ニュースにはならないこと。
357	基地から発生する事件、事故、環境汚染について、ほとんど報道されない。又、9.11 テロ時の問題など、沖縄経済に対する影響が理解されず、基地から受ける恩恵が主体になっていませんか？マスコミ自体が大いに問題あり。当たり前真実を伝えて欲しい。
358	米兵が沖縄で事件をおこすことがあるが、本土の人にとっては他人事であり、滅多にないこととして捉えられているように思っはう。日本国の領土・領海を守るために、沖縄に基地があることは仕方がないという認識の人が本土には多いのではないかと思っはう。
359	日米安保条約が日本全体の問題として関心が薄く重要視していない。

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	Answer
360	関心がないと思う。
361	中国の軍事力が毎年増加しています。とっても心配しています。沖縄の米軍基地はあってほしいです。
362	基地問題は一つの日米関係の成り立ちでもある。でも本土の方からしたら迷惑でしかないというのも残念。
363	基地の規模や駐留する米国軍の全体像はあまり知られておらず、沖縄に住んでみないことには理解できないと思う。
364	メディアによる情報発信が少ない。
365	県民全体が反対ではなく賛成者も多数いる事があまり取り上げられていない事。基地移設反対運動は県民が始めた事ではないという事。
366	実際、石垣島に住んでいても本島の基地は他人事だから。
367	交付金等の優遇措置について、沖縄が求めていると思っている点。
368	基地の事はあまり考えていない。
369	本土の人達は自分達の身近に基地がない為あまり理解していない、また、よく知ろうとしていない。
370	米兵の起こす事件等についても関心がないように思える。
371	あまり沖縄の基地の事は理解されていない。
372	私自身も本土出身の為、基地の事についてはわかりません。
373	沖縄の基地問題を本土のマスコミがあまり取り上げないので、本土の人々は関心がない。
374	沖縄は基地イコール戦争と結びつけて声を大にしているため（沖縄の人）、本土の人たちもそう思いこんでいる。沖縄は米軍基地があるから守られていると思う。
375	沖縄は地理的歴史的な面から基地の存在は仕方ないのではないかという考えの人が本土には多い。
376	本土の人は他人事のように考えている！
377	基地によって経済が振興されているかのように誤解している点。 日米地位協定による人権の差別等が理解されていない点。
378	日米地位協定による米軍属の犯罪への不当・不公平ともとれる対応。
379	島の面積の割合に対して基地の占める割合が高い！
380	基地があることによる抑止力という安全面だけでなく、基地があつて生計を立てている人、学生、家族がいるという沖縄住民の生活に良くも影響している面もある事。
381	頻繁に起きる駐留米兵の飲酒がらみの事件や事故の事。
382	沖縄では知らない人はいないであろう沖縄国際大学ヘリ墜落事件のことも、本土の人は知らない人が多かった。
383	事件（レイプ、恐喝、住宅への侵入）、飲酒運転の多さ、環境破壊が知られてない。
384	もしかしたら、米軍基地がある事で守られていると思っている方もいるのではないかと思つたが、移設場所として受け入れてくれる県等がほとんどないという事は、危険だという認識はあるという事だと思うので、考えていてよくわからなくなりました。
385	基地問題に興味を示しているのはプロ市民だけという誤解。 米軍基地が防衛に役立っているという思いこみ。基地が経済発展につながっていると思われている事。日常にいきこみすぎている米軍の演習。
386	元々は沖縄県民の土地だったという事。持ち主の元に返されるべきであるという事。
387	基地の近隣に生活する際の、実際の危険や不安。
388	19年前、橋本総理と日米首脳で普天間を辺野古基地内に移設が決ったことが、実施されていない。そこに移せばすべて解決するのに、関心がないからいつまでもごたごたしている。
389	観光地としての沖縄に基地問題は全く別で沖縄の歴史そのものを重視して見てほしいです！！
390	オスプレイを東京都市に飛ばせば、沖縄県民の気持ちも少しは理解できると思う。
391	「軍用地金ドロボー」と思われているコト。
392	よその県だから。
393	沖縄は基地経済で食っている。
394	沖縄は米軍基地と引き換えに、税金や振興策、様々な面で優遇されているし、それを望んでいる。
395	米軍基地の7割が沖縄県にあること、またその負担。沖縄にほとんど基地があるので、日米に米軍基地が必要かどうか国民は考えない。（身近にないため）
396	米軍の不祥事。
397	全土の0.6%に74%の基地があることを理解してほしい。
398	存在こそ知っているものの、根本的に気にもかける事がない。 （大阪出身の私がそうだったし、周囲もそうだったから）
399	沖縄の歴史を知らない。

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Q24. What do you think are issues about U.S. Military Bases in Okinawa that people in mainland Japan do not understand, or misunderstand?

	Answer
400	沖縄は日本で唯一地上戦があった。この様な悲惨な思いはしたくない。だから軍隊（米軍・自衛隊を含む）が無ければ戦争は起こらないと思っている。
401	基地周辺地域における事件・事故の危険性について理解されていないと思う。
402	基地の借地料（に替わる産業がないこと）等で経済的に潤っている事。
403	他人事だと思われて真剣に問題と向き合っていないように感じる。（沖縄内でも同様だけど）シュミレーションできる何かがあったらいいのに。
404	沖縄県民は交付金を多く取る事ばかり考えている。
405	観光、修学旅行生などに常に伝えてもらいたい。本土の人はまったく関心がない。
406	私は県外で生まれ育ち、結婚で移住してきました。沖縄戦や基地問題について、これまで詳しく学校で学ぶことはなく、こちらに住み始めて初めて知ることだらけでした。沖縄に住まないといわかってもらえないことだらけだと思います。政府がもっと沖縄のことを理解し、国を大切にしないといけません。
407	米軍属が起こす事故、事件など。
408	戦後70年近くも基地が沖縄に置かれている現状を、「日米同盟」をかくれみのにしていること。
409	人種差別。
410	自分のところの問題ではないので関心が薄いと思う。
411	沖縄は独立国でありアメリカとの戦争の負担は全部沖縄に押し付けており何の賠償もされていない。根本的にまちがっている。
412	位置、場所的に沖縄が良いポイントなのは分かるが、そこに基地を置く事へのサポートが薄い。もっと特例的に手厚く沖縄県全域をサポートしてほしい。
413	基地があるがゆえに、経済（交付金）がうるおっていると誤解。
414	情報が少ない
415	身近に軍のヘリが飛んでいる危険に対して、大したことないと思わないで欲しい。
416	地元の一部の人が「賛成している」ことを盾に、県民が「実は基地を必要としている」という説こそ真実さと説く人が多い。
417	反対派は沖縄県民でない。
418	本土の人達は遠い島の事で、自分には関係ないと思っているように感じます。基地が東京にあれば考えも変わるでしょうか？
419	身近に日常生活の中で基地・米軍が存在することはおかしい事なのに、それ自体理解されていない。（米兵による事件・事故多い。基地の占める場所、汚染問題多い） 基地でお金を貰って沖縄は潤っている。お金をたかっていると誤解されている。
420	県民自身の問題の理解と明確な意見を持って表現する人が少ない。県外の人に伝わりづらいのでは。
421	基地が身近に感じられないのは、基地が少なく、現状が見えない事。
422	私はナイチャーですが、本土に居る時に沖縄の基地のニュースをほとんど耳にすることはありませんでした。そして今は八重山に住んでいますが、沖縄にいても基地問題についてすごく温度差を感じております。同じ沖縄県内でも基地問題をさほどと思っていない地域があるのに本土の人に理解されるとはあまり思えません。
423	第一に近くにないと言うこと。関わりが貧しすぎる。 第二に沖縄以外への基地移設の現実的な動きがないということ。
424	沖縄の土地の何%に基地があるのか全く理解していないと思う。基地がある事によって起こる事件、犯罪等を他人事の様になっている。 沖縄県民の昔から虐げられた（本土から）事実を知らない（歴史的に）。 沖縄だけではなく、駐留する米軍に多額の税金が使用されている。基地があつて沖縄が潤っている事はない。
425	本土とは関係ないと思われているから。
426	基地内で働く沖縄の人もたくさんいるという事。
427	報道（本土マスコミ）の取り扱い。国民性（できるだけ自分に関わりたくない）。平和教育の足りなさ。
428	本土向けの新聞報道が少ない。
429	沖縄の県民でも主張が多様すぎる。県外、国外からの市民活動家による世論誘導があると思う。

