

・ Presentation Document: Koichiro Maita, Deputy Mayor of Misawa City

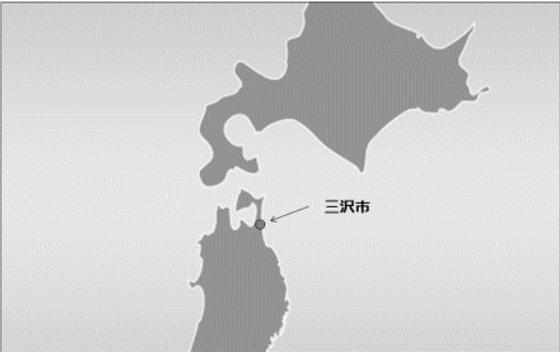


人類史上初の太平洋無着陸横断飛行

### 三沢市からみた米軍三沢基地

発表内容
① 三沢市の紹介
② 三沢基地の概要
③ 騒音問題について
④ 防災における相互協力について
⑤ 日米交流の取り組みについて
⑥ 事件・事故等への対応について

### 三沢市の位置



### 三沢市の位置



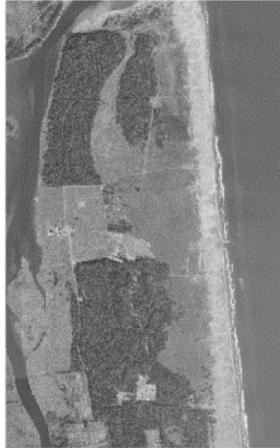
### 無着陸横断飛行



### FAC-2001 三沢飛行場



三沢対地射撃場



F-16戦闘機 (第35戦闘航空団)



F-2 支援戦闘機 (第3航空団)



F A-18戦闘機

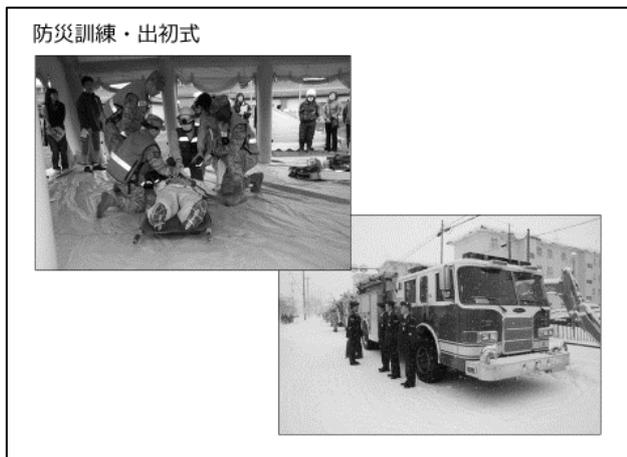
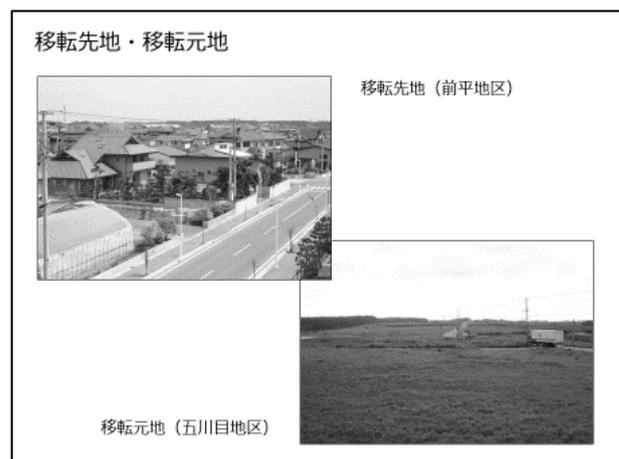
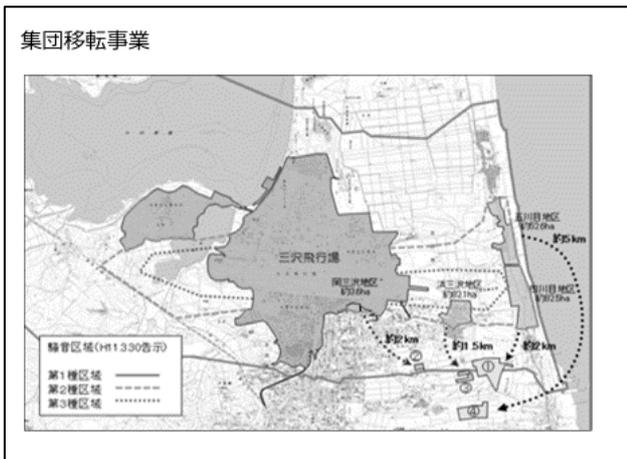
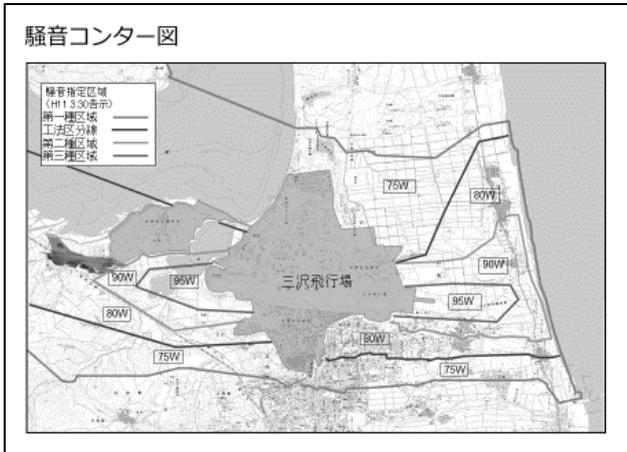


無人偵察機グローバル・ホーク



F-35A 戦闘機 (航空自衛隊)





**三沢市と三沢基地米軍との連絡協議会**

過去の案件



**三沢市からの案件**

- ・提供地内緑地の臨時使用について
- ・ゴミの不法投棄防止について
- ・交通安全の徹底について
- ・三沢空港発着路線の開設、利用促進について
- ・グローバル人材養成セミナー開催への協力について
- ・自家用車両の任意保険の加入の徹底について
- ・市防災行政無線による英語版津波放送の周知について



**米軍からの案件**

- ・道路案内標識等の英語標記について
- ・基地外住宅周辺の除雪作業について
- ・地元の祭りに対する米軍人の参加について
- ・転入オリエンテーションへの支援について
- ・米軍人の住宅不足問題について
- ・基地内スクールバスの市内運行の際の安全協力について



除雪ボランティア



共同募金



「主婦が幸せに暮らせる街ランキング」北海道・東北ブロック1位



飲酒運転事故



人とまち みんなで創る 国際文化都市

ご清聴ありがとうございました。

V. Appendix: 3<sup>rd</sup> Okinawa Asia-Pacific Partnership Forum  
Main Forum Presentation Documents

- Presentation Document:  
Mitsuhiro Murata, Director General for Policy coordination, Iwakuni City

