GEOGRAPHIES OF OCCUPATION: COLONIALITY, FOREIGN MILITARY BASING, AND STRUGGLES OVER THE SUBJECT OF SOVEREIGNTY IN OKINAWA, JAPAN

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The dissertation explores the theoretical and political implications of the recent
emergence of autonomist claims within Okinawa's struggle against US military
presence. Combining a world-historical perspective and ethnographic approach, I
show how political shifts within the Okinawan demilitarization movement over time
are seen as mutually constituted with the historical construction of not just the
Japanese state, but state formation more generally: postwar decolonization and the
conjoint transformation in military expansion, and more recently the emergence of
alternative self-determination claims globally. Postwar decolonization and state-
making legitimized military expansion in ways that obscured the continuing role of
colonial relations in overseas basing, while it created new forms of colonial
militarization via relations of citizenship. Okinawan autonomist claims against the
Japanese state shed light on relations I conceptualize as *internal colonial basing*. This
concept expresses enduring relations of coloniality between Japan and Okinawa
making possible America's continued occupation of the islands, but which are
obscured by the representational claims of the Japanese state. Rather than a relation
through which Okinawans' rights are protected, Japanese citizenship is the mechanism
through which colonization and militarization shape and sustain one another.
Everyday experiences of foreign military basing intertwine with national and interstate

arrangements to shape Okinawans' perception of their citizen relations. Conditions of internal colonial basing reinforce Okinawans' experiences as ethnically marginalized citizens, while simultaneously eroding the legitimacy of the Japanese state in ways that sustain citizenship as a salient identity. As a relation rooted in coloniality, Okinawans' citizen relations thus shape the struggle in potentially transformative ways. Okinawans' claims upon the state—reflected in new political identities, coalitions and alternative visions of the state-citizen relation—resonate with movements elsewhere, reformulating citizenship rights in substantive, historically concrete terms that challenge the abstract rights of the liberal subject, and politicize the meaning of sovereignty. Through the lens of the anti-base struggle, the dissertation thus sheds light on a broader politics of self-determination. By contributing to the erosion of citizenship and the crisis of the Japanese state in the Okinawan political context, the United States jeopardizes the legitimating apparatus it has relied on for more than thirty-five years.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Kelly Dietz received her Bachelor of Arts in Asian Studies and Japanese Language and Literatures from the University of Oregon in 1991. She worked for one year as an English teacher and, from 1992 to 1994, as a Coordinator for International Relations in Shimane Prefecture, Japan. After traveling throughout East and Southeast Asia for a year, she entered the University of Michigan's Center for Japan Studies Masters Program. This took her to Hokkaido, Japan, where she was a visiting researcher at Hokkaido University of Education from the fall of 1996 to the spring of 1998. She began her doctoral studies in the Department of Sociology at Cornell University in 1999. After earning a Master of Arts in Sociology, she transferred to the Department of Development Sociology in 2003 to complete her studies. Her dissertation research took her back to Japan in the spring of 2004, where she was a visiting researcher at the University of the Ryūkyūs in Okinawa until summer 2005. Since the fall of 2007, she has worked as an assistant professor in the Department of Politics at Ithaca College.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

In the course of this project, however, I have learned that quiet can sometimes be deafening. It was only after I returned from my fieldwork in Okinawa that I noticed the relative silence of this part of Upstate New York. After sixteen months of living in

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AIPR   Association of Indigenous Peoples in Okinawa/the Ryūkyūs
ANPO   contraction of *Anzen Hoshō,* referring to US-Japan Security Treaty
BSR   Base Structure Report
CANZUS+J   Canada, Australia, New Zealand, United States and Japan
CERD   UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination
CPA   Cultural Promotion Act
DPJ   Democratic Party of Japan
DOD   Department of Defense
EIA   Environmental Impact Assessment
G8   Group of Eight
GDP   Gross Domestic Product
ICCPR   International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
ICESCR   International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
JDA   Japan Defense Agency
LDP   Liberal Democratic Party
NDFAB   Naha Defense Facilities Administration Bureau
NGO   Non-governmental Organization
NHPA   National Historical Preservation Act
OWAAMV   Okinawan Women Act Against Military Violence
PNP   People's New Party
SACO   Special Action Committee on Okinawa
SDP   Social Democratic Party
SGC   *Shimin Gaikō Centre*, Citizens' Center for Diplomacy
SOFA   Status of Forces Agreement
UN   United Nations
UK   United Kingdom
US   United States
USFJ   United States Forces, Japan
USMC   United States Marine Corps
WGIP   Working Group on Indigenous Populations

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

On a typically warm and humid Okinawan autumn afternoon in 1987, grocery store owner Chibana Shōichi gained instant notoriety throughout Japan and beyond when he was arrested for setting fire to Japan's Rising Sun flag. This took place at the opening of a baseball game during the country's 42nd Annual National Athletic Meet, the *Kokutai*. The hugely popular event was being held for the first time in Okinawa to commemorate the fifteenth anniversary of the end of the US military's formal occupation of the remote island territory and its reincorporation into the Japanese state. At the time, Chibana said he considered the Japanese flag a "symbol of the militarism that drove many people in Okinawa to commit mass suicide." He was referring to a wartime practice by the Japanese Imperial Army, which had forced Okinawan civilians to commit collective suicide rather than face capture by Allied Forces.

A decade later, Chibana found another Japanese flag buried deep in a closet (see figure 1.1). This one was old and tattered. It was from his high school days, when he joined his fellow students in the popular movement to end the United States' postwar occupation of Okinawa. "In the 1960s, the teacher's union had a flag purchasing drive, so I bought one myself," he explained. When asked if he would burn this flag too, he shook his head. "No," Chibana replied. "I'm not going to burn it. It's different from the one raised at the Athletic Meet. This flag was intended to free me from American tyranny."[1]

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[1] I thank Chibana Shōichi and Okinawan photographer Ishikawa Mao for sharing this story with me. Ishikawa highlights Chibana's shifting relationship to the Japanese flag in her series of photos, *What the Japanese Flag Means to Me* (1995 – 1999). Quotes of Chibana used here are from Ishikawa's exhibit, "Okinawa Soul," curators Nakamori Yasufumi and Kelly Dietz, John Hartell Gallery, Cornell University, March 13 to March 24, 2006.

Figure 1.1 Chibana Shōichi holds the Rising Sun flag he used during the 1960s, in the movement to end US occupation (photo by Ishikawa Mao).

The narratives above capture two historical moments of rule and militarization in Okinawa. The flag Chibana chose to keep, the flag from the 1960s, symbolized the hope he and other Okinawans had in the possibilities of citizenship during their struggle to end the United States' postwar occupation. Okinawans were a stateless people throughout America's twenty-seven year rule over the islands. As a subjugated people striving for rights conferred by citizenship, theirs was an anti-imperialist struggle. What made it different from similar struggles taking place throughout the world during the same period was that Okinawans rallied under the Japanese flag in their effort to oust the US military. They sought membership in an *existing* state, Japan—the very state that had colonized their territory nearly a century earlier.

By the time of the National Athletic Meet in the late 1980s, the Rising Sun flag had come to symbolize a history of Japanese oppression for Chibana. It had become a symbol of Japan's betrayal of Okinawans in war *and* in peace. The Okinawan struggle successfully brought an end to America's postwar rule, but not its occupation. Not

only did the US military remain after Okinawa's reincorporation into the Japanese state in 1972, but the terms of reincorporation set by the US and Japanese governments also relocated several American bases from Japan to Okinawa. Today, 75% of all US bases in Japan remain in distant Okinawa Prefecture, which constitutes just 0.6% of Japan's total land mass. Fifty thousand US troops, their dependents and US civilian employees maintain thirty-seven installations on Okinawa Island alone (see figure 1.2).[2] Of its occupation-era installations the US agreed to forfeit, many were merely transferred to Japan's Self Defense Forces. In other words, as new citizens of a reconstructed Japan, Okinawans became doubly occupied.
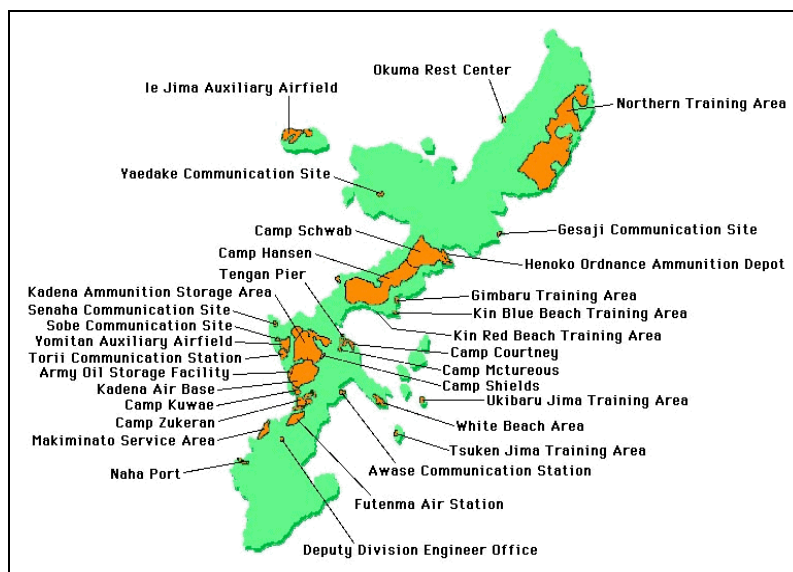
Figure 1.2 Map of United States Military Bases on Okinawa Island (Source: Okinawa Prefecture Military Affairs Division[3])

Chibana's shifting interpretations of the Japanese flag and the Japanese state—as well as the public manifestations of his different interpretations—are

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[2] Okinawa Island stretches just 70 miles (112 km) north to south, and is 8 miles (13 km) at its widest part. The US military also controls 29 maritime zones and 20 air spaces around the island prefecture.
[3] Okinawa Prefecture Military Affairs Division, Map of U.S. Military Bases in Okinawa, http://www3.pref.okinawa.jp/site/view/contview.jsp?cateid=14&id=592&page=1

important not only as expressions of his individual experience, but also for what they capture more generally. First, they embody a much broader political shift in the sixty-year long Okinawan resistance to the presence of US military bases. Under US occupation Okinawans mobilized as Japanese nationals, struggling for well over a decade to force the United States to relinquish its control to "motherland Japan." Over the past twenty years, however, a politicized *Okinawan* national identity has come to animate interpretations of and claims against the American military presence. An increasing number of Okinawans articulate a desire for greater freedom from Japan's control as well. Demands for more local autonomy vis-à-vis the state have emerged alongside citizens' demands for equal treatment by the state.

Second, viewed in a global context, this historically novel challenge to US militarism in Okinawa is also clearly not taking place in a vacuum. For the politicization of Okinawan identity vis-à-vis the state also comes at a time when demands for greater ethnic autonomy are increasing around the world. Despite the apparent success of anti-imperialist movements and postwar decolonization, contemporary movements for self-determination are on the rise and span the globe: from Ogoniland in Nigeria to Nagaland in India; from Palestine to Aceh; from Scotland and the Basque region of Spain to the Kurdish region transversing Turkey and Iraq. Within Japan itself the ethnically distinct Ainu, whose vast territory to the north was annexed by Japan in 1869, began to articulate indigenous rights claims against the Japanese government in the 1980s.

Thus the particular kinds of claims emerging within the Okinawan anti-base movement—rooted in identities separate from the state but equally territorial—makes this transitional moment within Okinawa more than just a window on the politics of US military basing in this one locale; it reminds us that the struggle over who and what would be the subject of sovereignty continues to unfold globally. New political

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identities, coalitions and alternative visions of the state-citizen relation mark the increasing convergence of the Okinawan movement with contemporary self-determination movements elsewhere, generating broader, and comparative, questions about colonial relations embedded in the modern state system at large.

Theoretically, this dissertation attempts to understand what links these challenges to state sovereignty to one another and to this historical moment. After sixty years of struggle against the US military, the relatively recent emergence of collective rights claims in Okinawa compels me to ask: *What is different about the current historical period that makes possible new ways of challenging US forces in Okinawa, and what is it about the Okinawan context that makes collective rights increasingly meaningful? Put simply: Why now? Why Okinawa? In what ways do particular reformulations of sovereignty, such as those emerging in the Okinawan context, express changing relations of sovereignty nationally and globally? How do challenges to Japan's sovereign claims to Okinawa shed light on the changing relationship between state formation and military expansion? How are challenges to citizenship shaped by, yet also displace or rearticulate, dominant notions and practices of sovereignty?*

Methodologically, I use the particular instance of Okinawa as a lens to explore these questions. The dissertation combines a world-historical perspective and ethnographic approach in my examination of the political shift within Okinawa's demilitarization movement. I draw on the method of incorporated comparison (McMichael 1990), through which the contemporary transformation within Okinawa in the context of US military basing is seen as mutually constituted with the historical formation of the state and the emergence of alternative self-determination claims elsewhere. I trace these connections by situating US military basing and the contested nature of Ryūkyūan sovereignty in relation to structural changes in the world system,

particularly the intertwined processes of state-making and military expansion. Conceptualizing militarization as a "peacetime" process and a lived experience, I examine Okinawans' everyday experiences of US military presence under conditions of internal colonial basing. I focus in particular on the politics surrounding a campaign to stop the construction of a new air base. I pay close attention to how meanings of ties to "place" in Okinawa shape social and political identities in relation to changes in political context. I consider how, while citizenship remains a meaningful category for some, it is challenged and reworked by others. I thus employ the Okinawan struggle in a methodological sense, as a window on the structures, experiences and meanings of particular world-historical processes and relations rather than as an object of study in itself.

In the chapters that follow, I advance the following three main arguments: First, in chapter two I argue that the political shift within Okinawa's struggle against US military presence sheds light on historically specific relations of rule and foreign military basing I conceptualize as *internal colonial basing*: military presence in indigenous or otherwise contested territories obscured by the representational claims of the state. Internal colonial basing reflects the postwar process of state-making, which, under particular hegemonic conditions, legitimized foreign military presence in a way that served both to conceal the still central role of colonial relations in overseas basing and to create new forms of colonial militarization. Second, I argue in chapters three and four that, under conditions of internal colonial basing, Japan's colonial regard for Okinawans and the US military's occupation of the islands shape and sustain one another through Okinawans' compromised citizen relations. The Japanese government's privileging of the US-Japan Security Treaty in the Okinawan context creates the conditions for maintaining US military presence via systematic political coercion and exclusion, and economic inducements that reinforce the notion that

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Okinawans are dependent *on* rather than *because of* the bases. Simultaneously, the "everydayness" of US military presence in Okinawans' lives creates a sense of inevitability and even normality with regard to the bases, which fuels the ambivalence necessary to sustain them. Finally, in chapters five and six I show that the relations of internal colonial basing leads to an inability to legitimize the Japanese state in a way that sustains citizenship as a salient identity for an increasing number of Okinawan activists. The emergent claims for greater autonomy within the Okinawan anti-base movement, and the Japanese government's response to these, reflect a broader politics of collective rights and the struggle over the meaning of sovereignty nationally and globally. In this way the Okinawa case sheds light on the transitional character of the current historical moment.

Okinawa as a place in/of struggle

What is now known both formally and popularly as Okinawa, or Okinawa Prefecture, is a group of 160 or so islands that together make up the Ryūkyū Archipelago. Situated roughly 500 miles off China's southeast coast, the Ryūkyū Islands stretch south and west from Japan to Taiwan, where the East China Sea meets the Pacific Ocean (see figure 1.3). The Ryūkyūs Islands are known for their diversity, both within the islands and in relation to surrounding countries. Their relative distance from any significant landmass has led to the nickname "Galapagos of the East" for the extent of their unusual endemic flora and fauna. The Ryūkyūs' isolation, together with considerable distance between many of the islands within the archipelago, also led to their historically multicultural and multilingual population. Although this began to change after the Japan government extended its nationalizing efforts to the islands, they are still known for their cultural and linguistic distinctiveness.

Figure 1.3 Map of the Ryukyu Islands in East Asia[4]

The dissertation's narrative centers on the largest and most populated island in the archipelago, Okinawa Island. Historically, Okinawa Island has been the political and economic center of the island chain. It was the hub of the Ryūkyū Kingdom's vibrant maritime trade between peoples in China, Korea, Japan and throughout Southeast Asia (see Kerr 1958, ch. 4). Its city of Naha became the capital of the Ryūkyū Kingdom after its unification in the 15th century, the headquarters of both Japan's colonial administration after 1879 and the United States' occupation after 1945, and finally the prefectural capital in 1972. Today, home to one million of the prefecture's 1.3 million people, Okinawa Island is the location of the majority of US military installations in the Ryūkyūs, and therefore the epicenter of Okinawa's struggle against the presence of American forces.

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[4] "Map of Far East Asia," My Travel Guide, http://www.mytravelguide.com/g/maps/Far-East-Asia-map.gif.

The geographical location of the Ryūkyūs and Okinawa Island, in addition to shaping their dynamic ecological and socio-political development in the region, has also figured centrally in representations of the islands as a *naturally* strategic military outpost. Its particular location off the Asian continent and relative isolation earned it, in US military and civilian circles, the nickname "Keystone of the Pacific," for being a geo-strategically ideal site for the US military's "defense of the free world in the Pacific."[5] Echoing arguments made by feudal Japanese leaders in the 1600s, American imperialists in the mid-1800s, and the leaders of a fledgling Japanese state in the late 1800s, military and civilian leaders today represent US military presence in Okinawa as a self-evident, and therefore more or less permanent, function of geography. At the same time, that US military presence there today rests on representations of the Ryūkyūs as being *naturally* part of Japan highlights that such ideas about a place can rarely be reduced to its geography. The fact is, Okinawa Island, like most of the islands in the Ryūkyūs, is closer to Taipei, Shanghai, Manila and Seoul than it is to Tokyo.

Okinawa is the site of unusually public debates over the "self-evidence" of its intertwined military occupations, its relationship to Japan, its place in the region, and Ryūkyūan difference. Exposed in these debates is the fact that geographies of military occupation, like geographies of political occupation, are rooted in ideological notions of the relationship between people and place. As such, these linkages must be continually reestablished in order to sustain the structures of power and mechanisms of regulation that make them *appear* natural. Also exposed in Okinawan politics is that such efforts to establish natural relationships are always incomplete and shaped by

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[5] In its introduction to Okinawan history, the US Marine Corps' Okinawa web site explains, "Because it was considered the key to the invasion of Japan, and because it is also considered a key geographical factor to the defense of the free world in the Pacific area, Okinawa now owns the nickname, 'Keystone of the Pacific.'" See www.okinawa.usmc.mil/About%20Okinawa/History%20Page.html.

concrete social relations; the contradictions between discourses and experiences of ties to place have given rise to questions and struggle on several fronts. Okinawa thus provides a rich context in which to explore how ideas and practices of sovereignty are appropriated, contested and transformed in the current historical period.

The Okinawan struggle as a lens on global change: Military expansion and the shifting subject of sovereignty

Okinawan challenges to the Japanese state: A new form of an old problematic

The United States' military presence in Okinawa exemplifies its current overseas military configuration and its contemporary mode of engagement with the world in a number of ways. Like the majority of US installations around the globe today, the concentration of US forces in Okinawa is a legacy in search of a future. The US owns or leases at least 761 installations overseas, with over half still concentrated in Western Europe and East Asia, especially Germany, England, Japan and South Korea (US Department of Defense 2007, 2008). US presence in Okinawa is thus a part of the United States' "just inheritance" from World War II by virtue of the American blood spilled there, but one whose rationale and infrastructure quickly took on US ideological imperatives of the Cold War. After an uncertain decade of relying for its *raison d'etre* on proclamations of Taiwanese independence and provocations from (and of) North Korea, the massive network of bases in Okinawa has been recently refitted with the durable double-mantle of "message to a 'rising China'"[6] and, of course, "bulwark against terrorism."[7]

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[6] As relations between North and South Korea warmed and North Korea faded as a key justification for the U.S. military build up in Japan and South, U.S. military and civilian leaders began raising the possibility of a future conflict with China as a key threat and reason for maintaining troop levels in the region. Although President Bush revived North Korea as a justification when he included it in the "Axis of Evil" in his 2002 State of the Union speech, China has taken center stage in military planners' reasoning. The Pentagon began citing China as a potential adversary in 2000, referring to China as a "peer competitor" in its *Joint Vision 2020* (see http://www.dtic.mil/doctrine/jel/jfq_pubs/1225.pdf.) Despite previous internal calls for troop reduction, the report calls for much closer military cooperation with Japan and continued US troop presence in Okinawa and Korea, even after the latter's reunification

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Justifying America's continued militarization of Okinawa over six and a half decades is thus a well-practiced exercise in legitimacy, but one characterized by constant crisis. Okinawa is also exemplary because of the continuous protest against US military bases and practices in and around the islands. That US military presence has also become a catalyst for nationalist sentiment in Okinawa is not surprising. Accounts of anti-US military base movements from Puerto Rico to South Korea and the Philippines, to Germany and the United Kingdom, demonstrate that resistance to US military presence is often rooted in a concern over the impact of security arrangements on national sovereignty.[8] In particular, it is rooted in concerns about basic rights and accountability, and the extent to which national or local authorities, not to mention the average individual, have any say regarding US military practices within their borders.

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with the North. Since then, representations of China have grown more explicit. In the Pentagon's 2006 *Quadrennial Defense Review*, a strategic planning document issued every four years, it warns that "[t]he pace and scope of China's military build-up already puts regional military balances at risk." The QDR goes on to call for "prudent hedges against the possibility that cooperative approaches by themselves may fail to preclude future conflict" (see www.defense.gov/qdr/report/report20060203.pdf).

[7] US forces in Okinawa are referenced in relation to the "War on Terror" and fighting "terrorism" in conjunction with counterterrorism and counterinsurgency activities under the Pacific Command. Okinawa-based Special Forces, in particular, routinely conduct joint operations and joint training exercises with military forces of countries in the region intended to "combat extremist violence" in Southeast Asia and "terrorism in the Asia-Pacific region" more generally. See "U.S. Security Policy in Asia and The Pacific: The View From Pacific Command," Joint hearing Before the Senate Subcommittee on East Asia and the Pacific, Serial No. 107–76, February 27, 2002; and Andrew Fieckart, "U.S. Military Operations in the Global War on Terrorism: Afghanistan, Africa, the Philippines, and Colombia" Congressional Research Service Report, RL32758, August 26, 2005. For example, Special Forces based in Okinawa participate in Operation Enduring Freedom's Philippines "front." This effort centers on joint exercises known as *Balikatan* (a Tagalog word meaning "shoulder-to-shoulder") and joint operations targeting Abu Sayyaf, the Moro Islamic Liberation Front and the Moro National Liberation Front. See Michael Lim Ubac "Palace: GIs all look alike" *Philippine Daily Inquirer,* September 7, 2008, Retrieved on September 10, 2008 from http://newsinfo.inquirer.net/inquirerheadlines/nation/view/20080907-159154/Palace-GIs-all-look-alike).

[8] See, for example, Amilcar Antonio Barreto, *Puerto Rico Vieques, the Navy, and Puerto Rican Politics*: University of Florida Press, 2002; John Feffer. "Korea: Liberation and Self-Determination." *Foreign Policy in Focus,* 2001; Ed Garcia and Francisco Nemenzo. *The Sovereign Quest. Freedom from Foreign Military Bases*. Quezon City, 1988; E. San Juan, Jr. "Cultural Politics, U.S. Imperialist War of Terror, and Socialist Revolution in the Philippines." *Bulatlat* 4, 2004; Cynthia Enloe, *Maneuvers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women's Lives*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000.

However the politicization of Okinawan identity in the Okinawan demilitarization movement implies a different story and different potential outcome than the nationalist sentiments animating, for example, anti-US military movements in South Korea, the UK, and even mainland Japan. In these places, nationalist sentiment is rooted in a notion of citizens' popular sovereignty and a desire to strengthen state capacities vis-à-vis the United States.[9] In contrast, claims and efforts aimed at securing greater autonomy in Okinawa implicate Japanese practices of rule in ways far beyond a critique of particular administrations that bow to US pressure, or to pressures from domestic forces benefiting from, or ambivalent to, the presence of US forces. Contemporary Okinawan rights claims employed against US military presence increasingly challenge the legitimacy of the Japanese state itself; they call into question its very meaning within the Ryūkyūs' territorial and socio-political context. What from a distance often looks like profound anti-Americanism in Okinawa's anti-base movement, in other words, is instead an emerging challenge to the Japanese state and its historical complicity in American empire.

My primary focus is on this particular challenge within the Okinawan anti-base movement, and how it is articulated across a diverse yet intertwined set of issues and groups. The anti-base movement means many things to many people. For some it is a way to lessen the destruction of Okinawa's unique and fragile biodiversity (Taylor 2005). For others it is a way to name and end a central source of sexual violence and other crimes against Okinawans (Takazato 1999; Fukumura and Matsuoka 2002; Akibayashi 2002). Some seek to end Okinawa's role in US wars and militarism (Yonetani 2003a), while others seek to end Okinawa's dependence on an economy organized chiefly to maintain the bases (Tanji 2009). In other words, the long and

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[9] I am not suggesting here that nationalism, understood here as a temporally and spatially grounded phenomenon, plays out in the same way in these different contexts.

varied anti-base struggle gives voice to the multiple ways that US military presence continues to impact the ecological, social, economic and cultural relations of Okinawa. But in recent decades, nearly all strands of this diverse and fluid movement increasingly give voice to a recognition that Okinawa's historical relationship to Japan underpins this impact, and that this, too, must be explicitly named and confronted.

This challenge to Japan's sovereignty suggests that the "legitimacy problem" historically associated with military expansion is taking on a new form in the current historical conjuncture. War making and the buildup of military power more generally have been a project in state legitimacy since the initial formation of states (Anderson 1974; Tilly 1975, 1985). And although today the link between sovereignty as a basis for state monopoly over force *and* a basis for the protection of citizens' rights is taken for granted, the relationship between force monopoly and protection under the rubric of sovereignty emerged piecemeal over time, within different historical relations and out of different kinds of struggles. Famously asserting that "war made the state, and the state made war" Charles Tilly (1975:42) demonstrates how the modern state form emerged primarily out of the need to wage and prepare for war. Polities with the ability to extract capital needed for warfare and establish control over a given geographical area gave rise to the state form in Europe. Anderson's (1974) work on the emergence of absolutist states shows how the bourgeoisie established their "rights" as a quid pro quo for absolutist centralization. Tilly (1985) captures this arrangement in his notion of the state as "protection racket." But citizenship and still other rights came later (and for some groups, even later) as liberal revolutions extended and demarcated the scope of the protection racket(s) as nation-states emerged (Marshall 1973; Poggi 1978; Wallerstein 2003). Thus rights, citizenship and state claims to a monopoly on force all emerged in relation to one another, but under different historical conditions of tension and struggle.

In part the analysis presented here picks up where Tilly and others leave off. The challenges to state sovereignty emerging in the Okinawan struggle direct my attention to how the relationship between state formation and militarization—and the meaning of sovereignty itself—continues to change precisely as a historical consequence of the apparent "completion" of the state system. But the nature of the Okinawan demilitarization movement compels me to depart, on the one hand, from social scientists' traditional concern with warfare and, on the other, from the conventional assumption that state formation somehow stopped once the state system was extended across the globe.

Foreign military basing and state formation

Social science scholarship on the relationship between state formation and militarization has traditionally focused on warfare (Hooks and Rice 2005). The focus on war makes sense to a point. Its transformative impact throughout history makes war the more obvious phenomenon to examine when it comes to understanding how military power intertwines with state formation. However, increasingly consequential for our understanding of the state-military nexus and related tensions inherent in state sovereignty in the postwar period is military expansion of the preparatory sort, namely foreign military basing. By this I mean the extension to other sovereign territories of one state's always-ongoing efforts toward readiness for warfare.

One might argue that war and foreign military basing go hand-in-hand, and indeed they do. The majority of US bases around the world today are, like those in Okinawa, a legacy of US military expansion during the Second World War, with their purposes routinely refitted with the imperatives of both cold and hot wars since. As late as the 1930s, America's military presence overseas paled in comparison to nearly all European powers. This ratio reversed dramatically by the end of World War II, with the US retaining most of its 500 installations it acquired in the interim (Stambuk

1990). Moreover, US leaders used the war itself as a means of acquiring overseas bases, rather than the bases being merely a means, and therefore a consequence, of waging war (Sandars 2000:5-7).[10] Given that over half of the US military's overseas installations remain concentrated in Western Europe and East Asia, it is hard to imagine that the US (or any other country) could have the extensive network of bases it has today without the wars of the past sixty years.

But it is also the case that continued, long-term presence of most foreign military bases is not immediately or even solely related to warfare. Political and economic aims tied to the projection of state power have always been central to maintaining bases beyond national boundaries, even if these aims officially take a back seat to more publicly acceptable representations of security threats (Harvey 2003, ch. 3; Sandars 2000:6,16; Smith, D. 2004). US military presence in Okinawa typifies how justifications for continued existence of American military bases overseas rely more on the threat (real or invented) of an indeterminate future conflict rather than on the actual imperatives of immediate warfare. Moreover, once foreign military bases are in place, bureaucratic and organizational inertia contribute to their continued existence, as does sheer stubbornness and a sense of entitlement on the part of US military leaders to hold onto America's foreign bases, especially those originally acquired in battle.[11] Speaking to a public forum in Okinawa, Deputy Assistant

[10] Christopher Sandars details the planning that took place in Washington in the early 1940s toward creating a foreign network of bases meant for the postwar era. While Roosevelt was decrying imperialism at the 1941 Atlantic Conference, he was instructing his Joint Chiefs of Staff to begin preparations for a network of overseas military bases after war's end. This culminated in a March 1943 paper disseminated by the Joint Chiefs of Staff, which cited the acquisition of overseas military bases in itself as a "primary war aim." See Christopher Sandars, *America's Overseas Garrisons*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, pp 5-7.

[11] A 1970 report of the Sub-committee of the Senate Committee Foreign Relations highlights the US government's own recognition of the enduring nature of American military presence overseas: "Once an American overseas base is established, it takes on a life of its own. Original missions may become outdated but new missions are developed, not only with the intention of keeping the facility going but often to actually enlarge it….Within the government departments most directly concerned—State and Defense—we found little initiative to reduce or eliminate any of these overseas facilities" (quoted in Sandars 2000:16. A similar sentiment is expressed in a report prepared for the Senate Committee on

Secretary of State in the Clinton and Obama Administrations and lead US negotiator on Okinawan base matters, Kurt Campbell, pointed to this tendency as a key factor impeding base reductions in Okinawa. A major problem for current military commanders, he explained, is that "none of them want to be remembered as 'the one who lost the bases on Okinawa'."[12] Such resistance, alongside the range of justifications for continued foreign military basing, helps make the stationing of military forces abroad for reasons other than war a distinguishing characteristic of international relations in the postwar period (Harkarvy 1982:88).

The centrality of "peacetime" foreign military basing in postwar relations is quite remarkable, not least because it challenges fundamental principles of modern state sovereignty. And yet foreign military basing is widely accepted and represented as a routine and legitimate aspect of international relations today. This taken-for-grantedness obscures two things. First, it obscures a transformative moment in its history, which sheds light on how this form of military expansion came to be considered a "normal" aspect of interstate relations. Second, taking foreign military basing for granted as a routine matter between "already-formed" states obscures how the normalizing process itself, specifically how the principles of sovereignty and citizenship that legitimize the practice in the contemporary era, create the conditions for foreign basing to have a transformative impact on states and the state-citizen relation.

Foreign Relations a decade later: "Overseas facilities must be constructed over long periods of time and tend to become self-perpetuating…without regular and comprehensive review, there is a danger that US foreign bases will reflect historic, rather than current and emerging needs" See "United States Foreign Policy Objectives and Overseas Military Installations," Foreign Affairs and National Defense Division, Library of Congress, April 1979, p. iii.

[12] Personal notes on Campbell's speech, Naha City, Okinawa, December 14, 2004.

Foreign military basing as "unbundled territoriality" and a site of change

The centrality of foreign military basing to international relations today is also quite *un*remarkable, for there is nothing new about the long-term deployment of military forces beyond national borders. Empires and colonizers have always depended on overseas military outposts to extend and preserve territorial reach, secure commercial interests and enforce rule (see Stambuk 1963:15-22). What is relatively new, however, is the emphasis on constructing formal processes to legitimize the siting of one country's military forces within the territory of another. In chapter two I show how deliberate efforts to institute formal security treaties and other arrangements in the postwar period intersected with the twin processes of decolonization and state making. Imperialism as form of rule and military expansion was in dramatic flux in the decades following the Second World War. Anti-imperialist struggles transformed the political landscape, compelling the extension of the state system via decolonization. This meant that governments of powerful states were thereafter forced to work within the parameters of the expanding state system to site their military forces overseas. Institutional and negotiating imperatives for foreign military basing thus emerged through the constitution of an increasingly shared notion of territorial sovereignty.

Given its mutual constitution with modern territoriality, the collective institutionalization of foreign military basing in the postwar period can usefully be understood as an historically specific instance of what Gerard Ruggie calls the *unbundling* of territoriality (1993:165). By this he means the deliberate institutional devices created by state governments to compensate for the inherent contradiction in the construct of territoriality, namely its absolute exclusivity. "In the modern international polity," Ruggie explains, "an institutional *negation* of exclusive territoriality serves as the means of situating and dealing with those dimensions of

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collective existence that territorial rulers recognize to be irreducibly transterritorial in character" (165).

Ruggie uses the notion of unbundled territoriality to explore the condition of postmodernity and transformation in international politics. Because "unbundling" is employed to overcome real-world limitations imposed by the exclusive territorial form of the modern state, he argues, it is in the coordinated negation of territoriality that international sociality takes place in the modern era. As such, instances of "unbundled" territoriality are the "terrain" where we should look to understand how the rearticulation of international political space is occurring today. He cites contemporary examples such as common markets and political communities (e.g. the European Union and NATO). Particularly relevant to the current study is Ruggie's emphasis on the doctrine of extraterritoriality—whereby governments have long recognized mutual "islands of alien territory" for the purposes of diplomatic representation and activity (i.e. embassies)—as the most enduring instantiation of unbundled territoriality.

I contend that "peacetime" deployment of military forces into another country is a particularly potent expression of "unbundling" and extraterritoriality, and as such is significant in terms of its potential to condition change. Today's formal basing arrangements between states serve as a legal-rational technical fix for the very practice that arguably constitutes the ultimate rupture in the relations between states—foreign military occupation. As Chalmers Johnson (2003) points out, contemporary legal protections accorded foreign deployed forces have their roots in nineteenth century imperialist practices of extraterritoriality in China.[13] However, foreign military basing

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[13] The doctrine of extraterritoriality provided a white foreigner charged with a crime the "right" not to be charged under "barbaric" local law. Johnson writes, "Following the Anglo-Chinese 'Opium War' of 1839-42, the United States was the first nation to demand 'extrality' for its citizens. All the other European nations then acquired the same rights as the Americans. Except for the Germans, who lost their Chinese colonies in World War I, Americans and Europeans lived an 'extraterritorial' life in China

is qualitatively different from most instances of unbundled territory and extraterritoriality Ruggie points to, because it is not just about occupying space. It involves a range of existentially violent economic, cultural, and ecological relationships that compromise sovereign territory and the representational claims of the state in profound ways. While the long-term siting of foreign armed forces is decided at the highest political levels, as chapter three details, its effects are experienced bodily and psychologically by people in the physical and social spaces of their everyday lives. For this reason, popular struggles that emerge in relation to foreign military basing reveal how the international political space created through interstate military arrangements is also simultaneously local political space. It thus becomes a site of *interrelated* political transformation on both dimensions.

The transformative potential in the Okinawan instance derives significantly from the contradictions in a postwar regime of foreign military expansion that, on the one hand, is framed in terms of state sovereignty *and* citizenship; and, on the other hand, rests on power relations obscured through these same terms. The global expansion of the state form via postwar decolonization made the conjointly emerging regime of foreign military basing a matter of state-citizen relations in unprecedented ways. For in the "UN era," military basing is grounded in the notion of the state as the locus of sovereignty, where citizens' sovereign rights are safeguarded and expressed. In other words, contemporary military expansion rests on the *supposed coincidence* of sovereignty as a basis for state monopoly on force and protection of citizens' rights.

This double abstraction of state sovereignty facilitates the assumption that people's rights as citizens remain intact under "legitimate" military expansion. By virtue of the territoriality of the modern state, few would doubt that popular

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until the Japanese ended it in 1941 and Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang stopped it in 1943." See Chalmers Johnson, America's Abominable Record in Okinawa." History News Network, January 5. Retrieved January 30, 2004 (http://hnn.us/articles/2867.html).

sovereignty and its attendant rights are among the first casualties when a country

invades and militarily occupies another (e.g. Iraq under US occupation). However,

when two governments deliberately arrange for the deployment of one country's

military within the territory of the other via security treaties (e.g. US military bases in

Okinawa), citizens' rights are widely presumed to remain intact.[14] Liberal citizenship

upholds the presence of foreign forces in the same way it underpins claims to a state's

monopoly over the use of force within its own territory: as the embodiment of a

political bargain between state and individual in which the former is represented as the

neutral arbiter of national security and the common interest of the latter. Foreign

military basing, as state-organized violence coordinated between states, is thus a

global protection racket (*c.f.* Tilly 1985), insofar as it is framed in terms of global

security as well as state sovereignty and citizenship, and extracts payment from the

host state, and by extension its citizens.