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	Answer
430	米軍があることについて反対の人がいるが、軍人一人一人はとても優しく、親切にしてくれることを沖縄県民が分かっていることを知って欲しい。夜 11 時頃になると軍人の上の方たちは見回りをして事件が起きないように、同じ軍人の方に声かけなどをして努力をしている。
431	米軍がいるから安全だと思われている。
432	内地の人は他人事のよう。
433	基地があるから仕事をもらっている。なければ失業者が多数でる。
434	日本に存在すべき 7 割の米軍が沖縄にある事については、情報で理解していると思います。「軍の場所が自分の地域にあったら、毎日の生活は大変なんだろうな」なんて思いつつ他力本願の精神が根っこにあるんでしょうね。でも認める他ないと思います。基地があることで、本土にはない賑やかさと、いろんな取組をしていけば良いのではないかと思います。沖縄とアメリカが兄弟になればいいんじゃないですか。 沖縄の更に離島では、農、水、陸といろんな経済の恩恵をうけることはできます。食べる事、生きる事に関しては十分ですが、子供達の学問、学校、子供に限らず、大人までもが、資格を必要とされています。お金がないから働きたいのに、資格がないから働けない。資格を取るのにお金を使って那覇や東京へ、苦境を乗り越えるために、生活保護を受けるけれども、物価は高いし、家賃も高い。にっちもさっちもお金がないんです。お金は島々の人々には、反映されていません。(地域安全保障)について考えるのは、まだ早いような気がします。現在、母子家庭であります、ほんとう苦しい時は子供と一緒に泣いている事もよくあります。死を考える事もしばしばです。末端で生活しているこの状況を県のおえらい様はどう思いますか？
435	日米同盟抑止力？という名で戦後 70 年も沖縄に押し付けて、復帰 40 年も経つというのに本土の人々の考えに基地負担？ということもなく選挙のたびに国が考えることを沖縄だけに押し付けて！！全て金ではないです。ウチナンチュの誇りです。基地ダメ。
436	沖縄の基地は、占有率約 75% 占めていて、経済的自立に弊害があると考えます。基地を置くかわりに援助を受けているという雰囲気が感じられます。
437	基地問題に本土の人は関心がない。
438	基地の面積。 基地に経済的に依存しているように思われる。
439	ほとんどの基地が沖縄にあるのに、まだ基地を作ろうとしている。
440	基地に関する交付金目当てで反対運動している。広大な基地の周りにあとから街が作られている。貰うものもらって、後から反対している、という誤解。 基地はよい観光目玉であり、なくなれば魅力がないと言われた。
441	住んでみないと現地の問題は理解できないと思う。 基地の近くに(それは本土の基地がある県も同じ事が言える)。
442	お金の為に基地を置いていると思われている事。
443	原子力発電所、ゴミ処理場、キタナイ物、キケンな物。人は身近に無い方が良いと思っている。沖縄は遠くにありすぎる。沖縄の人々も海、空は美しいが足元はどうですか(ゴミだらけ)。
444	騒音問題などは実際体験しないと分からない。Y ナンバーとの交通事故後の保障問題。
445	基地の土地所有の人は有り難いと思っている。金が入るから、持っていない人は迷惑だと思っている事。事実を伝えるべきだ。国の保障のあり方もおかしいのではないか？山原なので、騒音の被害も特に私の所は実際ない。
446	基地の問題は本土の人は、まったく考えていない。他人の事！！
447	辺野古基地建設、オスプレイ、事件・事故。
448	沖縄の人は基地が全面的に反対ではなく、基地による自然破壊などの問題や犯罪、本土資本による労働環境の悪化など。基地があることにより付随する沖縄を食いつぶす問題に反対し、究極のところ基地があるからだ…となっていると思う。
449	米兵による女性への性被害、事故・事件など。
450	沖縄は交付金等が内地に比べて多い。基地で生きている。
451	沖縄に米軍基地があるのは当たり前だと思っている。
452	基地がある為に、お金を貰っている。
453	他人事のようになっている。だから全く理解されていない。
454	自分には関係ないからです。ニュースを見ても大きな事件でもあまり大きく取り上げてもらえない。お金がからんでいるとか、結局はお金が欲しくて沖縄県民が騒いでいるだけだそうです。政治にたずさわる人達は、もっとしっかりして欲しいです。特に沖縄県民の代表者ですね(元知事)
455	沖縄の基地は、県住民のすぐ側にあって生活と隣り合わせだということ。

II. Survey Report: Survey on Okinawa's Attitude toward Regional Security Survey Result

Q24. What do you think are issues about U.S. Military Bases in Okinawa that people in mainland Japan do not understand, or misunderstand?

	Answer
456	持ちつ持たれつみたいな流れがあるので、理解を求めるのは無理だと思う。
457	全部。沖縄を見れ。
458	沖縄県軍用地で、うるおう事になっている。
459	毎日の様に新聞、テレビ等のニュースが全国に伝わらない。特に今回の知事選等の沖縄県民の思いが伝わらない。
460	未だに基地がないと沖縄は食べていけないと思っている。それに基地があるから多額の補助金を貰って特別だと思っているが、他府県はその見返りがなくても補助金を貰っている。それを知らないから。
461	基地建設反対の情報ばかりで、賛成側の情報もニュースにして欲しい。勝手すぎる！
462	TV、新聞 etc…、マスコミで流れる情報量が圧倒的に少ないため、無関心を引き起こしている。
463	騒音！
464	基地＝国からの資源が、まだ本土の方達の考えにはあると思うし、また沖縄の軍用地主はそれに依存している部分もあると思われる。
465	現実問題として基地がなくなれば、今現在雇用されている人達は失業して、沖縄県民の経済は成り立たないという現実。
466	アメリカ軍があるので沖縄は平和であるし、中国からの侵略がない。地理的に沖縄は中国から侵略されやすい場所である事が分かってない。本土の人々は平和ボケしている。
467	私の叔母は近畿在住(奈良県)ですが、基地があるので本人もその子供達も沖縄へ来たことはありません。従姉妹達は沖縄に遊びに来たがっていますが、叔母が許可してくれないそうです。
468	基地を沖縄から出すこと。なぜなら基地を出すことによって沖縄が弱くなり占領されてしまうから。だから基地をなくさないで欲しい。
469	沖縄への基地の集中度。 駐留する米軍が起こした事件や事故。
470	基地固定のため、事件・事故が多発してなくなる。
471	本土の人々は本音と建て前の使い方がうまく、それに翻弄されずにウチナンチューは品格と格調をもたないかぎり、沖縄に対し差別は無くならないでしょう。
472	基地問題、賛成派や反対派など、反対派や賛成派がどれだけの率なのかとか、意外に賛成派の意見もあると言う事を知って欲しい。
473	基地の見返りとして、長年にわたる多額な補助金の手当措置。
474	沖縄県は基地がいっぱいあるから、国から多額の補償金をもらっていると誤解されていると思います。
475	全国紙及びテレビなどでの取り扱い量が少ない。 事件・事故のニュースはあるが、良い面(良い取り組み)の報道は少ない。
476	現在も沖縄経済は米軍基地に依存していると思われる。
477	報道の問題。
478	そもそも基地問題など、本土の人には無関心な事。他の県の心配などしているヒマはない。
479	沖縄の基地は沖縄県内だけの問題だと思われていて、普天間基地の縮小には辺野古(もしくは県内(他の地域))への移設が当たり前の選択だと思われている気がする。
480	本土には広い土地もあるのに、わざわざ狭い沖縄の自然を壊してまで、新しい基地を作る理由が全く分からない。
481	基地がある為に生活が潤っているとか！！
482	空港近くに住んでいる他県の知人は、空軍の航空騒音はたいした事がないと言われた。また軍がある事で守られている事や補助、恩恵を受けていると思われる。軍に関連した被害の情報が重要視されていない。
483	基地がある事で経済がまわっていると誤解されている。また、米軍基地に多くの国民の税金が使用され続けている事を知らないから基地 keep を問題なしと思っている。もっとどのくらい国税が使用されているのかオープンにすべき！！国民にもっと必要なことに使用されるべき！！(戦争に関連するものには反対である)
484	本土の人は沖縄について何も分かっていない。
485	発信不足。 立候補する政治家(知事選)の公約が皆正統約である。