岩国市 Iwakuni City

### 岩国市の概要

人口	142,163人
世帯数	66,789世帯
面積	873.85km

※数値は平成26年7月1日現在



岩国市 Iwakuni City

生年月日  
昭和45年6月14日

血液型 AB型

出身地 岩国市通津

趣味 子供たちと遊ぶこと、魚釣り、映画鑑賞

座右の銘  
「面白き こともなき 世を 面白く」  
(高杉晋作)

岩国市長  
福田 良彦  
(ふくだ よしひこ)

岩国市 Iwakuni City

【主な経歴】

- 平成 6年4月 代議士秘書
- 平成11年5月 岩国市議会議員
- 平成15年4月 山口県議会議員
- 平成17年9月 衆議院議員
- 平成20年2月 岩国市長 (現在2期目)

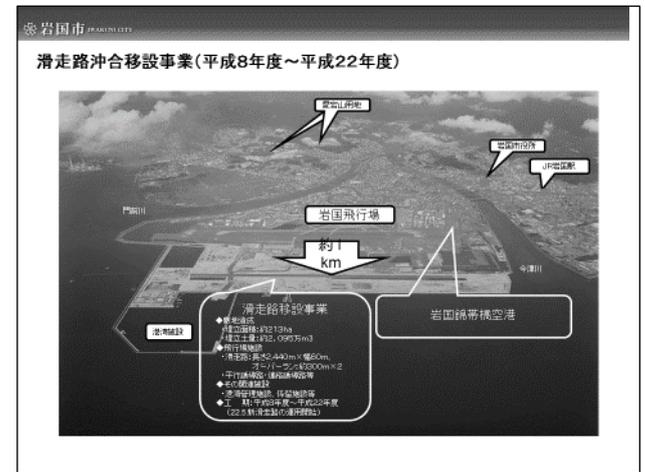
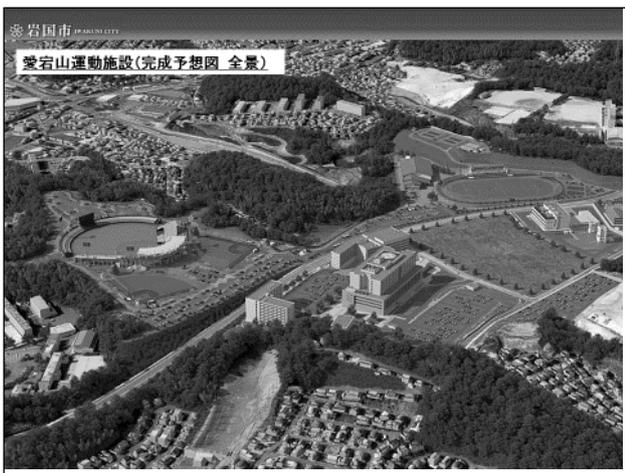
岩国市 Iwakuni City

平成20年5月7日 新庁舎での業務開始

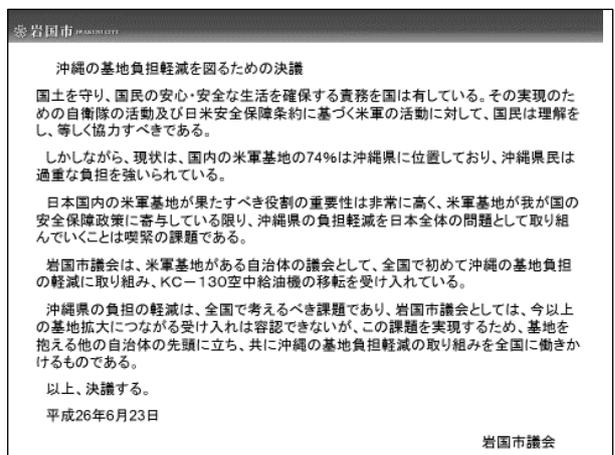
敷地面積: 17,452 m<sup>2</sup>  
構造・規模: 鉄骨鉄筋コンクリート造一部鉄骨造、  
免震構造、地下1階～地上7階  
建築面積: 3,791.2 m<sup>2</sup>  
延床面積: 24,328.3 m<sup>2</sup>  
建物高さ: 30.7m



V. Appendix: 3<sup>rd</sup> Okinawa Asia-Pacific Partnership Forum  
Main Forum Presentation Documents



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岩国市 (IWAKUNI CITY)

年号	西暦	内容
延宝元年 6月28日	1673	慶初め式(第三代藩主吉川広基公)
× 10月03日		遷り初め式
延宝2年 5月28日	1674	乱失
× 11月03日	1677	遷り初め式
延宝3年	1677	河原敷石を築(社)、別荘を防止
天正11年 3月08日	1922	史跡名勝天然記念物保存法により 跡部藩及びその上下流各600間が 「名勝」の指定を受ける。
昭和12年 8月24日	1943	名勝指定区域の追加指定 上流 350間(次内池) 下流 230間(私電橋)

年号	西暦	内容
昭和25年 5月30日	1950	文化財保護法に基づく「名勝」となる。 延宝2年以來、不浄を誇った櫓6千 シブ台園による洪水で消失する。
× 9月14日		
昭和26年 2月22日	1951	昭和00再建工事起工
昭和28年 1月15日	1953	遷り初め式
平成13年 11月01日	2001	平部の築替工事起工
平成16年 3月20日	2004	平部の築替工事完了式及び遷り初め式

岩国市 (IWAKUNI CITY)

**【岩国城】**  
1608年(慶長13年)、初代岩国藩主 吉川広家によって城山の山頂に築城。  
三層四階の桃山風南蛮造りであったが、一國一城制により築城8年後に取り壊された。現在の天守は昭和37年に再建されたものである。

**【シロヘビ】**  
長さ180cm、胴回り15cm余り、アオダイショウのアルビノが遺伝的に固定している種である。  
日本国指定の天然記念物(1972年指定)。



- Presentation Document: Professor Akio Takahara, University of Tokyo

(Provisional Translation)

**Okinawa Asia-Pacific Partnership Forum**  
**Creating Perspectives on Security with Regional Partners**  
**Session 2: Comprehensive Security**  
**Outline of Presentation**

TAKAHARA Akio

1. The World-wide Spread of Despair

Despair has spread amongst the public in many countries, particularly since the global financial crisis of 2008. The dead end of capitalism. The expulsion of immigrants. Doubts about the functional principles of democracy (the principle of majority rule). (From verification of the value of democracy to reconstruction of democracy)

The rise of irrational nationalism. It is necessary to calm down and to suppress the emotions that are drowning out rational voices.

2. Riling of the International Order

In the 21st century, the major powers (America, China and Russia) have sought to change the world order unilaterally.

This should be viewed as a serious problem.