     The supposed coincidence of territory, state monopoly on force, rights and

citizenship not only informs security arrangements and their representations, it is also

the starting point for most scholarship on contemporary foreign military basing. At

present, the topic of foreign basing remains the bastion of international relations and

security studies within political science.[15] As Hooks and Rice (2005:569) point out,

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[14] Writing in 1963 on the relationship between overseas basing and the spread of the institution of state sovereignty, political scientist George Stambuk (1963) marveled at the unprecedented "permanent, peacetime arrangement" of American forces overseas performing the "normal peacetime functions of a domestic military force." As further indication that postwar foreign military basing marked a break from the past—when overseas basing depended on the use of force against local populations—he points to the local "public acceptance of the arrangement as a normal factor in life, presumably to remain indefinitely." For Stambuk, the implications of this new experience of citizenship were only problematic insofar as basing arrangements impacted "the status of the American soldier." See George Stambuk, *American Military Forces Abroad: Their Impact upon the Western State System*: Ohio State University Press, 1963, pp. 9-11.

[15] This scholarship burgeoned in the postwar period as foreign military presence became a "normal" aspect of international relations. Broader studies considered the place of overseas military bases in international relations, while more focused literatures tackled approaches to basing negotiations and the complicated legal jurisdictional matters that arise when one country's armed forces live more or less permanently in the territory of another. For studies on military bases in international relations, see George Stambuk, *American Military Forces Abroad: Their Impact upon the Western State System*:

even among political sociologists there is very little sustained scholarship on military basing and other "peacetime" forms of militarization (but see Hooks and Smith 2004; Scoville 2006). Although sociology is well suited to analyze the social dimensions of sustained foreign military presence and its relation to the state, to the extent the discipline has taken up the topic of state formation and military expansion, it remains fixated on warfare and is dominated by assumptions that privilege both the state and the coincidence of state boundaries and societies (Hooks and Rice 2005:569). As a result, sociological analyses have so far largely reproduced the central theoretical blind spots of conventional international relations theory and security studies. First, by privileging the state in general, conventional approaches to the study of foreign military basing reduce it to a matter of the state and interstate relations.[16] Second, by positing social actors in terms of, or situated within, a self-evident state, social action explored in relation to state power and military basing becomes explicitly or implicitly conceptualized as merely a *reaction* to state power rather than an *interaction* with state power.

Ohio State University Press, 1963; Roland Paul, *American Military Commitments Abroad*. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1973; Robert Harkavy, *Great Power Competition for Overseas Bases: The Geopolitics of Access Diplomacy*. Oxford: Pergamon, 1982; and Christopher T. Sandars, *America's Overseas Garrisons*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000. For scholarship on approaches to basing negotiations, see Thomas C. Suter, "Base Rights Agreements." *Air University Review* July-August, 1983; Daniel Druckman, "Stages, Turning Points, and Crises: Negotiating Military Base Rights, Spain and the United States." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 30, 1986; and John McDonald and Diane Bendahmane, eds., *U.S. Bases Overseas: Negotiations with Spain, Greece, and the Philippines*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1990. For work on jurisdictional matters, see, for example, Serge Lazareff, *The Status of Military Forces under Current International Law*. Leiden: A. W. Sijthoff, 1964; John Woodliffe, *The Peacetime Use of Foreign Military Installations under Modern International Law*. Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1992; and Steven G.Hemmert, "Peace-Keeping Mission SOFAs: U.S. Interests in Criminal Jurisdiction." *Boston University International Law Journal* 215, 1999.

[16] A notable exception within the literature on foreign military basing is the extensive cross-disciplinary feminist literature which foregrounds the gendered and other social relations integral to militarized international relations. See, for example, Cynthia Enloe, *Maneuvers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women's Lives*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000; Katharine Moon, *Sex Among Allies: Military Prostitution in U.S.-Korea Relations*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1997; Akibayashi, Kozue. "Okinawa Women Act Against Military Violence: A Feminist Challenge to Militarism," Dissertation, Columbia University Teachers College, 2002; and Rachel Cornwell and Andrew Wells. "Deploying Insecurity." *Peace Review* 11:410, 1999.

Incorporating social actors, transnational relations, and everyday experience

The Okinawan case calls into question conventional interpretations of the peacetime stationing of armed forces in other countries as solely a matter of the state. Instead it highlights how social actors and social relations figure in the contemporary relationship between military expansion and state making. I draw on the insights of those whose work de-centers the state as the subject of international relations by demonstrating the centrality of (often marginalized) social actors, social relations and everyday experiences to an understanding of the politics of military basing (see, for example, Enloe 1996 and 2000; Lutz 2001 and 2006; Moon 1997; Baretto 2002).

While existing studies of the Okinawan demilitarization movement foreground the interaction of social relations and state power, most nevertheless posit the movement in terms of, or situated within, self-evident Japanese and American states, and by extension a self-evident state system.[17] I seek to contribute to more recent scholarship on Okinawa/the Ryūkyūs that problematizes Okinawa's historical

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[17] Existing scholarship on Okinawa's anti-base movement contributes much to our understanding of the movement's internal political and organizational dynamics (see Caroline Spencer, "Meeting of the dugongs and the cooking pots: Anti-military base citizens' groups on Okinawa." *Japanese Studies* 23:125-140, 2004; J. Taylor and Chris Jasparro, "Grass-Roots Movements and Environmental Security and Development in Okinawa." *Regional Development Dialogue* 23:122-131, 2002; J. Taylor, "Environment and Security Conflicts: The U.S. Military in Okinawa," in Chris Jasparro ed., *Environment and Security in the Asia-Pacific Region*. Honolulu: Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies, 2005). Studies have also shed light on its effects on US-Japan relations and US military policy (see Masamichi Inoue, John Purves, and Mark Selden, "Okinawa Citizens, U.S. Bases and the Dugong." *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars* 29, 1997; Ryan Scoville, "A Sociological Approach to the Negotiation of Military Base Agreements." *University of Miami International & Comparative Law Review* vol. 14, p. 1, 2006; and Sheila Smith, "Do Domestic Politics Matter? The Case of US Military Bases in Japan." Working paper, 2003. Retrieved July 2, 2009 from http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/japan/smith_wp.htm). However most studies focus on the Okinawan and/or Japanese context, and nearly always posit the movement in terms of, or situated within, a self-evident Japanese state. Analyses rooted in a conventional security studies or international relations perspective necessarily situate US base issues within regional and/or international relations (see Masaaki Gabe, *Sekai no naka no Okinawa, Okinawa no naka no Nihon: Kichi no seijigaku [Okinawa in the World, Japan in Okinawa: The Politics of Military Bases]*. Yokohama: Shobo, 2003; Chalmers Johnson, *The Sorrows of Empire: Militarism, Secrecy, and the End of the Republic*. New York: Metropolitan Books, 2004; and Julia Yonetani "Playing Base Politics in a Global Strategic Theater." *Critical Asian Studies* 33, 2001). But here, too, the Okinawan struggle is either explicitly or implicitly conceptualized as merely a reaction to US military policies and practices, or as a reaction to unequal treatment by the Japanese government.

relationship with the Japanese state. In particular, studies that consider the "ethnic turn" of the post-1972 era[18] go farthest toward shedding light on how self-perception, collective memory and notions of nationhood inform shifts in Okinawans' perceptions of their relationship to the bases and to the Japanese and US states. However, these analyses nearly all focus on the Okinawan or Japanese context (but see Inoue et al 2004; Inoue 2007 and especially Siddle 2003). The social relations and social actors animating the shift within the Okinawan movement, while often theoretically and politically subordinated within states, transcend and problematize the state.

This study thus requires a comparative approach that historicizes the Okinawan movement within global processes and social relations—including transnational relations. Although not comparative in the sense of bringing evidence from two or more well-delineated cases to bear on my inquiry, situating the emergence of alternative forms of self-determination in Okinawa within historical context becomes an inherently comparative endeavor (*c.f.* McMichael 1990). For this reason I take a cue from the recent scholarly turn toward exploring transnational dimensions of social movements, which offers a necessary corrective to conventional comparative approaches rooted in a positivist understanding of social change. By empirically demonstrating the *inter*relationships among distinct actors, movements and processes,[19] scholars in this emerging field expose as methodologically inappropriate

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[18] See Matthew Allen, *Identity and Resistance in Okinawa*. Rowman & Littlefield, 2002; Aurelia Mulgan, "Managing the US Base Issue in Okinawa: A test for Japanese Democracy." Melbourne: Department of International Relations, Australia National University, 2000; several essays in Laura Hein and Mark Selden, *Islands of Discontent: Okinawan Responses to Japanese and American Power.* Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003; Ayako Nakachi, "The Influence of Cultural Perceptions on Political Awareness: A Case Study in Okinawa, Japan." in *Sociology.* Singapore: University of Singapore, 2004; and Miyume Tanji, *Myth, Protest and Struggle in Okinawa* Routledge, 2006.

[19] See, for example, Jackie Smith, Charles Chatfield, and Ron Pagnucco. T*ransnational Social Movements and Global Politics: Solidarity Beyond the State.* Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press. 1997; Jonathan Fox and David Brown. *Struggle for Accountability: The World Bank, NGOs, and Grassroots Movements.* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. 1998; John Boli and George Thomas, eds., *Constructing World Culture: International Nongovernmental Organizations since 1875*. Stanford: Stanford U. Press. 1999; Jackie Smith and Hank Johnston. G*lobalization and Resistance: Transnational Dimensions of Social Movements.* Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield. 2002; Sidney Tarrow,

conventional approaches that assume cases, or "units of analysis," form and replicate attributes of a predetermined abstract condition independently of one another.

However, in most studies of global or transnational dimensions of social movements, the transnational largely remains a reified, empirical space that exists "beyond borders" (*c.f.* Keck and Sikkink 1998). This obscures our sense of "whole movements" if we focus on elites who are positioned to connect electronically with one another, travel to other countries, or attend international conferences, and stop looking for the ways in which these same actors are fundamentally shaped by, and shape, the dense social networks (Tarrow 2005, ch. 3) and everyday experiences in which they are rooted. Moreover, because borders are taken for granted as those of states, it precludes an understanding of the dynamic character and contingencies of the analytical categories and concepts that embody activists' claims (*c.f.* Drainville 2001; McMichael 2004). Missing is a historical understanding of how such categories and concepts might change *via* social struggle.

I use the method of incorporated comparison (McMichael 1990; 1996) to understand the theoretical as well as empirical connections between the Okinawan anti-base movement and self-determination movements elsewhere—theoretical and empirical connections that Okinawan activists are making themselves. Grounded in a world-historical perspective, incorporated comparison uses particular instances to tell a larger story that is cumulative yet contingent, expressing a specific historical conjuncture. From this perspective particular political identities (and the claims they embody) are mutually constitutive via their relationship to structures of power that shape, and are shaped by, their collective demands. This provides analytical space to

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"Transnational Politics: Contention and Institutions in International Politics." An*nual Review of Political Science 4*:1-20. 2001, and *The New Transnational Activism*. Cambridge University Press. 2005; Joe Bandy & Jackie Smith, eds., *Coalitions across Borders. Transnational Protest and the Neoliberal Order*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2005.

account for changes in the very categories and concepts like state, sovereignty, citizenship and self-determination, which are understood as constituted by concrete social relations.

Fundamentally informing the dissertation, then, is the premise that the state, like sovereignty, is an idea that must be continually reestablished in order to sustain the structures of power and mechanisms of social and spatial regulation employed in the name of the state (Abrams 1988; Mitchell 1988, 2000). "Denaturalizing" and exploring rather than assuming the territorial reach of the state allows me to consider why and how sovereignty has become an object of contestation and negotiation (Nugent 1994; Hansen and Stepputat 2001). Of course from the methodological perspective taken here, I also do not assume a natural connection between Okinawan identity and place. I follow others who recognize that connecting people, identity and place is an "active practice" (c.f. Malkki 1992; Soguk 1999). For Okinawans, too, sovereignty (and its conceptual variations) is an idea that must be continually reestablished if it is to hold meaning in any broadly consequential sense. Understanding how people (re)define and mobilize particular spaces/places in political struggles sheds light on how relations of rule and control are apprehended, opposed and reworked (Moore 1998). For this reason, conceptions of self-determination, however articulated, become important to understanding how ties to place change as political contexts change.

This is where an ethnographic approach to my topic comes into play. I seek to contribute what Catherine Lutz (2006) terms an "ethnography of empire." As she points out, the burgeoning of literature identifying the United States as an empire has focused largely on the political-economic structural underpinnings. Much less attention is paid to "the cultural making of value, or examining empire as more than an elite project" (p.1). This dissertation combines both foci. The need to take seriously

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the meanings Okinawan activists assign to their experiences of US military basing, and to the concepts they employ that challenge Japanese sovereignty in Okinawa's socio-political and territorial context, became clear through my interviews and observations in the field. There is still a strong tendency among Okinawan activists to seek redress via the institutions associated with citizenship (e.g. routine appeals to law enforcement, litigation, the electoral process, public protest). Demands for greater autonomy are still considerably less common than claims rooted in the rights of citizenship. Perhaps this is why most scholars tend not to interpret Okinawans' contemporary "ethnic turn" as being linked to autonomist movements elsewhere (but see Siddle 2003), or as posing a new political challenge against the Japanese state and US military presence. But to only look for or recognize explicit secessionist claims of self-determination as evidence of a "real" challenge to Japan is to overlook Okinawans' ongoing negotiations and reinterpretations of their citizenship. It ignores the development of Okinawan subjectivity as a global subjectivity—and what this might mean in the current historical period, in which self-determination movements have as their object of struggle the state. "Action is shaped by the meanings people bring to their predicaments or can wring out of them," Philip Abrams tells us. Thus "an adequate sociology of such predicaments surely has to offer an analysis not only of the observable relationships of power and powerlessness within them, but equally of what is made of those relationships by those involved in them; an analysis of the complex of meaning within which relationships are enacted" (1982:73). Because, as Lutz asserts, *empire is in the details*, only by also making the "human face and frailties of imperialism more visible" can we "make challenges to imperial practice more likely" (2006:1).

In this way social struggle becomes methodological, a window on particular world-historical relations rather than an object of study in itself. Alternative struggles

against state regulation are the instances through which the conditions of state formation and the limits of social regulation become known (Corrigan and Sayer 1985). Social movements, as commonly understood, are thus a key barometer of the legitimacy accorded particular practices of rule and control. As such they offer a well-suited analytical lens through which to understand how experiences of citizenship lead to particular kinds of challenges to the state and potential changes in the state-citizen relation itself. Persistent popular resistance to foreign military basing in the postwar era, and specifically the kind of challenges to the state emerging in Okinawa, expose the inability of formal basing arrangements to overcome the kind of compromised sovereignty they engender.

The dissertation draws on fieldwork conducted over sixteen months in Okinawa from March 2004 through June 2005. In addition to secondary source material, four major sources of data inform the dissertation: (1) interviews (informal, semi-structured and structured); (2) participant and semi-structured observations of activist meetings and actions; (3) archival documents, including those created by anti-base activists; and (4) my journal of the research process and experience of living in Okinawa kept during my fieldwork. In general, I chose interviewees through "emergent" sampling of people I encountered, and the more purposeful snowball sampling method. I complemented these by choosing key informants through the iterative sampling method employed in qualitative, interpretive research (Patton 2001).

Outline of the dissertation

I begin the dissertation by historicizing the challenges to Japan's sovereignty emerging within the anti-base movement in relation to broader processes and structural changes in the world system. A central aim of chapter two is to theorize how US military basing in the Ryūkyūs reflects contemporary changes in the relationship

between state formation and military expansion. The chapter demonstrates, systematically and comparatively, how the postwar state system sustains and shapes new forms of militarized colonial relations. Juxtaposing instances of postwar foreign military basing from around the world, I show how the politics of decolonization and state making, under conditions of hegemony, gave way to different forms of foreign military presence still rooted in colonial relations.

I trace the history of colonization and militarization of the Ryūkyūs, paying special attention to the contested nature of Ryūkyūan sovereignty and the politics behind dramatically shifting representations of the islands' relationship to Japan. Japanese and American governments, as well as Okinawans themselves, have sought to steer representations of Ryūkyūan sovereignty, alternatively emphasizing or downplaying Ryūkyūan difference. For the US and Japan, representations of the Ryūkyūs as part of Japan became politically necessary as military expansion eventually came to depend on the principle of state sovereignty. For Okinawans, this view of the Ryūkyūs came to be seen as the best way to end US occupation. However, Japan's fundamental relationship with Okinawans—that of colonizer and colonized—did not change, nor was it resolved through the islands' "reversion" to Japan in 1972. Instead this relationship was subsumed within the Japanese state. The emergence of collective rights claims within Okinawa's struggle against US military presence sheds light on these historically specific relations of rule and foreign military basing, which I conceptualize as *internal colonial basing*. The concept of internal colonial basing expresses the relations of coloniality that structure and sustain America's continued occupation of the islands, yet are obscured by the representational claims of the state. Politically and discursively, US (and Japanese) military presence in Okinawa came to rest on the categories that are employed to

legitimate military expansion within the postwar state system, namely, state sovereignty and citizenship.

Given that it serves as a key mechanism of military expansion in the postwar period, the dissertation foregrounds and problematizes citizenship alongside sovereignty. Chapters three and four do so by examining Okinawans' everyday experiences of their citizen relations under internal colonial basing in order to understand how the latter is accomplished. Together these chapters demonstrate that the intertwining of international basing arrangements and colonial relations creates new structures of oppression and forms of inequality through the relations of citizenship. Okinawans' membership in the Japanese state is the mechanism through which Japanese leaders' colonial treatment for Okinawans and US military occupation of their territory shape and sustain one another. At the same time, my attention to everyday relations reveals that the legitimation of internal colonial basing is not just a state-driven process; it is also socially experienced and reproduced amongst Okinawans themselves, reflecting what Derek Sayer calls the "accomplishment of rule" through "everyday forms of moral accommodation" (1994:374).

Understanding the conditions of internal colonial basing involves focusing on two planes of experience: the quotidian and the extraordinary. Chapter three shows how Okinawans' narratives of everyday life shed light on militarization as an everyday process, revealing the extent to which US military presence intersects with, and intervenes in, daily routines and ordinary relationships. The synthetic boundaries that US military presence has imposed on Okinawa Island for six and a half decades normalize a military-centric spatial, cultural and socio-economic order while they simultaneously displace, distort and sometimes prevent Okinawans from maintaining and creating their own. What comes to light is that the everyday experiences of US

military basing condition, and even render routine and "normal," extraordinary violence and struggle related to it.

Although reversion did not alter Okinawans' fundamental experience of US military presence, it changed the terms through which US occupation would continue and be challenged. Japanese citizenship provided Okinawans with a new basis for claims-making and new channels for redress, this also has a depoliticizing effect on the anti-base movement. Rather than facilitate the continuation of the pre-1972 movement to end US occupation, the provisions of citizenship redirected anti-base activists' energy and narrowed the focus of their claims within increasingly institutionalized politics, bringing Okinawans into the process of managing the impact of the bases. Simultaneously, management of base effects happens via international institutions extended to Okinawans via their citizenship. The US-Japan Security Treaty shapes definitions and representations of "basing problems" in a way that locates "basing solutions" and decision-making power at the national and international levels, particularly when "local" means of redress cannot channel Okinawan anger. The consistent deference Japanese leaders demonstrate to Japan's security arrangement with the US in the Okinawan context makes accountability for base effects an elusive prospect.

Chapter four presents a close examination of this dual mode of managing US military presence, which is reflected in the now 13-year old struggle surrounding the closure of the Marine Corps' Futenma Air Station and halting the construction of a new US air base at Okinawa's Cape Henoko. The chapter sheds additional light on how internal colonial basing is accomplished. I pay particular attention to how the Futenma-Henoko struggle reflects the political economy of US military presence more generally. US military presence is maintained via a complicated arrangement of political coercion and exclusion, and a deeply structural economic dependence

punctuated by economic "development" packages—all of which contribute to divisions and ambivalence within the Okinawan community. Given the sense of normality with regard to the bases, pervasive representations of Okinawa as dependent *on* US military presence rather than *because of* US military presence are powerful. Such representations fuel ambivalence and resignation about their place in Okinawa's future because they reinforce the lived experiences of the majority of Okinawans.

The campaign to stop the construction of the new base is multi-pronged—ranging from daily civil disobedience at Henoko to transnational litigation. Discourses of the movement and its transnational dimensions de-center the terms through which the US-Japan Security Treaty dominates the definition of problems and solutions regarding the bases. It introduces alternative conceptions of security that foreground, variously, gendered understandings of military force, the environment as a universal concern, and non-state sovereignty. Thus the Futenma-Henoko struggle reveals how the relations of internal colonial basing simultaneously entrench US military presence and increasingly erode the legitimacy of the Japanese state as a rights-giving institution.

Chapters five and six explore how Okinawans' everyday experiences of internal colonial basing is reflected in an emerging ethnic perspective on their citizen relations, and what the implications of this are for the state-citizen relation and the state system more broadly. Together these chapters demonstrate that institutions of the state are not unilaterally depoliticizing. Internal colonial basing conditions Okinawans' experience as ethnically marginalize collectivity, facilitating reevaluations and reinterpretations of their relationship to the Japanese state.

Chapter five adds empirical referents to the thoretical connections I draw in chapter two between the Okinawan movement and contemporary self-determination movements elsewhere. I demonstrate how the politicization of Okinawan ethnicity in

the current conjuncture has provided Okinawan activists with a broader basis to interpret and challenge their political position vis-à-vis the United States and Japan. This is reflected in new political identities, claims, and alliances, all of which embody a different interpretation of the past, and a different vision for the future.

Okinawan activists are variously interpreting Okinawans' experience under US military presence in terms of their collective identity as an *ethnic minority* politically and socially displaced within Japan; as a *nation/people* historically connected to the Ryūkyū Islands and ethnically and culturally distinct from the Japanese; and (taking into account the linguistic and cultural diversity in the islands) as *indigenous peoples* denied their right to self-determination. These political identities are reflected in alliances within and beyond Japan. Within Japan, ties with ethnic Koreans and the Ainu rest on shared experiences of Japanese imperialism, ongoing ethnic marginalization, and (with the Ainu) a desire for greater autonomy. Regionally, Okinawan activists' frequent exchanges with anti-US military activists in the region are informed just as much by a sense of shared experience in relation to Japanese imperialism, highlighting its historical intertwining with US imperialism. Globally, activists connect with other communities seeking greater self-determination. Because they foreground Okinawans' historical claims to the Ryūkyūs, these identities provide Okinawans not only with new political partners but also new ways, and even new venues, to tell an alternate version of the history and contemporary circumstances of the Ryūkyūs.

The alternative future that most Okinawan activists seek does not (at least for now) involve independence. According to prefecture-wide polls regarding Okinawa's future, this reflects a broad consensus. At the same time, those who articulate a different relationship with Japan speak of a form of territorialized autonomy, via which Okinawans would have greater political, cultural and economic control over the

islands than the central government. The contemporary Okinawans struggle thus problematizes the very premises legitimating US military presence, namely, citizenship and sovereignty.

Chapter six situates this challenge and the Japanese government's response to it within national and global contexts to understand how contestation over citizen relations within Okinawa is shaped by, and shapes, contestation over sovereignty more broadly. The chapter explores Tokyo's seemingly puzzling approach to collective rights claims emanating from the Ryūkyūs. The government has remained largely silent regarding the Ryūkyū population's collective position within Japan, namely their status as an ethnic minority or as indigenous peoples, even when its international human rights commitments oblige it to do so. At the same time, Japanese leaders have gone out of their way to officially celebrate the Ryūkyūs' distinct history and culture in other international fora, such as the 2000 Group of Eight meeting convened in Okinawa. These different approaches reflect Japan's shifting national project and Tokyo's efforts to uphold commitments to the US and an international system experiencing a crisis of sovereignty.

Sustained and increasingly prominent mobilization by ethnic groups within Japan continues to chip away at the dominant narrative of Japan as a "mono-ethnic" country. In this context, embracing Okinawan (and Ainu) difference is a reflection of the government's emphasis on a particular discourse of "multicultural Japan," which emphasizes social variation and regional difference (*c.f.* Burgess 2007). In contrast with other ethnic groups, the historical connection between Okinawans and Ainu and their respective territories is difficult for the government to deny. Thus to officially recognize and celebrate the distinct culture and history of these two peoples as inherently part of a diverse Japan is to reinforce Japan's territorial reach and sovereign claims.

Situated in a global context, this stance aligns Tokyo with other state governments in a collective effort to delegitimize and/or narrow the meaning of collective rights claims within their borders and globally. The autonomist but not statist claims of Okinawan activists (and their counterparts making similar challenges elsewhere) present an historically novel challenge to the state-citizen relation and thus modern sovereignty itself. Contemporary self-determination claims have the state as their object of struggle, but not as their objective. Like Okinawan activists, most are not seeking independence. Rather than rejecting citizenship altogether, they seek to rework its liberal form. For this reason they present the greater challenge to modern sovereignty.

In this way, the contemporary relationship between state formation and military expansion reveals itself as a nexus of global social change. Rather than rejecting citizenship altogether, Okinawans are challenging citizenship as governed by the relations of internal colonial basing. Okinawans' challenges implicate the postwar security relations among states as much as it does the US and Japanese governments in the problems of US military presence in the Ryūkyūs. For its part, however, by contributing to the erosion of citizenship and the crisis of the Japanese state in the Okinawan political context, the United States is jeopardizing the legitimating apparatus it has relied on for thirty-five years.

A note about usage of person and place names

I present Ryūkyūan and Japanese names with last name first, rather than reversing the order to conform to Western practice. Also, in general I use "Okinawa" and "Okinawans" to refer to Okinawa Island and its inhabitants, and "Ryūkyū" and "Ryūkyūan" to refer to the islands and peoples in the entire archipelago. The latter are typically subsumed, both in Japanese and English, under the terms "Okinawa" and

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"Okinawan" due to the Japanese government's designation of the islands as Okinawa Prefecture.

Conclusion

In this study I use the particular instance of Okinawa as a lens to understand the colonial dimensions of foreign military basing and their relationship to struggles over sovereignty more generally. At its most fundamental level, this dissertation is a story about the politics of the relationship between people and place. It is about struggles over meanings and practices of sovereignty in relation to a particular territory, the Ryūkyū Islands, and to particular spaces within the territory: social and political spaces, which intertwine with the physical spaces of homes, neighborhoods, farmland, roads and coastal waters. Therefore central to this story is that territory itself is mobilized in these struggles. This dissertation attempts to show that Okinawans' "defense of place" (*c.f.* Escobar 2001) is, first, not solely the strategy of Okinawans; second, not merely a reaction to state power; and third, not limited in its implications to the Ryūkyūs, or Japan, or the US-Japan relationship. The mobilization of territory and the (re)defining of place in relation to people by social movements is a dialectical process; it is not a reaction by Okinawans to state power but an interaction within state power.

From this perspective, although the defense of place by Okinawans, as well as successive US and Japanese governments, is empirically "local," this study seeks to demonstrate how it involves mobilizing global space in conceptual terms. By asserting their collective rights in different ways, Okinawan activists simultaneously reflect and contribute to the transitional moment in the world more generally, one that is not easily understood through a theoretical lens premised on static conceptions of state, citizenship and sovereignty. In tracing reinterpretations of their citizenship and the

emergence of new political identities and claims in Okinawa, I am not making an argument about a linear process of transformation, or emancipation. Rather, I argue that it reflects a moment of transition, with Okinawa emerging as a crystallization of way sovereignty claims are playing out globally.

CHAPTER TWO

ERASING COLONY: STATE MAKING AND THE CREATION OF
INTERNAL COLONIAL BASING IN OKINAWA

"This beautiful island is a dependency of Japan, and is governed by the same laws; the people are industrious and inoffensive, and I have already made considerable progress in calming their fears and conciliating their friendship; and, as I propose to make this a port of rendezvous for the squadron, it may be hoped that, in the course of time, the whole population of this island may become quite friendly."

~ Commodore Matthew C. Perry, describing the main island of the Ryūkyū Kingdom in a communiqué to US Secretary of the Navy William Graham, June 2, 1853.[20]

"Though the United States wants no profit or selfish advantage out of this war, we are going to maintain the military bases necessary for the complete protection of our interests and of world peace. Bases which our military experts deem to be essential for our protection we will acquire. We will acquire them by arrangements consistent with the United Nations Charter."

~ President Harry S. Truman, radio address following the Potsdam Conference, Aug 7, 1945.[21]

Introduction

Commodore Matthew Perry's confident characterization of the Ryūkyū Islands as a dependency of Japan in the letter quoted above is notable for two reasons. First, the Commodore's fleet had only arrived in the kingdom's main port at Naha a week before he penned the letter to Washington, and he himself had not even set foot on Ryūkyūan soil. Second, less than a year later he orchestrated formal diplomatic relations directly between the United States and the Ryūkyū Kingdom itself. Perry, whose fleet of black ships is better known for compelling Japan's rulers to end the country's two centuries of self-isolation in the summer of 1854, landed first in the

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[20] Cited in George Kerr, *Okinawa: History of an Island People*. Boston: Tuttle Books, 1958, p. 313.
[21] Public Papers of Harry S. Truman, cited in Christopher T. Sandars, *America's Overseas Garrisons,* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, p. 5.

Ryūkyūs, where he tried unsuccessfully to conclude a treaty of commerce with the Ryūkyū Kingdom (Kerr 1958:313). Eager to establish a military outpost in the region, Perry knew that promoting the *idea* that Okinawa was under the control of Japan, which Washington had its sights on, was more important than the fact. In the realpolitik of the day, it was the most expedient way to deter other colonial powers' designs in the region.

Perry's entreaty to Washington worked; he soon found himself overseeing the establishment of the first US military installation in the Ryūkyūs, a naval port at the capital city of Naha. Upon the successful "opening" of Japan the following year, however, Washington ordered the naval port to be reduced to a coal depot, maintained to serve as a "technical check" upon potential British, Russian or French interests in the islands (Kerr 1958:315). To shore up American interests in this regard, Perry concluded the "Compact Between the United States and the Kingdom of Lew Chew [Ryūkyū]", which secured both US citizens and vessels safe harbor and provisions.

The contradiction between Perry's insistence on Japanese control over the Ryūkyūs and the Compact reveals that America's contemporary strategy of alternatively bolstering Japan's hold over the Ryūkyū Islands and recognizing Ryūkyūan autonomy—both done in order to maintain its military presence there— began nearly a century before its postwar occupation of the islands. The United States would reverse its official characterization four more times before it finally settled on formally supporting Japan's full sovereignty over the distant island territory. By that time, validation of state sovereignty had become essential to and aided foreign military basing in a new era of empire, as Truman's nod to the newly minted UN Charter suggests.

Truman's words capture a transformative historical moment in the relationship between state making and military expansion. It expresses at once both the constraint

and the freedom that the US and other powerful nations suddenly faced after World War Two when it came to establishing foreign military bases. The postwar wave of anti-imperialist movements and the subsequent extension of the state system around the globe via decolonization initiated an effort to formalize military expansion and occupation into a routine practice amongst sovereign states. On the one hand, powerful nations could no longer unilaterally expand their militaries in a postwar world increasingly organized around the principle of state sovereignty. On the other hand, a world of ostensibly sovereign states provided a legitimate cover for military expansion by other means.

In this chapter, I situate US military presence in Okinawa and recent challenges to it within this global transformation as a way to understand the contemporary relationship between state formation and military expansion. How did the institutionalization of the state system in the postwar period change the way military expansion happens, and how did this change the conditions of US military presence in the Ryūkyūs? Why did the governments of the United States, Japan, and ultimately Okinawans themselves all wind up promoting the idea of Japanese sovereignty over the Ryūkyū Islands? How does the historical relationship between Japan and the Ryūkyūs shape the conditions of US military presence in pre- and post-1972 Okinawa?

By historicizing US military basing in the Ryūkyūs, this chapter demonstrates, systematically and comparatively, how the politics of state making via decolonization in the postwar period both legitimized foreign military expansion and obscured the multiple ways foreign military presence still rests on and sustains colonial relations. Under conditions of hegemony, decolonization and state making gave way to different forms of foreign military presence rooted in colonial relations. I identify four historically contingent forms of what I call *colonial basing* in order to specify the

particular configuration of colonial relations governing US military presence in the Ryūkyūs.

The challenge to state sovereignty emerging in the Okinawan demilitarization movement reveals how, with the Ryūkyūs' reincorporation into Japan, US military presence in Okinawa took the form of *internal colonial basing*. This historically novel form is distinguished by Okinawa's status as an internal colony—an erased colony—of the Japanese state. The Ryūkyūs' reincorporation into the Japanese state in 1972 subsumed the historical relationship between Japan and the islanders—that of colonizer and colonized—within the Japanese state and the state-citizen relation. I use the term "erased" to capture the deliberate, ongoing efforts to represent Okinawa as part of Japan and reject expressions of connection between Okinawans and the Ryūkyū Islands that call into question Japan's territorial integrity. Like other contested terrain within countries where the US has a military presence, representations of Okinawans and their territory as inherently part of an existing state are critical to the United States' ability to keep its military there due to the postwar institutionalization of a new state-centric regime of foreign military basing.

I begin the chapter by tracing the history of colonization and militarization of the Ryūkyūs, paying special attention to the contested nature of Ryūkyūan sovereignty and the politics behind shifting representations of the Ryūkyūs' relationship to Japan—including Okinawans' own self-representation as Japanese during their movement to end the US postwar occupation. This leads me to broaden my scale of analysis to understand US occupation in the context of postwar changes in the relationship between state making and military expansion. After problematizing the taken-for-grantedness of contemporary foreign military basing, the third part of the chapter explores the different ways colonial relations endure in overseas basing. In this discussion my focus on the politics of decolonization helps sheds light on the

particular form of colonial relations that condition US military presence in the Ryūkyūs since the islands' 1972 reincorporation into the Japanese state.

(Re)constructing the Ryūkyūs and Japan

From independent kingdom to colonial subjects

The seemingly self-evident representation of Okinawa prefecture as part of Japan today obscures the Ryūkyū Kingdom's long history of peaceful and autonomous trading relations, as well as the history of invasion, colonization, militarization, strategic representations and struggles over sovereignty that led to the kingdom becoming part of the contemporary Japanese state. The treaty Perry arranged between the US and the Ryūkyū Kingdom in 1854 followed centuries of diplomatic and trade relations with peoples throughout the region, and came after diplomatic agreements with Holland and France in the mid-1800s. The kingdom began with the uniting of Okinawa Island in 1429, soon thereafter consolidating its trade and diplomatic relations.[22] The Ryūkyūs were at the center of trade between the markets of Southeast Asia and those of China, Korea and Japan. Both China and Japan considered the kingdom a tribute territory, the latter after invasion in 1609 by the feudal domain of Satsuma, located on Japan's southernmost tip. Satsuma's invasion of the Ryūkyūs followed centuries of peaceful trade between the two regions, and was initiated after Ryūkyū leaders refused to contribute warriors to the first of Japan's two invasions of Korea in 1592. The Ryūkyūan court continued to oblige both China and Japan by maintaining tributary relations with the Ming Chinese court and successive Japanese

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[22] The Ryūkyū Kingdom had reciprocal trading relations with Siam by 1425 and sent a trade mission to Java in 1430. It established diplomatic and trading relations with Korea in 1431, appointed its first foreign trade minister in 1459, and sent a trade mission to Malacca in 1463. A diplomatic mission was sent to Japan's Muromachi Shogunate and then to the old capital of Kyoto in 1466. By the end of the 15th century, trade was established with the eastern coast of Malaysia (See www.okinawan-shorinryu.com/okinawa/history.html).

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shogunates.[23] In practice, however the Ryūkyū Kingdom retained its autonomy over the islands and in its relations with other countries (Kerr 1958, ch. 3).

The emergence of Japan as a modern nation-state in 1868 is the point where the history of the Ryūkyūs irreversibly merges with modern colonial history. Although a latecomer to imperialism, Japanese leaders "opened" the country to the international community at a time when a powerful state meant not only domestic impenetrability but also wealth and power in the form of conquered overseas territories. Japan's fledgling Meiji government wasted little time in extending its formal territorial reach. It invaded the Ryūkyū Islands in 1872. Tokyo forced Kingdom officials to hand over all treaty correspondence with the US, Holland and France. When Tokyo notified foreign governments that it had assumed control over the Ryūkyū Kingdom, then US President Ulysses S. Grant sent warning that the Japanese government's unilateral actions might raise concerns internationally. Japanese leaders quickly sent word to the US and other powers that Japan would assume all obligations and rights set forth in their treaties with the former kingdom. Washington accepted Japan's position and other Western governments soon followed suit (Kerr 1958:364), which helped to solidify Japan's identity as an emerging power and justify its rule over Ryūkyūans.[24] The Meiji government's takeover of the Ryūkyūs, which it called the *Ryūkyū shobun* ("disposition of Ryūkyū"), culminated in 1879, when it designated the entire Ryūkyū archipelago Japan's forty-seventh prefecture, renaming it Okinawa. Exiling the Ryukyuan King Sho Tai to Tokyo, Meiji leaders establishing a Japanese-controlled prefectural administration and military headquarters in the kingdom's former capital city of Naha.

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[23] The kingdom paid tribute to the Muromachi shogunate (1336-1573) and the Tokugawa shogunate (1603-1867) through the powerful Satsuma domain.
[24] Chinese leaders did not recognize Japan's claim over the islands until the end of the Sino-Japanese War in 1895.