II. Survey Report: Survey on Okinawa's Attitude toward Regional Security Survey Result

	Answer
486	根本的な問題全て。基地がある事に対しての危険性、騒音・新基地反対のために抗議運動をする人々の置かれている状況、小さな子供までもが訴えられた現状、米軍人による暴行(表に出ていない部分)。
487	テレビなどの報道でしか知らない人が多いと思う。
488	米軍と地域の小・中・高・大学との関わり。例) 英語の授業補助など
489	基地の維持費や建設費など、経済的な負担は税金でまかなっている事を知らないか、または米軍関連の事件(民間との)報道がほとんどされていない為。
490	我が国の安全保障に対する差別と廃藩置県以来、沖縄県人に対する差別は現代もなんら変わらない事。沖縄が独立国家であったことを何ら知らない事。
491	基地内で働く人も多く、必ずしも基地は不要じゃないと思う者も多い。米軍基地ゼロはあり得ない。
492	報道の仕方に問題あり。
493	沖縄は基地によって潤っていると思込んでいる。基地がある故に起こる事故・事件は本土の人やマスコミでは全く無関心。芸能人報道より軽視されている。差別の最たるものに怒りを感じる。民主国家として恥ずかしいのでは？修学旅行生の方が基地問題に関心があるのでは？もっと勉強して欲しい。
494	沖縄の経済が基地で成り立っているという誤解。米軍・自衛隊が絡む事故や犯罪が多いことが理解されていない。騒音問題も無理解。思いやり予算やその他、日本国家予算からの支出、不平等な日本安全保障条約の事実を知らない。
495	本土でのマスメディアによる報道が十分ではないことと、やはり人間の本質として「臭い物にフタ」「対岸の火事」と思われているのが大きいと思う。
496	本土の人は沖縄県民全体が基地の恩恵を受けていると誤解している。
497	何も体験してないから。
498	補助金で生活を支えられていると思われていること。
499	ネットで良く見るのは、沖縄は本土から独立した方が良いとか、基地を無くすと雇用がなくなるのに無くすのか？とか、軍をなくすとやられるとか書かれている。とにかく沖縄は全体的に見捨てられている気もする。沖縄のジレンマ(基地のメリット、デメリット)もしっかり知って欲しい。
500	実際の基地を目視していないから。
501	実際に基地問題の場所になっている人の考えがすべて理解されていない。基地があることで生活が成り立っている人達もいることを理解していないし、その情報が伝わっていない。
502	理解されていても自分達の県に持ってこられるのが嫌なのではないでしょうか。反対をしている人(本土)の中で自分達の県にもっていきけるか？
503	本土には軍基地が少ないので沖縄のように事件・事故が少ないので、身近に感じていないと思う。
504	基地を置くかわりに見返りとして多額の援助があるが、その使い方など、沖縄におかれている課題が詳しく明確に伝わっていない。
505	米軍事件に対しての報道の在り方の差。基地受け入れを結果的に許すだろうという見方。
506	基地関連の収入が高い割合を占めている＝基地がないと生活できないと誤解されている。米軍が尖閣諸島での中国の領海侵略から日本を守ると誤解されている。県民は自衛隊じゃなく米軍だから嫌がっているという誤解＝自衛隊ならいいとした間違い。
507	県民の安全。
508	理解されていないとか誤解されているとかの問題ではなく、まったく知らされていないのだと思う。または沖縄県民は可哀想ではあるが、日本の安全の為に米軍は必要だから、「お金」をあげて我慢してもらおうと言う考えが大半なのではないか。
509	そもそも本土の人々が基地問題に関心がないと考える。
510	基地があることを大変迷惑だと感じていると思っている。
511	メディアからの情報発信に偏りがあることも原因の一つと考える。基地負担軽減を中心に報じているが、雇用や文化交流のメリットは、殆ど報じられないのが現状である。
512	実際、本土で生活していないので想像でしかないけど、本土の新聞、テレビ等の報道は地元で報道されているような取り上げ方ではなく、ありきたりのもので人々の興味を引くようなものでないような気がします。
513	理解されている。
514	実際に基地を見ていない人がいる。
515	基地の広大な面積と内容が理解されていない。経済的基盤として沖縄県民が甘受していると誤解されている。
516	基地がないと沖縄は成り立たないと思われている。
517	“私には関係がない”と無関心。

II. Survey Report: Survey on Okinawa's Attitude toward Regional Security Survey Result

Q24. What do you think are issues about U.S. Military Bases in Okinawa that people in mainland Japan do not understand, or misunderstand?