3. The Status of East Asia

Chinese society is racked by discontent and unrest. The aspirations of the Chinese people are subsumed by the aspirations of the Chinese state.

At the same time, China's national strength is increasing. As the balance of power changes, the question is how China will use its new power. There is a contradiction between its diplomatic policy of peaceful development and its actual behavior. There is undeniable tension in the relations between the countries of East Asia.

4. How Can Tensions Be Eased?

The Role of Okinawa = The Center of Gravity of East Asia that Offers Stability

Three levers for the long term:

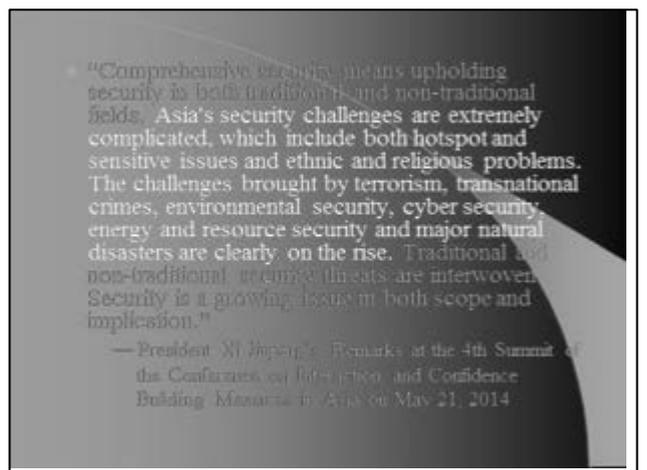
- The spread of international norms: Abandoning strong militarized states in favor of knowledge exchanges and study abroad, etc.
- The consolidation of strategic reciprocity: Economic engagement and non-traditional security cooperation, etc.
- The limits of power and equilibrium: From networks of alliances and multinational frameworks to dialog and strategic integration

Okinawa's Role:

- A center for the regulation of force ⇒ A foundation for building consensus and trust
- A center for emotions ⇒ A place where everybody feels whole and at ease
- A center for the regulation of standards ⇒ A place for dialog and cooperation

The Okinawa Asia-Pacific Partnership Forum is an opportunity for multinational initiatives to test the effectiveness of these three levers

• Presentation Document: Associate Professor Tiejun Yu, Peking University



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Main Forum Presentation Documents

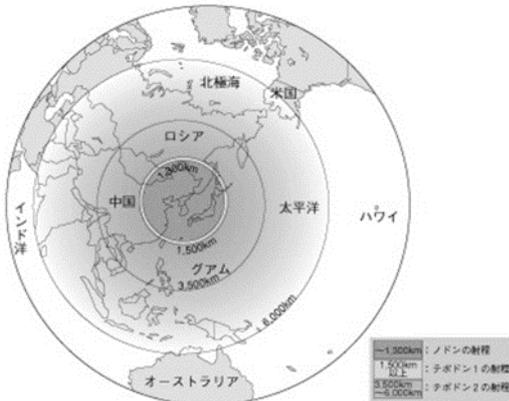
Cheonan, Yeonpyeong, and US-ROK,  
US-Japan Joint Military Exercises, 2010



Kim Jong-un, the Bomb  
and the Missile, 2012-?



北朝鮮を中心とする弾道ミサイルの射程



Increasing tension between Japan and China  
since Sept 2012 (Diaoyu/Senkaku Islands  
territorial dispute)

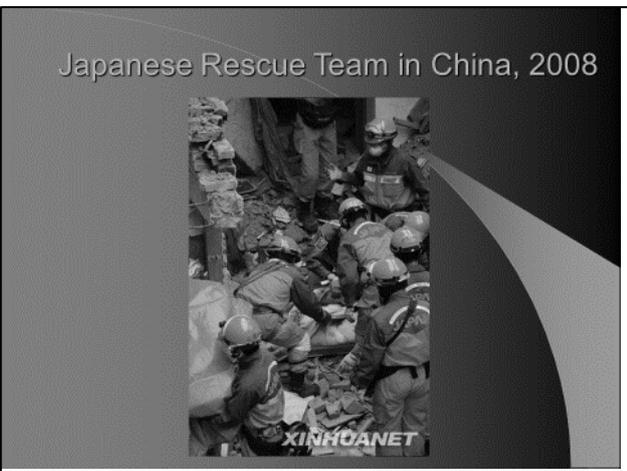
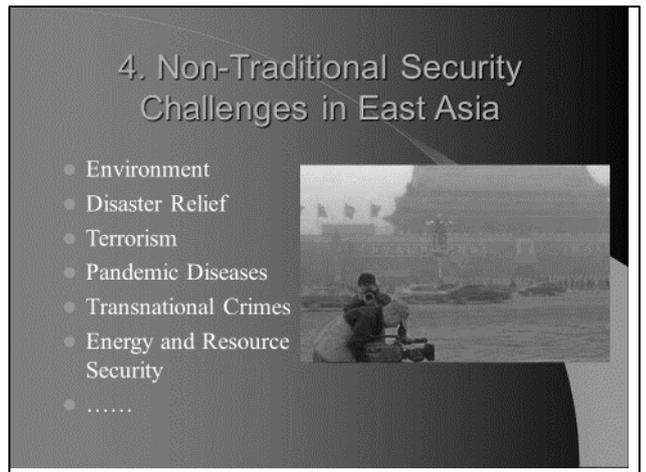
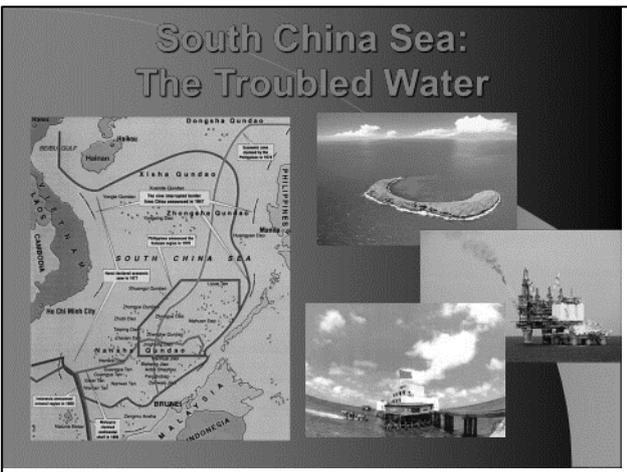