Japan's incorporation of the Ryūkyū Kingdom transformed Ryūkyūans' relationships with other peoples in the region—from centuries-old maritime trading partners to fellow colonial subjects. As Smits (1999) points out, the Meiji state's portrayal of the *Ryūkyū shobun* as simply an internal administrative reorganization belies how the process "called into question previous modes of East Asian interstate relations as Japan employed new notions of sovereignty based on European traditions and international law" (143). And because these same notions, traditions and laws underpinned European practices of expansion and colonization, their embrace by Meiji leaders helped set its course of expansion. At roughly the same time it invaded the Ryūkyūs, the Meiji government finally solidified its hold over Ainu territory to the north. Tokyo set up a formal colonial administration on the northern island in 1869, renaming it "Hokkaido." Both Hokkaido and Okinawa, which today most people within and outside mainland Japan consider inherently part of the Japanese "nation-state," are thus more accurately characterized as the empire's first of many territorial acquisitions in the decades before the Pacific War. While vastly smaller in size by comparison,[25] annexation of the Ryūkyū Islands significantly extended Japan's territorial and maritime control southward, facilitating its colonization of nearby Taiwan (then Formosa), the Korean peninsula, the Philippines and beyond.

Ryūkyūans protested when the central government sought to station an entire division of the Japanese Imperial Army, but Tokyo expropriated 61,600 square meters of prime farmland for military facilities (Ota 1999:209). Although the economy of the kingdom was already intertwined with that of the Satsuma clan, colonial rulers began to more systematically redirect economic outputs toward Japan. This was during an initial period of neglect for the general welfare of Ryūkyūans, which Kerr (1958: 400)

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[25] Annexation of Hokkaido increased Japan's territory by 20 percent, creating a significant "buffer" between the heartland of Japan and the Western power it would soon confront and defeat in war, Russia. In contrast, the Ryūkyū Archipelago constitutes 0.6 percent of Japan's landmass.

refers to as Tokyo's "do nothing" era. Finally extending its nationalization efforts to the islands, the central government used the local administration to impose the national education system and Japanese language on its new subjects. Whereas Satsuma rulers prevented Ryūkyūan adoption of Japanese names and customs because they considered Ryūkyūans to be "foreign and barbarian" (Hein and Selden 2003:9), the Meiji government initiated strict cultural assimilation policies, outlawing local languages, dress, customs such as the tattooing of women's hands to mark passage into adulthood, and spiritual practices like the consulting of shamans (Kerr 1958, ch. 9; Rabson 1996). Over time, this top-down mode of assimilation was bolstered by a bottom-up effort as Okinawans, motivated by admiration for Japan after its 1894 victory against China, began adopting Japanese names and dress (Rabson 1996; Applegate 2003).

These colonial beginnings set the stage for Okinawans' experience of the Pacific War and relations with Japan and the US since. As Japanese subjects, Okinawans were conscripted and often forced to give up their homes, land, and schools for use by the southwardly advancing Imperial Army. In addition to inadequate provision of food and forced labor, Okinawans faced possible execution by Japanese soldiers, who were ordered to treat anyone who spoke a Ryūkyūan language as a spy and traitor (Ota 2000a:57-63; Ishihara 1992). That Okinawans were considered colonial subjects rather than Japanese subjects was further confirmed after the war, when official documents revealed that Japanese leaders had designated the Ryūkyūs as a strategic buffer zone, to be sacrificed in order to protect the mainland (Ota 2000a:50; Purves 2006, ch. 2). When the United States led the Allied invasion against Japanese imperial forces amassed in the islands in the spring of 1945, 200,000 people, nearly a third of Okinawa's population, perished in what became known as the Battle of Okinawa. Among the dead were the thousands of civilians Chibana Shōichi

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invoked when he set fire to the Japanese flag, those forced by the Japanese army to commit "collective suicide" rather than face capture by Allied troops.

From colonial subjects to a stateless people

By the time of Japan's surrender in September 1945, the US military had transformed Okinawa Island into a major site of operations—one it had every intention of keeping (Kono 1994).[26] In the short-term, this was straightforward. Although the occupation was formally an Allied affair, in practice the Americans were in charge. Having emerged as the only economically strong state among the victors of the war, the US assumed the dominant role in steering Japan's occupation to its own postwar designs. Thus it was with a simple memorandum in January 1946 that Allied Commander General Douglas MacArthur formally separated the entire Ryūkyū Archipelago from the occupation's administering authority in Tokyo and placed it under US military rule (Furuki 2003:30).

In a climate where blatant imperialism was at least officially going out of fashion, however, America's ability to retain Okinawa as a military outpost beyond the occupation of Japan required navigating the politics and structures of the emerging postwar state system. The United Nations system and specifically its framework for decolonization, the International Trusteeship System, became a key mechanism through which regional imperial power was transferred from Japan to the United States. Established in 1945 as the successor to the League of Nations' Mandate

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[26] John Purves notes that Department of State (DoS) officials were initially less enthusiastic about holding onto Okinawa and advocated returning the islands to Japan, echoing congressional concerns about the costs involved in maintaining control over the Ryūkyūs. Military leaders and Department of Defense officials held their ground and, as relations with the Soviet Union soured, by 1948 Okinawa was viewed by all as a key strategic location in the United States' emerging policy of "containment". See John Purves, chapter two in *Managing a Wild Horse with a Rotten Rope: A Contemporary History of Okinawa,* 2006. Retrieved from The Ryukyu-Okinawa History and Culture Website at www.niraikanai.wwma.net/pages/wildhorse/chap2-4.html on May 1, 2008.

System, the Trusteeship System was set up to oversee the decolonization of newly designated "non-self-governing territories." These included territories 1) held under mandates established by the League of Nations after the First World War; 2) detached from "enemy states" as a result of the Second World War; and 3) voluntarily placed under the Trusteeship System by states recognized as their administering authority.[27] Initially the US government pushed through a 1947 Security Council resolution to create what it called a "strategic trusteeship," naming the US as administering authority over all Pacific islands originally mandated to Japan by the League of Nations in 1920.[28] The special designation of *strategic* trusteeship prioritized military needs over self-determination. Article 5 of the 1947 resolution transferring control of the territories to the US entitled it "to establish naval, military and air bases and to erect fortifications in the trust territory" (UN Security Council 1947).

Having formalized American military control over the littoral territories in the region, US leaders again turned to the trusteeship system to ensure its continued control over the Ryūkyūs as negotiations to end the occupation of Japan got under way in earnest. By this time, however, the United States faced widespread ambivalence to its control over the Ryūkyūs from other state parties to the San Francisco Peace Conference. Truman's head delegate to the talks, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, met ambivalence with ambivalence. He proposed that Japan "retain *residual* sovereignty, while making it possible for [the Ryūkyū Islands] to be brought into the United Nations trusteeship system, with the United States as administering authority" (Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs 1951; emphasis added).

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[27] See Article 77 of the Charter of the United Nations, www.un.org/Depts/dpi/decolonization/trust.htm.
[28] The 1920 mandate, which coincided with Japan's entry into the League of Nations, recognized Japanese control over all former German Islands north of the equator. They were designated as *Class C mandates*, considered to be "best administered under the laws of the mandatory as integral portions of its territory." This included all islands within Micronesia—the Carolines, Marianas, Marshall Islands and Palau groups—but excluded Guam and Wake Island, which remained under US control.

Dulles' seemingly incongruous nod both to Okinawans' future self-governance

via the Trusteeship System and to Japan's latent sovereignty claims over the islands

makes sense only with hindsight. As administering authority, the US never followed

through with a proposal to place the Ryūkyūs under the Trusteeship System, as

stipulated in Article 3 of the 1951 San Francisco Peace Treaty.[29] As Purves (2006, ch.

2) points out, a formal trusteeship relation would have opened US activities to outside

scrutiny.[30] In the meantime, the US enjoyed the "interim" right, elaborated in Article 3,

to "exercise all and any powers of administration, legislation and jurisdiction over the

territory and inhabitants of these islands, including their territorial waters."

Confirmation that the US was probably never serious about making the Ryūkyūs a

trust territory came decades later, with the discovery of a secret communiqué from

Emperor Hirohito to Douglas MacArthur, dated September 1947. Faced with the

prospect of continued US military presence in Japan, Japanese leaders once again took

a sacrificial approach to the Ryūkyūs. Hirohito offered the United States long-term

control over the Ryūkyū Archipelago in exchange for Japan's own demilitarization

and independence.[31] Having quite thoroughly been "de-linked" from the Ryūkyūs after

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[29] Article 3 of the San Francisco Peace Treaty, under which Japan renounced its treaty and colonial rights to overseas territories, reads, "Japan will concur in any proposal of the United States to the United Nations to place under its trusteeship system, with the United States as the sole administering authority, Nansei Shoto south of 29 degrees north latitude (including the Ryukyu Islands and the Daito Islands)….Pending the making of such a proposal and affirmative action thereon, the United States will have the right to exercise all and any powers of administration, legislation and jurisdiction over the territory and inhabitants of these islands, including their territorial waters." See "Multilateral Treaty of Peace with Japan," San Francisco Peace Conference. San Francisco, California. September 8, 1951. Retrieved October 6, 2007 from The Ryukyu-Okinawa History and Culture Website at http://www.niraikanai.wwma.net/pages/archive/sanfran.html.

[30] Article 73 of the UN Charter requires administering authorities of trust territories to regularly report statistical and other information relating to economic, social, and educational conditions. See www.un-documents.net/ch-11.htm.

[31] Hirohito sent the message through his advisor, Terasaki Hidenari, to William Sebald, then political advisor to MacArthur. According to American records, Terasaki conveyed the emperor's offer "that United States military occupation of Okinawa…should be based upon the fiction of a long-term lease—25 to 50 years or more—with sovereignty retained in Japan." The note was found in the US National Archives in 1979. See William J. Sebald, "Enclosure to Dispatch No. 1293 dated September 22, 1947, from the United States Political Adviser for Japan, Tokyo, on the subject 'Emperor of Japan's Opinion Concerning the Future of the Ryukyu Islands,' Memorandum For General MacArthur," edited

the war, however, the Japanese government's ability to lease its former colony to the

United States depended on *re*establishing the notion that Japan had legitimate claim

over the islands. By recognizing Japan's "residual sovereignty," the US laid the legal-

political groundwork for its future long-term occupation via bilateral security

arrangements with Japan. Thus the long-term fate of the Ryūkyūs was determined

through a framework and principles elaborated in the moment of welcoming a

reconstructed Japan back into the family of states.

In the meantime, Ryūkyūans would remain a stateless people, subject to US

military control. The legitimating rhetoric of Article 3 allowed the United States to

maintain sole control over the Ryūkyūs and build up its military on the islands as it

saw fit. That the latter was foremost in American planners' minds from the outset is

evident in Dulles' speech to the San Francisco Peace Conference, in which he spelled

out the US position on its role as administering authority of the islands:

> The future trusteeship agreement will, no doubt, determine the future
> civil status of the inhabitants in relation to Japan while affording the
> administering authority the possibility of carrying out Article 84 of
> the [UN] Charter, which provides that 'It shall be the duty of the
> administering authority to ensure that *the trust territory shall play its
> part in the maintenance of international peace and security.*'[32]

Thus began Ryūkyūans' "part in the maintenance of international peace and security,"

as a trust territory that never was. The people of the Ryūkyūs would remain stateless

for 21 more years. For most of this time they struggled for reincorporation into the

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by Diplomatic Section: General Headquarters, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, 1947.
Retrieved October 6, 2007 from The Ryukyu-Okinawa History and Culture Website at
http://www.niraikanai.wwma.net/pages/archive/emp1.html.
[32] Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "John Foster Dulles's Speech at the San Francisco Peace
Conference." in *San Francisco Peace Conference*. San Francisco: Gaimusho joyaku-kyoku hokika,
Heiwa joyaku no teiketsu ni kansuru chosho VII, pp.267-284 (1951); emphasis added.

Japanese state, to become citizens of the country that had colonized their territory nearly a century earlier.

From a stateless people to second-class citizens

Hindsight offers, perhaps too easily, a critical lens on the struggle to reincorporate the Ryūkyūs into Japan. The oppressive conditions that continue under Japan's watch since reversion in 1972, especially for those living with the bases on Okinawa Island, beg the question of why the anti-US occupation movement of the 1950s and 60s sought reincorporation into Japan, its former colonizer. Although the view that the Ryūkyūs should become independent was held by some (Taira 1999), this was not widespread (Applegate 2003), and their voices were marginalized as the occupation went on. As Taira (1997) points out, the Cold War context created an environment wherein criticisms of the US or any ideas about the Ryūkyūs that would challenge the status-quo were treated by US authorities as subversive and communist. Together with the threat of repression, which had a cooling effect on Ryūkyūans' freedom of speech over time, US authorities denounced the idea of extending autonomy to Okinawa as a "myth" (Taira 1997:160). Dominating the discourse of the struggle was the aspiration of "reversion to the mother/fatherland" (*sōkokku fukki tōsō*), as the struggle became known. The photographs below capture this discourse and some forms of its expression.

Figure 2.1 Hunger strikers during the reversion movement demonstrate their allegiance to Japan, late 1960s. (Source: *Okinawa ken sōkokku fukki tōsō shi shashin shū* [History of the Struggle for Okinawa Prefecture's Reversion to the Motherland: A Photographic Collection])

Figure 2.2 Schoolgirls at a "Okinawa Reversion Day" rally on April 28, 1965 at Yoyogi Park, Naha City. 80,000 people participated in the rally. (Source: *Okinawa ken sōkokku fukki tōsō shi shashin shū* [History of the Struggle for Okinawa Prefecture's Reversion to the Motherland: A Photographic Collection] p. 87)

The desire to rejoin the Japanese state also had much to do with the fact that Ryūkyūans remained a stateless people, with their everyday existence profoundly shaped by US military presence. The characterization of Japan's control over the islands in terms of "residual sovereignty" had not made Ryūkyūans Japanese citizens, nor did they become American citizens in the interim. American military leaders divided the archipelago into 4 zones of control. Under the auspices of the United States Civilian Authority in the Ryūkyūs (USCAR) and a purportedly local civilian Government of the Ryūkyū Islands (GRI), the military held tight control over local political institutions for most of the occupation.[33] It was not until 1968, with reversion imminent, that the US allowed a popular election for governor of the GRI and representatives in the Japanese Diet.

In this context, accountability and rights were talked about but not protected. Privileging of military needs, as well as military personnel, led to neglect and systematic abuses under military rule. Forced land appropriation continued throughout the 1950s, at times through a combination of "bayonets and bulldozers," as the US continued increasing its military infrastructure. Displaced communities that had finally returned to their villages would sometimes find themselves being ordered to "relocate" due to base construction (Ota 2000a:243; Purves, ch. 2). The Japanese military's own build-up and the Battle of Okinawa had left the islands, especially Okinawa Island, impoverished and in ruins. But basic development, which the US put considerable funds towards in the years immediately following the war, happened in close relationship to military priorities (Purves 2006, ch. 2).

Accounts of the occupation reveal the great degree to which individual military personnel were allowed to act with impunity. Violent crimes, including rape, routinely

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[33] The military initially orchestrated the occupation through the Okinawa Advisory Council, reorganizing this organization into the Government of the Ryūkyū Islands, which existed from 1952 to 1972.

went unpunished (Johnson 2004b; Yoshida 2002). 78-year old Nakamura Mayumi spoke of the frustration Okinawans felt about the lack of justice in the face of accidents and crimes, but also in everyday experiences. She recalled having to use a separate entrance and being refused entry to the base cafeteria as an employee on Kadena Air Base in the 1950s. Taira linked experiences of everyday injustices to what became known as the Koza riots (*Koza sōdō*), in which nearly 5000 Okinawans clashed with hundreds of military police and personnel in December 1970:

> "I liked my job on the base because I worked with a friend of mine, but we were always yelled at and called "Japs" and "Jap girls" by the soldiers who ran the building where we worked. My husband worked for an electricians' team on the base. They made him test the wire fences, and they hit him if he was slow to touch the fence. He told me this only once, but I think it probably happened all the time. But as individuals, we couldn't do anything about this kind of treatment. We protested all the time when incidents happened, but soldiers could do anything and they never got reprimanded or punished. Any time a soldier would cause an accident, he could just leave the scene. Soldiers always just escaped to the bases. One time a soldier hit and killed a woman in a crosswalk. He was acquitted, which caused so much anger. A week later some soldiers caused a car accident in Koza, and a crowd surrounded the car, I suppose because they expected the driver would try to leave. Military police arrived, and they fired shots in the air, and this set off a great riot. Uchinanchū burned many cars, I think 70 or 80 cars were burned in the streets. Everyone was so angry and tired of living without rights. After the war, in high school we were taught about the great democracy, America, with checks and balances. But we didn't experience it at all."[34]

Accountability came into play back in Washington, but it was limited to budgetary concerns. The considerable expense of rebuilding the islands often met with US Congressional skepticism about US control over the Ryūkyūs. As the reversion movement gained momentum and America's presence in the Ryūkyūs became less certain, Congress became much less willing to fund the occupation. By the 1960s,

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[34] Personal interview, February 20, 2005.

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while Ryukyuans remained deeply dependent on the US military economically, their living conditions began to lag considerably behind that of Japanese (Purves 2006, ch. 2; Yoshida 2002).

As an effort to quell or at least slow the momentum of the reversion movement, USCAR officials deliberately set out to create what Obermiller (2000) calls an "identity gap" between Okinawans and mainland Japan by fostering Ryūkyūan ethnic nationalism. To this end they ordered the construction of Ryukyuan-American Cultural Centers on the main island of Okinawa and on the islands of Miyako and Yaeyama. The centers coordinated performances of Ryukyuan dance and folk songs, art, pottery, and handicrafts as well as lectures on Ryukyuan history and philosophy. Although USCAR officials apparently understood the danger of creating "enmity against the proposal rather than developing a nationalistic feeling," they even went so far as to order the creation of a national song and Ryūkyūan flag, using the traditional colors and crest of the last royal Ryūkyūan family. USCAR ordered local media to publish and broadcast articles and programs emphasizing Ryukyuan cultural and historical themes. It also published two magazines of its own, which showcased Ryūkyūan history, culture, philosophy, and important historical figures (Obermiller 2000:11-13).

Perhaps not surprisingly, USCAR's top-down attempts to reinforce Ryūkyūan identity rather than Japanese identity had the opposite effect. Taira Koji (1997) writes, "The Okinawan response was, more often than not: 'We are Japanese', 'we are entitled to the same extent of democracy and civil and human rights as the Japanese enjoy in the mainland'…reversionists and irredentists alike promoted the notion that Okinawa was an inherently integral part of Japan proper" (p. 160). Although this amounted to a rejection of their own distinct identity as Ryūkyūans, Taira suggests that while Okinawans would claim distinctiveness for themselves vis-à-vis the

Japanese, they countered US attempts to manipulate such differences by asserting their Japaneseness (p. 161).

In the end, the Okinawan struggle against the United States' 27-year long postwar occupation united a majority of individuals and groups from a diverse set of interests behind two related convictions: First, that reincorporation into the Japanese state would mean protection under Japan's "peace constitution," in which Japan relinquished its right to wage war and maintain a regular standing military. Second, that reincorporation was the most expedient way to guarantee basic rights, a better standard of living, and liberate their islands and lives from US imperialism.

Given the conditions under which Ryūkyūans lived during the US occupation, as David Tobaru Obermiller (2000) observes, the conventional view of the Okinawan reversion movement as being a "natural" expression of Japanese identity and nationalism oversimplifies and distorts complex and conflicting motivations. It takes for granted, he argues, the dominant image of a homogeneous Japan, rather than problematizes this image in light of counter-expressions that suggest the Ryūkyūs have always been a heterogeneous element within Japan.

Higa Yuriko, a 64-year old self-described peace activist explains her reasons for wanting to "be Japanese" and for participating in the reversion movement in terms of a desire for the rights associated with citizenship. Like Chibana Shōichi, Higa joined her high school peers in the 1960s to end the US occupation. She explained,

> "It wasn't that I or most *Uchinanchū*[35] really felt we were Japanese instead of Uchinanchū during the reversion movement, especially given the way that Japan had treated us before and during the war—though I think many certainly tried. And Uchinanchū grew more and more willing to put wartime experiences behind us because more than anything we wanted the US military to leave. We wanted our human

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[35] *Uchinanchū* is the name for both an Okinawan person and Okinawans as a people in the Okinawan language. Even though the vast majority of Okinawans primarily speak Japanese, they typically use this term rather than refer to Okinawans in the Japanese language.

rights to be recognized. We wanted to be citizens. At the time, Japan looked very good to us….Most of us spoke Japanese by then, and Japan was prospering. It also had a peace constitution. What a revolutionary idea! It had renounced war and military in its new constitution. I wanted to be a citizen of a country with a peace constitution. I remember thinking how proud I would feel if this became a reality. This is why I wanted to be Japanese."[36]

For this veteran activist, "to be Japanese" did not mean to be ethnically Japanese; it meant to become a Japanese *citizen* and end America's military grip on Okinawa. It meant having rights. Thus like many other colonized peoples who threw their lot in with a generalized "big-N" Nationalism in the anti-imperialist movements sweeping the globe during the same period, the promises of protection and political participation embodied in the state-citizen relation grew to have concrete, imaginable consequences for Okinawans during the United States' formal occupation.

That the people of the Ryūkyūs would, as Japanese citizens, likely share in the burden of Japan's military arrangement with the United States was begrudgingly understood. According to Arakaki Gikei, who was a student in Tokyo at the time, this is why students and day laborers he knew from Okinawa were active in the "ANPŌ struggle" (*anpō tōsō*).[37] Mr. Arakaki recalled, "Of course Uchinanchū living in Japan at the time took part in the struggle. We knew that after reversion we would be subject to whatever arrangement Japan had with the US. After decades of suffering under American occupation, we knew better than anyone in Japan how the US and its military operated."[38] In the midst of fierce and widespread opposition across Japan by students, labor and political parties on the left, the two countries renewed their earlier

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[36] Personal interview, Ginowan, Okinawa. March 20, 2005.
[37] "ANPO" is a common contraction of *anzen hoshō,* a key phrase meaning "to guarantee security" from the Japanese name of the US-Japan Security Treaty, *Nippon-koku to amerika-gasshūkoku to no aida no sōgo kyōryoku oyobi anzen hoshō jōyaku.*
[38] Personal interview, October 14, 2004.

security arrangement in the US-Japan Security Treaty in 1970.[39] That Okinawans

would shoulder by far the greatest burden of the arrangement, however, came as a

crushing blow to those who had struggled in the reversion movement for an equal

place among the Japanese citizenry.

Intervening in this struggle was the fact that Ryūkyūans' citizenship was from

the start constituted as a global rather than a national relation, reflecting a particular

form of compromised sovereignty. Citizenship is always both a negotiated and a

militarized relation, but Ryūkyūans' citizenship was and remains constituted through

interactions between the US and Japan governments and their intertwined defense

policies. The very terms of citizenship in the Japanese state were established

bilaterally between the administrations of President Richard Nixon and Prime Minister

Sato Eisaku. The two governments negotiated the details of the islands' reversion in

the late-1960s, alongside their negotiations over the pending renewal of the Security

Treaty. Their 1969 agreement stipulated that the US military would remain in

Okinawa, and several US bases would relocate from Japan to Okinawa Prefecture.[40]

Thus Okinawans very membership in the Japanese state was predicated on continued

US military presence, with their territory as the geographical cornerstone of the two

countries' security arrangements. Moreover, most of the military-occupied lands in

Okinawa that the US agreed to forfeit upon reversion were not returned to the original

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[39] The Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between the United States and Japan (US-Japan Security Treaty) was originally signed in 1960 at the expiration of the US-Japan Security Alliance, signed alongside the San Francisco Peace Treaty in 1951. The current US-Japan Security Treaty obliges both parties to maintain and develop their capacities to resist armed attack in tandem and to assist each other in case of armed attack on territories under Japanese administration. Given Japan's renunciation of offensive war-making under Article nine of its constitution, it is understood that Japan's Self-Defense Forces could not participate in conflicts abroad or act in the defense of the United States if the latter were attacked outside of Japan—hence the contradiction in Japan's recent deployment of SDF to Iraq. Article Six of the treaty elaborates the Status of Forces agreement between the two countries, which lays out the legal status and rights of US military personnel and civilian contractors in Japan. For the Treaty text see www.mofa.go.jp/region/n-america/us/q&a/ref/1.html. For the text of the Status of Forces agreement, see www.mofa.go.jp/region/n-america/us/q&a/ref/2.html.
[40] Within a few years after reversion, the US military reduced its presence on mainland Japan by sixty percent, while Okinawans saw only a fourteen percent reduction overall.

landowners. Instead the land went to Japan's Self-Defense Forces, marking the beginning of Okinawans' *double* occupation.

By all accounts, the long-awaited rallies held on May 15, 1972—the day sovereign control over the Ryūkyūs reverted to Japan—were filled with a mix of anger and despair. Yara Chobyo, the head of the Government of the Ryūkyūs and one of the leaders of the reversion movement, refused to attend the official ceremony in Tokyo. Nearly everyone I spoke with who took part in the protests recalled the day's rainstorms, as if the weather somehow reflected their feelings about the reality marked by the day. "It rained so hard on that day, on May 15," Yui Akiko told me. "The rain drops were huge and falling on us hard. We were drenched, but we kept marching. It felt like we were marching in our own tears."[41]

What Okinawans escaped in 1972 was US imperialism in a particular historical form. After reversion, as Japanese citizens they found themselves confronting empire under different world-historical conditions. In order to understand the contemporary struggle over sovereignty that emerged in relation to continued US military occupation, we must consider it in the context of broader struggles over who and what would become the subject of sovereignty, and how this intertwined with the transformation of foreign military expansion in the postwar era.

Postwar decolonization, state making, and the transformation of foreign military basing

American military presence in the Ryūkyūs after 1972 took an historically novel form, due to broader political changes in the world system since the United States had first taken control of the islands in 1945. The decades following World War Two saw the institutionalization of foreign military expansion and occupation into a routine matter of international relations, as imperialism itself was transformed through

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[41] Personal interview, April 14, 2005.

decolonization and state making. Before this time, colonization and militarization went hand-in-hand. "Imperial preference" and competition among colonial powers had long determined the location of external military bases. This changed dramatically as anti-imperialist movements compelled the extension of the state system around the globe via decolonization. Institutional and negotiating imperatives for foreign military basing emerged through the constitution of an increasingly shared notion of territorial sovereignty. The promulgation of the principle of state sovereignty, through its codification in the UN Charter and the eventual "completion" of the state system, meant that extended siting of military forces overseas *required legitimization* in places and in ways that it had not before. Powerful governments were suddenly obliged to negotiate treaties or other formal arrangements to deploy their armed forces in another country's territory.

At the same time, the constraint that an increasingly globalized reciprocal sovereignty imposed on powerful states also *made possible the legitimization* of military expansion in places and in ways that it had not before. For governments of newly emerging states, membership in the "family of states" meant they were both able *and* required to take part in the negotiations and formal arrangements associated with sovereign states—however unequal the terms. In contextualizing historically the institution of modern territoriality, John Ruggie (1993) points to the process of "social empowerment" whereby newer and/or less powerful states "vindicated their right to exist." While they were not able to do so by means of material power, they were "socially empowered by the collectivity of sovereigns to act as its constitutive units" (163). The same process was at work in the postwar period, as the completion of the state system transformed the practice and representation of foreign military expansion. Paradoxically, by entering into agreements that made possible continued foreign military occupation on their soil, governments of new states participated in the

reproduction of the principle of territoriality associated with modern sovereignty. In this way, international basing agreements became a key expression of the realization of the modern liberal project.

In relatively short order, then, military expansion and occupation was transformed into a matter of state prerogative and routine intergovernmental negotiations. The language of security arrangements used in policy circles and conventional scholarship is instructive. In his study of US security negotiations, Druckman (1986) observes that the issue of "foreign basing rights" became an increasingly important yet increasingly routine aspect of international relations in the postwar period. Although Druckman leaves the language of security negotiations unproblematized, what also stands out in his observation is that military expansion and occupation itself was reconceptualized and institutionalized as a set of *rights*.[42] Bureaucratic rationalization of security arrangements took on a particular urgency given the negotiating imperatives of an ever-expanding postwar state system and, in the West, the Cold War preoccupation with "containment" via forward deployment (Harkavy 1982; Woodliffe 1992). Formalization of foreign military basing paved the way for a reversal of immediate postwar efforts to scale back forwardly deployed troops. Although several governments, mostly in Europe, initially rebuffed US attempts to retain military bases in their territories, perceived threats from communism led to a rather abrupt about-face.[43] The US in particular sought and was able to retain most of the nearly 500 installations it held overseas by the end of the war. The West's

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[42] That most Anglo-American political science (international relations and security studies) scholarship on foreign military basing treats it as a self-evident practice within a self-evident state system highlights how such scholarship has reflected and reinforced the political effort to normalize it in the postwar period.

[43] The US faced governmental opposition to its efforts to retain bases in numerous countries after the war, including Iceland, Denmark, Portugal, and even Great Britain and Panama. The latter turned down the US request to retain 131 installations outside the Canal Zone. See Christopher T. Sandars, *America's Overseas Garrisons,* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000,12-13.

competition with the Soviet Union, as the latter gradually positioned its own forces throughout Soviet bloc and Comecon states, led to a second scramble for Africa—and beyond.

Buoyed by a global legitimating apparatus and justified by the Cold War, then, extensive overseas basing remained the *norm* rather than the exception in the "post-colonial" state system. However, under conditions of hegemony and requirements for continuity in economic exchanges, basing negotiations also quickly became a complicated and wholly unequal process of diplomatic wrangling. Powerful states sought favorable terms of access to land, sea and air for their militaries and their capital.[44] For weaker "host" nations, the new rules of basing diplomacy meant leveraging what power they had to obtain economic and other, often military, forms of aid and promises of protection (Harvey 2003, ch. 3). Thus in an era when blatant imperialism officially went out of fashion, institutionalized arrangements made possible via unequal relations among states became a convenient, expeditious and, in the dominant rendering, *legitimate* means to continue securing economic and political interests with military might.

While not alone in its effort to maintain a military presence around the globe, the extent of America's postwar foreign military basing is unsurpassed and therefore warrants highlighting. Today the United States stations its armed forces outside its borders in vastly greater numbers and scope than any other country in history. The US owns or leases at least 761 installations in over 150 countries, with over half still concentrated in Western Europe (especially Germany and England) and Northeast Asia (US Department of Defense 2007, 2008).[45] The Pentagon deploys roughly

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[44] The United States is particularly notorious for also negotiating, via its "Status of Forces Agreements," immunity from local criminal prosecution for its military personnel and contracted civilian employees.
[45] These numbers do not include bases established in Afghanistan or Iraq, or bases built in nearby countries related to US military intervention in the Middle East since September 11, 2001 (e.g. Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan). The Department of Defense emphasizes that the *Base Structure Report*

410,500 troops worldwide (US Department of Defense 2007). This figure does not

include the number of troops deployed to warzones in Iraq and Afghanistan, nor the

ever-increasing number of civilians "enlisted" to support military infrastructure and

activities.[46] To put this in perspective, this is 13 times more than the 31,000 troops

deployed by France (French Ministry of Defense 2006), which ranks second in

stationing its forces in other countries, and 14 times more than the 28,820 troops

deployed by Great Britain—26,670 of which are stationed throughout Europe (British

Ministry of Defense 2006).[47]

Colonial relations in postwar foreign military presence: The emergence of colonial basing

Although postwar state making transformed military expansion and occupation

into a routine and ostensibly legitimate matter of interstate relations, the kinds of

challenges emerging in the Okinawan anti-base movement suggest that colonial

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provides merely a "snapshot" of the DoD's real property because its base structure is "changing continuously." Considerable under-reporting by the DoD must also be factored into an understanding of the extent of the US military's global reach. Okinawa is a case in point. In the *BSR*, the Pentagon counts eight different US Marine Corps installations on Okinawa's main island—which together occupy 78,500 acres of land—as just one general command station, Camp Butler. Chalmers Johnson addresses the difficulty of counting US bases overseas, and the implications of such difficulty for democratic oversight (see Johnson, "The Arithmetic of America's Military Bases Abroad: What Does It All Add Up to?" History News Network, 2004. Retrieved June 4, 2006 from http://hnn.us/articles/3097.html). Policies and projections emerging in the Pentagon's current comprehensive "force transformation," specifically the move to secure "joint use" of military bases of other countries, will make it more difficult to assess the extent and character of US overseas forces.

[46] US overseas military presence not immediately related to war takes many forms. In addition to permanent military facilities, which range from massive air bases with city-like infrastructure, amenities and population, to small outposts used for ammunitions storage, US forces regularly participate in joint military training exercises with other militaries. These, too, range from large-scale joint exercises, like the annual training operations that US forces conduct with the South Korean military, which typically involve over 20,000 US troops, to small-scale exercises in which a single US military unit trains local military personnel in tactical operations. The US military's "peacetime" activities overseas also involve transit, refueling or landing privileges in other countries that facilitate training and troop transport. Of course military personnel deployed to warzones most often *come from* and *return to* these "peacetime" activities.

[47] Like the figures given above for the United States, excluded from figures on British and French overseas forces are those troops deployed specifically as "peace-keeping" forces under the auspices of the United Nations or other multilateral arrangements. Figures for France also exclude other temporary deployments (*forces temporaires*).

relations persisted in how foreign military basing is practiced and experienced. I contend that colonial relations became a largely invisible mechanism through which governments secured foreign basing rights in the postwar period, in Okinawa and elsewhere around the world. Like colonialism itself, however, foreign military basing rooted in colonial relations—a general phenomenon I call *colonial basing*—takes a number of different, historically contingent forms. I identify four central forms here. While only one, namely *internal colonial basing*, captures the particular historical relations that sustain US military presence in Okinawa, taken together the different forms of colonial basing shed light on how the state system sustains the historical relationship between militarization and colonization globally.

The most straightforward and still "visible" form of colonial basing is what I term *direct colonial basing*: military presence in an acknowledged colonial territory. Far-flung military bases still uphold vestiges of once vast empires. Both Great Britain and France, for example, permanently station their armed forces in their respective remaining colonies.[48] Despite the United States' high-profile rejection of colonialism in the first half of the last century, its own imperial exploits cast a long shadow over many current US bases. With at least 96 installations in what it officially terms its overseas territorial "possessions," the US now far outnumbers its European counterparts in direct colonial basing.[49]

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[48] Great Britain maintains overseas bases in Gibraltar, the Malvinas (Falkland Islands), and the British Indian Ocean Territory—some might add Northern Ireland—while French *forces de souveraineté* occupy Saint Pierre and Miquelon, Antilles, Reunion, Mayotte, Guiana, Polynesia and Kanaky (New Caledonia)—though the latter assumed the status of a non-self-governing territory, or "overseas country" (*pays d'outre-mer*) in 1998, which gives Kanaks greater ability to exercise their right of full independence. See British Ministry of Defense, "Global Location of UK Regular Forces." London: Defense Analytical Service Agency, 2006. Retrieved November 1, 2007 from http://www.dasa.mod.uk/modintranet/natstats/tsp6/tsp6_oct06.pdf; and French Ministry of Defense. "Forces francaises deployees hors du territoire metropolitain." Paris: Government of France, 2006. Retrieved May 4, 2007 from http://www.ac-toulouse.fr/automne_modules_files/pDocs/public/r2399_61_4a.pdf.

[49] The US maintains installations on its territories to the south in Cuba (Guantanamo), the Virgin Islands, and Puerto Rico. In the Pacific, US military bases occupy the Northern Mariana Islands, American Samoa, Guam, Johnston Atoll, and Wake Island. See US Department of Defense, "Base

A second form of colonial basing emerged out of the prevailing power relations in the postwar period. Many instances of foreign military presence we still see today that are purportedly founded on bilateral security arrangements between mutually sovereign partners are direct legacies of colonialism. Such cases embody what might best be termed *post-colonial basing*: when a country sites its military forces in its former colonial territory. Both Great Britain's and France's current foreign military presence offers a skeletal mapping of their respective imperial paths: British Royal Forces maintain bases in countries such as Kenya, Brunei, Nepal, Australia and Canada, while France has military installations in Senegal, Gabon and Djibouti (British Ministry of Defense 2006; French Ministry of Defense 2006). The US military's continued presence in places like Panama, Belau and the Philippines also reflects post-colonial basing.[50]

A less obvious way in which colonial relations began playing a role in overseas basing after decolonization can be seen in instances I distinguish as *cross-colonial basing*, where the deploying state negotiates with another powerful state to retain or secure basing rights in a direct colony of the latter. An example of this form of basing is the 1951 agreement with the government of Denmark to build a US air base and ballistic missile early-warning radar system in the Iunghuit territory of Thule

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Structure Report." Washington D.C., 2008. Retrieved July 3, 2009 from http://www.acq.osd.mil/ie/download/bsr/BSR2008Baseline.pdf.

[50] The highly publicized expulsion of US troops from the Philippines by the Philippine Senate in the early 1990s contributes to the generally held belief that the US military no longer has a significant presence in its former colony. However, the 1999 Visiting Forces Agreement provided for expanded military cooperation between the two countries and gives the US military levels of access it never enjoyed before. In 2001 the two governments signed the Mutual Logistics Support Agreement, which allows U.S. troops to bring military equipment and supplies into the country from any point. On the complicated international juridical ramifications of foreign military installations in colonial or other dependent territories after independence, see John Woodliffe, *The Peacetime Use of Foreign Military Installations under Modern International Law*. Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1992.