	Answer
518	現実。
519	基地周辺住民の不安や危険など。移設先の環境変化。
520	終戦後の基地返還がなく、ずっと残ったままの状況について知られていない。基地関係の事件・事故について話す時、本土の人と温度差があったこと。'95の少女暴行事件の県民大会の時、「婦人会長の怒りのインタビューでの誤り」について、ヒステリックというコメントをする人がいた。同じ女性として許せないと思った。歴史的な理解が全くなされていない。基地の集中している状況について改善していない現状は理解されていない。「基地収入の恩恵がある」との報道は誤解されていると思う。
521	基地についての情報が乏しい。基地移転について賛成してくれない。 米軍による事件・事故は氷山の一角。基地が無くなると働いている人が大変だと思っているがたいしていない。
522	本土の人は、沖縄は基地収入で生活していると思っているようですが、基地があるが故に(基地の面積が広い為)沖縄経済発展の妨げになっている様に思います(低い県民所得は全国ワーストの失業率と関係していると思います)。
523	左翼的な報道ばかり取り上げられて、保守の意見が全く報道・反映されていない。
524	危険な普天間基地の早期返還について進展がない。
525	基地をかかえていない都道府県の住人には他人事としてしか感じていないと思う。
526	関心がないように思えるから。他人事。
527	沖縄県は他県と比較して振興予算を多く頂いているから、ある意味では恵まれている感じはします。特に鹿児島島の離島と先島を比較しますと分かります。ただ基地がある故に県外の方から米軍基地のおかげだと勘違いされている事が残念である。
528	遠くて異国にあるのと変わらないから。これまでの歴史からしてもそういう認識が作り上げられてきたから。関心はないといいながら、なくては困る存在なのかなあ。
529	本土の人からしたら、基地は自分達の地域に置きたくないと考えているばかりで、基地があることの危険性や騒音など、沖縄の人達の考えが理解されてないと思う。
530	基地があるから経済が成り立っていると思われている。
531	『基地でお金をたくさんもらっているでしょ?』と言われた事がある。そんなにもらっていないのになあと思う。
532	テレビでは、あまり基地問題は取り上げていないと思う。 インターネットでは、自分で関心を持たないと調べられないから。
533	県民全体が米基地で潤っていると勘違いされている。
534	「基地問題」は日本という国の問題であるという認識が無いこと。沖縄の人を含め、我が国の安全保障の過去、どうあったか、これからどうあるべきかのあり方が分からないので理解できない。事実が正しく伝わらないのは、官僚やマスコミに問題があると思う。
535	沖縄で生活した事がない。 地理的に本土と離れている
536	基地周辺の騒音問題。沖縄の土地がどれだけ基地に奪われているか。 沖縄の自然を埋め立ててまで基地を移設する矛盾な話を進められている。深刻さは理解されてない。
537	本土の人は基地問題があるのは知っているが、自分の地元に来てもらいたくない為、見てみないふりをしているのでは!!
538	本土ではニュースに取り上げられない事もある。これまでの事件等、沖縄の人の思いが伝わってない。民意は反映されない。日本の政治。対岸の火事としかみられていない。
539	日米地位協定。
540	本土と沖縄の新聞の情報が違うから。沖縄の不満を本土の新聞に載せて欲しい。
541	基地があるが故の危険性について。
542	基地が我が国の防衛のための抑止力となるのなら、全国に均衡に配備すべきが得策と思う。
543	前知事の発言もあり、沖縄は喜んで基地を受け入れ「金をもらっていいでしょう!」という印象が持たれていると思う。沖縄は平和の島でなければならない。正義の戦争など絶対はない!
544	沖縄の意思。
545	米兵による事件や事故、戦闘機の部品落下など、毎日沖縄県民は不安の中で生活をしていること。 また、基地が住宅街の中にある事は、本土の人には知られていないと思う。

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	Answer
546	日本全土の問題を考えず、沖縄の問題ばかり主張している。と口にはしないが思われている。今後、この考えはもっと広がると思う。
547	軍用地を持っている人へ配当があること。県民全てが基地を反対はしていないこと。
548	本土の人は、そもそも沖縄の基地問題にかんして興味も関心も低いように思います。
549	普天間基地は、戦勝国の異物を現在まで米国が当たり前で戦勝の産物として現在まで持っている事が日本人としてまずい。
550	基地問題などを本土ではまったく情報を流さないから。
551	沖縄が米軍に守られていると勘違いしないで欲しい！
552	現状を知らなさ過ぎる。他人事のように見ている感じがする。慰霊の日の子供のあいさつ場面を、県外の方は「やらされている」と思っていると聞いた事がある。沖縄も我が国と思っていないように感じられる。
553	外国人が短気であるということ。
554	実際に住んでみないと分からないと思う（騒音など）。
555	基地収入からの経済関係。基地の定める面積の広さ。
556	沖縄に基地がまだたくさんあって、とっても危険な事。
557	基地問題について、本土のメディアでは取り上げが少ない。アメリカ基地があるから沖縄は守られている。基地がなければ中国に侵略されて沖縄は終わるなど。基地がある事を受け入れるという考え方が強い。この考え方の距離は縮まらないと思う。
558	本土の人間は、沖縄の基地問題なんて関心がないから。
559	身近に基地が無いので、なかなか分かってもらえないのだと思う。
560	沖縄は、昔から「琉球人」として差別され、本土の人にバカにされ、沖縄を差別する人が多くいると思うから。
561	辺野古の事、米軍による事故・事件についての報道が、全国では地元よりも少ない。短い。
562	基地周辺に住む方々の騒音問題や、政治面など。
563	飛行機の騒音の問題が、あまり本土の人に理解されていない。
564	沖縄のマスメディアは左翼的思想で、移設賛成派の事を取り上げず、移設反対が県民の総意であるかのように装う。大山ゲートでの米兵らへのヘイトスピーチや通行妨害、フェンスにテープを張る。ゴミを投げるなど過激的な行動が目にあまる。キャンプシュワブの抗議テントの不法占拠など、犯罪者を取り締まらない県警の対応などに不満。
565	軍人が、県民の住宅に簡単に入って犯罪が起こる事や、基地外に軍人が住んでいる事。軍人が犯罪を行っても基地に入れば逃げられる事。 基地外で車事故を起こしても、勤務中という事で罪に問われない事。
566	本土の人は、米軍基地によって沖縄の経済が潤っていると思っている。
567	沖縄の基地の引取り手がないという事が、全く理解されていることにほかならないと思う。
568	基地問題に対して沖縄県に、主に任せているかと思えます。
569	あまり本土の方に関心がない。自己中心だと思う。
570	テレビなどの情報だけでは伝わらないから。
571	自分だけが良ければ…と思っている人が多い。
572	沖縄は基地があって生活が成り立っていると思われている。
573	関西地域に住む本土の人(30歳女性、4人の子供あり)。国際通り付近にグループ店舗がある(沖縄に出店して10数年?)。2~3年に何回か家族で来沖する。 前に「4~5年は那覇に住んでいたね〇〇さん、沖縄にアメリカ基地の土地代金ってどのくらい入っているの?」、歴史、長さ、流れは学ばない。この人の能力がある、ないではない。観光で沖縄を知っているとは違う。だがこの程度、心の中には入っていない!!
574	身近に基地がなく、事件・事故等の現状を知らない事。土地開発を妨げていると思う。
575	沖縄では日常のように不発弾などの処理があって、全国ニュースになることはないが、東京などの都心でそのような事があるとトップニュースとして取り上げられる。オスプレイが都心で飛ぶ様な事になると、政府は絶対許さないと。なぜ沖縄はOKなのか…。
576	基地内の雇用(沖縄の人の生活がかかっている人もいる)。中国との問題。基地とアジア諸国との関係。
577	沖縄の離島は日本の領土を守っているが、日本政府は離島の住民の生活をもう少し考えて欲しい!最低賃金、収入、みんな若い人は出て行き人口減少、無人島になってしまう。
578	騒音や飛行などは軍基地だけの問題ではない。民間飛行場などでも同じような問題があるのではないかと思う。

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Q24. What do you think are issues about U.S. Military Bases in Okinawa that people in mainland Japan do not understand, or misunderstand?