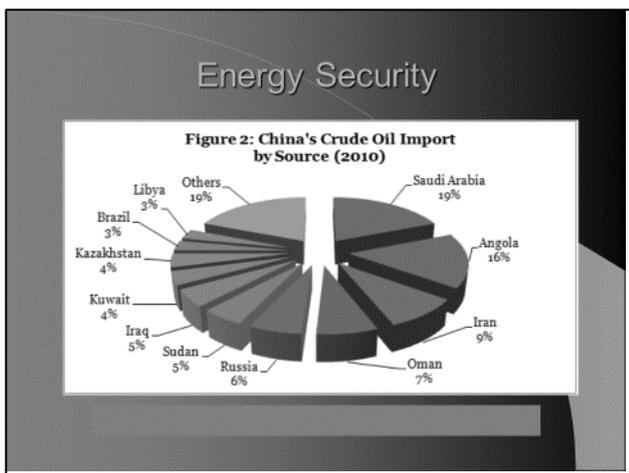
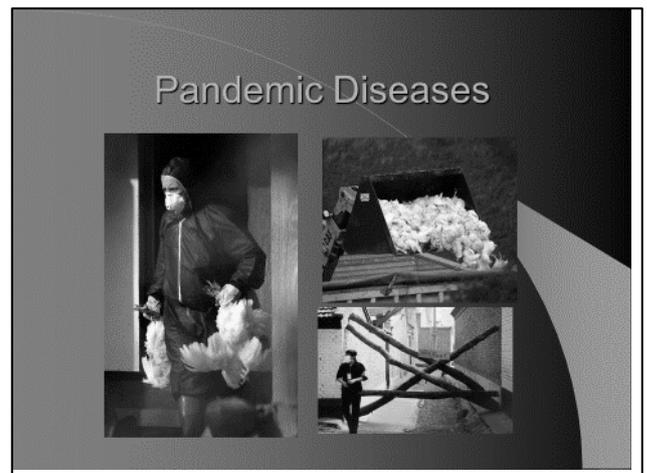
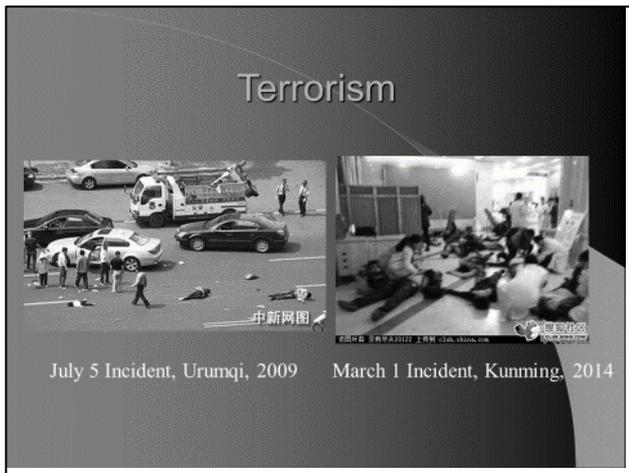
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ADIZ

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Main Forum Presentation Documents





### II. A Model of Regional Cooperation Regarding Comprehensive Security

- Is There Such a Model?
- EU, OSCE, ARF, SCO, and CICA: Pro and Con
- Implications for North East Asia: No Panacea, but Still Wanting

### III. Okinawa's Role toward Regional Comprehensive Security

- The Uniqueness of Okinawa: History and Geography
- Tribute system and Trading Kingdom
- Okinawa as a Battleground
- Military Bases



1. As a Bridge of Communication  
and a Hub of Cooperation



2. As a Practitioner of New  
Asian Security Concept

- New Asian Security Concept
  - Common Security
    - Respecting and ensuring the security of each and every country
  - Comprehensive Security
  - Cooperative Security
    - promoting the security of both individual countries and the region as a whole through dialogue and cooperation
  - Sustainable Security
    - focusing on both development and security so that security would be durable

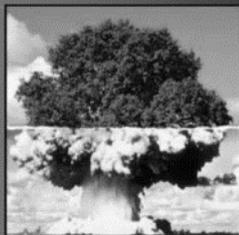
3. As an Model of Historical  
Reconciliation: The Basis for  
Confidence-Building



Concluding Remarks

- East Asia's security situation is in flux, and we need to think about security in a more comprehensive way, and tackle both traditional and non-traditional security challenges in this region in a more integrated way.
- Security regimes are useful, but with limitation. There is no panacea, but it is still worth trying. It will be far better than nothing.
- Okinawa can play a unique role in improving security cooperation in this region, based on an Okinawaology.

THANK YOU



• Presentation Document: Professor Cheol Hee Park, Seoul National University

## Rethinking Balanced Comprehensive Security and the Role of Okinawa

Cheol Hee Park  
Professor, Seoul National University  
Korea

## Security Challenges in the Asia-Pacific

- ▶ The Rise of China
  - China's Self-Recognition as a Great Power
    - Increasingly Assertive, Confident China
  - China as a Gradual Modifier, not Revisionist
    - Regional Engagement and Enlargement
- ▶ Japan's Search for Normalcy
  - National Security Strategy and NSC
  - The Right of Collective Self-Defense
- ▶ Unstable, Provocative North Korea
  - Unending Nuclear Ambition and Missile Development
  - Provocative Dissatisfier

## Difficiency and Dilemma

- ▶ Lack of Regional Security Mechanism
  - No Collective Security
  - America's Relatively Weakened Hegemony
- ▶ Hightened Security Dilemma
  - US-China Rivalry
  - Japan-China Rivalry
- ▶ Mutually Suspicious Regional Powers
  - Japan-China
  - Japan-Korea

## "Broken Balance" in Comprehensive Security

- ▶ National Sovereignty at the Expense of Regional Cooperation
  - Heightened Nationalism, Lost Regionalism
- ▶ Hard Power at the Expense of Soft Power
  - Military Security First for Securing a Nation
- ▶ Central State at the Expense of Locality and Citizen
  - Forgotten Transnational Citizen

## Unique Advantage of Okinawa

- ▶ Forefront Base for Securing Japan and the Pacific
  - Condensed American Bases
- ▶ Shared Understanding of the Miseries of the Sacrificed
  - Historical Memories and Controversies
  - Peace on the Move
- ▶ Located at the Crisscrossing Regional Powers
  - China, Taiwan, Korean Peninsula, SEA
  - Cultural Complexity

## "Rediscovering Balance" from Okinawa

- ▶ Discussing Security Cooperation
  - Dialogue for Peace and Stability
- ▶ Proactively Promoting Regional Collaboration
  - Going Beyond Nationalism
- ▶ Enhancing Soft Power Connection
  - Non-military Transactions
- ▶ Linking Transnational Citizens
  - Local Initiatives

**Thank you  
for Your Attention!!**

### **What Should Be Done?**

- ▶ **Holding High-Level Security Dialogue**
  - Overcoming Misperceptions and Misunderstandings
  - Confirming Shared Norms
- ▶ **Hosting East Asia Peace Forum**
  - Engaging Regional Powers and Putting Them into Habits of Cooperation
- ▶ **Trans-Asia/Pacific Tourism**
  - Okinawa as a Center of Hot Tourist Spots
- ▶ **Asia-Pacific Citizen Movement for Peace**
  - Vision as a Peace-maker and Trust-builder

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Main Forum Presentation Documents

• Presentation Document: Professor I-hsin Chen, Tamkang University

*U.S. Rebalancing Asia Policy  
from the Perspectives of Religious Idealism and Geo-Economic/Political  
Realsim  
Dr. Edward I-hsin Chen  
Professor, Graduate Institute of the Americas  
Tamkang University  
A PPT presented at the Okinawa Asia-Pacific Forum  
Current Realities of Security in East Asia*

Okinawa  
July 17, 2014

1

I. Introduction

I. Introduction  
II. How Has President Obama Promoted His Rebalancing Asia Policy  
III. Religious Idealism (RI)  
IV. Geo-Political Realsim (GEPR)  
V. The First Wave of Integrated RI & GEPR (1850-1949)  
VI. The Second Wave of Integrated RI & GEPR (1950-1991)  
VII. The Third Wave of Integrated RI & GEPR (1992~)  
VIII. Conclusion



2

I. Introduction



US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton claimed “the US is back (to Asia)” in Bangkok on July 21, 2009.