(Uummannaq), Greenland.[51] Greenland has been a self-governing overseas administrative territory of Denmark since 1979, but the Danish government holds diplomatic rights in what *it* considers Denmark's international relations. A second example is US military presence on Diego Garcia, one of the remote Chaggos Islands in the Indian Ocean. In 1966 the British government agreed to unilaterally and permanently expel the indigenous Chaggossians to enable the United States to lease the island of Diego Garcia for a US Naval base.[52] The US military remains in Thule and Diego Garcia to this day, and continues to face resistance to its presence in both locales.

The character of the opposition to US bases in both Diego Garcia and Thule sheds light on the nature of rule in instances of cross-colonial basing. Challenges to the British and Danish governments' sovereignty in these territories highlights the extent to which the impact of militarization remains outside structures of accountability. In such cases basing agreements are negotiated solely between the governments of the deploying state and the colonizing state. In this context the legitimating rhetoric of sovereignty allows principal states to exclude from channels of representation those who inhabit the colonial territory in question and whose lives are most affected by the agreement. This form of foreign military basing happens despite often intense opposition by the colonized population,[53] whose political marginalization in relation to the colonizing state leaves them with little to no means of redress against the effects of militarization by the deploying state. While the representative claims of

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[51] Despite ongoing opposition by local residents, the US has in recent years made the site integral to its expanding missile defense system. See "The 'other' Greenland: Thule radar improves missile defense capability" at www.pythom.com/news.php?id=18506.

[52] In his documentary film *Stealing a Nation,* director John Pilger (2004) details the brutality and racism by which the British government, at the behest of the US, effected the removal and relocation of the Chaggossians.

[53] This is most often but not always the case. A notable exception is the inhabitants of the Falkland Islands. Mainly of Scottish descent, Falkland Islanders are British citizens and overwhelmingly support British sovereignty in the territory.

the state always provides cover for the effects of foreign military basing, the political marginalization characterizing cross-colonial basing allows the deploying state even more leeway to engage in practices that would otherwise be open to challenge through the relations of citizenship. In such cases, the deploying state is even more easily able to officially and, perhaps more important, legally distance itself from the "domestic" disputes that arise over the effects of its own military presence. This additional separation of the practices and effects of foreign military basing from channels of accountability in instances of cross-colonial basing also characterizes the political relations of militarization in Okinawa, which I conceptualize as *internal colonial basing.*

The politics of decolonization: Setting the stage for internal colonial basing

Critical to an understanding of the conditions of sustained US military presence in Okinawa is that the official shoring-up of Japan's claims to the Ryūkyūs by the United States in the early 1950s parallels a global process of "internalizing" colonial relations. Postwar efforts to formalize foreign military basing in the context of an expanding state system intersected with efforts to control the decolonization process in order to limit who would be the subjects of that system.

The United Nations presided over the completion of the state system, but through a deliberately circumscribed decolonization process. In a strategic reading of the UN Charter's central provision of the "right of all peoples and nations to self-determination," key Western states involved in orchestrating decolonization under UN auspices maintained that the entire populations within the colonial-era borders of newly emerging states (largely in Asia and Africa) would benefit from liberation from colonial oppression. In UN debates at the time, states seeking to limit decolonization, including in particular the United States, Canada and the governments of Central and South America, argued that the "primitive" communities living within the frontiers of

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many of the new states were indistinguishable from the peoples living in colonial territories. It is true that anti-imperialist movements often united different ethnic groups behind a single nationalist project. Indeed, this was reflected in the Okinawan reversion movement. However, the argument advanced in the UN process presumed assimilation and, as Anaya (1996) points out, did so for self-serving ends: to diffuse the political momentum coalescing against colonialism at the time. For these governments, a more open interpretation of the right to self-determination would have implications for the sovereign peoples/nations within their own respective borders. Therefore their intention was to limit the extension of statehood to existing European colonies and exclude from the process of decolonization the countless enclave, or indigenous, populations within existing and emerging states.

At issue was the scope of Chapter XI of the UN Charter, instituted in 1946, which pertained to non-self-governing territories. As I explain above, this designation was given to those colonial territories slated for eventual independence via the UN Trusteeship System. To ensure that their versions of self-determination and territorial integrity prevailed, powerful states developed the "blue water thesis" in order to suppress moves to expand the scope of Chapter XI to include enclave indigenous populations. The blue water thesis limited recognition of non-self-governance (and therefore independence) to *existing* colonial territories where political encroachment involved "organized colonization" by European powers of peoples on *distant* continents—across blue water. In other words, colonization that involved crossing into adjacent territory or relatively proximate areas (e.g. nearby islands) did not count.

Efforts to limit decolonization succeeded, resulting in the more restrictive interpretation that limited Chapter XI procedures to existing European colonial territories overseas. The implications of this were far-reaching on two dimensions. First, Western powers intentionally and effectively excluded nations whose territories

lie within and across the borders of newly-emerging states (mostly in Africa and Asia) from participating in the expanded international community, or from choosing an alternative, non-state form of political organization based on self-determination (Wilmer 1993). Second, it excluded those peoples whose territories were unilaterally subsumed within settler nations[54] (North and South America, Australia and New Zealand) as well as other "older" established states like Japan, China, Russia, Turkey and Scandinavian countries.

This circumscribed decolonization process was not just in the interests of settler nation governments, though they led the effort to limit Chapter XI. For governments of newly emerging or established states, limiting the scope of self-determination became a means to retain as much territory and resources as possible. This meant preserving borders drawn by colonial powers rather than recognizing pre-colonial political boundaries associated with different and more potent connections between peoples and territory within and across states. Fore older established states, like Japan, it similarly meant preserving borders—some of them quite recent—deemed exploitable, either by the government in question or those orchestrating the decolonization process, or both.

Although this approach to decolonization and state (re)making acknowledges and condemns the systematic way in which European powers ruled over other peoples, it conceals as much as it reveals. It dismisses the histories of invasion, colonization and other forms of systematic discrimination of peoples within emerging and established nations. In doing so it reflects a perverse and self-serving hierarchical ranking of colonizers and colonial practices, with European colonialism as the only

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[54] The terms "settler state" and "settler nation" are often used in scholarship and discourse on issues of indigenous rights. It denotes those nations that were colonized through massive migration and settlement of people from the colonizing country rather than ruled from afar via a small cadre of colonizers and local elites.

"authentic" form deemed worthy of the name or remediation. It discounts the significance of ethnic difference, long exploited by colonial powers and now fixed within often arbitrary borders that cut across distinct peoples and pre-colonial socio-political territories. Ultimately, a limited decolonization ignores the salience of the relationship between identity and place.

Today we see the consequences of the postwar politics of decolonization in the rearticulation of subjecthood in relation to the state and sovereignty. Contemporary self-determination movements are rooted in collective identities separate from the state but equally territorial. Their emergence around the globe reveals the sheer extent to which postwar state making (and state-preserving) via a carefully limited decolonization merely subsumed rather than resolved many colonial relationships. Although citizenship became the preeminent subject identity in the post-colonial world, the rise of ethnic autonomy movements today is an indicator of how self-determination ascribed to the state, and by extension to citizenship, did not extend to these groups.

Okinawa's "reversion" to internal colonial basing

It is in this context that US military forces in Okinawa and other contested territories today—and the popular struggles that emerge and join together under such conditions—must be viewed. The internalization of certain colonial relations within states created the conditions for such relations to shape how foreign military basing would play out in the postwar period. Siting foreign forces in the territories of internally colonized peoples—*internal colonial basing*—was rendering legitimate yet obscured by the postwar regime of military expansion framed in terms of sovereignty *and* citizenship. Japan's colonial regard for Ryūkyūans and their territory did not change with the Ryūkyūs' "reversion"; it was merely subsumed within the state-

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citizen relationship. US occupation of the Ryūkyūs after reversion took the form of internal colonial basing.

By the mid-1960s, US control over the Ryūkyūs had become untenable in the face of widespread Ryūkyūan resistance. But by then the US no longer needed to wield direct control over the islands to maintain its bases in the territory. The already entrenched postwar institution of foreign basing provided the US with a clear incentive to give up direct control over the islands. Under the postwar regime of military expansion, the burden of the legitimacy of US military presence in Okinawa would become Japan's, a country that had already demonstrated its willingness to sacrifice Okinawa for its own interests.

Thus reincorporation, which was represented by the US government as altruistic responsiveness to local concerns, and by the Japanese government as a victorious and long-awaited reuniting of the nation, is better understood as a shift in the way empire "works." America's long-term occupation of the Ryūkyūs depends not only on Japan's compromised sovereignty vis-à-vis the US, but also on the Ryūkyūs' compromised sovereignty vis-à-vis Japan. America's economic might relative to its Allied partners gave the US control over the occupation of Japan, and its bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki contributed to its distinctive postwar dominance over Japan (Dower 1993). Japan's renunciation of offensive war making under its US-drafted constitution put it even further within the United States' influence. Like other countries in the region (e.g. South Korea, Taiwan and the Philippines), Japan was incorporated into the United States' postwar security network under persistently unequal terms (Arrighi 1994; Johnson 2004b; McCormack 2007). By the time Okinawa was incorporated into the Japanese state, Japanese citizenship was already subject to an unequal institutional arrangement upholding US military presence in the country as a whole.

But Japanese leaders were and are not without options, and so to portray the US military's ongoing presence in Okinawa as a result of American bullying of Japan is to disregard the hegemonic character of contemporary foreign military basing, particularly under the conditions of coloniality created by reincorporating the Ryūkyūs into the Japanese state. The US-Japan Security Treaty guaranteed Japan's place as both object and subject of American hegemony in the region. Reincorporation of Okinawa not only became a means for Japan to considerably extend its territorial and maritime reach, it shifted the burden of securing the homeland to its new citizens on the margins. Like cross-colonial basing, therefore, internal colonial basing reflects the intertwining of American empire with the legacies of empires past via the state system.

In addition to Okinawa, other examples of internal colonial basing include Labrador and, since 2002, Diego Garcia. A US agreement with Canada allows the US Air Force, under NATO auspices, to carry out regular low-level training flights over the territory of the Innu people in Labrador, which has been shown to negatively impact the migration patterns of local wildlife that are central to the preservation of Innu culture. Diego Garcia shifted from being an instance of cross-colonial basing to one of internal colonial basing in 2002, when the British Parliament enacted legislation granting all Chagossians the right to obtain British citizenship.

Of course, for those who view their nation and their territory as sovereign in relation to the state within whose borders they reside, "foreign" military presence includes the armed forces of the national government. Although Japan's Self-Defense Force (SDF) has a relatively small presence on Okinawa Island, negative attitudes toward Japanese forces are prevalent. Okinawan activists have waged significant protests against the SDF in the years before and since Okinawa's reincorporation into Japan. This has led Japan's Defense Agency to create Okinawa-specific policies regarding SDF-community involvement and even different protocols for the off-duty

wearing of uniforms by its members within the prefecture. I will return to Okinawan attitudes toward the SDF in chapter five. Relevant to this discussion is that, in the nearly 100 interviews I conducted with Okinawan anti-US base activists, not one saw continued presence of the SDF in Okinawa as desirable should the US military leave.

Thus this scenario—when a state deploys its armed forces or permanently maintains military installations in indigenous territories within its borders—must be included within the concept of internal colonial basing. While legitimate from a state-centric perspective on modern sovereignty and contemporary foreign military basing, the rise of self-determination and indigenous rights claims against militarization of their territory by the controlling state indicates that internal colonial basing is perceived as anything but legitimate. The United States' historically disproportionate militarization of and ongoing discriminatory military policies in sovereign territories throughout the Continental US as well as Alaska and Hawai'i also provides an example of internal colonial basing and its disproportionately negative effects.[55]

When an internally colonized people finds its territory occupied by both the national military *and* another states' military, as is often the case, these communities become doubly occupied. Of course, all citizens are militarized to greater and lesser degrees by their respective government, and so all cases of foreign basing (e.g. US military presence in Great Britain, or British forces in Australia) are instances of dual militarization and thus reflect a form of compromised sovereignty. The difference in instances of internal colonial basing, as well as cross-colonial basing, is that the

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[55] See Gregory Hooks and Chad Smith, "The Treadmill of Destruction: National Sacrifice Areas and Native Americans." *American Sociological Review* 69:558-76, 2004; Gregory Hooks and Chad Smith, "Treadmills of Production and Destruction: Threats to the Environment Posed by Militarism," *Organizations and Environment* 18:19-37, 2005; and Haunani-Kay, Trask, *From a native daughter: Colonialism and sovereignty in Hawai'i*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999. The instantiation of internal colonial basing in the United States is further complicated by the federal government's official recognition of the sovereignty of First Nation lands throughout the continental US and Alaska (but not Hawaii). Although indigenous peoples whose territories reside within the borders of the United States typically understand and articulate their sovereignty to be absolute—to constitute the full and collective right to self-determination—the US government concedes only "internal self-determination."

political, social and economic marginalization of a people within a national polity exacerbates the negative effects of foreign military basing in their communities, and nearly always compounds the problems of redress and accountability. Such is the case in Okinawa.

Table 2.1 Historical forms of colonial basing (Sources: US Department of Defense, 2008; British Ministry of Defense, 2006; French Ministry of Defense, 2006)

Form of basing	Character of basing relationship	Current examples
direct colonial basing	a state's military presence in its formal overseas colonial territories	US in Guam and the Northern Mariana Islands, American Samoa, US States Virgin Islands, Puerto Rico; UK in Gibraltar, Diego Garcia (pre-2002); France in Guiana, the Seychelles, Polynesia
post-colonial basing	a state's military presence in its former colonial territories	US in Panama, Philippines; UK in Kenya, Brunei, Nepal, Australia; France in Senegal, Gabon, Djibouti
cross-colonial basing	a state's military presence in colonial territories of other states	US in Greenland, Diego Garcia (pre-2002)
internal colonial basing	a state's military presence in indigenous territories within its or other states' borders	US in Okinawa, Mindanao, Labrador, Hawai'i, Diego Garcia (post-2002) and Native American territories; Canada in First Nation territories; Australia in Aboriginal lands; Japan in the Ryūkyūs; Philippines in the Cordillera; UK in Diego Garcia (post-2002)

Conclusion

In an era when sustained foreign military basing is taken for granted as a legitimate aspect of international relations, the range of historical forms of colonial basing reflects the complicated contemporary relationship between state formation and militarization. Table 2.1 sketches out the four historically contingent forms of foreign military basing rooted in colonial relations that I identify in this chapter. My intention is not to develop a typology of colonial basing through which different instances of overseas military basing can be measured and compared *independently* of one another. On the contrary, situating Okinawa in relation to other forms of foreign basing rooted in colonial relations is intended to highlight the historical *interrelatedness* of

seemingly different political structures, and why seemingly differently situated actors might employ similar kinds of claims.

In particular, the concept of internal colonial basing allows me to theorize how the politicization of Okinawan identity and emergence of collective rights claims mark a convergence with contemporary self-determination movements elsewhere. The politics of decolonization that subsumed within states the national territory of, for example, the Ainu, Cherokee, Maori, Maasai and Kurds, parallels the politics that internalized colonial relations into US military occupation of the Ryūkyūs. Although the result of different historical paths within decolonization, those who live under conditions of direct-colonial basing (e.g. Chamorro in Guam) and cross-colonial basing (Chaggosians in Diego Garcia) share with Okinawans a marginal, colonial position vis-à-vis the state, which conditions their experience of US military presence. Contemporary movements for self-determination are thus connected and indeed mutually constitutive via their relationship to the same historical structures of state power, as conditioned by empire.

This brings us full circle, to Okinawa's "part in the maintenance of international peace and security" over the five and a half decades since Dulles' remarks. For its "part" can be viewed in different ways. From the perspective implied by Dulles, sixty years of US military build-up on the islands created an all-encompassing physical and socio-economic infrastructure to house, train and entertain tens of thousands of troops. Okinawa's transformation into an American military stronghold on the front lines of the Cold War made it a key staging area for US bombing runs, medical evacuation and troop "R and R" during the Korean and Vietnam Wars. US troops rotated in and out of the battle zones of the first Gulf War to live and train in Okinawa. Today, they rotate in and out of Afghanistan and Iraq. Thus successive US governments, with the consent of Japanese governments since 1972,

have made Okinawans and their territory a major instrument of American global military policy.

From a much different perspective, however, Okinawans' "part in the maintenance of international peace and security" is expressed in the sustained efforts of many of them to *oust* the US military, thwart its ongoing training and expansion, and put an end to the rights violations, community erosion and ecological destruction associated with US military presence. It is also expressed in Okinawans' efforts to challenge, together with other peoples and communities, the colonial roots of the structures of power that make possible ongoing militarization of their territory. Taken together, both interpretations reveal how the particular history of Okinawa and its people are an integral part of a *global* story of the politics of foreign military basing and state making.

At the same time, how the politics of state formation and militarization take shape, how collective movements form (or not), depends on the particular configuration of power relations in each instance. Alternative struggles against state rule reflect day-to-day experiences within it. Okinawans' struggle reflects the everyday experiences of life under conditions of internal colonial basing. In this context, the actual practices carried out in the name of state power depend for their legitimacy not on formal intergovernmental agreements but on notions and experiences of citizenship. For this reason, I contend that the relations of citizenship under internal colonial basing become the central thread by which the legitimating apparatus upholding US military presence in Okinawa begins to unravel, thereby exposing the contradictions in a postwar regime of foreign military expansion framed in terms of state sovereignty and citizenship but rooted in colonial relations. It is to this process that I now turn.

CHAPTER THREE

A NEW NORMAL: INTERNAL COLONIAL BASING

"A base structure is more than a military consideration. It is a political arrangement of the first order that has bilateral, international, cultural, and economic consequences."

~Report of the Commission on Review of Overseas Military Facility Structure of the United States, May 2005[56]

"Uchinanchū grow up with aircraft noise, looking at broad green lawns through chain-link fencing, going to the local A&W, and watching our aunties date US soldiers. The bases are just another part of Okinawa."

~ Toma Shisei, indigenous rights activist and owner of an environmental engineering firm that primarily contracts with the US military bases.[57]

"How could it come as a shock that a helicopter would crash into homes and a campus building when hundreds of helicopters circle low over those same homes and campus every day? Isn't it more shocking that a helicopter doesn't drop out of the sky regularly?"

~ Resident of Ginowan City, the center of which is occupied by the Marine Corps' Futenma Air Station, after a transport helicopter from the base carrying out touch-and-go landing exercises crashed into a nearby college campus on August 13, 2004.[58]

Introduction

The above quote by indigenous rights activist Toma Shisei was how he

described life with the US military to me during my first few days on Okinawa Island.

His portrayal of "growing up" with the bases captured a sentiment I would hear again

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[56] More commonly referred to as the Overseas Basing Commission, this congressionally mandated body has the politically charged task of reviewing America's overseas facility structure, and making recommendations regarding which facilities (and by extension which missions) should remain as is, and which should be bolstered, closed, or consolidated. Commission members typically include retired members from all branches of the military. For the 2005 report, see Commission on Review of Overseas Military Facility Structure of the United States, "Overseas Basing Commission Report to Congress," May 9. Retrieved January 29, 2006 from www.fas.org/irp/agency/dod/obc.pdf.
[57] Personal notes, March 16, 2004.
[58] Personal interview, August 15, 2004.

and again during my sixteen months on the island: a general sense that US military presence is a normal part of the Okinawan landscape and Okinawan life. How is it that the occupation of huge tracts of Okinawa Island by fortress-like structures and tens of thousands of foreign military forces could be considered normal by so many? How has reincorporation into the Japanese state changed Okinawans' experience of US military presence? How do Okinawans experience the state-citizen relation under conditions of internal colonial basing? What has citizenship under internal colonial basing meant for the demilitarization movement? How is internal colonial basing accomplished?

This chapter and the next bring evidence to bear on these questions by focusing on how US military presence is intertwined with Okinawans' everyday experiences under the terms and structures of internal colonial basing. Even after reversion, US military presence continued to impose synthetic boundaries onto the Okinawan landscape and into Okinawan society. These boundaries normalize a military-centric spatial, cultural and socio-economic order that is inseparable from Okinawans' experience of their Japanese citizenship. Although Japanese citizenship provided Okinawans with a new basis for claims-making and new channels for redress, this also has a depoliticizing effect on the anti-base movement. It serves to redirect energy and narrow the focus of anti-base activists' claims, bringing Okinawans into the process of "managing" the impact of the bases.

Simultaneously, both governments manage the impact of US military presence so that continued military activity takes priority over mitigating or preventing its impact. Providing the central political and discursive framework for this is the US-Japan Security Treaty, which reincorporation extended to the Ryūkyūs. This agreement shapes definitions and representations of "basing problems" in a way that locates "basing solutions" and decision-making power at the national and

international levels. Problems that arise from routine military operations, when they cannot be managed via "local" channels of citizenship, are reduced to technical matters of interstate diplomacy. Tokyo's consistent deference to the treaty illustrates further why Okinawans' marginal position within the Japanese citizenry severely limits the extent to which citizenship provides protection from the bases' effects. Instead the treaty helps to normalize extraordinary violence as a part of everyday life.

These arguments build on the previous chapter's insights into the contemporary relationship between state formation and the expansion of military power by foregrounding and problematizing citizenship, given that it serves as a key mechanism of military expansion and its normalization in the postwar period. In this chapter, I seek to demonstrate how the concept of internal colonial basing offers a way to understand Okinawans' everyday experiences of US military presence as Japanese citizens.

I begin the chapter by exploring how the physicality of the bases intertwines with their socio-cultural influences to impact Okinawans experiences and perceptions of American military presence as a normal part of everyday life. I then address the question of how reincorporation into the Japanese state has, and has not, altered Okinawans' experiences of US basing. This involves considering the extension of both the rights associated with citizenship and the US-Japan security treaty. I conclude the chapter with a discussion of what happened when a helicopter crashed in Ginowan City to better illustrate how Okinawans' membership in the Japanese state is critical to managing continued US presence.

Normalization of US military presence

"American grass on Okinawan land"

The sheer materiality and expansiveness of US military presence contributes significantly to the ordering and regulation of Okinawan space, reinforcing a sense that the bases are not just a normal but also a permanent feature of the Okinawan landscape. One cannot travel far in Okinawa without having to maneuver around miles of the chain-link and barbed-wire fencing surrounding US military facilities. And while most of the time one need only look skyward to see military aircraft, thunderous jet engines and the jarring staccato of large combat helicopters make their presence felt in the most private of spaces and activities. US bases stretch across 21 of Okinawa's 41 municipalities. Their placement rarely aligns with pre-existing borders, physical or otherwise. The synthetic boundaries that US military presence imposes on Okinawa create a military-centric spatial, cultural and socio-economic order while they simultaneously displace, distort and sometimes prevent Okinawans from maintaining and creating their own. This happens as these exclusive spaces and the activity they engender intervene in the everyday routines and ordinary relationships of Okinawans.

"I think one of the most difficult things for Uchinanchū to imagine is what Okinawa would be like, what it might look like, without the bases," said Iha Yoichi, the current mayor of Ginowan City. Elected in 2003 on an anti-base platform, Iha has spent his time in office pushing the US and Japanese governments to make good on a 1996 promise to close the Marine Corps' Futenma Air Station. The air base occupies one-third of Ginowan, taking up an area larger than New York's Central Park in the very center of the city. Ginowan's 90,000 inhabitants live in the densely populated areas around the base (see Figure 3.1). As he spoke Iha showed me a detailed plan drawn up under his administration for how the area now occupied by Futenma might

be utilized once the land is returned. "Most of the residents of Ginowan only know the city with the base…For so long we have been without access, without control over this space in the very center of our city. By now you probably know that to get from here to here"—he tapped the map on opposite sides of the base—"often takes 20 minutes, sometimes more, because you have to drive all the way around, right? If the base were gone it would only take five minutes to drive across. Did you know that until last year the US military even prevented access to our fire trucks and ambulances? Emergency vehicles had to drive all the way around. Okinawans' basic security is not considered. Everything has to go around. Even our water pipes, sewage and electrical lines must go around. Because it has been this way for all of people's lives, Uchinanchū have a hard time imagining the bases differently, as their own place, where they are free to come and go."[59]

Figure 3.1 US Marine Corps Futenma Air Station, Ginowan City

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[59] Personal interview, July 12, 2005.

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In addition to the logistical complications and related burdens imposed by the territorial exclusivity claimed by the US military, important in Iha's explanation is his observation that this exclusivity is often internalized by Okinawans themselves because it is all they have ever known. The fact is, no Okinawan younger than sixty-five knows or remembers Okinawa without the massive US military presence and odd jumble of American cultural influences. That such internalization also has something to do with *how* the military uses its space is suggested in 38-year old Shimabukuro Yasuko's description of what it was like to grow up with a view of the military's family housing on the Marine Corps' Camp Zukeran:

> "When I was little, I walked to and from school along the street that borders the base….The view through the fence made me think America was a wonderful country. It was like the America we saw in the movies, you know, big houses surrounded by green grass, with children playing. I thought it was amazing that Americans had so much land that they could plant nothing but grass around their homes, planted just to look at and enjoy!...I was so envious of the life I imagined the children I saw playing on the grass must have. I wished to be one of them. Maybe you'll find this hard to believe, but it wasn't until much later, not until my late teens, when I realized it wasn't America I was looking at through the fence, but Okinawa. American grass on Okinawan land. Grass that used to be farmland, and fields where Uchinanchū children used to live and play."

The military's choice to recreate an American suburban landscape in land-scarce Okinawa not only reinforced Shimabukuro Yasuko's perceptions of US prosperity, but also served to make military-occupied space appear, at least during her formative years, to be unquestionably *American* space. Okinawan space existed *outside* the fence. The view that amazed Mrs. Shimabukuro as a child in the late 1970s has not changed much, as we saw when we walked along the route she took to school (see figure 3.2 below).

Figure 3.2 A comparative view of on-base housing and Okinawa's residential neighborhoods. Family housing on Camp Zukeran, as seen from atop a building across the street that Shimabukuro Yasuko took on her way to school in the 1970s (top). A typical view of Okinawa's urban residential neighborhoods outside the bases (bottom).

At the same time, the constant flow of military-related vehicles, equipment and people from the bases into "non-base space" is a reminder that the chain link borders throughout Okinawa are permeable, though not equally so. For military personnel, US civilian contractors and their dependents traveling in either their military or private capacities, the security checkpoints at base gates may, at busier

times, be a time-consuming hassle, but they are not barriers. On the contrary, in one direction they are gateways to an exclusive military space that intertwines military infrastructure and activities with community, home and school life: buildings, houses, roads, nightclubs, runways, childcare centers, missile silos, campgrounds, hospitals, parks, bombing ranges, golf courses, communication towers, private beaches with subsidized jet ski and sailboat rentals, hotels, schools, tanks, banks, bowling alleys, aircraft, seacraft and vehicles of all sizes and functions, community centers, jungle warfare training areas, restaurants, landing areas for amphibious assault training, houses of worship, bombs, shopping centers, naval ports, movie theaters, radar towers, bars, airplane hangers, school buses, ordinance storage, supermarkets filled with familiar brands, equally familiar chain restaurants, and the ubiquitous expanses of green grass. In the interests of morale and "military readiness," the bases thus evoke a culturally American middle-class lifestyle of suburban living and consumption (for a military population still disproportionately representing America's working class).

For military-related personnel going in the other direction, security checkpoints are hassle-free gateways to an "exotic" space of consumption: restaurants, entertainment, women, shopping, more beaches, more bars, more housing options—all promoted on the military's in-house television network as opportunities for Americans to enjoy Okinawa and experience "Japanese" culture. Though after more than six decades American culture has left its mark outside the fences: Okinawa has the highest number of cars and fast-food restaurants per capita in all of Japan. Although the Ryūkyūs still boast two and a half times Japan's national average of centenarians, Okinawans under 50 have the highest rates of obesity in the country.[60]

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[60] Referring to the health crisis as the "second Battle of Okinawa," local health department spokesperson Asato Yoko points to research showing that "Okinawans consume more fat, smoke more and drink more than the average Japanese. We use cars instead of walking or cycling." Quoted in Colin

Flows of Okinawans across the same boundaries are predictable and strictly regulated. Exceptions to this are rare and rest on explicit representations of the bases as sites for cultural celebration and better military-community relations. For example, after much protesting and petitioning, Okinawans gained the "right" to apply for one-day access permits to visit and care for family tombs located on the bases. Paying homage to ancestors is an important part of Okinawan culture, reflected in the centrality of *shiimi* in the Okinawan calendar—the period when those who are living gather together at the family grave for a day of food and drink and communion with deceased relatives. Although many tombs were likely destroyed in the military's early expansion, their existence on bases throughout the island is due to the fact that most of the land the military appropriated was once private land.

The other exceptions take place on a limited number of occasions through the year, when Okinawans are invited to attend events or festivals held on certain bases. Since 2000, the Air Force has hosted an annual Special Olympics for Okinawans on Kadena Air Base. Festivals, held two or three times annually, include the Marine Corps' Fourth of July celebration, and its sausage- and German beer-laden Oktoberfest at the Futenma Air Station in Ginowan. The Navy holds its "White Beach Festival" at its installation of the same name—giving Okinawans a glimpse of one of the many prime beachfronts occupied by the military. These events, billed as opportunities for Okinawans to share in good old (German-)Americana and for servicemembers to "build community" with their hosts, are a cross between a small-town carnival and a hands-on military hardware show. They offer rides, games and food booths, alongside which festival-goers (mostly children) can pretend to pilot a decommissioned

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Joyce, "Japanese get a taste for Western food and fall victim to obesity and early death," *The Daily Telegraph*, September 3, 2006. Retrieved from www.telegraph.co.uk/health/healthnews/3342882/Japanese-get-a-taste-for-Western-food-and-fall-victim-to-obesity-and-early-death.html.

helicopter or try their hand at maneuvering an anti-aircraft missile launcher. Despite being exposed to regular criticisms of the bases, Okinawan children, especially boys, also grow up experiencing military presence as a source of entertainment and an object of play.

These exceptional moments of interaction are interwoven with more quotidian experiences. Thousands of Okinawans enter the bases everyday, as laborers, delivery personnel and in other capacities that serve military operations.[61] However, as Shimabukuro Yasuko's recollection illustrates, everyday routines and relations intersect with US presence even if one rarely or never sets foot on a military base. Narratives that have the military as a key referent shed light on how this intersection becomes meaningful for individual and collective perceptions of base issues:

> "We moved to Ginowan on a Sunday. Do you know why I remember such a small detail? Because it was quiet! You won't believe this, but I remember thinking what a quiet city it was compared to Okinawa City. There the jets from Kadena had often prevented my children from taking a nap. But the next day, on Monday, the helicopter training from Futenma started and then I knew Ginowan wasn't different at all. Of course that was a long time ago, the day doesn't seem to matter anymore. And now that the US is at war again, flights seem to be round-the-clock, don't they?"[62]

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> "My birthday is November 19. This is the date the B-52 crashed in 1968. That year we couldn't go to my grandmother's home in Yomitan for my birthday because the roads were closed."[63]

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[61] According to a 2005 report by US Forces Japan, for example, in 2002 U.S. bases in Okinawa employed 8,703 local residents. (cited in Eric Johnston, "Okinawa base issue not cut and dried with locals," *Japan Times,* Tuesday, March 28, 2006).
[62] Personal interview, April 9, 2005.
[63] Higa Kyoko, Personal interview, December 24, 2005.

"This story may seem a little strange because of the struggle [to stop construction of a new US military air base] going on there now but, to tell you the truth, when I hear something about 'Henoko' I still always think of my summer vacations at my uncle and auntie's house. They owned a small bar down the street from their house. At night my sister and cousins and I would sneak out and watch soldiers from Camp Schwab walking down the street and going in and out of the bars, sometimes with women on their arms. It was a little frightening but *very* exciting. We were teenagers and of course so curious. We stopped going to Henoko in the early-1980s, because they sold the bar and moved to Naha, where my uncle got a new job. I suppose the bar stopped making money by then, since the busy time was during the Vietnam war. But I'll never forget those fun times in Henoko."[64]

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"I gave birth on the day they made us start driving on the left side of the road. Under the Americans we drove on the right side. Then under the Japanese it switched to the left side. It changed all on one day, can you imagine? Of course my husband drove very carefully, but we were so afraid that other people would forget and we'd find them coming straight at us. I thought for sure we would die on the way to the hospital!"[65]

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"See that open land on the other side of the road? It's all contaminated with PCBs. It was returned to the owners years ago, but they can't use it. The Japanese government won't clean it up."[66]

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"My little sister was just one year older than that [twelve-year old] girl [who was gang-raped by three US soldiers] in '95. I was already in college, but I was still living at home. We wouldn't let her go anywhere alone for months after that….Even I became nervous about going out alone for a while. But eventually we did. We again gradually got used to not being concerned."[67]

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[64] Uema Yuriko, Personal interview, April 9, 2005.
[65] Personal interview, December 12, 2004.
[66] Arakaki Gikei, Personal interview, November 2, 2004.
[67] Personal interview, September 16, 2004.

As most of these narratives demonstrate, incidents, accidents and ongoing

problems associated with routine US military policy and the actions of US personnel

are also a fact of everyday life in Okinawa. It is no exaggeration to say they are a

permanent feature of local newscasts and the front pages of Okinawa's newspapers—

even the military's own *Stars and Stripes*. The sheer regularity of such reports lends a

peculiar mundaneness to the extraordinary effects of US military presence: oil and

chemical spills; destruction of habitat due to jungle warfare training and base

construction; wildfires and cracks in the walls of homes and buildings from bombing

practice; stray bullets from live-fire machine gun training hitting buildings and cars;

construction of an urban warfare training facility near a residential neighborhood;

revelations of covert use of depleted uranium in bombing exercises; discoveries of

unexploded ordinance; pieces of aircraft and other equipment dropping out of the sky;

the sinking of an amphibious assault vehicle on a coral reef; revelations of a four-to-

one ratio of garbage production by military base households compared with

Okinawan households; muggings, burglary and sexual violence by US servicemen

and contractors; increases in nighttime aircraft noise due to the demands of the wars

in Afghanistan and Iraq; higher rates of physical and psychological health problems,

such as low birth weight and decreased concentration among school children due to

aircraft noise.[68]

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[68] See, for example, "Okinawa government checking water after fuel leak at Kadena," *Stars and Stripes Pacific Edition*, June 8, 2007; "Protect citizens from gunfire," *Japan Press Weekly*, July 21, 2005; "Construction starts on UCT facility" *Ryūkyū Shimpo*, June 3, 2004; Live-fire training begins at controversial new Camp Hansen range," *Stars and Stripes Pacific Edition*, July 15, 2005; "*Hansen kazai de akatsuchi ryuushutu no yogore mozuku gyougyoushara fuanshi*" [Red soil runoff from Camp Hansen fire causes concern among seaweed harvesters] *Ryūkyū Shimpo*, April 6, 2005; "U.S. slow to inform Japan of accident: Hundreds of radioactive bullets were fired in training exercise near Okinawa" *The Washington Times*, February 10, 2006; "US Helicopter Crash in Okinawa" *BBC News*, August 13, 2004; David Allen and Chiyomi Sumida, "Chatan protests drop of jet junk," *Stars and Stripes Pacific Edition*, August 13, 2004; "*Abura no ryuushutsu 11kan kakunin, suirikuryoryousha chinbotsu kaiiki*" [11 openings confirmed to be leaking oil from sunken amphibious assault vehicle into surrounding waters] *Ryūkyū Shimpo*, June 12, 2005; David Allen, "Bases push residents to change trash habits" *Stars and Stripes Pacific Edition*, July 5, 2004; Eric Slavin, "Kadena curfew aims to curb alcohol-related incidents," *Stars and Stripes Pacific Edition*, January 27, 2006; David Allen, "Japanese

The same news reports on the effects of US military presence either originate
from or include coverage of Okinawan dissent. Like the effects themselves, in other
words, struggle itself is a normal part of life for many. Retired individuals joked
about the anti-base movement as the job they began doing full-time upon retirement.
"I used to get up and go to work. Now I get up and go to protest," they would say to
me with a chuckle. Their good humor notwithstanding, the dominance of the struggle
in activists' everyday lives is a source of profound frustration for many. Higashionna
Takuma, a 45-year old activist, told me, "Of course I would rather begin my days
wondering, 'What shall I do today? Where shall I take my kids to play?' But I don't.
On the weekend, my kids are home from school, but I say good-bye to them and go
off to do whatever needs to be done. Of course I do this for them, but I wonder how
our lives might have been different if the bases hadn't been here."[69] While it was
commonplace—as it seems to be everywhere—to hear Okinawan activists explain
their participation with reference to future generations, to their children or their
grandchildren, I also occasionally heard activists speak of their parents and
grandparents as a motivation. Mia, a resident of Ginowan City, told me that she was
very worried and frustrated about what she saw as a lack of progress by the
movement. "I'm worried that my parents will die before they can see that Okinawa is
going to be different for their grandchildren. This is why I participate [in the

legislator says U.S. hasn't paid its share of Kadena noise settlement," *Stars and Stripes Pacific Edition*,
May 26, 2004; Man runs onto U.S. base without paying taxi fare" *Daily Yomiuri*, August 16, 2004;
David Allen and Chiyomi Sumida, "Marines sentenced for mugging of Okinawa man" *Stars and Stripes
Pacific Edition*, April 29, 2004; "U.S. Army employee arrested on suspicion of rape in Okinawa"
Kyodo News, October 18, 2004; "*Kichi「kyofu no kongen」ikari no koe hirogaru, beihei joji waisetsu*"
[Bases are "source of fear": Angry voices increase following US soldier's molestation of girl], *Ryūkyū
Shimpo*, July 5, 2005; "*Fukki gou 42,000 ken, beigunkankei jiko/jiken*" [Since reversion, 42,000
incidents and accidents related to US military] , *Ryūkyū Shimpo*, July 2, 2005; "*Beigun douenshutsu de
kadena no souon gekka*" [Kadena's aircraft noise intensifies with US military's simultaneous training
maneuvers]   *Ryūkyū Shimpo*, August 11, 2005; Matsui Toshihito et al, "Association between the Rates
of Low Birth-Weight and/or Preterm Infants and Aircraft Noise Exposure" Japanese Journal of
Hygiene, vol 58 no. 3; pp 385-394, 2003; David Allen and Chiyomi Sumida, "Final arguments are
heard in civil suit over Kadena noise" *Stars and Stripes Pacific Edition*, July 3, 2004.
[69] Personal interview, March 3, 2005.

movement]. They experienced the war, and then constant military oppression. If they die without seeing that things will change, they will never have peace."[70]

That US military presence remains fundamental to the Okinawan experience despite the territory's reincorporation into Japan begs the question of what this shift in rule—the shift to internal colonial basing—has changed for Okinawans, and for the demilitarization movement in particular. The impact military bases have on everyday life is well recognized by those tasked with overseeing America's overseas military footprint, as the quote at the beginning of this chapter indicates. Interstate basing arrangements shape how these effects are managed. In the Okinawan context, the extension of Japan's basing agreement with the United States upon reversion gave it an over-determining role.