	Answer
579	基地による経済のメリットを強調している。沖縄は本土とは異なるという差別的な考え。
580	普天間基地の移設を受け入れない県が多いこと。
581	沖縄の経済は基地の存在により成り立っている割合が大きい。基地を利用して経済振興や補助金をたくさん得ている。
582	中央の報道。
583	沖縄県外でのマスコミなどの報道に取り上げられていないため、日本国民に沖縄の現実を知ってもらえてない！！
584	南部に住んでいるが、普天間飛行場の騒音問題の苦しみが正直他人事、苦しんでないので分からない。このことから実体験をしてない、ニュースで見ているだけの人は夢の世界としか思っていないのでは…。
585	身近で問題が起きてないからわからないと思う。
586	想像以上に基地の数、面積が大きい現状。
587	沖縄は基地で儲かっている。国から予算を貰っている。口では基地反対を言いながらもお金は貰っているのではないかと言われ怒りました。バカにされている。オナガさんが当選されて本当にうれしかったです。がんばって基地無くして欲しい。
588	身近でない事。
589	無関心、対岸の火事。
590	基地をネタに振興策のお金を要求し続けている。ゴネ続けていけば振興策？のお金が増えると思っている。ヤクザ的な物言いを知事がしている(前知事)。経済発展と基地は関係なく、沖縄の人々の怠慢である(沖縄県以外も経済的に苦しいのに、声だけ大きい)というニュアンスの事を県外にいる親戚に言われた。現状や県の考えが私自身言えず、悔しい思いをした。県民も声を上げるべきだと思うが、日本国民としてある美徳が、弱い所にしわ寄せがくる事を良しとしている。基地問題は理解されないと思う。美徳：国民全体が何らかのハンデがあるのだから、それを不満に思っって声を上げる事は国民としてあってはならないという考え。
591	現在、基地があつてその被害を目の当たりにしている。沖縄の現状を、基地を持っていない本土の方々には理解していないし、理解しようともしてないと思う。沖縄だけに被害を集中させても平気である。
592	狭い領土に基地を押し付けている。もともと海兵隊は山口から沖縄に移転して来た。なぜ本土でだめで沖縄でOKなのか。まさしく沖縄差別である。必要ならば日本全土で平等に受けるべきである。基地が沖縄の経済発展のさまたげになっている。
593	昼夜かまわず飛び続ける戦闘機などの騒音は、そこの住民にしかわからない苦悩。基地雇用がなくなつては困るから、沖縄から基地はなくなることはない！！と言う考えは正しいのだろうか。
594	米国基地がある県民は理解できると思うが、ない県民は理解できないと思う。
595	お金と基地。
596	米軍による事件・事故・犯罪による、県民生活への営業・人権差別・生命の危険と接している様なものであること。
597	米軍基地は日本を守るためにあるのだから、それに反対する者は中国等に利する者だという意見を目にすることが多い。しかし、日本を守る為だから自分の所へ移設しても良いという意見は全くみない。
598	安全保障問題。
599	基地に対しての報道があまりされていないため、本土の人は理解していない。
600	反対のみでなく賛成派もいる。基地反対は沖縄県民の総意だと思われる。また対岸の火事、無関心。 ※沖縄も他府県の事には口出しできないのでは？ただし基地問題は沖縄だけでなく、国全体の問題と認識して欲しい。
601	長い植民地から解放されても中身は変わっていない。沖縄の痛みをもっと本土の人々にも伝えて欲しい。現場を見なければわからないと思う。
602	地理的關係の為に、対岸の火事のように思われているのでは？
603	戦闘機等の爆音は恐怖です。
604	沖縄の人は米軍が来たら金が入るから、自分達から受け入れている。

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	Answer
605	やはり現地の人しかわからない苦痛があると思います。私自身も本島南部に身をおいているので、理解されない事があります。メディアでは騒音の〇〇デシベルと報道されます。全くわからないと思います。計り知れない事ばかり。本土の方は全く理解できないと思います。それを分かって下さい！！とも言えませんが。
606	身近に基地が無いから関心が無い。いざ代替地を本土に移転しようとしたら反対される。普天間基地の早期移転が難しくなる。
607	沖縄県民が金目当てで基地を受けいれていると思われているのが悔しいです。基地を押し付けられているのが全く知られてない！！政治家の皆様に、沖縄に基地はいらないから基地返還か、出来なければ同じ費用で安倍総理の故郷に基地を作るよう訴えて欲しい(怒)。
608	基地がなくなるとどうなるか？
609	軍用地料で生活が成り立っていると思っている。基地周辺の騒音のすさまじさが分かっていない。日本政府の思いやり予算の高額な事。
610	身近に感じないと分からない(理解しにくい)部分が多いと思う。
611	実際、身近に基地があつて、事件・事故を自分にも起こり得る事として感じないとなかなか理解しにくいと思う。

Result of the Survey and Issues Regarding U.S. Military Bases

Okinawa is deeply associated with many important security issues that Japan, the U.S., and Asian countries face. In order to accelerate the base realignment and reduction efforts and develop exchanges of peace with neighboring countries, it is required to study in detail the security environment behind these issues.

It is with this understanding that Okinawa Prefectural Government conducted a survey on Okinawans' Impression of China in Japanese fiscal year 2012 and 2013. In 2014, Okinawa Prefectural Government decided to expand the scope of research and conducted a survey on Okinawa's attitude toward regional security in order to use the information gained as reference for its policy-making.

While the result demonstrated that 59.1%* of the respondents thought the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty is contributing to Japan's peace and safety, 84.7% thought that people in mainland Japan do not understand much or at all about Okinawa's base issue, as evident in their responses to the question: "Do you think the people in mainland Japan understand base issue in Okinawa?"

Additionally, the survey disclosed its valuable results of awareness of people in Okinawa as well as complex structure of the base issue which contains not only direct military base driven damage including incidents and accidents and noise that people in Okinawa feel are not understood or misunderstood by those in mainland Japan but also how the bases are related to the economy of Okinawa and how diverse opinions of our people are.

The prefecture will further analyze the result and utilize the findings to effectively implement associated initiatives, such as reducing the excessive base burden.

Okinawa Prefecture is in a position to understand that the Japan-U.S. security arrangements are necessity. However, having approximately 74% of exclusively-used U.S. military installations in a prefecture that accounts for only 0.6% of the total landmass of Japan, even though 70 years have passed since the end of the war, is simply abnormal. If Japan's security is indeed an important issue, people in Japan should discuss the issue as one nation.

We believe the base burden shouldered by Okinawa Prefecture will one day be reduced, if people in Okinawa, having that basic understanding and together at heart, approach and work on to people in and out of Japan.

We would like to thank everyone who participated in and cooperated with the survey.

March 2015
Okinawa Prefectural Government

*Includes "somewhat contributing"



Reading the “Survey on Okinawa’s Attitude toward Regional Security”

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Please go to page 45 to 87 for research results.

1. Views on China

Q8 asked how China was viewed in Okinawa, and it turned out that there was not much difference between the perception in Okinawa and in the rest of Japan. Two years have passed since the Sino-Japanese standoff over the Senkaku Islands in 2012, and Mr. Abe and Mr. Xi were expected to meet soon when this question was asked. It was, therefore, a bit of a surprise to find out how negative the views that the people in Okinawa continued to have about China. While the number of people who attributed their negative response to the dispute over the Senkaku Islands has diminished, those who regarded China’s unilateral actions in securing resources, energy, and food as the most important reason for their negative views about China have increased from the previous year. China’s coercive actions in the South China Sea, which is not too far away from Okinawa, in the spring of 2014 seem to remain vividly in the people’s minds.

The views on Taiwan did not change significantly from the last year’s results. Unlike in the case of China, negative views associated with the dispute over the Senkaku Islands have declined significantly. The people in Okinawa showed a generally positive attitude toward Taiwan.

2. Importance of Japan-U.S. Relationship

Regarding Q6, a large number of people said that Japan-U.S. relationship was important, suggesting that the people in Okinawa clearly recognize the security challenges that Japan faces today. While they don’t like the fact that they are asked to shoulder the excessive burden of accommodating a large number of U.S. military bases, they are realistic in their understanding of the strategic environment in the region.

To Q11-1, many of respondents expressed their concerns about negative impact that armed conflicts would have on stability of international relations and the world economy. This indicates that the people in Okinawa have a sophisticated understanding of international affairs.