However, it was not until November 2011 when China demonstrated its expansionist ambition by asserting its core interests in ECS and SCS that President Obama really returned to Asia with support of economic initiatives, democratic political values, diplomatic resolve, and military strength.

America's Engagement in the Asia Pacific

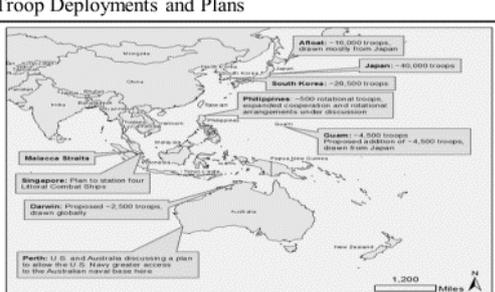
3

I. Introduction

Most countries have been caught up in the sovereignty and energy disputes in the ECS and SCS, in the diplomatic competition between China and America, in the contest between China’s soft power and the U.S. “smart power,” and in a subtle rivalry between the China-led RCEP and U.S.-led TPP.

4

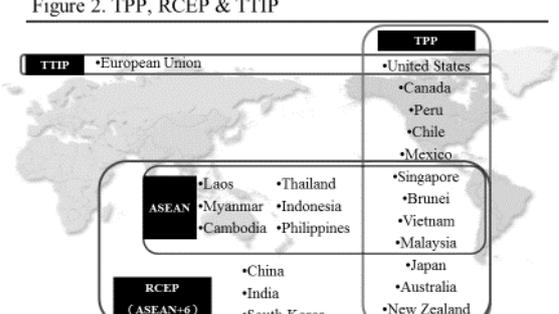
II. How Has Obama Promoted US Rebalancing Asia Policy?  
Figure 1. Map of the Asia-Pacific: Including Selected US Troop Deployments and Plans



Alaska – 18,000 troops, drawn mostly from Japan  
Japan – 60,000 troops  
South Korea – 28,000 troops  
Philippines – 500 rotational troops, expanded cooperation and rotational arrangements under discussion  
Guam – 4,000 troops, increased rotation of ~4,500 troops drawn from Japan  
Melanesia Straits  
Singapore: Plan to station four Littoral Combat Ships  
Darwin: Proposed – 2,500 troops drawn globally  
Perth: U.S. and Australia discussing a plan to allow the U.S. Navy greater access to the Australian naval base there.

5

II. How Has Obama Promoted US Rebalancing Asia Policy?  
Figure 2. TPP, RCEP & TTIP

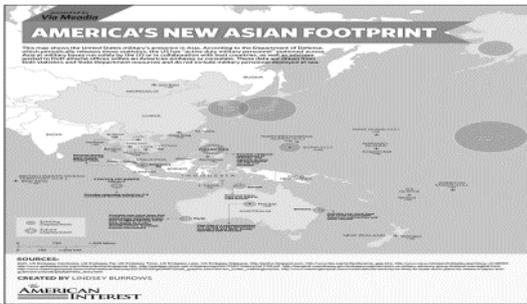


TTIP	•European Union	TPP	•United States •Canada •Peru •Chile •Mexico
ASEAN	•Laos •Myanmar •Cambodia	ASEAN	•Thailand •Indonesia •Philippines •Singapore •Brunei •Vietnam •Malaysia
RCEP (ASEAN+6)	•China •India •South Korea	RCEP	•Japan •Australia •New Zealand

6

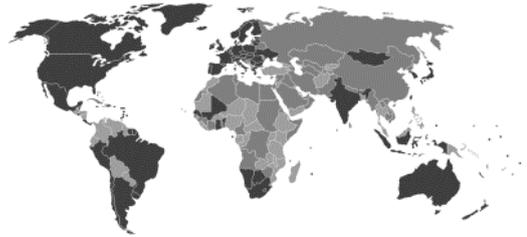
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Main Forum Presentation Documents

II. How has Obama Promoted US Rebalancing Asia Policy?  
Figure 3. America's Asian-Pacific Diplomatic Footprint



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II. How has Obama promoted US Rebalancing Asia Policy?  
Figure 4. Political Map of Freedom in the World



8

II. How has Obama Promoted US Rebalancing Asia Policy?

- According to Tom Donilon, former NSC adviser, the Obama administration is implementing a comprehensive, multidimensional strategy in accordance with the following five pillars:
- (1) strengthening alliances;
- (2) deepening partnerships with emerging powers;
- (3) building a stable, productive, and constructive relationship with China;
- (4) empowering regional institutions (EAS and APEC);
- (5) helping to build a regional economic architecture (TPP) that can sustain shared prosperity.

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II. How Has Obama Promoted Rebalancing Asia Policy?

- U.S. NSC Adviser Susan Rice announced Obama would visit Asia to boost his rebalancing Asia policy.
- In her speech at Georgetown University on November 20, 2013, Rice points out that U.S.'s rebalancing Asia policy remains a cornerstone of the Obama administration's foreign policy. She divides U.S. Pivot to Asia into four parts, namely, (1) enhancing Security by deploying 60% of U.S. Fleet in the Pacific by 2020;
- (2) expanding prosperity by promoting Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) Agreement;
- (3) fostering democratic values; and
- (4) advancing human dignity.

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II. How Has Obama Promoted Rebalancing Asia Policy?

- 1. U.S. Alliance Politics with Japan, South Korea, Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines.
- Why did Obama stand up with Japan by announcing the fifth clause of US-Japan security alliance would be applied to Senkaku islets?
- 2. U.S. Semi-alliance politics with Vietnam, Indonesia, and India.
- (1) Why did the U.S. criticize China as the latter's oil drilling platform was dispatched to SCS while strongly supported Vietnam? (2) Why did the U.S. inked a security agreement with the Philippines?