"We didn't get a constitution. We got ANPŌ."

Reversion and the relations of internal colonial basing brought a "new normal" that older Okinawans were forced to adjust to and that younger Okinawans have only ever known. Rather than alter Okinawans' everyday experience of US military presence, reincorporation into Japan changed the terms through which US occupation would continue. It "redefined social spaces and personhood" in terms of Okinawans' compromised Japanese citizenship, becoming a "new means of manufacturing the experience of the real" (*c.f.* Mitchell 1988:ix). This had contradictory effects. Japanese citizenship did make everyday life easier in some ways; it led to more opportunities for mobility—both physically and socio-economically. It also opened local and national channels of political representation.

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[70] Personal notes, June 7, 2005.

But as a global relation rooted in coloniality, Okinawans' membership in the Japanese state makes accountability for base effects an elusive prospect.

"After reversion, it was as if everything changed and yet nothing changed," recalls 68-year old former Kadena town councilmember, retired farmer, and long-time anti-base activist Arakaki Gikei. The two of us were slowly making our way through the congested afternoon traffic on Route 58, a central thoroughfare running north-south along the western coastline of narrow Okinawa Island. Traffic in the central part of the island, where the greatest concentration of US bases shares space with the bulk of the population, is forced to weave around and between the bases on just a few major arteries, making traveling anywhere remarkably time consuming. A single expressway running north and south offers a much quicker mode of travel, but the high toll costs make frequent travel on the expressway prohibitive for most Okinawans I know. Like most of the key infrastructure build under America's formal occupation, the expressway was constructed to serve the military in particular.[71] Mr. Arakaki continued:

> "We became Japanese citizens. I got a Japanese drivers license. I could
> finally come and go from Japan without a passport. We began using
> Japanese yen. As citizens, our taxes started going to Tokyo, and Tokyo
> started paying us to put up with the bases, which remained just as they
> had always been. We could vote in national elections and send
> Okinawan representatives to the parliament, but their small numbers
> couldn't do anything about the bases. Even Japan's so-called
> 'opposition parties' are not really interested in fighting for Okinawa.
> Our local elections revolve around the US military bases….Okinawa's
> infrastructure improved. Tourists came and the economy got better, but
> it also remained centered on the bases. And local construction
> companies and other Okinawan businesses have trouble competing

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[71] Just a 30-mile one-way trip on the expressway costs the equivalent of roughly $8. Adding to Okinawans' frustrations with the high cost is the exemption that US military personnel receive under the Status of Forces Agreement. It was pointed out to me numerous times that the congestion created by the bases contributed significantly to the need for the expressway in the first place, and that it was built to primarily serve the military. The close proximity of expressway exits and entrances to the main gates of US military installations supports such claims.

with big Japanese corporations that came after reversion. Of course we still protest the US military and government, but now US officials tell us, 'You are Japanese citizens, you must go to the Japanese government'. When we go to the Japanese government they tell us their hands are tied by *ANPŌ*. In the end, we didn't get a constitution. We got *ANPŌ*."[72]

Not coincidentally, Mr. Arakaki was taking me to *ANPŌ no Oka*, or ANPŌ Hill, named for the US-Japan Security Treaty that was automatically extended to Okinawa in 1972. At just three or four meters high, *ANPŌ no Oka* is hardly a hill; it turned out to be a nondescript, grassy mound alongside Route 58 in the town of Kadena. I realized I had driven past the concrete stairway that leads from the road to the top of the mound dozens of times without taking notice. But from the top we had an unobstructed view of the two runways at Kadena Air Base, the largest US military installation in the Asia-Pacific region and one of the largest military bases in the world (see figure 3.3).[73] Initially seized from Japanese Imperial forces in the spring of 1945, US forces transformed the airstrip and continued expanding the base through forced land seizers. Today the air base still occupies 85% of the town of Kadena. As the sardonic nickname suggests, it is from ANPŌ Hill that one begins to get a sense of the enormity and dominance—physical and otherwise—of the US-Japan Security Treaty within Okinawa. "My family didn't get our land back after reversion. It still lies under that runway, or somewhere under those hangars," Mr. Arakaki explained, gesturing toward a row of buildings along the far runway.

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[72] Personal interview, March 5, 2005.
[73] Kadena Air Base is home to more than 100 aircraft, 18,000 military personnel and 4000 civilian employees (see www.kadena.af.mil/).

Figure 3.3 The view from *ANPŌ no Oka.*

The relations of citizenship also changed the terms through which US
occupation would be challenged. On the one hand, the representative claims of the
state provided Okinawans with a new basis for claims making and new modes of
struggle: litigation, elections, demands aimed at local and national public officials,
relatively greater access to information, and greater protections for freedom of
assembly and protest. On the other hand, the same institutions associated with
citizenship reconfigured the anti-base movement along increasingly institutionalized
politics, reflecting the structuring effect that institutions and actors of representative
democracy often have on movements seeking more fundamental change (*c.f.* Della
Porta and Tarrow 2005:1). Rather than facilitate the continuation of the pre-1972
movement to *end* US occupation, therefore, the provisions of citizenship served to
narrow the focus of anti-base activists' claims making, channeling the greater part of
their energies into particularistic campaigns to alter specific practices (e.g. ensuring
access to family graves, or stopping bombing exercises that project ordinance across
a public roadway) or seek justice for specific acts (e.g. rape). So while Okinawan
activists have achieved countless successes in the 35 years since reversion because of

new avenues for redress, continued US military presence ensures a surfeit of targets for particularized claims and campaigns.

Moreover, intervening in and distorting local efforts to seek redress for base effects is the consistent deference the Japanese government demonstrates to its security arrangement with the US in the Okinawan context. The US-Japan Security Treaty and its elaborate Status of Forces Agreement provide the discursive and legal framework for this. The treaty codifies the terms in which basing matters are understood and problematized, which in turn locates decision-making power and "basing solutions" at the national and international levels. The imperatives of the treaty facilitates the approach taken by both governments to the bases, which is not geared toward lessening their impact as much as it is toward managing their impact so that military needs are not compromised. In this way the local and international dimensions of Okinawans' Japanese citizenship intertwine to create what James Ferguson (1994), in referring to the effects of the development apparatus, called an "anti-politics machine": the erasure of politics as the institutions upholding US military presence look only to prescriptions that fit within its universalizable technical-rational mechanisms of resolution.

What this means in practice is most visible when high profile incidents result in popular and official local responses that threaten to jeopardize military operations. Such was the case in August 2004, when a large transport helicopter from the US Marine Corps' Futenma Air Station crashed in central Okinawa's densely populated Ginowan City. Spinning out of control before it exploded against a school building on the small campus of Okinawa International University, the helicopter lost its entire tail assembly, a 36-foot long rotor blade, parts of the fuselage and 30 other pieces of debris in the surrounding urban neighborhood.

Okinawans' frustration and anger stemmed as much from the US military's actions following the crash as from the incident itself. Without permission, military personnel immediately took control of the private campus, preventing Okinawan police, university authorities and city officials from accessing the site. News footage showed US soldiers shouting at and using force against residents, and blocking cameras. This bolstered accounts of soldiers confiscating film and entering private property without permission. Okinawan police and fire departments were not allowed access to the main crash site for two full days, and then were only allowed to view the wreckage and surrounding damage from a distance. In the interim, images of young marines freely coming and going from the campus added to residents' frustration over the unilateral control claimed by the military (see figure 3.4). US commanders refused Okinawan authorities' demands to investigate the wreckage and crash site. Subsequent footage of US military personnel in full-body protective gear removing a large covered object and top soil from the site fueled citizens' fears about what the aircraft was carrying when it crashed. Anger grew when, with the burned-out remains of the helicopter still on the ground and the military's own investigation of the crash ongoing, the Marines resumed flights of the same type of helicopter from Futenma, claiming necessity "in support of Operation Iraqi Freedom."[74]

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[74] David Allen, "Six Futenma CH-53Ds set off for Iraq," *Stars and Stripes Pacific Edition,* Tuesday, August 24, 2004. Retrieved August 28, 2004 from http://www.stripes.com/article.asp?section=104&article=23988.

Figure 3.4 Scenes of the August 12, 2004 helicopter crash in Ginowan City. Clockwise, (1) Marines rush to cordon off the area around the crash site; (2) Marines and members of the Okinawa prefectural police force guard a propeller blade that fell on a residential street and private driveway about 200 meters from the crash site; (3) Marines exit from the military-controlled campus of Okinawa International University two days following the crash; (4) Officials from the Okinawa prefectural police are prevented from accessing the tail rotor assembly, which fell in the grounds of a nearby community center about 500 meters from the central crash site. (Photo 1 taken by Kaneshiro Junko; photos 2-4 taken by author)

Small protests occurred daily at the crash site and activists began a month-long sit-in at Futenma's main gate, culminating in a rally of 30,000 at the campus on September 12. But Okinawans' anger was directed equally if not more so at the Japanese government's reaction to the incident. Then Prime Minister Koizumi Junichiro refused to meet with Okinawan officials immediately because he was on summer vacation. Within days of the incident and before any formal investigation, Japan's Foreign Minister Machimura announced that the US military had not violated

any provisions of the SOFA in the wake of the crash. Machimura's subsequent praise for the "pilots' superior flying skills" as the reason for no deaths or injuries on the ground drew swift rebuke within Okinawa, given eye-witness accounts of the rotor-less helicopter spinning out of control over the rooftops.[75] The government also supported the military's resumption of helicopter flights from Futenma before investigations into the crash were complete.[76]

For Japanese leaders, the crash was officially "extremely regrettable."[77] But it was also a major setback. Under increasing pressure from Washington, the Japanese government had tried for eight years to convince or compel Okinawans to accept the two governments' plan to build a massive new offshore US air base in northern Okinawa's Henoko Bay and related training sites nearby. The plan was the cornerstone of a 1996 agreement between the US and Japanese governments to "lessen the burden" of the US military on Okinawa by closing Futenma Air Station and other aging facilities.

For the US Military, the crash officially warranted "deepest regret."[78] But it also signaled more delays in the Pentagon's plans to modernize its military capabilities on the island, as part of a broader goal of realigning its forces in Japan and the region. Central to this objective in Okinawa is the new air base at Henoko.

For Okinawans, the crash and its aftermath were life under conditions of internal colonial basing. That Japanese leaders downplayed the crash and dismissed any notion of wrongdoing on the part of the US was hardly surprising to Okinawans

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[75] "Machimura apologizes for praising pilot's ability in chopper crash" Kyodo News, October 18, 2004. Retrieved October 20, 2004 from www.japantoday.com/e/?content=news&id=315757.

[76] "Japan OKs resumption of U.S. chopper flights Wed," *Kyodo News*, October 12, 2004.

[77] *"Beigun heri tsuuraku, kawaguchi gaisou ga paueru beimuchokan to denwakaidan* [US military helicopter crash: Foreign Minister Kawaguchi holds teleconference with Secretary of State Powell]" *Ryukyu Shimpo*, August 24, 2994, p. 1.

[78] David Allen and Chiyomi Sumida, "Governor, general at odds over Futenma flights, *Stars and Stripes Pacific Edition*, August 23, 2004. Retrieved August 28, 2004 from http://www.stripes.com/article.asp?section=104&article=23976.

who long ago stopped viewing the Japanese government as an advocate and a guarantor of their rights. "By tomorrow the Japanese government will be handing out cash. This is how it handles incidents like this," my neighbor Nakamura Teruko predicted accurately. The Okinawa branch of Japan's Defense Agency—now the Ministry of Defense[79]—set up shop in an empty storefront a block from the crash site in order to facilitate compensation for area residents' property damage.

It is precisely the normality of extraordinary incidents like the crash that provokes the greatest anger. Mie, a member of a Ginowan City women's group who grew up near the crash site, pointed to the deliberate policies that led to the crash and the extent to which these are unknown and largely unimaginable for most Japanese:

> "I've had several calls from acquaintances on the mainland. Almost every one of them told me how greatly shocked they were to hear the news of the crash (*dai shokku o uketa'tte*)…This is the difference in our experiences of the US military. I'll just say it—it was difficult for me not to let on that I was angry to hear their simplistic reaction. I guess from a distance, from some place where it would be a shock if a plane crashed into a neighborhood, the Ginowan crash must seem shocking. But it is not at all shocking to Uchinanchū. How could it come as a shock that a helicopter would crash into homes and a campus building when hundreds of helicopters circle low over those same homes and campus *every day*? Isn't it more shocking that a helicopter doesn't drop out of the sky regularly?"[80]

Mie's comment foregrounds two additional dimensions of the normalization of US military presence in Okinawa. The first is the mostly silent majority to the north. US military installations on the island rest on the consent of the many and coercion of the few. With over 75% of all US bases in Japan still concentrated on Okinawa Island—which constitutes .03% of the country's total land mass—it is the Japanese

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[79] On January 7, 2007, the Japan Defense Agency was upgraded to Ministry of Defense, a Cabinet-level ministry.
[80] Personal interview, August 15, 2004.

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citizenry as a whole that consents to a daily reality that only a small fraction truly understand. This is not to say that Japanese do not know or care about Okinawa. But in the main their knowledge and attention is selective, shaped by a $375 billion dollar-a-year tourist industry largely tailored to them. Okinawa's subtropical climate, white sand beaches and distinct culture quickly made it one of the central destinations for Japan's growing middle class after 1972. As Japanese overseas tourism took off in the 1980s, the long-held image of Okinawans as exotic islanders in the Japanese popular imaginary—much like the place of Hawai'ians in America's racialized social landscape—made the Ryūkyū Islands a popular "foreign" destination within Japan where yen is used and Japanese is spoken. With tourism the central lens through which most Japanese view Okinawa and its people, awareness of US military presence on the islands remains superficial,[81] except when seemingly extraordinary incidents, like the helicopter crash, make the news. Thus US military presence in Okinawa also depends on a Japanese public predisposed to the normalcy of letting Okinawans—whose "Japaneseness" has always been in question—bear the brunt of US forces in Japan.

Mie also draws attention to the regularity with which Okinawans are put at risk as a matter of policy. Former Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld reportedly agreed with her assessment of Futenma Air Station during his visit to Okinawa in November 2003, when he acknowledged the "dangerous and deteriorating" state of the base. Touring the city from a helicopter, Rumsfeld was quoted as saying "it is a

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[81] Given that most tour packages to the Ryūkyūs are less than a week, it is quite possible to travel to Okinawa Island and avoid experiencing the more destructive aspects of the bases. The most popular tourist hotels and resorts on the main island are located in the island's less populated northwest coast, an area not occupied by US bases. Tourists are thus able to arrive at Okinawa's Naha International Airport, travel the 60 kilometers to and from the central tourist region, and only glimpse the expansive military bases from the expressway. Of course, those tourists who want to see US military aircraft in action, buy American goods, and experience consumer-citizen life alongside young American soldiers in Okinawa's many pockets of "little America" certainly are able to do so. A not insignificant part of the tourist industry aimed at Japanese youth relies on the commodification of US military presence.

wonder there are not more accidents" (quoted in Takahashi 2004). The majority of flights from Futenma are "touch and go" drills for combat operations. This means helicopters take off, circle low over the city, touch down and take off again, repeating the drill. In other words, it is *routine policy* for helicopters to fly a few hundred feet above the OIU campus and the shops and homes of Ginowan's urban neighborhoods.

In an Orwellian twist not unfamiliar to Okinawans, officials from both governments cited the helicopter crash as evidence that progress on the construction of the Henoko air base is critical for the "safety of Okinawans."[82] Although the crash confirmed the Pentagon's own acknowledgements of the dangers Futenma Air Station poses to the residents of Ginowan, it did not lead the Pentagon to reconsider its controversial decision to keep Futenma in operation until the new air base is completed and operational. Nor did the crash lead to the question of whether Okinawans could or should "host" yet another massive military installation elsewhere on the island. The question remained how to accomplish it.

Responding selectively to Okinawan anger and backtracking on his earlier statement, Japan's Foreign Minister framed the problem presented by the helicopter crash in terms of the possibility that US soldiers may have overstepped *their* rights in their effort to "ensure the safety of the pilots and those on the ground. Japanese leaders and conservative Okinawan politicians called for a review of procedures in the event of US military accidents. US officials maintained that military personnel had done nothing wrong, but acquiesced to the review. The two governments agreed to convene an "Ad Hoc Subcommittee on Accident Site Cooperation," which a US military spokesperson announced would be made up of high-level representatives from both

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[82] "*Beigun heri tsuraku, kiken na 'futenma': Seifu no Taiou*" [Dangerous Futenma in the wake of the US helicopter crash: The government's response] *Okinawa Times,* August 17, 2004, p. 1.

countries, who would then make recommendations to the US-Japan Joint Committee overseeing US military affairs in the country.[83]

In this way the helicopter crash was reduced to a technical legal problem in the two countries' security arrangement, the solution for which became diplomatic attention to the finer points of the SOFA. That both governments used the Futenma helicopter crash to renew their push for a new air base and related facilities on Okinawa—a plan that had, by 2004, all but stalled in the face of widespread resistance—draws attention to how such crises and the terms within which they are dealt actually facilitate militarization.

"Making lemonade": Rape and the SACO Agreement

While maintaining existing military operations is the military's overriding goal when their effects generate a crisis, these moments are often used by the US and Japanese governments as opportunities to further plans that would otherwise be difficult or impossible. The 1996 plan to build the Henoko air base itself came directly out of such a crisis. It was among a sweeping set of changes that emerged rapidly out of negotiations between the US and Japanese governments following the September 5, 1995 abduction, beating and gang rape of a twelve-year-old Okinawan schoolgirl by three US servicemen. The public outcry over the rape incident reached a level not seen since Okinawa's reincorporation into Japan. 85,000 people gathered in Ginowan City to protest the rape and demand the removal of US forces. Like the August 2004 helicopter crash, local anger also stemmed from officials' handling of the incident. Military commanders in Okinawa steadfastly refused to turn over the three suspects to local authorities, citing a SOFA clause that allows US service

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[83] David Allen, "Committee to review handling of accidents" *Stars and Stripes Pacific Edition*, September 18, 2004. Retrieved September 20, 2004 from http://www.stripes.com/article.asp?section=104&article=24423.

members accused of a crime to remain in US military custody until indicted. Admiral Richard C. Macke, commander of U.S. forces in the Pacific drew fresh anger one week after the rape when he publicly commented, "I think that [the rape] was absolutely stupid. For the price they paid to rent the car, they could have had a girl [i.e. prostitute]."[84] Macke was forced to resign from his post.

US and Japanese officials responded in two ways to the widespread anger and protests. The first was the usual approach of reducing the problem to a technical legal matter, the solution to which is always "strengthening" the Status of Forces Agreement. Both governments vowed to revisit SOFA provisions regarding custody of military personnel accused of crimes. This eventually led to what Chalmers Johnson (2003) called a "flexible application" of the SOFA rather than an actual revision. The US agreed to transfer any US service member suspected of "especially heinous crimes," such as murder and rape, to local authorities before indictment.

The second response linked the rape with ongoing talks over the future of US forces in Japan. Calling for "sustained bilateral attention," the two governments convened a "Special Action Committee on Okinawa" (SACO) to discuss the future of US military presence in the islands. Like the first response, the second excluded Okinawans, elected and otherwise, from participation. The SACO process led to a bilateral summit between then US Ambassador Walter Mondale and Prime Minister Hashimoto Ryūtaro in April 1996. Borrowing a line from the first page of the SACO Report, the two leaders announced with great fanfare a multi-year plan intended to "reduce the burden on the people of Okinawa."[85] They emphasized their agreement to consolidate and close a number of US facilities and installations. But the report also

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[84] Irvin Molotsky, "Admiral Has to Quit Over His Comments On Okinawa Rape," *The New York Times,* November 18, 1995.
[85] See Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "The Japan-U.S. Special Action Committee (SACO) Interim Report," April 15, 1996. Retrieved September 3, 2006 from www.mofa.go.jp/region/n-america/us/security/seco.html.

provided for an equal number of "relocations" and "replacements," which ensured that military functions and related infrastructure identified in the report would be upgraded, within either existing US facilities or entirely new sites.

The most significant and controversial part of the plan was the closure of Futenma Air Station. This was controversial because SACO called for the construction of a "replacement facility" to be built in the shallow waters of Henoko Bay, located on Okinawa's rural northeast coast. The SACO report notes other options were considered, such as incorporating Futenma's military functions into the Air Force's Kadena Air Base or constructing a heliport within the Marine Corps' Camp Schwab (already located on Cape Henoko). But building a brand new base and related training facilities was "judged to be the best option in terms of enhanced safety and quality of life for the Okinawan people."[86] Adding to the controversy was the US government's condition for closing Futenma. Citing national and joint security imperatives, the US made it clear that Futenma base, despite its dangerous location in the center of Ginowan City, would not be closed until the construction of a new air base elsewhere in Okinawa was completed and operational.

Suspicious of the two government's ability to arrive at such sweeping decisions in just a matter of months following the September 1995 rape, architect and anti-base activist Makishi Yoshikazu convened a study group with other Okinawan anti-base activists to examine the SACO plan in depth. "The SACO Agreement does not lessen the burden of the bases on Okinawans. It shifts the burden from one part of the island to another," Makishi argued as he showed me documents uncovered by the study group. "Taken as a whole, it cements our burden."[87]

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[86] See Section 1, Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "The SACO Final Report on Futenma Air Station," (December 2, 1996). Retrieved September 3, 2006 from: www.mofa.go.jp/region/n-america/us/security/96saco2.html.
[87] Personal notes, July 14, 2004.

Despite the randomness with which facilities and areas are listed in the report, Makishi (2004) observed that the targeted facilities fell into three general groups, which shed light on longer-term plans. The first group consists of outdated facilities slated for "relocation" to existing installations, where they would be newly rebuilt.[88] The second group consists of two major installations, the Navy's Naha Military Port and the Marine Corps' Futenma Air Station. Despite official representations of the Pentagon's sudden agreement to close these facilities as a response to the "demands of the Okinawan people," the study group demonstrated that the US had long planned to relocate both facilities within Okinawa. Makishi cites the US military's lack of an official long-range "master plan" for Futenma, which it has for its other installations in Okinawa.[89] A set of documents discovered in 2001 by the late Miyagi Etsujiro, also a member of the SACO study group, expose the US military's long-held plan to build a military complex at Henoko. They show that Henoko was among sites surveyed in 1965 in the military's search for a suitable site to build a new air base by means of land reclamation. Two 1966 designs based on the survey reveal plans for a 3000-meter long runway in the shallow waters along Henoko's coastline (see figure 3.5), and an adjacent naval port in neighboring Oura Bay (see figure 3.6).

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[88] These included facilities originally constructed more than 40 years earlier: The Naval Hospital, Sobe and Senaha Communication Stations, and housing units in both Camp Kuwae and Camp Zukeran.

[89] Citing Hiromichi Umebayashi's 1994 study, *The US Military in Okinawa and the Freedom of Information Act,* Makishi points out that although the US military has official medium and long-term "master plans" regarding the maintenance and modernization of base functions for Kadena, Camp Schwab and the rest of its bases in Okinawa, specifically, Makishi notes that "a master plan does not exist" for Futenma Air Station.
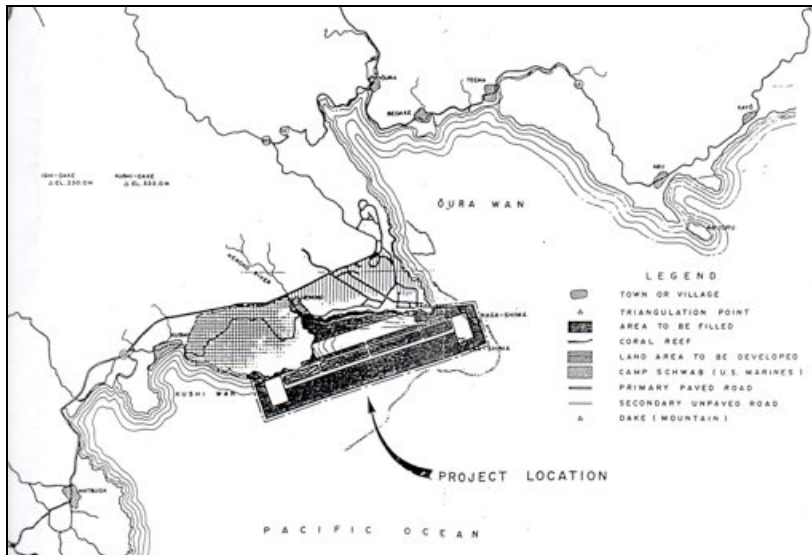
Figure 3.5 1966 US military map of offshore air base plan.
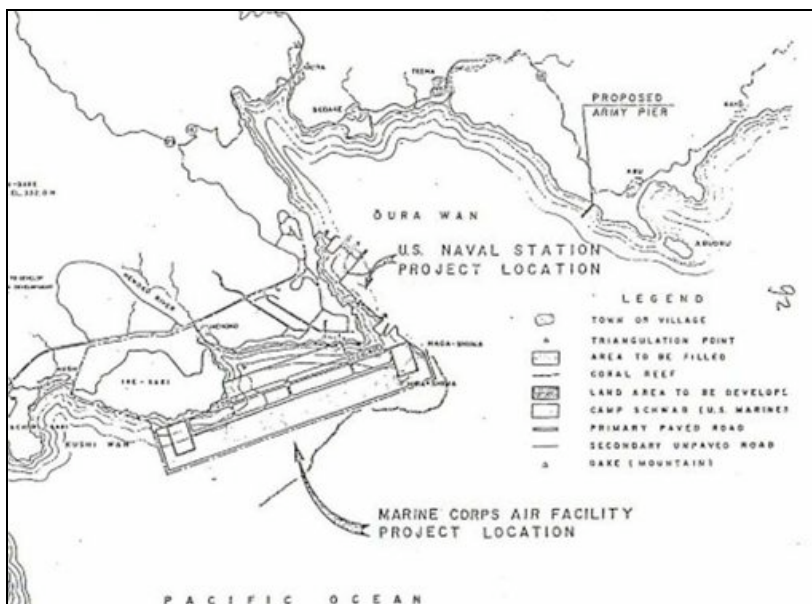
Figure 3.6 1966 US military map of offshore air base and naval port plan for Henoko and Oura Bays.

Finally, the third grouping the SACO report identifies includes the return of parts of the Northern Training Area, the Aha Training Area and the Ginbaru Training Area. These three occupy a significant proportion of Okinawa's forested mountainous northern region and are used by the military for jungle warfare and related training.

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Under the SACO Agreement, helicopter landing zones in Aha and Ginbaru would be relocated to the Northern Training Area, which is notable for its proximity to Henoko. New and larger-than-average helipads will be built to serve as flight training facilities for the proposed Henoko air base. The larger size is needed to house the military's new MV-22 Osprey, a combination fixed-wing and collapsible rotor aircraft that remains controversial because of frequent fatal crashes during its development.[90] Incorporation of the MV-22 represents an expansion of Futenma's existing mission.[91]

Although the design for the new air base has changed over time—from a "removable" floating sea-based facility to a fixed air base constructed on landfill—all versions involve massive destruction of a diverse yet fragile eco-system of coral reefs, coastal tideland and the habitats of several endangered species endemic to Okinawa Island. In addition to the Okinawa dugong, or sea manatee, whose primary feeding ground is the seagrass bed in Henoko Bay, the proposed new enlarged helipads meant for the MV-22 threaten the habitat of the Okinawa Rail, a flightless bird, and the Noguchigera Woodpecker. Marine experts warn that the combination of the construction and ongoing operations of the base will also destroy the fishing resources well beyond the immediate site, irreversibly impacting nearby coastal communities'cultural and economic relationship with the sea.

Despite the predicted impact of the project, like the two governments' response to the helicopter crash, the language of the SACO plan also reflects the routinely Orwellian character of official representations of US military presence in Okinawa. US and Japanese officials initially referred to the Henoko project as a "heliport,"

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[90] See page 17, Department of Defense, "Operational Requirements and Concept of Operations for MCAS Futenma Relocation, Okinawa, Japan, Final Draft." Washington, D.C, 1997.
[91] Based on several interviews with Makishi Yoshikazu, mostly between June and September, 2004. See also Makishi, "Issues Pertaining to the Construction of an Offshore Base in Henoko, Okinawa." Report presented at the International Workshop on Military Activities and the Environment, Seoul, South Korea, August 2004.

evoking images of a small facility, though in reality it would be over a mile in length. The construction of a new, state-of-the-art air base to assume the military operations of 50-year old Futenma base is formally designated as a "replacement facility" (*daitai shisetsu*) whose "relocation" (*itten*) from Ginowan is aimed at "ensuring the safety of Okinawans." In this way, military build-up becomes a "reduction of the burden of US bases on Okinawa." To this day, officials from both governments only ever refer to the Henoko project as a replacement facility for the relocation of Futenma's functions, and steadfastly maintain that the plan is a response to Okinawan frustrations.

That Okinawan frustrations and the rape itself were seen as opportunities to accomplish broader political and military goals is made explicit in the 2009 memoir of retired Air Force General Richard B. Myers, who was Commander of U.S. Forces in Japan from November 1993 to June 1996. He recalls how "the US government used the rape incident to work with the Japanese government toward moving our relations with Japan forward" (Myers and McConnell 2009:95). Myers, who is better known for his role as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff during George W. Bush's first term, points to US gains and accomplishments as a result of the rape. In particular, the "public clamor over the Okinawa rape was an ideal catalyst to bring [Mondale and Hashimoto] together." Given persistent questions by civilian leaders about maintaining such a large US military presence in East Asia five years after the collapse of the Soviet Union, "among the summit's notable achievements was a joint declaration that reaffirmed American military presence in Asia was 'essential for preserving peace and stability'." This led to a "break though" in US-Japanese "bilateral military planning." Repeating official representations of SACO, the general notes the need "to try to lessen the burden of the people of Okinawa" and lists only the base *closures* the US agreed to in the negotiations. Although like most US officials he leaves out the range of state-of-the-art facilities the US military gained in the SACO

agreement, even the new air base, these must have been in Myer's mind as he wrote that the SACO process "helped smooth Japanese feelings but did *not* weaken America's position" (emphasis in original). "Back in Kansas," he concludes, "they'd call that making lemonade out of lemons" (2009:95-96).

Thus while hailed by the two governments as an altruistic response to unprecedented Okinawan anger and mobilization, what became known as the "SACO agreement" was a blueprint for the modernization and overall strengthening of US military capabilities on the island.

Conclusion

This chapter demonstrates that, for Okinawans, experiences of US military presence are inseparable from one's experience of being Okinawan and, for those growing up after 1972, inseparable from one's experience of being a Japanese citizen. Although the everyday effects of US military presence remained the same, the impact of Japanese citizenship on Okinawans' experience of US basing and on the anti-base movement was and remains significant. Citizenship creates cover for greater power relations and new forms of exploitation under internal colonial basing. For the US and Japan, Okinawans' citizenship had more to do with extending the US-Japan Security Treaty to the islands than it did with providing Okinawans with channels of representation and protection. When military practices generate crises not easily managed through institutionalized channels of redress, the treaty over-determines outcomes. So although the effects of US military occupation are experienced bodily and psychologically by Okinawans in their everyday lives, problems are redefined within the framework of the treaty such that their solutions cannot be found or determined locally, but rather only in intergovernmental negotiation and decision-making.

However, what General Myers and other US and Japanese officials overestimated was their ability to push through the SACO plan as a solution, under the guise of "lessening the burden" on the Okinawan people. The promised closure of Futenma and parts of other smaller bases did not obscure the fact that the plan made possible the upgrading of several facilities, and the construction of an entirely new major military base. Critically, the far-reaching scope of the SACO plan raised the specter of the US remaining in Okinawa indefinitely—a prospect never imagined by those who sought to end American occupation by attaining Japanese citizenship. Fueled by the surge in anti-base sentiment following the rape, the SACO agreement set off a wave of political struggle that has continued for more than a decade. In the following chapter I look more closely at the now 13-year long struggle in order to understand its impact on activists' experience and perception of their citizen relations.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE FUTENMA-HENOKO STRUGGLE

"Of course I was happy to tell them I didn't want another US military base in Okinawa. I told each person who came that if ANPŌ is really as important to Japan as they say, then Yamatonchū[92] should be pleased to accept some of tiny Okinawa's US bases in Japan."

~ A resident of Okinawa's Henoko village, describing the persistence of Japan's Defense Agency employees who were went door-to-door before the referendum to convince residents to accept the new military base.[93]

"We weren't just fighting against the US and Japanese governments. We found ourselves competing with the local chamber of Commerce, business leaders, owners of construction companies, and those residents who were struggling to make ends meet. Claims by conservative politicians and business leaders led many residents to think that maybe the new air base was the answer to Yanbaru's problems, even Okinawa's problems….After such a long time, it is hard to believe that the bases can still be seen as a solution to Okinawa's problems."

~ 71-year old journalist, writer and activist Yui Akiko, recalling the social divisions that emerged amongst Okinawans in the run-up to the Nago City referendum on the proposed new base in Henoko Bay.[94]

"We cannot trust the Japanese government and Japanese politicians to make any effort on behalf of Okinawa if it goes against Japan's interests or jeopardizes Japan-US relations."

Iha Yoichi, mayor of Ginowan City, explaining why he sought to circumvent national channels of representation, instead leading a delegation of Ginowan residents to Washington D.C. three times. He met directly with American lawmakers and officials at the Departments of State and Defense to discuss the lack of progress on the 1996 agreement to close Futenma Air Station.[95]

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[92] *Yamatonchū* is the Okinawan word for a Japanese person or the Japanese people.
[93] Personal interview, November 10, 2004.
[94] Personal interview, April 14, 2005.
[95] Personal interview, July 12, 2005.

Introduction

The 1995 rape incident and subsequent SACO agreement provoked broad anti-base sentiment in Okinawa, setting off a wave of activism not seen since the reversion movement. In contrast to the countless campaigns waged by activists since 1972, the campaign that emerged around the proposal to "relocate" Futenma elsewhere on Okinawa Island has the added significance of attempting to stop what would be the first new major military installation constructed on the island in over 50 years. The specter of yet another half-century, or more, of American occupation has engendered unprecedented actions. For the first time since reversion, an Okinawan governor refused to sign over private land leased by the Japanese government for the US military. Anti-base activists initiated citizen referendums—the first in Japan's history—in which the Henoko proposal was voted down, and nine out of ten Okinawans expressed a desire to see the bases closed immediately or reduced over time. Within just a few years, however, for the first time in Okinawa's history, Okinawan officials and voters accepted the construction of the new US military base on Cape Henoko.

What led to this outcome? Why would Okinawans elect pro-base officials, when polls consistently indicate that the vast majority of them would prefer to see the bases gone? How are the conditions of internal colonial basing reflected in the way the campaign has unfolded, and vice versa? How has the course of this particular campaign, which has lasted 13 years and engendered some of the most politically and economically coercive actions on the part of the Japanese government, shaped the demilitarization movement? In what ways has the Futenma-Henoko struggle contributed to a reevaluation of activists' perception of their citizen relations?

This chapter seeks to further the previous chapter's inquiry into how internal colonial basing is accomplished. I do so by focusing more closely on the Futenma-

Henoko struggle, considering in particular how the heightened political contestation over the SACO agreement merges with everyday experiences of American military presence. From the previous chapter, I draw especially on three insights regarding the centrality of citizen relations to the maintenance of internal colonial basing. First, that the intervention of the bases into everyday routines and relationships contributes to the sense of US presence as a normal part of Okinawans' citizenship. Second, that the institutions associated with citizenship make Okinawans themselves party to the management of the bases. Finally, that Okinawans' membership in the Japanese state extends the US-Japan security treaty to the Ryūkyūs, which, because of Tokyo's deference to the treaty, over-determines the way base effects are dealt with in the Okinawan context.

Focusing in particular on the political economy of US military presence, this chapter demonstrates how structures of economic dependence put in place after reversion are integral to Tokyo's stepped-up political pressure in the face of widespread opposition to the SACO plan. The Futenma-Henoko struggle epitomizes how US military presence is maintained via a complicated arrangement of political coercion and exclusion, conditional economic inducements and the ability to create ambivalence and divisions within the Okinawan community.