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3. Views on International Security Environment

Answers to Q12 demonstrated the apparent interest of the respondents regarding the Chinese Navy's growing presence in the South China Sea; however, the people in Okinawa did not necessarily attribute this to its potential impact on the U.S. presence in Okinawa. It is certainly difficult to understand what kind of roles that U.S. forces in Okinawa might be playing in the South China Sea.

Q13-1 asked how Japan could be drawn into wars. To this, 32.4 percent of the respondents in Okinawa (versus only 13.7 percent nationwide) answered that the Japan-U.S. security treaty could be a reason. This assessment is quite accurate particularly in case war breaks out on the Korean Peninsula. Similarly, 34.5 percent of the respondents suggested that Japan's insufficient self-defense capabilities could be a reason. This might mean that deploying additional Self-Defense Forces units in Okinawa would not be too difficult.

4. The Self-Defense Forces, U.S. Forces in Japan, and the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty

Answers to Q14 revealed that the people in Okinawa have fairly positive views on the Self-Defense Forces, quite contrary to the widely held expectations. It is good to know that they see the Self-Defense Force differently from the Imperial Army. To Q17, many respondents answered that the Self-Defense Forces should engage more proactively in supporting the lives of Japanese people in natural disasters or medical emergencies. This response is not surprising given the geography and weather conditions in Okinawa.

Q15 asked how U.S. forces in Japan were perceived. While the respondents did not have a positive perception, it is interesting that only less than half of them had a negative perception. It may be that they do not necessarily have a negative impression about the U.S. forces per se but that they don't like the noise, troubles, and problems resulting from their presence.

Q16 was a question on the Japan-U.S. security treaty. Despite the base issues, more than half of respondents had a positive opinion about the treaty, which I think reflect realistic understanding that the people in Okinawa have about the international security environment.

5. Japan's Security Policy

To Q19 on national interests of Japan, the most popular answer was the safety of Japanese citizens and their assets. The people in Okinawa seem to have a strong feeling about this due to the geographic proximity to potential flashpoints. I was a little surprised to see almost 50 percent of the respondents regarded "maintenance and protection of the international order based on universal values and rules such as freedom and democracy" as important part of Japan's national interests. In the current Japanese political context,

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“freedom and democracy” are something that conservatives tend to use to defame China. It seems that the people in Okinawa supported these ideas genuinely outside such a political context.

Q21 asked respondents to identify what they considered to be the most important security policy measures that Japan should take. Out of the three most important elements in Japan's security strategy – (1) enhancing Japan's defense capabilities, (2) strengthening of the Japan-U.S. alliance, and (3) strengthening partnership with the countries especially in the Asia-Pacific region, the largest number of respondents chose the third item. The fact that the third item received the largest vote suggests that the respondents understood Japan's security strategy very accurately. In fact, this third item plays an extremely important role in Japan's security strategy today because even if Japan and the United States work closely together, they will not be able to compete with the rapidly growing China. The second item, “strengthening of the Japan-U.S. alliance,” is probably more important in reality than the people in Okinawa seem to think. The lack of support to this item might reflect their concerns that it might result in strengthening and expansion of U.S. forces, bases, and their activities in Okinawa.

6. Access to U.S. Bases and Information Related to the U.S. Military Presence

Q2 asked whether the respondents had ever been inside U.S. bases in Okinawa. It was revealed that almost three quarters of them had, which was a surprise. It showed how U.S. bases had become part of people's lives in Okinawa regardless of whether they like it or not. I would assume that most of them visited U.S. bases for open-base events and similar opportunities. I would be interested to learn more about how people interact with U.S. military personnel and the base community there.

Q22 asked about how respondents had learned about U.S. forces and bases in Okinawa. It is quite natural that local newspapers have a strong influence. I was surprised to know how poorly represented Tokyo-based newspapers were in Okinawa. However, if we take into account the web-based news sources, whose contents are more or less the same as those of Tokyo-based newspapers, the weight of the Tokyo-based media would go up to 25 percent. If this number continues to grow due to the ever-proliferating web media, it can have a significant impact on the public opinion in Okinawa over time.

7. Japanese Mainlanders' Understanding of Okinawa's Base Issues

Q23 asked whether the respondents thought that the people in Japanese mainland understood U.S. base issues in Okinawa well. Implications of these answers would vary depending on how the word “understanding” was interpreted by the respondents. As many as 84.7% of respondents said the base issues in Okinawa were not understood well in the mainland, which was much higher than I expected partly because I think the base

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issues are widely covered by the media in the mainland and the mainlanders know the Okinawa base issue fairly well. I, therefore, suspect that the respondents really wanted to say that their pain and suffering were not properly understood, or that the people in the mainland were not sympathetic enough to situation in Okinawa. If this is the case, I perfectly understand why the people in Okinawa responded negatively to this question.

8. Summary

While the people in Okinawa remain frustrated by the burden of accommodating so many bases on their soil, they understand the importance of the Japan-U.S. alliance. They have highly realistic and sophisticated views on security issues. It was also interesting to learn that U.S. bases had really become integral part of the lives of the people in Okinawa. It would be nice if we could closely monitor how different sources of information, such as Okinawa-based media and Tokyo-based media, are shaping the public opinion about U.S. forces and bases in Okinawa. Finally, the people in Okinawa seem to be frustrated by the fact that while the mainlanders know the Okinawa base issue, they don't really regard this issue as their own issue.



**Reading the “Survey on Okinawa’s Attitude
toward Regional Security”
—with a Primary Focus on Japan-China Relations—**

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Please go to page 45 to 87 for research results.

1. General Impression

My impression is that the people in Okinawa are starting to view China more critically than before regardless of the Senkaku issue, while their favorable impression of Taiwan and the people is largely unchanged as in the past.

The people in Okinawa are in favor of the Japan-U.S. security treaty, but they also have opposition and negative feelings toward various burdens including military bases in Okinawa.

2. Japan-China Relations

It is basically acknowledged that the current Japan-China relations have no affinity but embrace importance; however Q4, which asked about Okinawa's affinity to China, highlights that Okinawa appears more distant to the country than mainland Japan does. As for Q5, approximately 70% of Japan do not have a sense of affinity toward China but believe the Japan-China relations are important, while the percentage of the respondents in Okinawa who believed the same tends to decline and the ratio has still been lower compared to the nationwide survey result. Nevertheless it is important to note that 60% of the respondents in Okinawa recognize the importance.

Q7 asked about information on China and Japan-China relations and the result clearly showed that the media including television had a big influence. However, the Internet only accounted for 34%, which was lower than expected.

In terms of perception of China asked in Q8, the ratio of respondents who answered as having a “somewhat unfavorable impression” increased, and Okinawa's feelings toward China seems to have been deteriorated. Regarding the reasons for having unfavorable impression, it is characterized by the markedly higher ratio of “Because they appear selfish in terms of securing resources and energy,” compared with the national survey results. This may suggest that the people in Okinawa are more anxious about China's foreign policy as a whole rather than its actions over the Senkaku Islands. As for the reasons for having a favorable impression, more of the people in Okinawa expressed their interest in Chinese ancient culture and history than the rest of Japan, which is a unique tendency in

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Okinawa; it is also unique to Okinawa that the manners of Chinese tourists was pointed out as one of the reasons for a unfavorable impression of China.

Q9 shows that the people in Okinawa have as much favorable impression toward Taiwan as the rest of the country. In terms of reasons for having an unfavorable impression, it is worth noting that the ratio of “because a conflict over the Senkaku Islands is continuing” had declined compared with the previous survey. Interestingly, the ratio of people who chose “long history of interaction” as a reason for having a favorable impression decreased as well.