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III. Religious Idealism

- 1. Starting from the last decade of the nineteenth century, American national attitudes toward China were based on two powerful but contradictory impulses. The first centered around what J.S. Hobson called "The cooperation of economics and religion."
- 2. Americans would bring their infinite national goodness and virtue—their Christian dedication and sense of national mission—to the imperfect lives of the millions of Chinese.
- 3. In the eyes of Americans, Christian Civilization will bring to China a truer conception of the nature of man, a better understanding of his relations and duties, of his dignity and destiny.
- 4. The United States would give China the opportunity to remake itself in America's spiritual, political, and cultural image. As a result, the religious idealism moved thousands of missionaries to travel to China.

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## V. Appendix: 3<sup>rd</sup> Okinawa Asia-Pacific Partnership Forum Main Forum Presentation Documents

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### IV. Geo-Economic/Political Realism (GEPR)

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1. The religious idealism also excited enormous economic prospects of the China market.
2. American industrialists, manufacturers, and investor saw a vast opportunity to absorb America's rapidly increasing productive capacity of the late nineteenth century.
3. Secretary of State John Hay announced his famous Open Door Policy in 1899 and 1900, fearing that the Europeans would carve up the China pie before the U.S. could get a slice.

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### IV. Geo-Economic/Political Realism (GEPR)

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- 1. Believing that the Chinese people wanted to become more like Americans, Americans sought to bring the light of heaven to the heathens of Asia, from there, democracy quite naturally followed.
- 2. "The missionary movement," one historian has commented, "was democracy at work."
- 3. Enthusiastic American missionaries saw China as a land replete with a population ready for conversion to Christianity and Western ideals.
- 4. In their eyes, the Chinese people would not only become active consumers of American products, but they would also be cultivated by American politicians who could join missionaries in looking upon the nations with the same sense of promise.

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### V. The First Wave of Integrated RI & GEPR (1850~1949)

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- Secretary of State John Hay's Open Door notes in 1850 and 1900.
- The U.S. entered and was widely welcomed in China during the first half of twentieth century.
- FDR was highly respected in China as he invited Chiang Kai-shek to Cairo in 1944.
- The first wave ended in 1949 as Chinese Communists took over China.

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### VI. The Second Wave of Integrated RI & GEPR (1950~1991)

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- During the second wave, The U.S. shifted its target of saving souls to Republic of China, Japan, South Korea, and SEATO member states.
- Korean War
- Vietnam War
- The second wave ended in 1991 when the Soviet Union collapsed.

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### VII. The Third Wave of Integrated RI & GEPR (1992~)

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- The third wave started from 2000 when George Bush prepared to promote his Fan-Structure strategy in the Asia-Pacific.
- Bill Clinton's constructive engagement policy together with his NSC adviser Antony Lake's "Enlargement of Democracy."
- George W. Bush's "Hedging Strategy"
- Barrack Obama's Rebalancing Asia Policy

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### VII. The Third Wave of Integrated RI & GEPR (1992~)

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- 1. U.S. President Obama and Truong Tan Sang, President of the socialist Republic of Vietnam, launched U.S.-Vietnam Comprehensive Partnership in July 2013.
- 2. Prime Minister Nguyen Tan Dung pointed out that Vietnam should not heavily depend on China's economy in June 2013.
- 3. Vietnam Communist party's Secretary General Nguyen Phu Trong said that Vietnam should prepare for all possibilities ahead of it, including war.
- 4. Nguyen Sinh Hung, Chairman of National Assembly, heavily criticized China's illegal actions in the East Sea.

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### XIII. Conclusion

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The third wave of integrated RI & GEPR could help account for U.S.'s strong support of Japan, Vietnam, and the Philippines.

The success of Obama's RAP would to some extent relies upon whether the third wave of integrated RI & GEPR could further connected.

- Presentation Document:  
Professor Mike Mochizuki, George Washington University

**Okinawa Asia-Pacific Partnership Forum  
Creating Perspectives on Security with Regional Partners  
Session 2: Comprehensive Security**

Mike Mochizuki's Presentation

**I. Comprehensive Security and East Asia**

**A. Origin and Evolution of the Concept of Comprehensive Security**

1. During the late 1970s, the concept of “comprehensive security” [総合安全保障] was first developed in Japan. According to this concept, security included energy and food security as well as traditional military security.

In Europe, development of the concept of common security – response to intensification of Soviet-American competition; concerns about nuclear war or general war.

2. After end of the Cold War, many argued that traditional security was less problematic and that there is a need to focus on non-traditional security which involved non-state actors and civil society and which concerned human security (development and poverty alleviation, pandemic diseases, environmental challenges).

3. After the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on New York and Washington, the focus of security turned to terrorism and piracy involving non-state actors and to state failure. But at the same time, security specialists were optimistic about the prospects of great power cooperation.

**B. Power Transition and the Danger of Competitive Security**

- During the past several years, however, we are witnessing a return of “Traditional Security” and perhaps less of a focus on “Non-traditional Security.”
- There appears to be a re-emergence of great power competition and conflict with the rise of China and the resurgence of Russia.
- Competition over maritime territory and fishing and energy resources has intensified.

### **C. Beyond Deterrence: Strategic Trust and Cooperative Security**

Now in both Japan and the United States, there is an emphasis on deterrence.

- President Obama and rebalance or pivot to Asia.
- Prime Minister Abe and pursuit of collective self-defense; and promotion of coalition of states in the Asia-Pacific to counter the rise of China.

While deterrence is an important element of security policy, it should not be the only element. Deterrence may be necessary, but it is not sufficient.

A sole reliance on deterrence can provoke a security dilemma whereby the pursuit of security policies by one country provokes a response by another country that leaves the first country worse off in terms of security.

Consequently, there is also a need to promote strategic trust to counter the competitive and conflictual features of the current security environment.

Unfortunately, there is now a severe trust deficit in Northeast Asia: Japan, China, two Koreas, and Taiwan.

Distinction between cooperation and trust: There can be cooperation between states (common enemies) without trust.

#### **How to promote strategic trust?**

- (1) Trust can facilitate cooperation; and prolonged and repeated instances of cooperation can promote trust.
- (2) Legacy of past behavior – importance of historical reconciliation for trust building.
- (3) People-to-people exchanges –youth exchanges, tourism, cultural appreciation – but these experiences have to be positive.
- (4) Development of common identity and shared values (what is that identity and shared value? East Asian community?)
- (5) Norms and rules –expectation that countries will respect shared norms and agreed rules.

The promotion of inter-state cooperation regarding non-traditional security issues might encourage trust-building.

**D. Regional Governance and the Agenda of Comprehensive Security**

• **Energy Security**

- Clearly increasing demand for energy; but now a transformation of global energy markets with the shale oil and gas revolution.
- U.S. domestic production of oil and gas increasing significantly; and U.S. is likely to become energy self-sufficient and a major exporter of energy supplies.
- So the limits on energy supply may not be as severe as originally anticipated.
- Possibility of greater cooperation and less competition regarding energy security. Cooperation regarding energy efficiency, stockpiles of energy sources, nuclear safety, etc

• **Environmental Security**

- Threat of environmental pollution and climate change more certain and more acute than the threat of missiles and general war.
- Pollution can travel across national borders through the air, through rivers.
- Climate change can have severe ecological consequences –extreme weather, rise of ocean waters, water shortages in inland areas.
- Environmental security demands collective and cooperative action, rather than competition.