The politics surrounding this struggle furthers our understanding of how the legitimation of internal colonial basing is at once state-driven and socially reproduced amongst Okinawans themselves. Pervasive representations of the Okinawa economy as being dependent on the bases reinforce everyday experiences of most Okinawans, whose economic well being, or that of their community or someone they know, is connected to US military presence. So while polls routinely show that most Okinawans would like the bases gone or reduced, political pressure and structures of dependence routinely give way to resignation about their place in Okinawa's future

and everyday forms of acceptance. In recent years, Okinawan officials and an occasional majority of voters have accepted the construction of a new US military base on the island—for the first time in the Okinawa's history. At the same time, the increasingly coercive tactics and deepening structural dependence characterizing internal colonial basing today also contributes to increasing disillusionment amongst activists in the efficacy of resolving Okinawa's problems via the rights of citizenship and within the national context. This is reflected in sustained civil disobedience and transnational forms of activism.

I begin the chapter by charting the rise of activism in the wake of the rape and the central government's early responses, situating this contention within a broader geopolitical context that amplified the sense of crisis on both sides. I then explore how Tokyo's attempts to compel Okinawans to accept the new base intertwine with the post-1972 "base economy." This directs my attention to the divisions and ambivalence anti-base activists find themselves up against, in this campaign and more generally. The second half of the chapter focuses on increasingly coercive measures Japanese leaders are compelled to take in the face of activists' persistence, and how this has impacted activists' perceptions and strategies. I conclude with a discussion of how American and Japanese leaders have dealt with the crisis emerging out of the Futenma-Henoko campaign.

Upsetting the status quo

Within the broader anti-base sentiment engendered by both the rape incident and SACO agreement, a new generation of activists, particularly women, began questioning the "normality" of US military presence. This growing popular anti-base sentiment created the necessary conditions for Okinawan officials to also take bold steps in challenging the status quo. The combination of both popular and official

action became a real concern for US and Japanese officials alike as the two governments engaged in high-level talks regarding their post-Cold War security relationship—the greatest physical manifestation of which was facing the greatest challenge to its legitimacy since 1972.

Fueling the upswing in popular mobilization following the rape and during the SACO process was the disclosure earlier in 1995 of US plans to maintain its troop levels in Asia, including Okinawa. The end of the Cold War had led to discussions within Congress and the Clinton Administration about a probable reduction in the number of US troops in the region. Official intimations led to widespread expectations of such a "peace dividend" in Okinawa and the rest of Japan, which were heightened by commemorations of the fiftieth anniversary of the end of World War Two. However in its February 1995 *Security Strategy for the East Asia-Pacific Region*, the Pentagon spelled out a rationale for maintaining 100,000 US troops in East Asia, which amounted to maintaining its existing forces in South Korea and Japan (Department of Defense 1995). Known as the "Nye Report" after its author, international relations scholar Joseph Nye, the report eventually had widespread influence among policy makers and is cited as a pivotal trigger in the reversal of previous plans to reduce troop levels in the region (Johnson 1996; Smith 2003).

Okinawan women in particular reenergized and grew the anti-base movement (Angst 2001; Takazato 1999; Akibayashi 2002; Yui 2004). Women had been organizing around the gendered dimensions of US military presence since the 1970s, which was in turn a continuation of their deep involvement in the reversion movement (Naples and Desai 2002:248-250). In fact a delegation of women from Okinawa was attending the NGO forum at the 1995 Beijing World Conference on Women at the time of the rape. However, "the '95 rape woke many more people up," explained Takazato Suzuyo, four-term Naha City councilmember, long-time activist and

founder of the group Okinawa Women Act Against Military Violence (OWAAMV) and the women's advocacy and community center Space Yui. She recalled:

> "It was too much for Uchinanchū. It made us ask ourselves, and one another, if this is what we want for our future. Japanese and Americans expect us to endure for the sake of *their* so-called 'national security,' but of course the question becomes, what about *our* security? That [1995 rape] incident made international news because it was particularly disturbing, given the age of the girl and multiple assailants, the kidnapping and so on. But rape and sexual violence and other crimes happen *all the time* here, and Uchinanchū know it. Most crimes of sexual violence go unreported. So suddenly Uchinanchū, especially women, were asking ourselves anew, did we really want to continue putting up with US forces forever? Because this is what we were facing."[96]

As Akibayashi (2002, ch 1) highlights in her research on OWAAMV, establishing the organization and making it an immediate, visible presence in the months following the 1995 rape was itself an act of "breaking the silence." Official reports estimate American military personnel and civilian contractors committed 5,394 crimes against Okinawans between 1972 and 2005, with 533 designated as "heinous crimes." Out of the 5,394 crimes reported, 678 suspects were arrested (Okinawa prefecture 2005).

Nearly all Okinawan activists I interviewed shared a version of Takazato's description of "waking up." Most told me that it was a specific event—a crime by a US soldier or a significant accident or incident related to military operations—that "opened their eyes" (*me ga sameta*) to the bases and led them to question the normality of US military's presence in Okinawa. For Ueshiro Masako, like most interviewees now in their late twenties to early forties, the moment that made her "see" the bases was the 1995 rape. "It wasn't really until then that I noticed the bases as profoundly strange. Once I realized how strange, and how wrong, it was for the US

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[96] Personal interview, March 5, 2005.

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military to be in Okinawa, I started wondering why Uchinanchū had to put up with most of Japan's US bases."[97]

For construction worker-turned-eco tour guide Higashionna Takuma, who is in his late forties, it was the specter of a massive new air base in neighboring Henoko Bay that spurred him to become a central figure in the campaign against it. "I grew up looking at the back side of Camp Schwab," he said, referring to the Marine Corps base that has occupied Cape Henoko since 1956. Higashionna lives in a small village on Oura Bay, on the other side of the cape from Henoko Bay. "Camp Schwab had always been there, and I always thought of the bases as a source of jobs. But then I realized that I didn't want my kids to lose the life we have here. An air base so close would completely destroy the sea, all the marine life. I've since learned how rich and diverse the sea life is in Oura and Henoko Bays. It would destroy all of it."

Such popular sentiments buoyed oppositional action within formal political channels as well. Exactly one month after the rape, then Okinawa Governor Ota Masahide sent another shockwave into the already politically charged environment. In his role as governor he refused to sign lease agreements on behalf of the roughly 33,000 Okinawans whose land is occupied by the US military. Unlike mainland Japan, where the land used by US forces belongs to the central government, US bases in Okinawa are on private lands appropriated by force during and after World War Two. In 1972 the Japanese government began leasing these lands for the US military's use, with the governor of Okinawa Prefecture designated as proxy signatory on behalf of landowners. Ota's action raised the possibility that Japan would fail to meet this core obligation of its security arrangement with the US, at a time when the two countries' post-Cold War relationship had grown tense over trade imbalances and what the US saw as Japan's responsibility to contribute more to the military arrangement. Prime

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[97] Personal interview. March 3, 2005.

Minister Hashimoto Ryutaro acted swiftly in filing a lawsuit against Ota. It was the first time in Japan's history that the central government resorted to court action against a prefectural leader.

With the lawsuit pending and US and Japanese officials two months into their bilateral SACO negotiations over Okinawa's future, Ota remained emboldened by the increasingly widespread anti-base feelings amongst Okinawans (Yonetani 2001). In January 1996 his administration preempted the SACO agreement with a plan that would move Okinawa in the opposite direction, the "Action Program for the Return of U.S. Military Bases." The three-stage program spelled out a plan to realize the withdrawal of all US military forces from the prefecture by 2015. Ota's plan was to advance the Action Program in conjunction with his administration's "Promotion of the Cosmopolitan City Formation Concept," which set out a comprehensive plan to reorganize the economy of a *demilitarized* Okinawa toward trade with its immediate neighbors in the region—its main trading partners in centuries past. It was this kind of vision that had put Ota Masahide in the governorship in the first place. Elected in 1990 on a platform to close the American bases, Ota was not only well regarded for his critical scholarship on Okinawa's colonial history and wartime experiences, he also tapped into collective historical memories of a vibrant Ryūkyū Kingdom. Ota's vision of Okinawa's future resonated with the increasingly politicized notions of Okinawan identity, which I explore in the following chapter, and the increasing frustration amongst Okinawans toward US military presence.

Tokyo stepped up its pressure following Ota's rejection of the SACO plan to build a new base within the prefecture. Prime Minister Hashimoto's administration pushed the Supreme Court to move quickly on its lawsuit against the governor. Rejecting an appeal by Ota, the court found in favor of the Japanese government on August 28, 1996. Ota was undeterred. In order to prove that he spoke for all

Okinawans—not just the socialists and communists among them, as his detractors often suggested—he called a prefecture-wide plebiscite on US military presence. It was the first referendum of its kind in the country, and perhaps not surprising that it occurred in the only place within present-day Japan that had a truly popular democratization movement. On September 8, 89.9% of Okinawans called for either immediate or a step-by-step removal of all US bases. The plebiscite gave Ota a clear mandate to continue pushing the US and Japanese governments on the issue of US military presence. But in a surprising turn of events the governor's political undoing came just five days later. Again facing the choice of signing the lease agreements on behalf of Okinawan landowners, Ota gave in to Hashimoto in exchange for support of his Okinawan Cosmopolitan City initiative, which had been sidelined from its inception without support from Tokyo (Yonetani 2001). The sense of betrayal felt by Ota's long-time supporters, particularly among anti-base activists, reverberates to this day.

Athough Ota's capitulation was a coup for Tokyo, and by extension the US, it could not erase the results of the plebiscite and the growing popular opposition to the SACO plan and the status quo. With Henoko Bay designated as the location for the new offshore air base, the Nago City Council declared its opposition. Mobilizing as the Coalition for Realizing a Nago City Referendum, residents against the base project successfully gathered the required signatures to put the new base plan to a city-wide plebiscite.

Despite its non-binding nature, the Nago plebiscite took on huge significance, mobilizing anti-base activists from around the island, conservative pro-base politicians and business leaders, as well as government officials and employees. Especially active from elsewhere on the island were residents of Ginowan City. "I think the US and Japanese governments thought that [Ginowan residents] would be

satisfied with the closure of Futenma, and not care if someone else had to accept this burden," recalled Shimabukuro Junko, who lives a few hundred meters from Futenma Air Station. "So it's been important for us to voice our solidarity with the people in Nago. The US government's conditions for Futenma's closure are unforgiveable."

In an unprecedented demonstration of political pressure, the prime minister visited Okinawa and Nago. He also sent his chief cabinet secretary and director generals of Japan's Defense Agency (JDA) and the Okinawa Development Agency. The JDA then mobilized two hundred employees—most of whom were Okinawan—from its Okinawa headquarters, housing them in a Nago City hotel for ten days before the plebiscite. They went door-to-door trying to convince Nago residents to vote in favor of the air base project, handing out color brochures exclaiming, "Henoko's Offshore Airbase Will Be Safe and Revitalize the Northern Region!"[98] The JDA employees warned residents of a bleak economic future if the city did not welcome the new air base. An elderly Henoko resident recalled their persistence:

> "It seemed like almost every day someone from the [JDA's Naha Defense Facilities Administration Bureau] would come to my home and ask if I had decided which way I would vote. I finally stopped answering my door the week before it was held. Of course I was happy to tell them I didn't want another US military base in Okinawa. I told each person who came that if ANPŌ is really as important to Japan as they say, then *Yamatonchū* should be pleased to accept some of tiny Okinawa's US bases in Japan. But they made me tired so I stopped answering the door."[99]

Accusations of political pressure, subterfuge and lies on the part of the pro-base faction and the JDA abound. Anti-base activists charge Defense Agency employees with making misleading statements and telling outright lies during public

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[98] Personal interview with Ashitomi Hiroshi, July 24, 2004.
[99] Personal interview, November 10, 2004.

meetings at citizens' residential councils (*jichikai*) in the days leading up to the plebiscite, particularly in relation to what the government knew about the kind of military functions the new US base would host (Makishi 2004). Many activists recalled the confusing language in the plebiscite ballot itself, which was the result of political maneuvering by Nago's conservative leaders. By April 1997, they had given their conditional approval to the plan (Inoue, Purves and Selden 1997). Even though the December plebiscite would be officially non-binding, Nago's pro-base mayor, Higa Tetsuya, and several pro-base city council members initially balked at holding the referendum, fearing that a clear vote against the base plan would make its realization more difficult. Threatened with a recall by the Coalition, the officials agreed to the plebiscite, but complicated the process by insisting on a ballot offering four choices: 1) support; 2) support, subject to measures taken to ensure environmental protection and economic rejuvenation; 3) oppose; and 4) oppose, if measures are not taken to ensure environmental protection and economic rejuvenation.[100]

By including the suggestive option of conditional support, pro-base officials and their supporters hoped to exploit existing divisions within Okinawan society. For although the rape and the SACO plan further awakened the anti-base sentiment that put Ota in power in 1990, ambivalence toward the bases remains a strong force within Okinawa.

Division, dependence and ambivalence

The struggle over the SACO plan illustrates the political economy of internal colonial basing. In particular, it sheds light on how structures of economic dependence shape, and are shaped by, a strong sense of ambivalence toward US

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[100] Personal interview with Ashitomi Hiroshi, July 24, 2004.

military presence. Representations of Okinawa's economic dependence on the bases resonate with Okinawans' everyday experiences and collective perceptions. The promise of a reenergized economy, especially in the island's rural north, add to the ambivalence and resignation many Okinawans feel about the US military's place in the territory's future. The US and Japanese governments rely significantly on such perceptions and the ambivalence it generates to help legitimize the bases.

By all accounts, the year leading up to the December 1997 plebiscite in Nago City was marked by deep conflict within the community. "We weren't just fighting against the US and Japanese governments," explains 71-year old journalist Yui Akiko.

> "We found ourselves competing with the local chamber of Commerce, business leaders, owners of construction companies, and those residents who were struggling to make ends meet. Claims by conservative politicians and business leaders led many residents to think that maybe the new air base was the answer to Yanbaru's problems, even Okinawa's problems….After such a long time, it is really hard to believe that the bases can still be seen as a *solution* to Okinawa's problems, when most of the problems are *because* of the bases. But perhaps this way of thinking persists precisely because Okinawa's economy has been tied into the bases for such a long time. Uchinanchū can't imagine how it could change. In the run up to the plebiscite, some people said to me, 'In the end, what will struggling accomplish?' At the same time, I think there are many people who worry about what would happen if it did change."[101]

As Yui's description suggests, six and a half decades of foreign military occupation despite six and a half decades of struggle has led to a palpable sense of resignation and ambivalence amongst the general public. The everydayness of the effects of the bases normalizes their physical, psychological and ecological toll as much as it normalizes the presence of the bases themselves—and Okinawan resistance

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[101] Personal interview, April 14, 2005.

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to them. Nakashima Yoshio, a 59-year old owner of a used electronics shop near

Futenma expresses his skepticism about the US military leaving:

> "Will the bases go? No, I don't think so. People protest and protest. I
> myself protested for years, for a very long time, but I realized I could
> spend the rest of my life protesting and the bases would probably still
> be here. Of course I don't want the US military here, but now I just
> think, if it is going to be here, we might as well get at least some
> benefit from the bases."

Nakashima's sense of resignation and urge to derive "at least some benefit" from the

bases speak to how little the massive US military force is perceived as a source of

protection. His sentiments also capture how the seeming inevitability of the bases has

become tied psychologically to everyday needs and ambivalent ideas of how best to

meet them.

The poor state of Okinawa's economy remains a key rhetorical weapon of

conservative politicians and business leaders who support the Henoko plan and US

military presence more generally. Okinawa's GDP and per capita income levels are

lowest among Japan's forty-seven prefectures, with the average income at roughly

70% of the national average, and Okinawan women's incomes consistently lower still.

The prefecture's rate of unemployment ranks highest, at double the national

average.[102]

Under these circumstances, a perennial debate within Okinawa concerns the

economic contribution of US military presence to the local economy. While

proponents of the bases tend to broadcast a straightforward message of Okinawa's net

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[102] In 2006, the average annual income per resident of Okinawa prefecture was ¥2.09 million, in
contrast to the national average of ¥3.07. In the same year, the unemployment rate in Okinawa 8.08%,
the national average was 4.1%. See Bank of Japan, "Recent economic developments of Japan and
Okinawa," Naha Branch Office, 2006. Retrieved on July 2, 2009 from
www3.boj.or.jp/naha/pdf/0021sitencyoukouen060901.pdf. For a more detailed look at the
circumstances of Okinawan women, see Karen Lupardus and Higa Teruyuki, 'A Statistical Approach to
Women's Labour in Okinawa, Japan,' Sangyo Sogo Kenkyu 2 (1995), 49-86.

gain, critics point to a much more complicated story of dependence and distortion. It is difficult to deny the latter. Direct contribution by the US military to Okinawa's economy has decreased dramatically in recent decades. Military build-up and waging wars in the region kept Okinawa's economy afloat in the years immediately after the war, and still contributed well over half of Okinawa's GDP through the 1960s. However this proportion dropped to roughly 15% by the late 1970s, and today the bases directly contribute only 5.5% to Okinawa's GDP. In contrast, tourism contributes 23% (Okinawa Prefecture 2006). The emergence of Okinawa as a major tourist destination for Japanese in the 1980s coincided with a drop in off-base spending due to the decline in the US dollar's purchasing power relative to the yen. More recently, a broader shift in how the US military provisions itself—it now "orders out" for most of what it needs on the island—and an effort to keep US servicemembers on base resulted in further declines in local spending.[103]

Much more significant to Okinawa's economy today is the indirect flow of "host nation support" for US military presence from Tokyo, which reflects the post-reversion reorganization of local economic relations into a complicated structure of dependence on the central government (McCormack 2003). As Sheila Smith (2003) points out, Tokyo's commitment to its alliance with the US and to a "common" global agenda has come to be measured, from the US government's perspective, in what Japan pays to maintain US forces. In contrast to most of the United States' overseas

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[103] Consumption of local goods and services, both by the military and individual soldiers, traditionally made up a significant proportion of the military's direct economic contribution. Even with Japan's economic downturn in the 1990s, however, a still relatively strong yen kept off-base spending low. Two broader, related trends in Pentagon policy are surely also a factor in decreasing direct economic contribution from the bases. The first is the decision to make base life more pleasing by creating a city-like infrastructure on many US military bases as part of the military's efforts to reduce base-community tensions by reducing overall military-community interaction. The Pentagon now contracts with major restaurant chains, such as Chilis, Pizza Hut, McDonalds and Subway, provide all the commercial comforts of home away from home. The second is the Pentagon's overall move to privatize the provision of military goods and services, which has led to outsourcing to chain restaurants and large military provider firms like Halliburton and Bechtel.

basing arrangements, Japan now pays a majority of the financial costs associated with

maintaining US forces within its borders.[104] These include all labor costs for Japanese

citizens employed on the bases, most of the construction and upkeep of base

infrastructure and base lands, the cost of leasing land from private landowners for use

by US forces, as well as environmental clean-up costs if and when the US vacates an

installation.[105] Also very significant are payments designated for public works in

towns and cities adjacent to US bases,[106] and the regular injections of money

represented by Tokyo as general "development" funds, which are understood by all to

be conditional on Okinawans' continued acceptance of the bases.[107]

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[104] Beginning with the 1960 Status of Forces Agreement, Japan agreed to provide and maintain all "facilities and areas" used by US forces in Japan (USFJ). In 1978, after increasing US pressure on Japanese leaders throughout the 1970s, Japanese leaders agreed to broaden the scope of what the Japanese government would pay for. Continued pressure from the US has compelled Japanese leaders to broaden its support numerous times, including the following key changes: partial assumption of welfare costs for Japanese employed by USFJ (1978), establishment of the Facilities Improvement Program which provides funds for the maintenance and upgrade of facilities and areas provided to USFJ (1979), partial assumption of labor costs for Japanese employed by USFJ (1987), partial assumption of utility costs for USFJ (1991), assumption of USFJ training relocation costs (1996). Since 1987, the two governments have signed a series of Special Measures Agreements more formally establishing the scope of Japan's support (See part III, chapter 2, section 3 of the Japanese Ministry of Defense's 2008 "Defense of Japan" White Paper. At
www.mod.go.jp/e/publ/w_paper/pdf/2008/32Part3_Chapter2_Sec3.pdf.)

[105] It is standard US policy to ensure in its basing arrangements that it will not be responsible for environmental clean-up when it abandons a base, nor is it accountable for any related health issues. Article IV of the SOFA with Japan stipulates, "The United States is not obliged, when it returns facilities and areas to Japan on the expiration of this Agreement or at an earlier date, to restore the facilities and areas to the condition in which they were at the time they became available to the United States armed forces, or to compensate Japan in lieu of such restoration." Clean-up becomes the responsibility of the host government, but weak environmental and health standards and the inability or unwillingness to enforce such protections often come into play. See the 2000 International Grassroots Summit on Military Base Cleanup Summary Report for case studies from multiple countries regarding the environmental degradation communities face after the US military leaves. Retrieved August 5, 2004 from Institute for Policy Studies web site, http://www.fpif.org/basecleanup/index.html.

[106] Since the late 1990s, public works constituted roughly ninety percent of centrally controlled funding to Okinawa (cited in Julia Yonetani, "Playing Base Politics in a Global Strategic Theater." *Critical Asian Studies* 33, 2001, p. 92). But spending figures for public works can be misleading. An economic consequence of reversion was the gradual dominance of Okinawa's construction industry by a few large corporations based in Japan. Moreover, given the extent to which US military basing has intersected with broader moves to privatize the provision of military goods and services in Japan and the US. Due to the scale or particular specifications of military projects, the biggest US contracts typically go to these Japanese firms or multinational military provider firms, such as Bechtel and the Halliburton subsidiary KBR.

[107] For a thorough analysis of how Nago City and the Henoko proposal fit into "base economy" politics in Okinawa, see Miyagi Yasuhiro, "Okinawa and the Paradox of Public Opinion: Base Politics and

In the end, representations of Okinawa as dependent *on* US military presence rather than *because of* US military presence often hold sway. Even the basic economic measures of income and unemployment noted above demonstrate that substantial largesse from Tokyo and revenues from tourism and agriculture cannot make up for the over-determining effects of the bases. The noncontiguous occupation and control of 20% of Okinawan land by US installations distorts property values and makes impossible even nominally large-scale or spatially integrated economic strategies (Okinawa Prefecture 2001; McCormack 2003; Oshiro 2004). Despite this, representations of Okinawa as dependent on US military presence reinforce the lived experiences of most Okinawans whose own livelihood, or that of family members or friends, is somehow tied to the bases: shop and restaurant owners, automobile and used furniture dealers, real estate agents, employees of construction firms, employees on the bases, and so on.

For this reason, contradictions abound. Although public opinion polls consistently show that the vast majority of Okinawans either want the US bases closed immediately or reduced steadily over time, Okinawans routinely elect "pro-base" officials to consequential municipal and prefectural offices. It is also not so unusual to encounter anti-base activists who own land leased to the military—though this is often without their consent—or activists who work on the bases. The bases remain the second largest employer behind the prefectural government.[108] Omine Nariko, a young indigenous rights activist who works at a pizza parlor on Kadena Air Base, explained, "It's complicated, isn't it? As an activist, I want the bases to

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Protest in Nago City, 1997-2007" *The Asia-Pacific Journal*, 2007. Retrieved October 3, 2008 from http://www.japanfocus.org/-Miyume-TANJI/2490.

[108] According to a 2005 report by US Forces Japan, for example, in 2002 U.S. bases in Okinawa employed 8,703 local residents. During the same year, local labor offices received over 22,000 applications to work on the bases (cited in Eric Johnston, "Okinawa base issue not cut and dried with locals," *Japan Times,* March 28, 2006. Retrieved April 4, 2006 from http://search.japantimes.co.jp/cgi-bin/nn20060328a4.html).

disappear from Okinawa. In the meantime, I have to work. Because I speak a little English, I knew I could apply for a better paying job on one of the bases."[109] For Nariko and countless others, being "against the bases" does not mean one can easily eschew the opportunities they provide.

Okinawans' ambivalent acceptance of US military presence is thus borne of a desire to make life livable and shaped by living alongside the bases all one's life. It reflects what Derek Sayer calls the "accomplishment of rule" through "everyday forms of moral accommodation" (1994:374). Sayer's insights into the micropolitics of hegemony rest on the notion that state power comes from the implicit threat of coercion, rather than overt coercion. Although citizens may not consent to state policies, they routinely enact the rituals and practices that directly or indirectly sustain such policies in order to make their everyday lives bearable. In doing so, however, the individual and the society become disempowered in ways that state reliance on overt force may never accomplish.

In this context, images of a reenergized, vibrant region on the one hand, and the continuation of a base-entrenched resource-siphoning stagnant economy on the other, amplified social divisions over the issue of the new base. This was further fueled by debates over the project's ecological impact and moral arguments about facilitating US militarism. It was the promise of a ten-year, 100 billion yen ($40,000 per capita) "economic stimulus package" and the creation of jobs associated with the proposed new base that added to the ambivalence among Okinawans, especially residents in Okinawa's rural, more impoverished northern region of Yanbaru. In the face of mobilization against the project by Nago residents and others across Okinawa, Tokyo's economic incentive for development of the northern region grew from two to three billion yen to 150 billion yen just a week before the Nago plebiscite (McCormack

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[109] Personal interview. April 14, 2005.

2003:103). Leaders of the Okinawan chapter of the Japan Trade Union Confederation (*Rengo*), a chapter long involved in anti-base activities, eventually dropped their opposition to the new base at Henoko. "Many in Nago say they don't want the base but are afraid of opposing it too loudly because it would mean no central government funds for economic reform. It's a kind of colonial mentality that you see not only in Nago, but also throughout Okinawa," explained city councilmember Miyagi Yasuhiro (quoted in Johnston 2006).

In my own interview with Mr. Miyagi, who leapt into the fray of base politics when Nago's Henoko Bay was chosen as the site of the new base, he spoke about the effects of the struggle on his personal relationships, and how the historical relationship between Okinawa and Japan figures in tensions and conflict within Okinawa:

> "Although it's been seven years since the [Nago city] plebiscite, sometimes I see people who were good friends of mine, but we haven't really talked since then. We nod in the street and just continue on. And this is a common story from all over Okinawa. I don't think this kind of effect of military bases is noticed much by outsiders.…The conflict that bases can bring to private relationships—families, friendships, workplaces and even whole communities—is common, even if one is not involved in the political arena directly. Base issues enter into all kinds of relationships and can really mess them up.…I think social conflict over the bases has a particular heaviness in Okinawa, because for so long Uchinanchū fought *together* to join Japan. That struggle was successful, but what did success bring? The bases remained. So I think many Uchinanchū feel we were fooled into thinking that our problems would end with reversion. I think this affects people's attitudes today. Maybe it makes people suspicious of others' motives. Uchinanchū are tired and don't want to be fooled anymore."

The divisions became especially pronounced in the tiny village of Henoko and surrounding villages. Both the construction and the operation of the air base, which would include an influx of roughly 2000 more Marines, would have an irreversible

effect on this rural area. As an inducement to persuade the local fishermen's union to endorse the new base plan, funds were channeled from Tokyo to construct a large two-story union hall at the fishing port of Henoko Bay. The inducement worked, despite a dislike for US bases more generally amongst the fishermen. This had the effect of pitting local fishermen against local residents opposing the base plan, whose headquarters sits just 100 meters away from the new union hall.

Ambivalence and division within Henoko village also stems in part from a certain pride some residents have in the relatively amiable relationship the village has had historically with nearby Camp Schwab (Ishikawa 1998), and collective memories of better economic times. The village, which now has a population of about one thousand, has shared Henoko Point with the US Marine Corps' Camp Schwab for over fifty years. Older villagers talked of Henoko's "boom time" during the wars in Korea and Vietnam, when soldiers stationed at Camp Schwab, and those rotating in and out of combat, would spend all their wages in Henoko's bustling "Bar Street" filled with eateries, bars and behind-the-scenes brothels. Today this street and adjacent narrow alleyways are quiet, lined with shuttered storefronts. But faded English signs with names like "Bar Flamingo" and "The King's Nightclub" evoke images of a different past, and of the potential for "reliving that boom time," as one central Nago resident put it.

Thus the depoliticizing effects I discuss in the previous chapter are compounded by the pervasive structural dependence created by interstate agreement and reproduced through Okinawans' everyday relationships and livelihoods. The US and Japanese governments count on this kind of ambivalence and everyday forms of accommodation to hold sway in prefectural elections and more generally. When the effects of the bases cannot be managed locally in this way, however, officials of both governments know the US-Japan Security Treaty provides a means to frame problems

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and solutions as technical matters of interstate diplomacy. They also know that Tokyo has the option of exchanging carrot for stick when democratic forces threaten continued US occupation.

Democracy betrayed

Successive Japanese leaders' political and economic pressure intensified in response to each major demonstration of popular opposition to the Henoko project. Although the extent of coercion that Japanese leaders were willing to employ in the Okinawa context angered activists, the greater disappointment was the extent to which key Okinawan officials bowed to the pressure, because it made Okinawans party to US occupation in historically unprecedented ways.

Tokyo's year-long efforts to sway the outcome of the Nago city plebiscite suggest that, had Nago residents voted in favor of the air base, the central government would have hailed the outcome as a legitimate and democratically expressed endorsement of the project. But when residents voted the project down in December 1997 (given the four options on the ballot, 2,562 unambiguously favored the heliport and 16,254 voted unambiguously against it), the Japanese government immediately dismissed the results of the plebiscite as non-binding and therefore of no consequence to the progress on the Henoko base. Although Tokyo's response did not surprise activists, the response of Nago's mayor shocked them. Higa Tetsuya had publically committed to act in accordance with the plebiscite outcome. Immediately following the vote, Prime Minister Hashimoto called the mayor to Tokyo for a meeting at the former's residence. After the meeting Higa announced his official acceptance of the base project and promptly resigned as mayor of Nago.[110]

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[110] For an insightful analysis of the politics of the Nago plebiscite and its implications for Okinawan consciousness, see Inoue Masamichi, "Nago City Referendum: Constructing Okinawan Citizenship," chapter 6 in *Okinawa and the U.S. military: identity making in the Age of Globalization.* New York: Columbia University Press, 2007.

Yui Akiko (2004) captured the historical implications of the mayor's announcement. "Until that time, U.S. bases in Okinawa were all imposed by outside forces, the U.S. and Japanese governments, against the will of the Okinawan people….[Okinawan officials' acceptance of the base] amounts to a denial of one's own history, the history of the war and of the long post-war struggle for peace" (p. 8). Yui returned to this in our interview:

> "I worry about how Uchinanchū youth interpreted [Okinawan politicians'] acceptance of the new base. They have no experience of wartime, only stories of their elders and history lessons and school trips to *Himeyuri*.[111] They have grown up living with the problems of the bases, but their more immediate problem may be finding a descent job…. Why shouldn't they see the bases as a potential solution when their Uchinanchū elders tie Okinawa's economy to its militarization? [Mayor] Higa, [Governor] Inamine and other officials' acceptance of the new base at Henoko sent a very different message to Uchinanchū youth. The message was 'the past doesn't matter anymore.'"[112]

Okinawan activists often draw connections between Okinawa's wartime experience and continued American military presence, but older activists who experienced the war make them more frequently and more compellingly. Their narratives dislodge military power, and even any economic benefit gained from the bases, as sources of security. Elderly residents in Henoko formed the moral center of the campaign from the beginning. The Henoko campaign has attracted unprecedented

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[111] *Himeyuri* is a monument and museum erected to memorialize the Okinawan female high school students who the Imperial Japanese Army forcibly conscripted into a nursing unit in March 1945, during the Battle of Okinawa. The Army mobilized 222 students and 18 of their teachers from the Okinawa Daiichi Women's High School and Okinawa Shihan Women's School to perform surgery and care for wounded and dying soldiers. For much of the time, they lived and worked in dark caves in southern Okinawa Island. By the end of the Battle, 80% of the students and teachers had perished. While some died in Allied air attacks, many also died from forced suicide, believing the (mostly) propagandistic message of the Japanese Army that US soldiers would commit systematic rape girls. The museum, where surviving *Himeyuri* students still (as of 2008) provide living testimonials, is a standard field trip destination by Okinawan school children (see www.himeyuri.or.jp/).
[112] Personal interview, April 14, 2005.

involvement, including by mainland Japanese, because of the environmental threat that construction of the base poses. But for local elders the planned destruction of the bay is profoundly personal. "I have been living with this sea for over 90 years," said Henoko resident Shimabukuro Yoshi 92, the oldest member of the group. "When the war was over, there was nothing left to eat except the gifts of this sea. Thanks to this rich sea, I could feed and take care of my children. If you insist on building the base, kill me before you do so."[113] Another local resident who has been among the local leaders in this campaign, Kayo Sōgi, explained:

> "It is not surprising that American and Japanese officials only see this bay for its military uses. That is their perspective and priority when it comes to Okinawan land, sea and sky. But this sea is our home. It is where we live our everyday life….For more than fifty years the US military has occupied Cape Henoko and treated this whole area as its own. We gained what? Before that, we endured the Japanese military. Hasn't this been enough of a sacrifice by Henoko villagers? If this new base is built, the whole bay becomes US military property. It won't be a living sea. This is unforgivable. We won't let the Japanese government or wrong-headed Okinawan leaders push this on us."[114]

Following Higa's surprise announcement, Shimabukuro and Kayo were among those who dug in for a long struggle. By then much of the activism engendered or reenergized by the rape had become focused on opposing the Henoko project and closing Futenma, and the campaign was incorporated into the efforts of established groups in the anti-base movement (e.g. peace, labor). Henoko's Society for the Protection of Life (*Inochi o mamoru kai*), founded by the elders of Henoko village, set up a permanent encampment near the fishing port in Henoko village, which became the local headquarters for the campaign to stop the new base. They have maintained a

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[113] From the web site of the Society for the Protection of Life (sometimes translated as Save Life Society; see www.geocities.jp/nobasehenoko/).
[114] Personal interview, September 18, 2004.

continuous presence at the headquarters and during the weekdays since 1997, monitoring the port and the bay for construction-related activities.[115] As activists mobilized, Ota returned to his anti-base roots and officially refused to consent to the offshore air base in his position as governor. By law the prefecture has jurisdiction over the waters where the air base would be built, so Ota's stance had legally binding consequences and trumped the Nago mayor's official acceptance of the air base.

Tokyo's response to the governor's intransigence was swift and calculated, aimed at countering the rising and increasingly organized discontent within and beyond Okinawa. With the next gubernatorial election just ten months away, Hashimoto's administration cut off all communication with Ota's administration on the base issues and postponed payment on the economic stimulus package to the Yanbaru region. While never officially represented as having anything to do with the new air base, it was (and still is) widely understood that all purse strings are tied to the Henoko project. With so much riding on the gubernatorial election, one month after the plebiscite Prime Minister Hashimoto established an advisory body under the Chief Cabinet Secretary officially known as the "Commission on Okinawan Municipalities hosting US Bases." The group became better known as the Shimada Commission (*Shima-kon*) after its chairperson, conservative Japanese economist Shimada Haruo, "who has been a vital conduit enabling the central government to implement policies on Okinawa underhandedly" (quoted in Johnson 2004). The mission of the group was to study the "domestic complexities and problems" involving US bases on Okinawa. Its informal aim was to reduce the local people's frustration with the bases through increased largesse, but on neoliberal terms that, as Miyagi Yasuhiro (2007) has shown,

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[115] For an extended analysis of Henoko elders' participation in the campaign, see Tanji Miyume, *Myth, Protest and Struggle in Okinawa*, New York: Routledge, 2006, and Inoue Masamichi, *Okinawa and the U.S. Military: Identity Making in the Age of Globalization*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2007.

further deepen dependence, especially of those cities and towns most affected by the bases.[116]

The Shimada Commission also provided Okinawa with its next governor. Commission members included Okinawan businessman Inamine Kenichi, an entrepreneur with close ties to the energy and construction industries and to Tokyo. Inamine became Tokyo's pick in Okinawa's November 1998 gubernatorial election, running against the incumbent Ota with the full backing of Japan's long-ruling conservative Liberal Democratic Party (LDP). In effect the gubernatorial election became a second referendum on SACO and the Henoko base project. Ota maintained his opposition to the new base and calls for immediate closure of Futenma Air Station, campaigning on the slogan, "Okinawans, don't sell your souls." Inamine ran on the platform calling for the air base to be a joint military-civilian facility, with Okinawa Prefecture gaining complete control over the facility in 15 years. Contrasting himself to Ota's idealistic calls for an end to US military presence, Inamine called for pragmatism, using as his slogan only "9.2%"—Okinawa's unprecedented unemployment level, which was twice the national average. The LDP put up posters with "9.2%" all over Okinawa on the day of the election. In the face of

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[116] As Miyagi Yasuhiro (2007) details, the Shimada Commission provided funding in a markedly different way than previously practiced. For example, it provided full funding for projects that would otherwise be impossible under the previous system of partial subsidies, and local governments could negotiate directly with the Cabinet and the Defense Agency. New, expensively built sports and recreational facilities, community centers and other facilities sprang up around the island. Nago City received funding for a new college and, perhaps the most ironic project, the incredibly high-tech Neo-Park International Species Protection Research Center, a center dedicated to especially marine protection research, which was built less than a mile from the proposed site of the new military base. However, because projects funded through the Commission were not classified as "public works," funding would not be given for maintenance or future renovations. According to Miyagi, "38 industrial projects and 47 plans were approved to proceed by stages towards completion in 2007….Of municipal grants in the period up until 2005, Nago City had received 8.188 billion yen [roughly 100 billion dollars], second only to the 15.869 billion yen grant received by Kadena Town (which hosts Kadena US Air Base). The largest sum paid to Nago went to the Neo Park International Species Protection Research Center (3.322 billion yen, including land purchase cost and the cost of rescuing an institution then already on the brink of bankruptcy)." See Miyagi Yasuhiro. "Okinawa and the Paradox of Public Opinion: Base Politics and Protest in Nago City, 1997-2007," *The Asia-Pacific Journal*, 2007. Retrieved on October 3, 2008 from http://www.japanfocus.org/-Miyume-TANJI/2490.

a worsening economy and ten months of silence from Tokyo, Inamine won the election with 52.1% of the vote, garnering the votes of unemployed young people. Ota's 46.9% of the vote came from the employed and older people who remembered the war (Johnson 2002).