Q10 asked about the role of Okinawa for building a friendly relationship between Japan and China. Opinion hoping the two countries seek to improve their relations is weakened. It seems that more people have given up on dealing with China, or think it is unnecessary to develop friendship ties with China since its actions are belligerent.

With having Q11 about the possibility of a military conflict between Japan and China, it is evident that the people in Okinawa still recognize such a possibility much more than the rest of Japan, although the percentage is lower than in the previous survey. Answers to Q12 about situation in the South China Sea suggest that the people in Okinawa have a strong interest in it since it might affect the Senkaku issue.

3. Security Policy

Contrary to a military conflict between Japan and China, as for Q13 that asked about the risk of Japan getting involved in a conflict, it is interesting to note that the ratio of the people in Okinawa who thought of the high likelihood was lower than the national average. Considering the right of collective self-defense, if the same survey is conducted nationally, it would possibly yield a result heavily in favor of “highly likely.”

Regarding impressions of the Self-Defense Forces on Q14, 70% of the respondents had a positive impression, including “somewhat favorable impression,” while only about 30% felt the same toward U.S. forces in Japan as shown on Q15. This may be an issue that covers the entire U.S. forces as a whole, but a similar question narrowing its scope limited to the Marine Corps may yield a worse result.

On Q16, it is noteworthy that over the half of the respondents considers the Japan-U.S. security treaty positively. They see the treaty itself in a positive light but are critical to the burdens of bases in Okinawa.

Q17, on what efforts the Self-Defense Forces should make in future, indicates Okinawa's characteristic that many respondents raised community cooperation and participation, which is unlikely mentioned in Tokyo. It is also evident that the expected roles of the Self-Defense Forces in Okinawa are different from those in the rest of the country—for example, implementation of countermeasures against ballistic missiles and unidentified vessels. Q19 asked for opinions about the current security situation and

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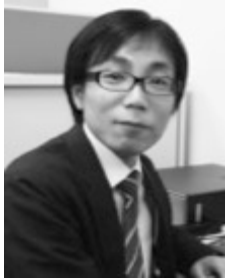
challenges of the international community that Japan should prioritize. A very high number of respondents raised the issue of human security. Taking these results into consideration, it can be summarized that the role of the military, including the Self-Defense Forces, should not only focus on “hard” security but also include “soft” security.

4. Base Issues in Okinawa

For Q22 on the information source regarding U.S. forces and bases in Okinawa, television and local newspaper stood out as a most influential source. Another unique point is the large ratio of “conversation with family and friends.”

Q23 asked whether the respondent thought the people in mainland Japan understood issue of bases in Okinawa, and 80 to 90% answered negatively. This is a result that should be seen by the people in the mainland Japan as an issue confronted by Okinawa. On the other hand, Okinawa has to answer some questions. What is Okinawa that people clearly understand? What is the vision of Okinawa that the people in mainland Japan should understand? The answers to these questions are a key to obtain understanding of the people in mainland Japan. Additionally, if the primary source of information on base issues is local stations and newspapers, it is difficult to share that information with the people in mainland Japan. It may be necessary to take a more proactive approach, for example, by effectively using the Internet to regularly send information about Okinawa, to promote understanding of the people in mainland Japan, including those who have little interest in base issues.

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Reading the “Survey on Okinawa’s Attitude towards Regional Security” –Okinawa’s Attitude toward Security and Challenges– Hironobu Nakabayashi

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Please go to page 45 to 87 for research results.

1. Awareness of the Security Environment Surrounding Okinawa Prefecture

This survey gave us a glance of how people in Okinawa view the security environment surrounding Okinawa Prefecture. Generally speaking, the biggest pending issue for Okinawa concerning security would be the rising tension between Japan and China, primarily fueled by a feud over the Senkaku Islands and the surrounding waters. For Q11, fewer people considered the possibility of a military conflict between the two countries a reality compared with last year, but the figure is still higher than the nationwide result. Additionally, people in Okinawa are also very interested in China’s activities in the South China Sea, as evident in Q12. Two reasons that accounted for a high percentage are: “I am interested in the security of the area as whole surrounding Japan” and “I think it has an impact on the issue surrounding Senkaku Islands” as seen in Q12-1. The result shows that respondents see China’s behavior as a factor that significantly affects the security environment of Okinawa Prefecture and Japan in general.

On the other hand, Q13 asked about the perceived risk of Japan potentially being involved in war, regardless of counterpart or geography, and 56.4% recognized such a risk. As for reasons, 71.6% pointed to the “because there is international tension or confrontation,” the most popular response, but Q13-1 revealed other significant answers like “because our defense capabilities are insufficient” (34.5%), “because the function of the United Nations is insufficient” (33.2%), and “because we have the Japan-U.S. security treaty” (32.4%), all with about the same percentage, which represent the diverse security perspectives of people in Okinawa.

2. Awareness of Japan’s Security Policy

In December 2013, the government released its national security strategy that covers the next decade. With this in consideration, the government, under the flag of “proactive contribution to peace,” has been implementing a variety of initiatives in the area of security policy. How do people in Okinawa view this situation?

For Q20, the result showed that people in Okinawa believe that the government should particularly focus on human security among security issues listed in the national security strategy (54.0%). This exceeds the percentage of respondents who preferred the government to focus on “change in power balance and rapid technological development” by over 20 points (being the second highest with 30.6%), which demonstrates a strong sense of

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awareness among people in Okinawa For Q21, 46.9% of respondents felt that “strengthening trust and cooperation between partners inside and outside of the Asia-Pacific region” is the security policy that Japan needs to emphasize, beating the second best response, “enhancement and expansion of Japan’s capabilities and role,” which by a wide margin garnered 25.9%. Q17 asked which area should the self-defense force place more focus on, and the top two answers were “maintenance of national security” (69.9%), “disaster relief” (83.3%), followed by “response against unidentified vessels and armed operatives” (51.5%), “assistance in community construction” (51.3%), and “international peace keeping activities” (50.8%). The Ministry of Defense raises disposal of unexploded bombs as an example of community cooperative work, and Okinawa Prefecture is unique in that the percentage of respondents who feels the need for this is quite high. A good relationship between Japan and the U.S. is the foundation of Japan’s national security policy, and there are three questions that directly ask about Japan-U.S. relations in this survey, and they are: “Q6: Do you think Japan-U.S. relations are important for Japan today?” “Q15: Do you have a favorable impression of U.S. forces in Japan overall, or do you have unfavorable impression?” and “Q16: Japan and U.S. currently have a security treaty in place. Do you think this treaty is contributing or not, in achieving peace and safety in Japan?” While 78.6% of respondents recognize the importance of Japan-U.S. relations (Q6), only 59.1% believe that the Japan-U.S. security treaty is contributing to peace in and safety of Japan (Q16). Answers to Q15 were divided as 32.8% of respondents viewed positively toward U.S. forces in Japan, while 45.6% viewed them negatively.

3. Attitude toward Security and Challenges

All these considered, when it comes to how people in Okinawa perceive security policies they understand to a degree hard policies including building national defense capabilities to prepare for war and conflicts, but they aspire for soft policies overall like problem resolution on human security. They also seem to aspire for multi-faceted diplomacy such as building a trusting and cooperative relationship with partner countries within and outside of Asia. The national security strategy, which actually calls for “building a trusting and cooperative relationship with partner countries within and outside of Asia,” connotes hard policies within its context such as a joint submarine development project with Australia, but people in Okinawa who emphasize human security tend to see more value in community cooperation and cooperation in untraditional areas; it is very likely that people in Okinawa and the government have a slightly different outlook.