• **Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief**

- Extreme weather
- Earthquakes and tsunamis

• **Human Security**

- Poverty alleviation
- Dealing with refugees
- Threat of pandemic disease

## II. The Role of Okinawa

### A. Legacy of History

- Ryukyu Islands as a cultural and commercial crossroads.
- Tragedy of World War II –Battle of Okinawa.
- Okinawa can become a center for the promotion of historical reconciliation—  
historical reconciliation between Japan and its East Asian neighbors.

### B. Challenges and Opportunities of Geography

- Geostrategic location of Okinawa: huge presence of U.S. military bases.
- But Okinawa should also be seen as a commercial crossroads.

### C. Development of Human Capital

Okinawa can become a focal point for addressing critical global and regional issues:

- Intellectual center for the study of energy efficiency, environmental security, & climate change issues
- Center for the Promotion of Historical Reconciliation and Justice
- Center for the Study of Health, Longevity and Quality of Life Issues for the Elderly

Need to nurture more residents of Okinawa who have global and international perspectives, who have strong foreign language skills, and who can contribute to international dialogues and research projects. They can enhance Okinawa's presence and contribution in the Asia-Pacific region.

・ Presentation Document:

Hiromu Arakaki, Fellow, National Institute for Defense Studies<sup>1</sup>

## 「安全保障」の概念的整理

### 1. はじめに

- 「安全保障 (security)」という言葉が、外交の場で用いられるようになったのは第1次世界大戦以降 (総力戦の経験)
- 冷戦期に「国家安全保障 (national security)」として定着
- ポスト冷戦期に安全保障の概念についての議論が活発化

### 2. 安全保障の定義

#### (1) Security が表す二つの側面：状態と行為

- 「心配ないこと」、「大丈夫と言える状態」という安全、安心な状態 (safety) を示す場合と、そのような状態を能動的に構築すること (securing safety) を示す場合
- Security を機械的に「安全保障」とするのではなく訳し分ける必要性

#### (2) 専門家による定義

- 「客観的には獲得した価値に対する脅威の不在、主観的には獲得した価値が攻撃される脅威の不在」 (Wolfers [1952])
- 「ある主体が、その主体によってかけがえのない何らかの価値を、何らかの脅威から、何らかの手段によって、守る」 (神谷 [2001])
- 「ある行為主体【主体】が、何らかの価値【価値】を、それを剥奪しようとする脅威【脅威・危険】から、独自あるいは他者との協力によって【連携】、何らかの手段【手段】で守る」 (神保 [2009])

#### (3) 多様な変数から構成される「関数」としての安全保障概念

$$F (\text{安全保障}) = \text{【主体・客体】} \times \text{【価値】} \times \text{【脅威・危険】} \times \text{【手段】} \times \text{【連携】}$$

- 主体・客体：誰が、誰の安全を提供するのか (国家、個人、社会的組織)
- 価値：どのような価値を守るのか (国民の生命・財産、人権、経済的利益など)
- 脅威・危険：誰からのどのような脅威か (領土侵攻、人権侵害、環境破壊など)
- 安全の提供手段：何をどのように用いるのか (警察・軍、司法制度など)
- 連携：単独で行うのか、他の主体と協力して行うのか (同盟、業務提携など)

### 3. 拡大する安全保障概念

#### (1) 国家安全保障における概念拡大 (【脅威・危険】、【手段】の要素が増加) 伝統的な安全保障

- 脅威・危険：敵性国家による侵攻・軍事攻撃
- 安全の提供手段：外交、防衛

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<sup>1</sup> 本報告の内容は、報告者個人の見解であり防衛研究所或いは防衛省、日本国政府の見解を表したものではない。

非伝統的な安全保障

- 脅威・危険：テロ、サイバー、自然災害、感染症、経済問題
- 安全の提供手段：危機管理、警察・司法、通信、医療・衛生、政治的価値観・文化

(2) 非国家主体の重要性の向上による概念拡大

人間の安全保障

- 背景：冷戦の終結と国家安全保障の限界、国連や国際機関・組織の役割の高まり
- 主体：国家、非政府主体、国際機構
- 脅威・危険：戦争、難民化、飢餓・貧困、人権抑圧
- 手段：複合的ガバナンス（予防外交、人道的介入・支援、社会統合、人間開発）

4. まとめ（政策を考えるヒント）

- 安全保障は「変数」の内容によって変化する概念
- 概念を規定する変数：「主体・客体」、「価値」、「脅威・危険」
- ポスト冷戦期に安全保障の概念が拡大
- 今後の重要な変数：多様な主体間の連携

以上

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・ Presentation Document:

Yoshikazu Higashi, Chief of Okinawa Branch, Japan Association of Travel Agents

万国津梁フォーラム Okinawa Asia-Pacific Partnership Forum  
～地域と共に創造する安全保障観～  
Creating Perspectives on Security with Regional Partners  
17 July 2014 Youth Forum Higashi, Yoshikazu

沖縄21世紀ビジョン基本計画(平成24年5月沖縄県)

めざすべき5つの将来像

- 1) 沖縄らしい自然と歴史、伝統、文化を大切にす鳥
- 2) 心豊かで、安全・安心に暮らせる鳥
- 3) 希望と活力にあふれる豊かな鳥
- 4) 世界に開かれた交流と共生の鳥
- 5) 多様な能力を発揮し、未来を拓く鳥

リーディング産業としての観光

「観光」の語源は中国の古典  
儒家經典の五經の『易経』  
「国の光を観る」  
治政者は自らの領地や地帯を  
観して、民の暮らしを観るべしとい  
うことである。民の暮らしは治政  
の写しであり、善い政治が行われ  
ているならば、村は生き生きとし、  
威勢威光を放っているということ  
である。

観光の意義・使命

観光は、相互理解による平和交流に貢献します  
観光は、地域の自然や伝統文化を大切にします  
観光は、地域の経済発展に貢献します

沖縄県観光学習教材より

「平和を築き維持する」「貧困の撲滅」  
-Build and maintain peace -Combat poverty  
ネルソマンデラ元南アフリカ大統領 21世紀の観光の使命  
UNWTO(国際観光機関)総会 2011年9月 大隅にて

万国津梁フォーラム Okinawa Asia-Pacific Partnership Forum  
～地域と共に創造する安全保障観～  
Creating Perspectives on Security with Regional Partners  
17 July 2014 Youth Forum Higashi, Yoshikazu