With a more cooperative prefectural administration in place, Prime Minister Obuchi Keizo, who replaced Hashimoto Ryūtaro in July 1998, reversed Tokyo's strategy of silence and tightened purse strings. Obuchi had significantly more experience with Okinawa's "base politics" and foreign relations than most prime ministers, having served as the director of the cabinet-level Okinawa Development Agency for eight years in the 1980s and as Minister of Foreign Affairs under Hashimoto. He was well versed in the kinds of political pressure and economic inducements that help sustain US military presence in Okinawa. Immediately following Inamine's electoral victory, Obuchi initiated meetings between the prefectural government and the Ministerial Committee on Okinawa Policies, using "special adjustment expenditures" to authorize twice the funds that had ever been made available to Ota (Johnson 2002). He also made the rumors of an economic windfall to Okinawa's northern region official, promising 100 billion yen per year over ten years, amounting to approximately $40,000 per capita. In a move that highlighted the centrality of the Henoko project to the reopened channels of communication and funds, Obuchi's administration backed the Pentagon's conclusion, which the latter announced only after Inamine's election, that the new governor's 15-year plan was "impractical" on the basis that "current security needs do not suggest that such a change in military operations on Okinawa is possible in the foreseeable future" (US Department of Defense 1998). The following year the Obuchi

administration further rewarded Okinawa and Nago City when it chose Nago as the main site of the 2000 Group of Eight summit.[117]

Although the central government managed to shift the political landscape within Okinawa in its favor for the time being, it further maneuvered to gain permanent control over a fundamental issue: Okinawan land occupied by US bases. Since leaving the decision of whether or not to renew the land lease agreements up to Okinawans' democratically elected officials presented a problem of unpredictability, Obuchi and LDP leaders sought to ensure that the US military's use of private lands in Okinawa would in the future be a political and legal fait accompli. In 1999, in the context of passing unprecedented reforms aimed at *de*centralizing power in Japan, the Diet included a directive that permanently shifted the power to lease Okinawan lands for use by the US military to Tokyo. The new law designates Japan's prime minister as proxy signatory to Okinawan landowners' lease agreements, effectively reorganizing decision-making power away from Okinawa to the national level.

By the time of the 2000 G8 summit, it looked as if the political and economic structure in Okinawa had shifted back in Tokyo's—and Washington's—favor, allowing the Japanese government to meet its commitment under the SACO agreement. While Okinawans were uneasy about the political motives behind awarding Okinawa the summit, it was also welcomed as an opportunity to show political leaders and especially journalists Okinawans' frustration with "the facts as they are in Okinawa," as Ryūkyū University professor Egami Takayoshi recalls (2000:1). A powerful way in which they did so was by organizing a 27,000-person, 17-km "human chain" around the largest base on Okinawa, Kadena Air Base, during

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[117] According to Chalmers Johnson (2002), Tokyo spent 81 billion yen ($1.3 billion) on the Okinawan summit. This is compared with the British government's (equivalent of) 1.1 billion yen on the 1998 G8 in Birmingham and Germany's 700 million yen for the 1999 summit in Cologne, the Japanese government lavished. See Johnson, "Okinawa Between the United States and Japan." Japan Policy Research Institute. Occasional Paper No. 24, January 2002.

the summit. The summit temporarily shifted Okinawan space, from one where local

relations and democratic institutions intertwine and are compromised by bi-lateral

interstate relations, to one intertwined with a much broader set of relations amongst

states, civil society and media.[118] This global audience has become increasingly

important.

Taking the campaign transnational

Despite Tokyo's efforts to convince or compel Okinawans to accept the new

air base, the campaign against it continued, growing into a multi-pronged struggle

involving coalition-building locally, nationally and transnationally, litigation in Japan

and the US, formal condemnation in international fora, and daily non-violent civil

disobedience at the proposed site of construction, which continues to this day.

Transnational coalition building and activities by Okinawan activists have become

particularly instrumental in shifting the debate over the Henoko project beyond local

and bi-lateral "base politics," providing opportunities to intervene in dominant

narratives about Okinawa's relationship with Japan and US military presence in

Okinawa. Such activism and resulting coalitions help de-center the terms through

which ANPŌ dominates the definition of basing problems and solutions, introducing

instead alternative conceptions of security that foreground, variously, gendered

understandings of military force, non-state sovereignty, and the environment as a

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[118] For an insightful analysis of the summit and how it became a global stage for activists as well as the US and Japanese governments, see Julia Yonetani, "Playing Base Politics in a Global Strategic Theater." *Critical Asian Studies* 33, 2001. See also Takayoshi Egami, "The G8 Summit and Okinawa" Presented at the symposium New Directions in Global Governance? G8 Okinawa Summit, held at the University of the Ryukyus, Okinawa, Japan, July 19-20, 2000. Retrieved December 2, 2009 from www.g7.utoronto.ca/scholar/egami2000/egami2000.pdf.

universal concern.[119] Such efforts also highlight the increasing disillusionment in the Japanese state as a rights-giving institution.

Groups like Okinawa Women Act Against Military Violence mobilized around the implications of the new base construction at Henoko for the long-term presence of US forces, and in turn the implications for security, especially women's security, across Okinawa. Building on transnational networks forged through participation in global meetings like the World Conferences on Women in Nairobi and Beijing, and in other regional activist gatherings around military violence against women, OWAAMV organized the Okinawan Women's Peace Caravan in the United States 1996 and 1998.[120] The caravan delegations included teachers, city officials, youth and community organizers. Traveling to several cities, they focused both on learning about the toxic cleanup and redevelopment involved when military facilities close in the US, and raising awareness about Okinawa. Together with the East Asia-U.S.-Puerto Rico Women's Network Against Militarism, OWAAMV hosted the International Women's Summit in June 2000, a month before the G8.[121] In 2005 Takazato led delegations to the 2005 World Social Forum in Brazil and to an international gathering of anti-base activists in Manta, Ecuador, where she drew attention to the then 250-day sit-in at Henoko.[122]

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[119] For a thorough and nuanced analysis of how the campaign has de-centered conventional Realist understandings of security, see Deborah Mantle, "Defending the Dugong: Redefining 'Security' in Okinawa and Japan," *Ritsumeikan Annual Review of International Studies*, vol.5, pp. 85-105.
[120] The English language booklet OWAAMV made to distribute during the 1996 Peace Caravan is available at: www.barnard.edu/crow/archive/militarism/okinawa_womens_american_peace_caravan.pdf. An overview of the 1998 Peace Caravan is at http://uchinanchu.com/about/womens_peace_caravan.htm.
[121] See International Women's Summit, "Final Statement of the International Women's Summit to Redefine Security," Development Bulletin, no. 53, 2000, pp. 96-97. Retrieved October 23, 2006 from devnet.anu.edu.au/GenderPacific/pdfs/20_gen_peace_summit.pdf.
[122] For an analysis of the Manta conference and the emergence of a global network of anti-base activists, see Andrew Yeo, *"Not in Anyone's Backyard: The Emergence and Future of a Transnational Anti-Base Network."* International Studies Quarterly 53(3), 571-594.

"In these gatherings outside Okinawa and Japan, we meet people who know all about our circumstances, because they live under the same circumstances. With them we can strategize. We can share information and pool information, to highlight the systematic nature of the violence that happens around US military bases. And we also meet people who can't imagine living under such circumstances," explains Takazato Suzuyo, founder of OWAAMV. Recalling her trips to the United States, emphasized the importance of sharing information that highlights actual military practices, and how they are experienced by Okinawans:

> "Most of the people who came to the gatherings had heard of the
> [1995] rape. The first Peace Caravan was quite soon after it happened.
> But they didn't know about Henoko, and they didn't know about
> Futenma or how many bases the US has in Okinawa. They also didn't
> know Okinawa's history. Americans only think that Okinawa is
> Japan….I was surprised at how incredulous most Americans were
> when they heard their government was trying to build a base in a
> beautiful bay, atop a coral reef, and keeping open a base like Futenma
> as a means of forcing acceptance of the new base. Their surprise comes
> from not knowing the history of US military presence in Okinawa and
> other places….We were able to have many discussions about how US
> military presence in Okinawa is not about creating security."[123]

Okinawan activists' challenges to dominant understandings about US military presence in Okinawa also offer critical new perspectives on the territory's relationship to Japan. Members of the Association of Indigenous Peoples in Okinawa and the Ryūkyūs (AIPR), whose activities and aims I explore in greater detail in the following chapter, continue to bring the Futenma-Henoko issue to various United Nations meetings on indigenous issues beginning in 1996.[124] By foregrounding the Japanese

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[123] Personal interview, March 5, 2005.
[124] In addition to the UN Working Group on Indigenous Populations, AIPR members have detailed the Henoko struggle, in the context of Okinawa's colonial relations with Japan, in fora such as the World Conference Against Racism, the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, and hearings convened by the Commission on Human Rights and Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities.

government's complicity in US military basing in indigenous rights fora, AIPR members also make explicit the colonial dimensions of US military presence.

Such activism also indicates a growing lack of faith in the efficacy of national political institutions to resolve Okinawa's most pressing problems. This is evident in efforts by Okinawa's elected officials to circumvent national political channels by meeting directly with US lawmakers and other officials about the Futenma-Henoko issue and the bases more generally. The current mayor of Ginowan City, Iha Yoichi, is following in the footsteps of former governor Ota Masahide, who made several trips to Washington during his time in office. Iha has traveled three times with a delegation of Ginowan residents to the United States to discuss the lack of progress on the 1996 agreement to close Futenma Air Station. Although well aware that Japanese policy toward Okinawa is shaped fundamentally by US demands, the mayor wants US lawmakers to make a distinction between Okinawan interests and Japanese interests. He explained that meeting directly with US leaders is important because Okinawans "cannot trust the Japanese government and Japanese politicians to make any effort on behalf of Okinawa if it goes against Japan's interests or jeopardizes Japan-US relations."[125] Iha also sought to leverage domestic politics over US basing. In addition to Pentagon and State Department officials, he arranged meetings with lawmakers like Diane Feinstein and Kay Bailey Hutchison, who not only serve on relevant foreign policy committees but also come from districts that want to maintain their significant military presence.[126] I traveled with the mayor's delegation in July

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[125] Personal interview, July 12, 2005.
[126] Iha arranged the 2005 trip to coincide with the most recent round of Base Closure and Realignment talks—commonly known as BRAC. Held every few years or so, BRAC refers to the process through which a congressionally appointed commission reviews the list of bases and military installations which the Department of Defense has recommended be closed and/or consolidated (see http://www.brac.gov/). The BRAC process is always characterized by tension and political wrangling at multiple levels. Representatives from municipal and state governments, as well as base- and defense-related businesses, make their case to the commission, while the numerically much smaller contingent of anti-base activists argue for the opportunity to de-militarize their communities. Seeking to intervene in this process, in 2005 Iha met with state representatives in Washington and local officials in California. He sought to

2005. The members of congress the delegation met with had all heard about the plans to build a new US military base in Okinawa. However, it was clear from their reactions to Iha's explanation of the issue that they did not know key details, such as the conditions the Pentagon had put on closing Futenma, or that the new base would be built atop a coral reef.

Because construction and operation of the new base will destroy one of Okinawa's fragile coastal eco-systems, including the habitat of endangered species endemic to Okinawa Island, the campaign continues to bring peace activists and environmentalists together in unprecedented ways (see Yui 2004). Coordinating with anti-base activists in the region, Okinawans hosted the first International Workshop on Military Activities and the Environment in March 2003. There Okinawan activists detailed the Henoko plan alongside long-standing problems like contamination of water and soil from hazardous military waste, soil loss from jungle warfare training activities, health problems stemming from aircraft noise and other issues (Makishi 2004).

Okinawans also brought the Henoko base issue to the quadrennial meetings of the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN, also referred to as the World Conservation Congress).[127] Members of local organizations that emerged out of the campaign began participating with Japanese environmental activists at the IUCN in Amman, Jordan in 2000 and to Bangkok, Thailand in 2004, which led the IUCN Congress to adopt successive recommendations calling on the Japanese and US

provide them with more leverage by arguing that, while Okinawans cannot and should not be forced to accept a new base to make up for Futenma's closure, existing military installations in the US would be able to incorporate Futenma's functions. See Darrin Mortenson, "Okinawa group takes base case to City Hall" *North Country Times,* July 19, 2005. Retrieved July 25, 2005 from http://www.nctimes.com/news/local/military/article_08219cb8-26cf-564f-93e2-ad2362a34d02.html.
[127] Delegates included members of the Okinawan organizations Dugong Network Okinawa (originally "Love Dugong Network") and the Dugong Protection Fund, and from national chapters of the World Wildlife Fund and the Natural Conservation Society.

governments to conduct a proper environmental impact assessment of the new base project and establish a protected area for the dugong. The US and Japanese governments abstained from endorsing the IUCN's formal resolutions, instead countering with statements of commitment to protect the dugong and the other species threatened by the air base project.[128]

As activists transmit news of the ongoing campaign through peace, indigenous and human rights, environmental and women's rights activist networks, including over e-mail and the internet, the Henoko struggle gains national and international support and attention. Greenpeace Japan coordinated a multi-day visit by Greenpeace International's infamous vessel *Rainbow Warrior* to bring global attention to the Henoko struggle.[129] The Futenma-Henoko Action Network, a coalition of Okinawan professors and teachers, a British professor at Okinawa International University and this author, raised over $30,000 to bring a director and camera crew to film a documentary about the politics and environmental issues surrounding the Henoko project, including the Pentagon's insistence on keeping Futenma open. The resulting documentary, *Development with Destruction*, aired globally on the *Earth Report* series of the BBC's World Service.[130]

While Japanese leaders' unwillingness to push local law enforcement to arrest those engaged in civil disobedience at Henoko has much to do with the inevitable increase in local opposition that such a show of state force would engender, the international attention brought to the non-violent protests undoubtedly contributes to

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[128] Texts of successive IUCN recommendations and statements by the US and Japanese governments regarding the Henoko project are available, from Amman Jordan (2000) at www.iucn.org/amman/content/resolutions/rec72.pdf; from Bangkok, Thailand (2004) at www.okinawa-u.ac.jp/~tsuchida/Save-Dugong/material/takae/200411IUCN_E.pdf; from Barcelona, Spain (2008) at www.sdcc.jp/enew/eventsiucn.html.
[129] See Greenpeace Japan's "Save the Dugong, Stop the Air Base" campaign at www.greenpeace.or.jp/campaign/oceans/dugong/en/.
[130] See www.tve.org/earthreport/archive/doc.cfm?aid=1768.

the lack of overt repression of the direct action. Actions at the Henoko port itself intensified in 2004 when, just before dawn on April 19, contractors working for the Japan Defense Agency arrived with trucks and equipment to build a work yard at the fishing port in Henoko village for a large-scale survey of the seabed.[131] Protesters blocked the entrance to the public port, turning away the contractors and staff from the JDA's Naha office, the Naha Defense Facilities Administration Bureau (NDFAB).[132] From that day on, a sit-in and other forms of direct action have continued at the public port in order to monitor and prevent activities intended to further the construction project. Participants include individuals and groups from around Okinawa, Japan and occasionally foreigners living or traveling in Okinawa. It has become a central stop for progressive politicians eager to show his or her solidarity with the Henoko campaign and the anti-base movement more generally.

Just two and a half months after the sit-in began, activists gained the support of the world's leading coral reef and marine experts who, by chance, were gathered in Okinawa from June 28 to July 2 for the 10th International Coral Reef Symposium. Two Okinawan organizations, the Save The Dugong Foundation and Dugong Network Okinawa, set up an information booth in the concurrent NGO forum, held a side workshop, and flooded the symposium with a booklet—all detailing the Henoko plan and its risks to Henoko's coral eco-system and surrounding marine habitat. In a savvy move, the same activists also arranged transportation from the conference site to Henoko, where they gave glass-bottom boat tours of Henoko Bay. By the end of the five-day symposium, 889 participants from 83 countries had signed a resolution

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[131] The survey involved boring into the seabed in order to establish the method of dyke construction. Having already completed an initial assessment of the seabed topography in 2003, the boring survey was expected to be highly destructive, involving drilling 50 meters deep into the coral reef and surrounding seabed at over 60 locations.
[132] The civil disobedience began on the initiative of Nago's Association to Oppose the Heliport Base, Henoko's Society for the Protection of Life, and the prefecture-wide Citizens' Network for Peace, which comprises 32 peace, environment, human rights, and women's groups.

calling on the governments of Japan and the United States to immediately abandon the air base project. The signatories included over 150 researchers from the United States, and roughly the same number from Japan. US officials from the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Agency, who were at the symposium, expressed disbelief at the project. On condition of anonymity, they told this author that the Henoko plan would never pass a properly conducted environmental assessment in the United States.[133]

This assertion may be put to the test. Following their initial meeting at the 2003 International Workshop on Military Activities and the Environment in Seoul, a transnational coalition of six Okinawan, Japanese and US environmental groups worked together to jointly file a lawsuit in US Federal District Court for the Northern District of California against the US Department of Defense and then Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld to stop construction of the new base.[134] Their case rests on a little-known clause in the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA), under which the Pentagon is legally obliged to conduct its own comprehensive environmental impact assessment for military-related construction projects in which it plays an active role that risk impacting the cultural property of a foreign nation. The plaintiffs argue that the Pentagon is obliged in the case of Henoko because the proposed construction site, Henoko Bay, is the primary habitat of the critically endangered Okinawa dugong, or sea manatee. Not only is the dugong listed as endangered under the U.S. Endangered Species Act, in 1955 the Japanese government designated the sea mammal as a national "cultural property" under its Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties. As a cultural property of a foreign nation, the dugong is protected

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[133] Personal notes, July 1, 2004.
[134] Backing up the Okinawa dugong are six organizations and three individual plaintiffs: the Center for Biological Diversity, Turtle Island Restoration Network, Japan Environmental Lawyers Federation, Save The Dugong Foundation, Dugong Network Okinawa, Committee Against Heliport Construction, Society for the Protection of Life, Anna Koshiishi, Higashionna Takuma, and Makishi Yoshikazu.

under the NHPA clause. In this obscure and circuitous way, Okinawan activists may have found leverage on the Henoko issue within the United States.
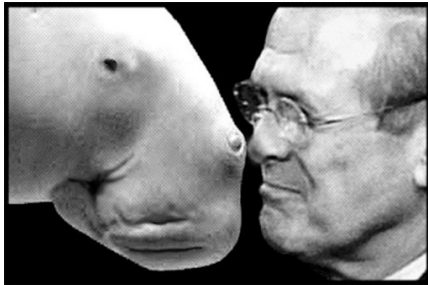
Source: *Asia Times*[135]

The Pentagon filed a motion for dismissal of the lawsuit, aptly named *Okinawa dugong v. Rumsfeld*, on two grounds. First, asserting a narrow Western notion of culture, it claimed that cultural properties could not be living creatures. Second, it argued that, because the new base is a project of the Japanese government, any impact or disputes arising from the project are a domestic matter and therefore the US has no legal responsibility. Washington's portrayal of the Henoko base as solely a Japanese government project is standard practice and has proven effective in the past. This is its official position on all problems that arise in Okinawa and elsewhere as a result of US military bases: By virtue of the sovereignty of the host country, problems are "domestic" matters of dispute between the host government and its citizens. This means that redress depends on the viability of local communities' citizen relations. In contexts where the host state is unable—or, as in the case of Okinawa under conditions of internal colonial basing—*unwilling* to mediate the impact of US military operations, communities living alongside the bases have little recourse.[136] Against this

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[135] Retrieved September 5, 2007 from http://www.atimes.com/atimes/Japan/EI30Dh03.html.
[136] The similarities with conflicts over US military presence in other instances of colonial basing are particularly important in the context of this study, given that in such cases the US depends on a state-citizen relation based on coloniality to maintain its presence. A preliminary investigation of court cases

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backdrop, Tokyo's collusion in maintaining the fiction of no US involvement also enables it to portray itself as a sovereign and decisive partner in the US-Japan security relationship.

Despite consistent efforts by officials of both governments to represent the new air base as solely a project of the Japanese government, US federal judge Marilyn Hall Patel rejected the Pentagon's arguments for dismissal in a landmark ruling in March 2005. Patel denied the first claim because it "def[ies] the basic proposition that just as cultures vary, so too will their equivalent legislative efforts to preserve their culture."[137] The judge dismissed the Pentagon's second argument on the basis of evidence detailing ongoing, active and direct US involvement in key decisions regarding the Henoko project. Central among the evidence is the 1966 map I noted in the previous chapter, which indicates the military's long-held plans to build an air base in the exact same location as that purportedly decided upon by Japan's Defense Agency (see figure 4.1). The 1966 map is cited in a 1997 internal Pentagon document, in which the DoD detailed its operational requirements for the facility at Henoko (see figure 4.2).[138] The initial construction design released by the Japan Defense Agency in

against the US government reveals a pattern in the way the US distances itself, officially and especially legally. In response to a class action lawsuit against the US government filed in 2000 by Chaggossians, the inhabitants of Diego Garcia, the US argued for dismissal of the case on the grounds that the conflict in question was a political matter between the local community and the British government and, as a "domestic" dispute, the US is neither involved nor legally responsible for the removal of the Chaggossians or the impact of its base or related training activities. The United States is prepared to launch the same defense should it be named in the lawsuit by Iunghuit residents of Thule, Greenland. In two lawsuits, one against the Danish Government within Denmark and one before the European Court of Human Rights, Iunghuit are suing to end US military occupation of their land and to force the US to clean up four abandoned sites. Although the US has not yet been named as a defendant, it made clear its position: "The court cases are between the Danes and the former residents, or survivors, since it was the Danes who moved them in the 1950s." See Stephen Fottrell, "Inuit survival battle against US base." BBC News Online. 2004. Retrieved on July 9, 2007 from http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/3753677.stm. Like the Japanese government, in these cases the "host" governments in question deny responsibility for US military actions in these contested regions.

[137] See David Allen and Jon R. Anderson. 2005. "Dugong take first round vs. Marines in suit opposing Okinawa base location," *Stars and Stripes Pacific Edition*, Sunday, March 6. Retrieved March 7, 2005 (http://www.stripes.com/article.asp?section=104&article=27570).

[138] The operational requirements, dated September 29, 1997, include a design for what was at the time being proposed as a floating sea-based facility. The design calls for fixed causeways leading to shore,

2002 reflects exactly the specifications the DoD outlined in its 1997 operational

requirements, including the direction of the runway and the addition of causeways to

the design (see figure 4.3).[139] In a landmark ruling on January 24, 2008, in what had

become *Okinawa dugong v. Gates*, the same judge found the Pentagon in violation of

the National Historic Preservation Act for failing to consider the impacts of the new

airbase on the dugong.[140] Although the Pentagon is currently appealing the ruling on

similar grounds, it highlights the leverage to be gained through transnational activism

in overcoming the democratic deficit in Okinawa (Tanji 2008; Yoshikawa 2009).

While *Okinawa dugong v. Gates* awaits a final hearing, the dugong and Okinawans

remain up against the US-Japan Security Treaty.
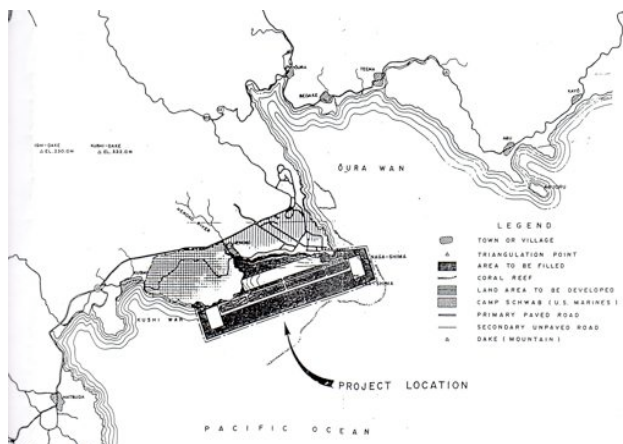
Figure 4.1 1966 US military map of offshore air base plan (Source: US Army)

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explicitly citing the 1966 plan as the basis for deciding the direction of the airstrip See Department of
Defense, "Operational Requirements and Concept of Operations for MCAS Futenma Relocation,
Okinawa, Japan, Final Draft." Washington, D.C. 1997.
[139] A 1998 report to the United States Congress submitted by the US General Accounting Office
provides further evidence of early US collaboration with the Japanese government in specifying the
basic operational requirements of the base, presumably referring to the 1997 Operational Requirements.
It states that "the United States has established requirements that Japan must meet as it designs, builds,
and pays for the facility before Futenma is closed and operations are moved to the sea-based facility."
See General Accounting Office, "Overseas Presence: Issues Involved in Reducing the Impact of the
U.S. Military Presence on Okinawa," GAO/NSIAD-98-66. Retrieved March 30, 2007
(http://www.gao.gov/products/GAO/NSIAD-98-66).
[140] Mayumi Tanji, "US Court Rules in 'Okinawa Dugong' Case: Implications for U.S. Basing
Overseas," *Critical Asian Studies* 40:3 (2008), 475–487.
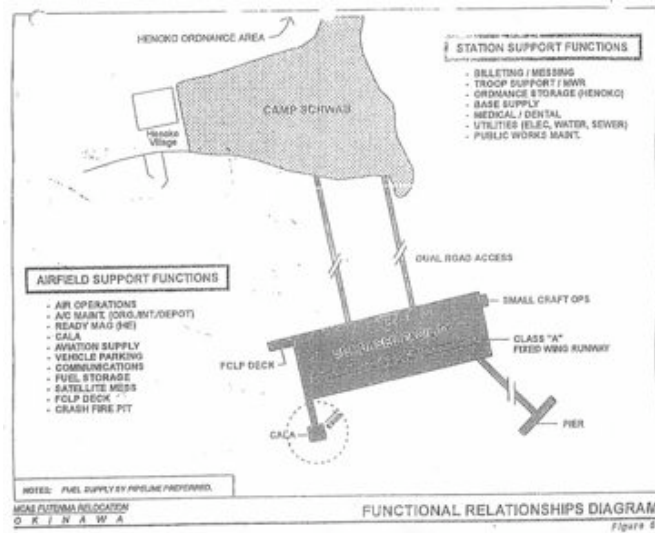
Figure 4.2 Pentagon's 1997 revisions to Henoko base design, based explicitly on its 1966 plan. (Source: Department of Defense 1997)
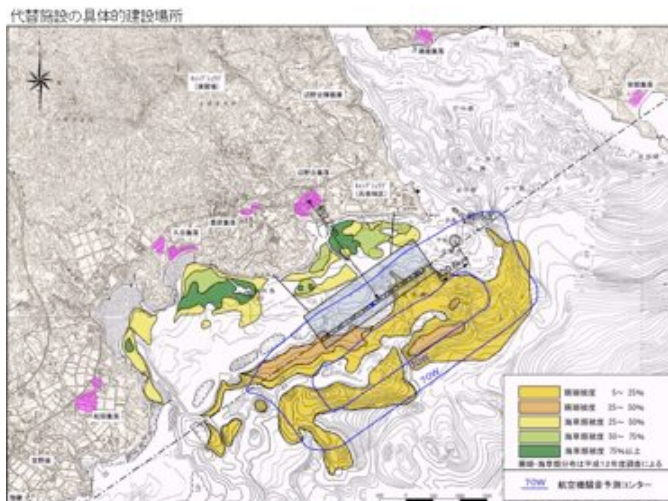
Figure 4.3 Japanese Defense Agency 2002 design for Henoko air base, which reflects the Pentagon's 1997 requirements (Source: Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs)

Okinawa dugong v. ANPŌ

Maintaining the fiction that Henoko is solely a project of the Japanese government has its drawbacks. Although this may make it possible for the US to skirt legal accountability, it also means that US officials must rely on the Japanese government to push the project through. That US leaders can do so with confidence has been borne out many times in history. This time, however, sustained opposition

has not only prevented any significant progress on the construction, but also forced Japanese and US leaders back to the negotiating table.

The non-violent civil disobedience on land moved out into Henoko bay in September 2004, when contractors began building platforms to conduct a drilling survey of the seabed. Using fishing boats, diving equipment and a flotilla of sea kayaks, Okinawans and their supporters, began a tense and often dangerous daily struggle to stop the work—routinely pitting Okinawan protesters against Okinawans hired as surveyors and private security. Protesters eventually occupied drilling platforms erected around the bay (see figure 4.4). More recently, the effort includes trying to stop construction-related surveys by of sacred sites and cultural treasures on Cape Henoko, within the US Marine Corps' Camp Schwab. Direct action at the Henoko port made it impossible for JDA contractors to easily access the bay from nearby. This forced the Japanese government to seek formal permission from the US, as per the SOFA, to access what are officially US-controlled waters adjacent to Camp Schwab in Henoko Bay. So while the Pentagon was claiming in US Federal Court that it had no relation to the construction, JDA employees, contractors and private security personnel were coming and going daily from Henoko Bay from a pier within Camp Schwab.

Figure 4.4 Protesters in sea kayaks at Henoko blocking the construction of drilling platforms (top); Protesters occupy drilling platforms (bottom).

Among Japanese leaders' biggest hurdles in upholding their agreement wit the US are Japan's own environmental laws, which the government appears ready to circumvent. At issue is what the JDA has excluded from its scoping document, which spells out how it will go about conducting an environmental impact assessment (EIA) of the base construction—the range of what the assessment will examine, and precisely how potential impact will be assessed. The document, which is subject to public and expert comment, is a legally required step in Japan's established EIA procedures. Most notable was what the Defense Agency left out of its scoping document. It omitted the initial drilling survey, which was expected to entail drilling

50 meters deep at 63 sites on and around the coral reef. It also excluded basic information about both the construction and operations of the base and routine operations of the proposed air base once under US control.[141] "Basically, the information required to assess the potential for environmental impact was *left out* of the Japanese government's environmental impact assessment plan," explained an exasperated Higashionna Takuma of the Save the Dugong Network, plaintiff in both Dugong v. Rumsfeld and a more recent lawsuit against the JDA brought by Okinawan and Japanese environmental organizations.[142]

In an unprecedented development in post-reversion Okinawa, the then eight-year non-violent campaign against the Henoko project forced the US and Japanese governments back to the negotiating table. As part of the Pentagon's broader strategy of "realigning" US forces in the region and more globally, officials from the Bush and Koizumi administrations met throughout 2005 to create new guidelines for US military presence in Japan. From the US perspective, the talks were part of an effort to transform the mission of US forces in Japan from a regionally-focused one (as per the

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[141] Regarding the construction of the facility, the scoping document left out information on the size, location, and specific purposes of the construction work yards required, or information about the roads and other territorial and marine areas that will be used in the course of construction. Regarding operations of the base, the plan did not include information regarding types of aircraft, corresponding fuel requirements and flight paths, and the expected impact of aircraft noise on residents and wildlife along the flight paths. This was expected to included details on the bases new mission, which includes operations related to the new V-22 Osprey and the construction of new and larger helipads within the military's nearby Northern Training Area. It also lacked information on natural resources and materials that will be used in the operation of the base, such as the procedures through which the US will secure water, fuel and other resources for the maintenance of the base; the types of chemicals agents routinely used, such as maintenance and cleaning fluids; and the procedures and chemical agents that the US utilizes in pollution clean-up efforts. According to the General Accounting Office, a high potential exists for the area surrounding the proposed air base site to be "contaminated through routine operations aboard the sea-based facility. The accidental runoff of cleaning fluids used to wash aircraft or unintentional fuel system leaks could contaminate the nearby ocean environment." See United States Government Accounting Office, "Overseas Presence: Issues Involved in Reducing the Impact of the U.S. Military Presence on Okinawa." Washington D.C. Chapter Report, March 2. GAO/NSIAD-98-66, 1998. Retrieved March 30, 2007 from http://www.gao.gov/products/GAO/NSIAD-98-66. The frequent and routine contamination resulting from US military activities elsewhere on Okinawa supports the GAO's conclusion.
[142] Personal interview, March 3, 2005.

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existing US-Japan Security Treaty) into a global one. As part of this strategy,

American officials wanted to get Japan to contribute more and in different ways to the

alliance.[143] By summer of that year, however, it became evident that the Futenma-

Henoko issue threatened to derail the talks.[144] The Japanese government's attempts to

coerce and cajole Okinawans into accepting the new air base had not stopped the

direct action at the proposed site, nor the initiation of the lawsuit against the JDA for

its violation of national environmental assessment laws. Washington's inability to

stop *Okinawa dugong v. Rumsfeld* from going to trial promised a longer battle in US

federal courts. The two governments announced their intention to revisit the Henoko

plan and Futenma base closure as part of high-level talks between then Secretary of

Defense Donald Rumsfeld, Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, and their Japanese

counterparts, Defense Minister Yoshinori Ono and Minister of Foreign Affairs

Nobutaka Machimura, in Washington in October 2005.

Instead of abandoning the project, however, the two governments used the

opportunity to expand on it, nearly doubling its size and military functions. On

October 29, the four officials announced what they hailed as a "compromise"

agreement on a "new" plan. The air base, which now would have two runways and be

1800m long rather than 1500m, would be built across the tip of Cape Henoko. It

would be expanded to include a deep-water military port and related facilities in

neighboring Oura Bay. An additional section of Oura Bay would be "reclaimed" to

provide land for hangers, maintenance buildings, a fuel supply pier and related

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[143] See Eric Talmadge, "In re-evaluation of military alliance, U.S. pushing Japan to greater role," *The Associated Press*, April 8, 2005. Retrieved from Encyclopedia.com on May 28, 2009 (http://www.encyclopedia.com/doc/1P1-107220581.html).
[144] See Hidemichi Katsumata, "Options spent over relocation of U.S air station," *The Yomiuri Shimbun*, June 16, 2005. Retrieved from Highbeam on November 2, 2006 from http://business.highbeam.com/6124/article-1G1-133265570/options-spent-over-relocation-us-air-station; and Kana Inagaki, "Tokyo, Washington in stalemate over U.S. military base realignment in Japan," *The Associated Press*, October 13, 2005. Retrieved from San Diego Daily Transcript on October 20, 2005 (www.sddt.com/news/article.cfm?SourceCode=200510131s).

infrastructure (see figure 4.5). Although the expanded proposal adds a second runway, the "new" plan is a near replica of the far-reaching design the Department of Defense developed in 1966 (see figure 4.6), developed. What the US could not accomplish— or was unwilling to pay for—in the final years of its formal occupation of Okinawa, it is now trying to realize by relying on the relations of internal colonial basing.
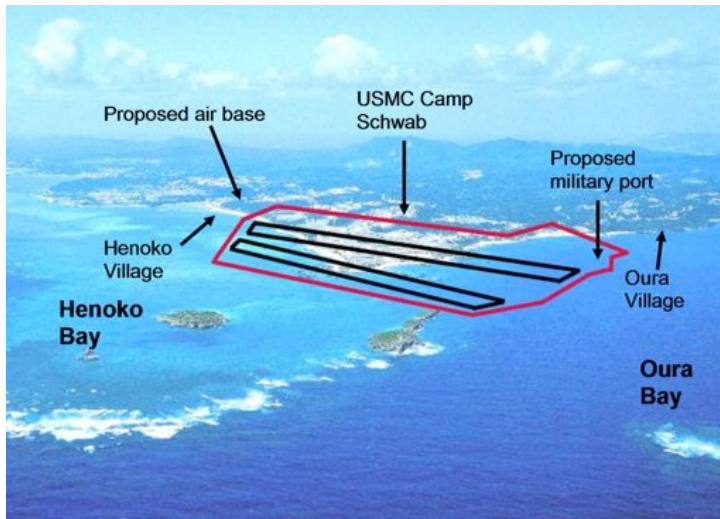
Figure 4.5 Representation of October 2005 Henoko air base plan (Photo by Makishi Yoshikazu; graphic additions by the author)
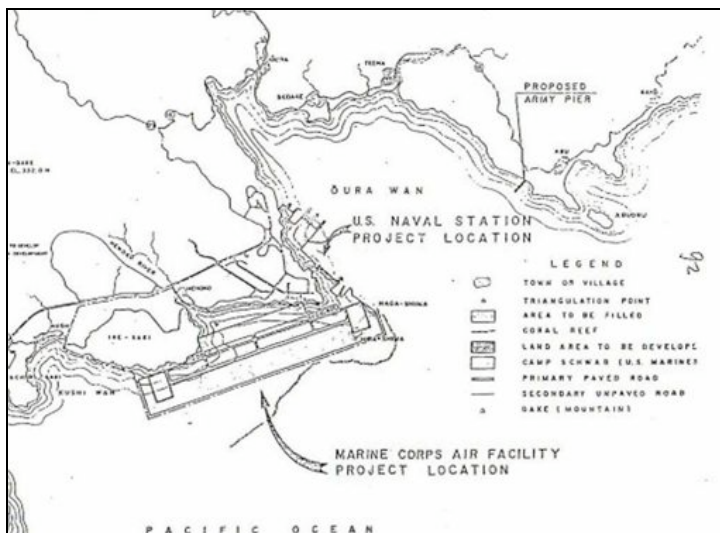
Figure 4.6 1966 US military design for offshore air base and a naval port in Henoko and Oura Bays.