On the other hand, Q23 asked about the understanding of Okinawa’s base issues by the mainland Japanese, and only 10.6% of people in Okinawa felt that they were properly understood, while 84.7% felt the opposite. This result suggests that people in Okinawa feel very strongly about the gap in the level of understanding regarding base issues between themselves and mainland Japan regardless of what their political stance or how they feel about Japan-U.S. relations. While there are those who point out in their response the ignorance regarding the excessive base burden, there are also those who feel that the voices of those who accept or approve of the bases have not been heard, resulting in two opposing

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views. One respondent in particular seemed to best explain the feelings of people in Okinawa: “The base issues are deeply rooted and intertwined in the lives of Okinawa’s people, and I want them to understand that not everything can be answered with a yes or a no. A lot of people in Okinawa have to live with and suffer from a paradox concerning the base issue.”

Considering the awareness gap regarding the base issues between the people in Okinawa and mainland Japan, and the difference in priority in the area of security policy, it seems that Okinawa needs to build, refine, and disseminate a security concept that suits its environment and understanding. If this happens, such a security concept would need to balance national security and human security, and protect people in Okinawa, their assets, and their integrity from any and all potential threats under this security concept¹.

Along this line of thinking, one could make an argument that it would be very important for Okinawa to strengthen its collaboration with countries in East Asia not only in the areas of financial and cultural exchanges but also disaster prevention, infection control, and crime prevention, in order to build a security environment that people in Okinawa expect to have.

¹ Nakabayashi, Hironobu. “Regional Security as Seen From Okinawa (preliminary essay)” Changes in the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty and Okinawa’s Role: The Rise of Asia and Okinawa, Okinawa Prefecture. March 2012. pp.140.

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Reading the “Survey on Okinawa’s Attitude towards Regional Security”

–Okinawa’s Perception of How Much People in Mainland Japan Understand Base Issues–

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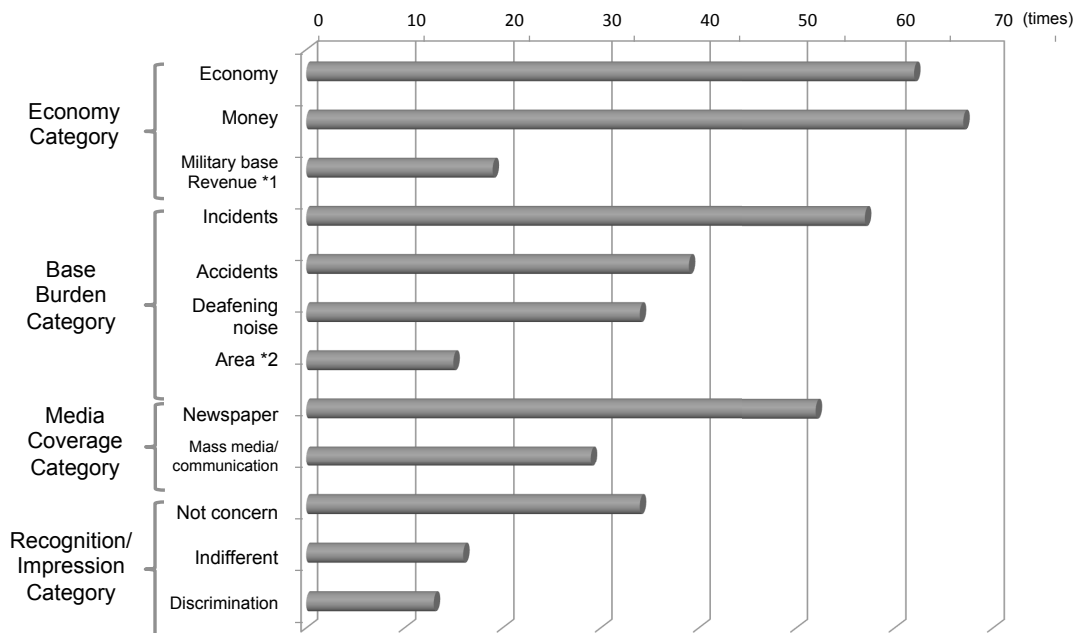
Please go to page 45 to 87 for research results.

In this survey, Q22-Q24 were set to assess how the people of Okinawa perceive the situation surrounding the U.S. military bases in Okinawa. This report explains the responses received for Q24, which called for a free descriptive answer, and considers its implications by taking into account responses to other related questions. *

Q24. What do you think are issues about U.S. Military Bases in Okinawa that people in mainland Japan do not understand, or misunderstand?

The graph below shows the 12 keywords which frequently appeared within 611 answers. I put each keyword into one of the following four categories: economy, base burdens, media coverage, and recognition/impression.

Frequent keywords from the free descriptive answers



Graph created by author

*1: Includes words that signify revenue generated from military land.

*2: Includes words that are associated with base area such as area, scale, or size.

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In the economy category, there were many responses mentioning that it was misunderstood that the people in Okinawa economy benefits from having the bases in the forms of subsidy, military land revenue, and development budget. Other responses, albeit only slightly, said, "It is best not to have bases but considering economy and security, we must co-exist" and "I am not necessarily against bases since there are regions and residents that benefit economically from on-base employment and military base revenue."

In the base burdens category, many indicated that few people in mainland Japan were aware of the frequency of base-related incidents/accidents, noise of U.S. aircraft, and the vast area of U.S. bases. Equivalently remarkable is the media coverage category shown just below. Many responded that "the U.S. military-related incidents/accidents in Okinawa are not covered by the mainland media."

Responses in the recognition/impression category represent how the situation of misunderstanding or misperception was expressed in words. 34 answers included "somebody else's problem," saying that "the people in mainland Japan are not concerned about what happens in Okinawa." 13 responses used the word "discrimination."

Through these free descriptive answers, it is impressive that respondents pointed out the people in mainland Japan do not (or cannot) have a sense of ownership about what is happening. This is seen in the answers, for example: "It is difficult for the people in mainland Japan who do not live in areas with bases to understand the frequency of incidents/accidents, noise, low-altitude flights and night-time flights," "Living in Okinawa, I do not feel harmed by the bases, so the people in mainland Japan's lack of understanding cannot be helped," "We have things to do in daily life, so only those who live close to a base would be concerned." The result of Q24 may suggest the following. On one hand, respondents seem to have a hope that if the people in mainland Japan lived close to a base, they would understand the burdens it brings. On the other hand, respondents may be disappointed because unless that actually happens, sympathy for Okinawa would not be generated.

What the answers seem to indicate is that U.S. military-related incidents/accidents reported in Okinawa are not covered by the mainland media, which creates the situation where the people in mainland Japan have little understanding of what is happening daily in Okinawa. In fact, as evident in the answers to Q22, many people in Okinawa acquire information about U.S. forces in Okinawa and their bases through television (92.8%) and local newspapers (70.0%), and this is directly linked to the answers to Q23, in which over 80% of respondents think that "Okinawa's base issues are not understood by the people in mainland Japan."

U.S. bases in Okinawa are associated with Japan's security, and for that reason it is an issue that has to be considered by all the people of Japan. In order to reduce the base burdens on Okinawa, it is important that the central government, local municipalities, news media inside and outside of Okinawa, and individuals tackle the situation surrounding the bases honestly and faithfully, and make every effort to share and disseminate recognition of the base issues on a nationwide basis.

*Individuals living in Okinawa have different ideas. So do the people in mainland Japan. Therefore it is impossible to consider them as a single unit of "the people in mainland Japan." However, for the purpose of understanding the general trend, this paper categorizes the people in mainland Japan as those living outside of Okinawa and shall not discuss the philosophical or positional differences within the group.