昭和42年度 運輸白書 IV-観光 第1章  
第1節 国際観光年の意義

国際連合は、昭和41年11月4日、第21回総会において、1967年を「国際観光年」に指定する旨の決議を行なうとともに、世界各国に於て、観光が社会、文化、教育、経済等に果たす役割を広く唱導し、かつ、観光の振興に関する諸施策を推進するよう要請した。

観光は、今般の国際連合の決議でもあるように、「すべての人々およびすべての国の政府の貧窮と奨励に値する基本的、かつ、最も望ましい人間活動」であり、国際観光の側面では、重要な貿易外収入として国際収支の改善に寄与し、「発展途上の国々の経済成長の上をきわめて重要な貢献をなすはかめなく、「世界各国の人々の相互理解を推進、種々の文明の豊かな遺産に対する知識を豊富にし、また異なる文明の固有の価値をより広く感得させること」によって世界平和の達成に大きな役割を果たすものである。国際連合が国際観光年の指定を行なうに当たって「観光は平和へのパスポート(Tourism: Passport to Peace)」というスローガンを定めたのは、まさにこの意味である。

ユネスコ憲章 前文(1945年11月16日作成 原文は英語・仏語)  
抜粋

戦争は人の心の中で生れるものであるから、人の心の中に  
平和のとどりを築かなければならない。

～中略～

政府の政治的及び経済的取極のみに基く平和は、世界の  
諸人民の、一致した、しかも永続する誠実な支持を確保でき  
る平和ではない。よって平和は、失われなければならない。人類  
の知的及び精神的連帯の上に築かなければならない。

～中略～

国民の間における伝達の方法を發展させ及び増加させること  
並びに相互に理解し及び相互の生活を一層真実に一層完全  
に知るためにこの伝達の方法を用いることに一致し及び決  
意している。

「観光は平和産業！」

平和じゃないと観光産業は成り立たない！

⇒ 消極的平和産業

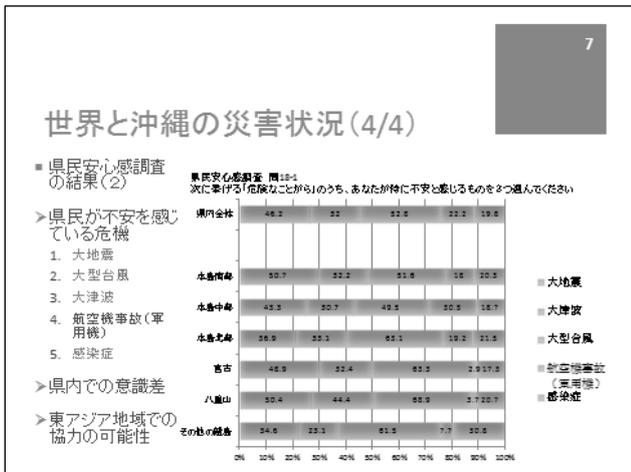
観光を推進するのは、人々の交流を通して、お互いの文化を認め合い、相互理解を深め、平和な社会を実現するためである！

⇒ 積極的平和産業

21世紀社会で「求められる市民的資質・能力」  
放送大学『市民性形成論』(二宮皓元広島大学副学長)

- ① グローバル社会の一員として問題を見て、アプローチできる能力
- ② 社会の中で他の人々と協働したり、自らの義務等に責任を持つ能力
- ③ 文化的差異に対して、理解し、受容し、評価し、寛容である能力
- ④ 批判的かつシステミックに考える力
- ⑤ 非暴力的な方法で対立を解決する意志と意欲
- ⑥ 環境を保護するために自己の生活スタイルや消費慣習を変革する意志と意欲
- ⑦ 人権(女性の権利やエスニックマイノリティの権利等)に敏感であり、それを保護する能力
- ⑧ 地域共同社会、国家社会及び国際社会における政治に参画する意欲と能力





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### 危機管理と安全保障について

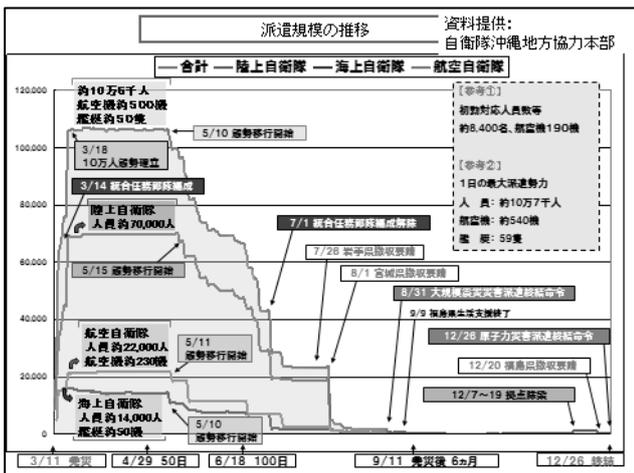
■「危機管理と安全保障は関係あるの？」

■近年の災害傾向

- 発生件数と損失の増加
- 非伝統的安全保障の対象となりうる課題

■HA/DR(Humanitarian Assistance/Disaster Relief)

- 人道支援や災害救援が焦点に
- 軍事組織の関与



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### 危機管理を巡る地域協力について

■東日本大震災後に東北の避難所で活動するEUの調整チーム

〈EU市民保護メカニズムホームページ内“European Civil Protection Mechanism activated to help Japan cope with earthquake/tsunami destruction”. 最終閲覧: 2014年7月10日。  
[http://ec.europa.eu/echo/civil\\_protection/civil/japan\\_earthquake\\_2011.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/echo/civil_protection/civil/japan_earthquake_2011.htm)〉

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### 危機管理を巡る地域協力について

■EU市民保護への市民の反応

➢「EUはなぜ加盟国の危機管理を支援すべきなのか？」(一つ選択)

	EU27カ国平均
加盟国間の連帯	33%
一国で対応するよりも各国で協調したほうが効果的だから	29%
災害には超越性があるから	14%
本国には十分な対処能力がないから	20%
その他	0%
EUは支援すべきではない	1%
わからない	3%

EROBAROMETER, Civil Protection Full report, 2009. p.89

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### 危機管理を巡る地域協力について

- 中国
  - ASEAN・中国首脳会談(2002)～
- 台湾
  - 2010.09中国(海上捜救センター)との合同海難救助訓練
  - 2011.05日台での防災協定検討について担当相が一致
- ASEAN
  - ARFビジョン・ステートメント(2009)とハノイ行動計画(2010)

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### まとめ: 非伝統的安全保障としての危機管理

1. 近年の災害の状況から、危機管理は非伝統的安全保障の中の重要な領域となっている。
2. この分野での地域協力は地域の安定に寄与することが期待される。
3. 中国や台湾など近隣諸国・地域も災害分野での国際協力を前向きに捉えている。
4. 地域の中央に位置する沖縄にはこうした協力を支える役割を担える可能性があり、また期待される。