As before, the agreement makes Futenma's closure conditional on the completion of the new facility. Until then, the Marine Corps will continue its daily touch-and-go drills over densely populated Ginowan. The Pentagon's insistence on maintaining these particular combat exercises at Futenma begs speculation that military officials' intransigence has to do with the kind of training this offers, and the dominant form of combat in which US forces are currently engaged. The city of Ginowan is, for all intents and purposes, a real-life urban warfare training area for US combat pilots.

In contrast to media speculation,[145] Okinawan reactions to the two governments' announcement were immediate and strident. Over 5000 Okinawans took to the streets against the October 29 plan on the day it was announced in Washington.[146] Elected and grassroots leaders around the island voiced their formal opposition to the revised plan. Taking an uncharacteristically harder line, both conservative Governor Inamine Keiichi and Nago's Mayor, Kishimoto Tateo, immediately rejected the plan.[147] City councils from twelve municipalities, including Nago City, passed resolutions condemning the agreement in the week that followed. Polls by the *Okinawa Times* and *Ryūkyū Shimpo* indicated that popular opposition to the new air base reached an all-time high, with over 90% of the population against it.[148]

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[145] "Warm reception expected for new Futenma plan," *The Asahi Shimbun*, October 17, 2005. Retrieved March 4, 2007 from http://www.accessmylibrary.com/article-1G1-137616778/warm-reception-expected-new.html; Inagaki Kana, "Japan says negotiators narrowing gap in talks with U.S. on Okinawa air station," *The Associated Press*, October 25, 2005. Retrieved November 17, 2005 from http://www.highbeam.com/doc/1P1-114473779.html.

[146] "*Engan butekkai e 5000 nin kesshū, kenmin sōketsu taikai* [5000 come together in prefecture rally for retraction of coastal plan] *Ryūkyū Shimpō,* October 30, 2005.

[147] "*Chiji 'engan'an' o hitei, kitaharachokan to kaidan* [Governor consults with Defense Minister Kirahara, rejects 'coastal plan']" *Ryūkyū Shimpō,* October 31, 2005. Retrieved November 3, 2005 from http://ryukyushimpo.jp/news/storyid-8066storytopic-3.html.

[148] "*Engan'an, fushiji 9-wari Ryūkyū/OTV yōronchōsa* [90% do not support coastal proposal, according to Ryūkyū Shimpō, OTV poll]" *Ryūkyū Shimpō,* November 4, 2005. Retrieved November 10, 2005 from http://ryukyushimpo.jp/news/storyid-8171-storytopic-3.html.

Employing one of the few means of leverage available to the US within Okinawa, American officials dangled an enormous carrot in front of Okinawans. The agreement included a plan to move 8000 Marines from Okinawa to the US territory of Guam. The deal was explicitly tied to the Henoko project. US State Department officials based in Tokyo told reporters that "it would be difficult to transfer the Marines without the full implementation of the Futenma relocation plan agreed upon by Tokyo and Washington."[149] So in addition to Futenma's closure, the US government has now tied its long-promised reduction of U.S. forces on Okinawa to the Henoko air base project.

The other inducement was the promise of even more construction contracts associated with the expanded plan. Although the scale of the base construction is beyond the capabilities of Okinawan firms to oversee, which means the Japanese government will still rely on large Japanese firms vying for the project, local construction companies will benefit. This explains the more "practical" approach called for by Goya Mamorimasa, head of the powerful Construction Association of Okinawa, who criticized Okinawan officials' rejection of the revised plan. "Futenma's dangers are a threat to security, so whether it is relocated within the prefecture or outside the prefecture is something we should be considering together. While relocating it outside the prefecture is preferable, because the conditions for doing so are complicated, it seems that we can do nothing other than stick with this [new] agreement between the US and Japan. The prefecture should respond in a more practical way to the plan put forth by the two governments."[150]

In a joint press conference with then Prime Minister Koizumi and President Bush on November 8, 2005, both were asked about the rising Okinawan opposition to

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[149] "US: Marines stay if Nago plan fails" *Asahi Shimbun*, November 9, 2005.
[150] "*Hyōka ya genjitsu taiō no koe, chiji no engan'an hitei*" [Responses to the governor's rejection of the coastal plan range from praise to pragmatism], *Ryūkyū Shimpō*, November 1, 2005.

the revised plan. Koizumi reminded the assembled press corps that security is about benefiting from "safety and peace," but it requires certain costs. "So with that in mind," he said, "with regards to the local communities that are against the idea, we've been trying to persuade them with regards to the position we are placed in. And they are, in fact, enjoying the security being offered through the U.S.-Japan alliance." For President George W. Bush, the October agreement was a "positive development." Acknowledging Okinawans' discontent regarding the October 29 agreement, he pointed out that, "in a democracy, it's hard to satisfy all the people all the time."[151]

The two leaders' shared discourse of national security and democracy evokes the terms upon which their new agreement rests in post-reversion Okinawa: sovereignty and citizenship. The latest agreement emerged out of yet another crisis, one borne of sustained and increasingly widespread opposition to the SACO plan but defined by Japanese and US leaders as a *diplomatic* stalemate. Defined as the latter, the solution was an interstate compromise that General Richard Myers might well characterize as another example of "making lemonade out of lemons": a radical expansion of the Henoko project.

The complete revival of the military's far-reaching 1966 plan was formalized in May 2006 as part of the "US-Japan Roadmap for Realignment Implementation," a sweeping agreement on new guidelines for the future of US forces in Japan.[152] Officials asserted, as they have at every post-summit statement since 1972, that the agreement represents the two governments' commitment to "ease the burden on Okinawa."[153] In reality, however, the "Roadmap" solidifies Okinawa's central place in the two countries' evolving military arrangement. The agreement lays the groundwork

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[151] For a transcript of the press conference, see http://usinfo.state.gov/eap/Archive/2005/Nov/09-555892.html

[152] For text see http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/n-america/us/security/scc/doc0605.html.

[153] See Inagaki Kana, "U.S. Military Realignment OK'd in Japan" *Associated Press Online* (May 30, 2006). Retrieved on April 8, 2006 from http://www.highbeam.com/doc/1P1-124316874.html.

to further integrate Japanese and US forces, including basing, intelligence and command functions.[154] It also positions Japan to increase its military participation in American interventions regionally and globally. Ever since Richard Nixon, as vice president under Eisenhower, first publically expressed "regret" that Japan was constrained by Article 9 of its constitution in its ability to support US forces on the Korean Peninsula, American officials have pressed Japanese leaders to rearm and, increasingly, to amend the constitution so that Japan's Self-Defense Forces could engage in offensive military actions. Such pressure really only found fertile ground in the last decade. Whereas for US officials it was about getting Japan to contribute more and in different ways to the alliance, for the more conservative and increasingly nationalist wing of the LDP, particularly under the leadership of prime ministers Koizumi Junichiro (2001-2006) and Abe Shinzo (2006-2007), constitutional reform and deployments ostensibly alongside the US was about Japan becoming a "normal" country (see McCormack 2007).

In a move that dramatically demonstrated the embrace of this vision and Tokyo's commitment to the broader elements of Roadmap, Prime Minister Abe dispatched a Maritime Self Defense Force minesweeper, the *Bungo*, to Henoko Bay on May 17, 2007. It was the first deployment of its kind in postwar Japan. The *Bungo*'s mission in Okinawa, which was to "assist" private contractors in completing an environmental survey of the bay in preparation for construction, signaled the government's willingness to use the SDF in new capacities domestically, mirroring their increased involvement with US military interventions internationally. The same vessel took part in the SDF's refueling missions in the Persian Gulf in 2004 in support of American military actions in Afghanistan. "This intervention clearly shows how

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[154] For a detailed analysis of this arrangement and the politics behind it, see especially chapter four of Gavan McCormack, *Client State*: *Japan in the American Embrace.* Verso, 2007.

desperate the Japanese government is to make the new U.S. military base in Henoko against the wishes of the Okinawan people….Japanese democracy is rotting away," remarked Ashitomi Hiroshi, long-time activist and co-president of the Council Opposing Heliport Construction, of the *Bungo*'s arrival in Henoko.

Ashitomi might have been speaking of developments in Tokyo. As the *Bungo* carried out its mission in Okinawa, the Diet deliberated over a bill intended "to facilitate the implementation of plans to realign US forces in Japan" (*Beigun saihen tokusoho*), which became law on May 23, 2007. As Gavan McCormack (2007a) observes, the new law was designed with Okinawa and Henoko particularly in mind, but has implications for communities across Japan wherever local opinion and democratic processes run counter to the national government's military priorities. It does so by creating a legal infrastructure for financially rewarding local governments that accept specific military projects (McCormack 2007a). Because the law stipulates that funds be doled out in stages—following consent, survey, construction and completion—it further systematizes and becomes a more effective tool by which the central government can incorporate local political and economic relations into the increasingly more integrated military relationship between the US and Japan.

Conclusion

The ongoing Futenma-Henoko campaign sheds additional light on how internal colonial basing is accomplished. On one hand, the US military's acquisition of a massive new base complex at Henoko, and indeed its very ability maintain its presence in the islands, rests on Okinawans' own ambivalence toward the bases. This is engendered by a deep structural economic dependence, which, because it is reproduced through Okinawans in their everyday lives, reinforces the general sense of the bases as normal and their presence inevitable. On the other hand, it rests on

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Japan's deference to its relationship to the United States and resulting systematic discrimination of Okinawans. Attempts to implement the SACO "solution" involve ever more overt suppression of Okinawans' means of redress and representation: political exclusion and coercion, economic extortion, as well as systematic reorganization of already compromised decision-making power away from Okinawans. The range of political and economic actions by the central government is an indication of the kinds of measures that become increasingly necessary to counter local democratic forces opposing continued US occupation.

It is also such actions that gradually expose the contradictions in a postwar regime of foreign military expansion framed in terms of state sovereignty and citizenship but rooted in colonial relations. The struggle over the proposed Henoko air base is Okinawa's most significant single campaign in decades. If realized, it will be the first new major US military installation built in Okinawa in nearly fifty years— and the first to be accepted, albeit under compromised circumstances, by Okinawans themselves. Waging this long campaign alongside countless smaller ones drains immeasurable resources (time, money, energy, spirit) that would likely be channeled toward more comprehensive ends. This fact is not lost on Okinawan activists themselves. It is in their deliberate efforts to not lose sight of the larger struggle for an alternative future for Okinawa that we glimpse the more profound implications of foreign military presence in contested territories. Challenges to state sovereignty emerging within the Okinawan anti-base movement reveal how the everyday experiences of internal colonial basing detailed in this and the previous chapter contribute to the unraveling of the assumptions and accommodations of the state-citizen relation.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONTESTED SOVEREIGNTY AND HISTORICAL TRANSITION IN OKINAWA

"More people have begun talking about Okinawan independence, or about taking more autonomy from the central government. They are saying it's possible. We didn't think that way before."

~ Yoshida Chikako, anti-base activist[155]

"Chamorro were colonized by the US, then invaded and ruled over by the Japanese military during the war, and then re-colonized by the US. Uchinanchū were colonized by Japan, invaded and ruled by the US military during and after the war, then after reversion returned to what really is a re-colonization by Japan—a result of collusion between the US and Japanese governments. Now we are being told once again that the US and Japanese governments will 'lessen our burden', by moving US soldiers to Chamorro land if we accept the new air and naval bases in our land….This is why we have to resist together."

~ Okinawan anti-base activist, remarking on the US and Japanese governments' 2006 agreement to move 8000 marines to the US territory of Guam if Okinawans accept the expanded plan of building a new air and naval complex at Cape Henoko.[156]

"What government leaders seem not to understand is that the right to self-determination does not have to mean independence. They interpret it this way because they are stuck in their own statist ideas. The so-called 'reversion movement'…was an exercise of Uchinanchū will, an exercise of our collective right to determine our future for ourselves. We haven't lost the right to self-determination as a people just because we chose to be a part of Japan. We still have our right to determine our future."

~ Chinen Hidenori, Founder, Association of Indigenous Peoples in Okinawa and the Ryūkyūs[157]

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[155] Quoted in Mike Millard, "Okinawa, Then and Now," Japan Policy Research Institute, Occasional Paper No. 11, (February 1998). Retrieved March 12, 2006 from http://www.jpri.org/publications/occasionalpapers/op11.html.
[156] Personal communication, October 23, 2006.
[157] Personal notes, March 7, 2004.

Introduction

As the quotes above suggest, the ardor with which Okinawans emphasized their Japanese identity during the movement to end America's postwar military occupation began to subside once the realities of internal colonial basing set in. Chapters three and four illustrate how, while Okinawans' struggle against US military presence did not end after the islands were reincorporated into Japan, their mode of struggle changed. Faced with ongoing problems associated with the bases, Okinawans began demanding their hard-won citizenship rights of equal treatment under Japan's constitution. However, under conditions of internal colonial basing, Okinawans have grown accustomed to Japanese leaders more willing to defer to the ANPŌ framework and US pressures than ensure Okinawans' protection. As a result, Japanese complicity in US military presence has become a central part of activists' accounts, analyses, and claims regarding US military presence and their citizenship. In contrast to the pre-reversion movement against the presence of US forces, which sought citizenship and drew on the discourse of "returning to motherland Japan" (*bokoku e no fukki),* a politicized Okinawan national identity reveals a desire to rework their citizen relations via greater autonomy from the state.

In this chapter I trace the emergence of Okinawan activists' ethnic perspective on their citizen relations in order to better understand the implications of internal colonial basing for the state-citizen relation. How is Okinawan subjectivity expressed? What does a politicized Okinawan identity reveal about Okinawan activists' perceptions of their citizen relations and their relationship to continued US military presence? What do notions of autonomy and self-determination mean for Okinawan activists, and what do such meanings portend for the state-citizen relation?

The politicization of Okinawan ethnicity foregrounds the colonial experience and its legacies in interpretations of their Japanese citizenship, and of US military base

issues. A key significance of the "ethnic (re)turn" within Okinawa's anti-base movement lies in its facilitation of different, historically novel claims against the Japanese state, and by extension against the relations governing internal colonial basing. These are not rooted in rights conferred by citizenship, but rather by new political identities that call into question the viability and legitimacy of liberal citizenship in the Okinawan context. Okinawan activists are variously interpreting Okinawans' experience under US military presence in terms of their collective identity as an *ethnic minority* politically and socially displaced within Japan; as a *nation/people* historically connected to the Ryūkyū Islands and ethnically and culturally distinct from the Japanese; and (taking into account the linguistic and cultural diversity in the islands) as *indigenous peoples* denied their right to self-determination.

Okinawan activists' reinterpretations of their subjecthood vis-à-vis the state are reflected in their coalitions within and beyond Japan. Ties with Ainu, ethnic Koreans and anti-US base activists in the region are based on shared experiences of Japanese imperialism, and with the latter on a recognition of how Japanese imperialism intertwined with US expansion in the region. Activists' new articulations of self-determination and connections—both theoretical and empirical—they make with others asserting collective rights mark a convergence of the demilitarization movement with contemporary self-determination movements elsewhere. Like most of these other movements, moreover, territorialized autonomist claims within Okinawa reflect (at least for now) a desire for a form of collective self-determination *within* the state rather than independence from it. Their autonomist but not statist claims reflect an historically novel conception of self-determination.

This chapter builds on the arguments about the changing relationship between state formation and military expansion I advanced in previous chapters. In particular,

from chapter two I draw on the insight that the politics of decolonization and postwar state formation led to a state-centric regime of military expansion which extended a particular form of coloniality—internal coloniality—into the institutions governing US military presence in Okinawa. I take from chapters three and four the insight that, under internal colonial basing, Okinawans' Japanese citizenship is the mechanism through which colonial relations and military expansion shape and sustain one another. This chapter builds on these arguments by illustrating how the meanings given to everyday experiences of continued American presence increasingly reveal the unraveling of the assumptions and accommodations of the state/citizen relation under internal colonial basing in Okinawa.

I begin the chapter by outlining the emergence of a politicized Okinawan identity in conjunction with public reinterpretations of their Japanese citizenship through the lens of colonial experience. I then trace the rise of new political identities, new political ties, and alternative visions of Okinawa's future in order to highlight Okinawans' global analysis of their experience of internal colonial basing.

From second-class citizens to Okinawan subjects

Reversion itself is increasingly problematized, as Okinawans' experience of citizenship is inseparable from continued US military presence and a sense of being marginalized within the Japanese state. In light of deliberate reevaluations of the Ryūkyūs' historical relationship with Japan, accounts of US military presence have also changed. Rather than a problem resolved by the Japanese state, the bases are posited as evidence of Japan's historical exploitation of Okinawans and their territory. The conditions of internal colonial basing fuel Okinawan activists' perceptions of their citizen relations in increasingly ethnic and territorial terms.

On the morning of May 14, 2004, roughly 3000 people began a three-day march, departing from three different locations around Okinawa Island. Each route traced significant moments and places in Okinawa's militarization and struggle against it. The northeastern route began at the encampment at the Henoko fishing port. These marchers headed southward along the eastern coastline, stopping in the village of Kin to show solidarity with that community's campaign to stop the US military's construction of a live-fire urban warfare training facility just 300 meters from a residential neighborhood and community center. The northwestern route began in the city of Nago, whose citizens voted against the construction of the air base at Henoko. Marchers on this route continued southward along the western coastline to the village of Yomitan, where Allied forces first landed in April 1945, and where villagers hiding in Chibichiri Cave committed collective suicide. The southern route began at Okinawa's Cornerstone of Peace, a monument engraved with the names of all 240,000 persons killed in the Battle of Okinawa —civilian and military, Okinawan, Japanese and Allied forces, as well as conscripted Chinese and Korean laborers. The marchers' common destination was the city of Ginowan, where they joined hands on May 16 with 20,000 others in a "human chain" surrounding Futenma Air Station.

The date itself is significant for two reasons. May 15 marks the anniversary of Okinawa's reincorporation into Japan in 1972. But for nearly three decades this anniversary is also significant for being the focus of Okinawa's largest regularly held protests. The "5.15 Peace March," which began in 1978, attracts thousands each year and culminates in mass rallies or events like the human chain. Sponsored in recent years by the labor union-supported Okinawa Peace Action Center, the 5.15 events are often criticized and dismissed by conservative forces and the US military due to the contingency of "mainlanders" who come to participate in solidarity. But their participation cannot diminish the meaning of the day or the meaning of the continued

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struggle it has come to represent. For many Okinawans, certainly for anti-base

activists, the date commemorates an ongoing betrayal of the reversion struggle. "This

is always a painful anniversary," remarked Shimabukuro Junko, a resident of Ginowan

and long-time activist, after an evening of painting signs that would be hung the

following morning on the chain-link fence surrounding Futenma base. "It's a heavy

reminder, every year, of how Uchinanchū have yet to achieve the main goal of the

reversion movement, to get rid of the US military bases. It's a reminder of how we

Uchinanchū were fooled into thinking Japan would protect us once we became part of

the country."[158]

This sense of betrayal by Japan permeates the activist community, many of

whom fought for citizenship as a way to expel or at least significantly reduce the US

military. Most activists I interviewed evoked this post-reversion betrayal of their

allegiance to the Japanese constitution in terms of ethnic difference and

discrimination. Let me re-quote in part the words of 59-year old peace activist Higa

Yuriko, who explained her objective of becoming Japanese in terms of wanting the

rights associated with citizenship:

> "It wasn't that I or most *Uchinanchū*[159] really felt we were Japanese
> instead of Uchinanchū during the reversion movement…though I think
> many certainly tried. And Uchinanchū grew more and more willing to
> put [wartime] experiences behind us because more than anything we
> wanted the US military to leave. We wanted our human rights to be
> recognized. We wanted to be citizens….I wanted to be a citizen of a
> country with a peace constitution. I remember thinking how proud I
> would feel if this became a reality. This is why I wanted to be
> Japanese."[160]

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[158] Personal notes, May 14, 2004.
[159] *Uchinanchū* is the name for both an Okinawan person and Okinawans as a people in the Okinawan
language. Even though the vast majority of Okinawans primarily speak Japanese, they typically use this
term rather than refer to Okinawans in the Japanese language.
[160] Personal interview, Ginowan, Okinawa. March 20, 2005.

Higa's desire to "be Japanese" did not mean to be ethnically Japanese; it meant to become a Japanese citizen and end America's occupation. However, of her experience of citizenship since reversion, she said: "In the end, becoming a citizen has made me feel more Okinawan because we still have to endure the bases, and we have not been treated the same as *Yamatonchū*." For this veteran activist, her experience of being a citizen is inseparable from both her experience of continued US occupation and her self-identification as an Okinawan. Under conditions of internal colonial basing, moreover, becoming Japanese meant becoming a marginalized *Okinawan* citizen of Japan.

Chibana Shōichi, whose shift in perspective on the state was symbolized in his act of flag burning, echoes Higa's view of Okinawans as different from and marginalized by ethnic Japanese. But he also explicitly identifies citizenship as a means of Okinawans' exploitation by the US and Japan:

> "After reversion, the government and the US began telling us what an important role Okinawa has in both countries' security, and the security of the region. In the end, the citizenship that we won mostly just gave us the burden of their so-called security, not *ours*….Yamatonchū gave the Ryūkyūs to America after the war. And in the end it was as if they gave the Ryūkyūs to America again, after reversion. They wanted American protection during the Cold War, and still want it, but they don't want the US military in their own space….To Yamatonchū, Okinawa is Japan's, not a part of Japan" (Personal interview, April 3, 2005).

For Chibana, Okinawans' citizenship is not only ethnically and territorially specific, Okinawans are collectively made insecure *because* of their citizenship.

It is worth recalling Chibana's act of resistance. The year was 1987. It was not a coincidence that the hugely popular National Athletic Festival, or *Kokutai*, was held in Okinawa for the first time that year. Okinawa was chosen as the venue in order to

commemorate the 15th anniversary of the islands' reincorporation into the Japanese state. As a high school student in the 1960s, Chibana had hoisted the Japanese flag proudly and in anticipation. By 1987 the same flag had come to symbolize a long history of Japanese oppression, the facilitation of ongoing US military presence being the most recent manifestation.

Not everyone was against Okinawa's hosting the Kokutai, but those who supported it inadvertently contributed to a stronger Okinawan subjectivity vis-à-vis the state. The same conservative alliance of business leaders and politician that continue to support the bases welcomed the Kokutai and supported it (Ota 2000a:79). But they also helped to fuel anti-Japanese sentiment. Two years before the athletic meet, after a 1985 Ministry of Education survey indicated that "Okinawa ranked decisively at the bottom" in flag raising and anthem singing at the nation's schools, Okinawa's LDP politicians passed legislation requiring the prefecture's schools to "respect and venerate the national flag and anthem." As David Tobaru Obermiller notes, neither the flag nor the anthem was an official state symbol. So conservative leaders' insistence that Okinawans embrace these symbols to demonstrate their patriotism and "Japaneseness" reminded many Okinawans of the pressures to do the same before and during the Pacific War. As a result the legislation had the opposite effect, creating an environment conducive to Chibana's anti-Japanese actions during the Kokutai (2000:13).

In this context, expectations of equal protection as citizens gave way to questions once marginalized within the reversion movement about the logic of Okinawans "returning" to Japan. Revelations about Japanese policies toward the Ryūkyūs during and after the Pacific War contributed to this reevaluation and activism. "Since the reversion, all sorts of information has been uncovered that has opened our eyes. Documents have been declassified. Scholars, clever journalists and

also average people have investigated," explained Makishi Yoshikazu, plaintiff in both

Okinawa dugong v. Donald Rumsfeld and the lawsuit against Japan's Defense Agency.

> "We learned about Japanese leaders' decision to sacrifice us and our
> territory in order to protect Japan, and the emperor's offer of the
> Ryūkyūs to the US after the war. Information is still being uncovered.
> It wasn't until the late 90s that we found out that [prime minister] Sato
> and [US president] Nixon made a secret agreement during the reversion
> negotiations. Sato allowed the US to keep nuclear weapons in Okinawa,
> even though it was not allowed in Japan. This is why it is obvious that
> we can't trust the Japanese government when it comes to the new base
> at Henoko. All sorts of documents have emerged that expose US and
> Japanese lies and secret deals about that plan. I learned a long time ago
> that if one digs deep enough one will find evidence of the lies and the
> tricks."[161]

Progressive educators, journalists and public intellectuals began detailing

Japan's discriminatory policies and wartime atrocities in the Ryūkyūs and offering

new perspectives on Okinawans' relationship to Japan. In a 1985 essay that appeared

in the progressive popular intellectual journal *Sekai,* entitled, "Re-examining the

History of the Battle of Okinawa," Ota Masahide detailed the "everyday atrocities"

committed by the Japanese military before and during the spring of 1945. He

highlighted the atypical degree to which civilians were forced to become directly

involved in the battle, and contrasts the thorough preparation by American forces for

the post-invasion care—albeit strategic—of "non combatants" with the lack of

preparation, and instead exploitation, on the part of the Japanese military.

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[161] Personal interview, July 14, 2004. Although not confirmed until Wakaizumi Kai, special envoy to former Prime Minister Sato, spoke publically in 2004, President Nixon and Prime Minister Sato also signed a secret communiqué allowing the US to transport and store nuclear weapons in Okinawa—despite the fact that the same practice was banned in the rest of Japan. On the secret nuclear pact between Nixon and Sato, see Eric Johnston, "Nuclear pact ensured smooth Okinawa reversion" *Japan Times,* May 15, 2002. Retrieved April 4, 2006 from http://search.japantimes.co.jp/cgi-bin/nn20060328a4.html.

In his reanalysis of the same battle, tellingly published under the title *A New History of the Ryūkyūs: The Modern Era and Today,* sociologist Ishihara Masaiei linked the death of civilians to deliberate policies and practices of the Imperial Army.[162] In the same study Ishihara helps account for such policies by documenting official Japanese views and suspicions of Ryūkyūans. He draws on secret Imperial Army reports from the decades before the Pacific War that reveal persistent views of Ryūkyūans as having a weak national consciousness and low levels of patriotism, a strong desire to avoid military service, a lack of regard for whomever might be ruling the islands; a lack of connectedness with the "national body" (*kokutai*), their inability to speak standard Japanese and low levels of education (1992). Alongside such scholarly and investigative reanalyses of Okinawans' historical experience in relation to Japan were personal testimonies and the process of memorializing those who died in the Battle of Okinawa. This led to unprecedented public disclosure of and debate over wartime experiences and memories (Figal 2003; Yonetani 2003a).

Official efforts to deny or downplay Japanese atrocities in the Ryūkyūs have fueled both the effort to retell history from a Ryūkyūan perspective and the growing disillusionment toward Japan as a source of protection. Attempts by Japan's Ministry of Education to keep details of Japanese aggression in the Ryūkyūs out of school history textbooks mirror the better known international controversies over the ministry's rejection of textbooks that include "anti-Japanese" details regarding Japan's colonization of the Koreas, the massacre in Nanking, China, and the Imperial Army's

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[162] Ishihara points to seven key policies and practices: 1) torture and killing of those considered spies; 2) forced "collective suicides" (shudan jiketsu)—which Ishihara argues is a grave misnomer and are more appropriately termed forced mass deaths (*kyosei sareta shudanshi*); 3) displacement from shelter; 4) forced evacuations to malaria-infested areas; 5) stealing food; 6) poisoning, stabbing, or strangling to death small children to prevent revealing the location of Japanese soldiers to U.S. forces; and 7) siting military command posts in areas occupied by civilian evacuees (Ishihara 1992, quoted in Gregory James Smits, "Okinawa in Postwar Japanese Politics and the Economy." Retrieved January 20, 2008 (http://www.east-asian-history.net/Ryukyu/History/Okinawa/Postwar/index.htm).

so-called "comfort women" system of sexual slavery. The prefecture saw its largest

protest since reversion on September 29, 2007 when over 100,000 people

demonstrated against the Ministry of Education's most recent decision to omit

textbook references to the Japanese Imperial Army's practice of forcing Ryūkyūans to

commit suicide during the Battle of Okinawa. The ministry capitulated by agreeing to

include some reference to the practice.[163]

This same critical ethnic lens began to inform analyses of continued presence

of US forces. Post-reversion interpretations of US military presence not only began

drawing on collective memories of the systematic discrimination and exploitation by

Japan before and during World War Two, but also on collective imaginings of a once

independent and non-militarized Ryūkyū Kingdom. As Taira Kōji (1997) proposes,

although the Ryūkyū Islands now make up one of many prefectures of Japan,

Okinawans today are reassured that their territory is "not a mere prefecture, but

something special and distinct." This, Taira suggests, is how Okinawans compensate

for their "sense of historical melancholy" (1997:140). In Ota Masahide's 1996 appeal

to Japan's Supreme Court ruling against his refusal to sign leases allowing Okinawan

land to be used by the US military, the governor gave the following account:

> "For ages, the Ryūkyū Kingdom had been widely known, even abroad,
> as an unarmed land of courtesy. This was because King Shoshin, who
> was on the throne in the late 15th and early 16th centuries, forbade
> people to carry weapons….The forced acquisition of land for military
> use occurred [in Okinawa] both before and during the war. Prior to the
> abolition of the [Ryūkyū] domain and the establishment of the
> [Okinawa] prefecture in 1879, the Meiji government directed the
> Ryūkyū Kingdom to undertake several reforms toward
> Japanization….At the time of Okinawa's reversion to Japan, the Diet
> adopted a resolution about realignment and reduction of the bases in

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[163] See Normitsu Onishi, "Japan Textbooks to Restore Reference to Wartime Suicides." *New York Times*, December, 27 2007. Retrieved December 27, 2007 from www.nytimes.com/2007/12/27/world/asia/27japan.html?_r=2&ref=world&oref=slogin&oref=slogin%3 E.

Okinawa. [However] its implementation has largely been neglected. With the collapse of the Cold War structure, my people expected the realignment and reduction of the bases to make progress, if belatedly….The 1972 reversion was a return to the rule of the pacifist Constitution and should have been a great turning point for Okinawa. What my people sincerely wished for at the time was a reduction of bases at a rate at least comparable to that experiences on the mainland, together with the restoration of human rights and the establishment of home rule" (July 10, 1996).[164]

Ota draws on a particularly powerful narrative of the Ryūkyū Kingdom as historically and culturally pacifist.[165] As reflected in his testimony, this narrative differentiates the island nation's historical mode of engagement with its neighbors from the overt militarism of Japan and the US. It also highlights the irony of Okinawa's modern existence as a profoundly militarized space—a circumstance not of its inhabitants' own making. In the connection Ota draws between Okinawa's peaceful roots with Japan's constitution, he seems to imply that Okinawans' "return to the rule of the pacifist constitution" in 1972 repaired a "natural" connection ruptured by US occupation. But his references to the Ryūkyū Kingdom's pacifist tradition and his explicit indictment of Japan's subjugation of the once independent nation reminds the court that Okinawans' "return" to Japan was not a natural development based on

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[164] For an English transcription of the governor's testimony, see Ota Masahide, "At the Supreme Court of Japan as the Governor of Okinawa." Chapter six in *Essays on Okinawa Problems*. Gushikawa: Yui Publishing, 2000; brackets in original transcription.

[165] This narrative has a long lineage and historically has extended beyond the Ryūkyūs. One story that was told to me by several Okinawans is that Napoleon Bonaparte himself was incredulous upon learning of a nation without weapons. Captain Basil Hall of the British warship Lyra made a call to the Ryūkyūs in 1816. He later wrote in his journal that the kingdom "bore no weapons and its people committed no crimes," which he then recounted to the exiled Napoleon on the island of St. Helena. Hall wrote that Bonaparte was "... completely perplexed ... Nothing struck him so much as their having no arms." Regarding his reaction to the notion that the Ryukyus did not engage in war, Hall noted, "'No wars!' cried he, with a scornful and incredulous expression, as if the existence of any people under the sun without wars was a monstrous anomaly." (See Gregory James Smits, "Romantic Ryukyu in Okinawan Politics: The Myth of Ryukyuan Pacifism," paper presented at the Association for Asian Studies, 2006. Retrieved January 20, 2008 from www.personal.psu.edu/faculty/g/j/gjs4/Smits_SF06.pdf). Another source of the narrative stems from the Ryūkyū Kingdom being the birthplace of karate, which means "empty hand" (i.e. without weapons).

historical unity, but rather a choice based on a desire for citizenship and demilitarization.

That Ota drew on such arguments to justify his refusal to sign over Okinawan land for the US military also highlights how colonization and Japan's ongoing complicity in US military presence has become central to anti-base activists' explanations of why contemporary US military base matters play out as they do. As Okinawans' experiences and collective histories focused a long lens on their relatively short 35-year experience as Japanese citizens, they became a new lens on US military presence. Takazato Suzuyo, founder of the organization Okinawan Women Act Against Military Violence and the women's center Space Yui explains that problems associated with US military presence

> "…have not been addressed by the Japanese government in large part due to its deference to its security relationship with the United States. The US military is very aware of the historical discrimination of Okinawans by the Japanese government—the military uses it. Since Japan's colonization of the Ryūkyū Islands, Uchinanchū have suffered under the militarism of Japan and, in the postwar period, the United States. But we can't separate the militarism of the United States from the militarism of Japan, because the US is not just here for itself; it is here for Japan as well."

Long-time environmental activist Oshiro Jun'ichi similarly explains the US military's exploitation of Okinawa's resources in terms of Japan's historical exploitation of the islands, and his disappointment in citizenship:

> "I thought that reversion, because it meant we would be citizens, would force a greater change in the US military's ability to pollute and misuse Okinawa's resources. But it really hasn't. Japanese leaders just repeat the US military's account of any incident. We don't get the truth. I think greater attention to environmental problems created by the military bases has resulted as much from a change in American

environmental laws and policies. It's like a new USCAR,[166] because we still seem to be under a US rule that puts military goals first, rather than be protected by Japanese rule. Since reversion Japanese leaders still think they can use Okinawa like they did in the past."[167]

Thus the process of politicizing Okinawan identity shaped, and was shaped by, a broader historical reinterpretation of their contemporary experiences of life under internal colonial basing. In the wake of the SACO process in particular, public debates, symposiums and forums were organized to examine the issue of Okinawan autonomy (Obermiller 2000:12). Activist Yoshida Chikako said of the time, "More people have begun talking about Okinawan independence, or about taking more autonomy from the central government. They are saying it's possible. We didn't think that way before" (quoted in Millard 1998). Ota was not the only one who evoked Ryūkyūan independence in highly visible national fora. On February 13, 1997, Social Democratic Party representative from Okinawa "Uehara Kyosuke asked during a budget committee session, 'What sort of steps are necessary for Okinawa's independence?' He was told that independence was impossible because the constitution does not allow it. Uehara retorted that he 'was seriously thinking of creating a Ryukyu Kingdom'" (Obermiller 2000:12). Long-time politician Oyama Chōjō, who participated in the reversion movement, penned *Okinawa's Declaration of Independence: Japan was not the 'Motherland' After All* in 1997. An edited volume with over 30 chapters by public intellectuals, scholars and activists was published under the name *Where are we Uchinanchū Headed? The Great Okinawan Debate* (Ota et al 2000b). These provide an indication of Okinawans' reanalysis and self-reflection about both the past and the future of the Ryūkyūs. As reevaluations of their relationship with Japan foregrounded the role of Japanese imperialism in Okinawan

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[166] As explained in Chapter two, USCAR was the United States Civilian Authority in the Ryūkyūs was the ruling agency under US forces in the islands from 1952 until the end of the US occupation.
[167] Personal interview, August 17, 2004.

accounts and critiques of US basing, this seemingly local "ethnic turn" also facilitated a process of global subject formation among activists.

From Okinawan subjects to global subjects

"Ryūkyūans, Ainu and Koreans not allowed": Connecting empire and peoples within Japan

Reclaiming and politicizing their Okinawan identity in the context of internal colonial basing provides Okinawan activists with a broader basis to interpret and challenge their political position vis-à-vis the United States and Japan. This is reflected in the kinds of relationships they have formed with activists within Japan, regionally and globally. Within Japan, Okinawans forged individual and organizational relationships with Ainu and Koreans in the 1980s. These connections rest on shared experiences of Japanese imperialism and ongoing ethnic marginalization.

Okinawans' ties with Ainu stand out among their relationships with other minority communities in Japan in that they reflect a mutual recognition of their similar histories as once independent peoples. The Meiji government unilaterally annexed the vast Ainu territory to the north in 1869, only three years before it advanced southward and invaded the Ryūkyū Islands. Although their respective experiences of Japanese colonization differ in important ways,[168] ties between Okinawans and Ainu

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[168] Key differences lie in the form of colonial rule Japan practiced in each. The most salient, of course, is the intertwining of Japanese and US imperialism in the Ryūkyūs. Additionally, in its own versions of Manifest Destiny, the Meiji government organized massive migration of Japanese into Ainu territory, primarily the island of Ezo (renamed Hokkaido by the Japanese government). By the early 1900s, ethnic Japanese settlers already far outnumbered Ainu. In contrast, relatively little migration and settlement took place in the Ryūkyūs. Instead, Tokyo installed a Japanese-led colonial administration and depended on a local ruling cadre of Okinawans on the main island. There are several reasons for this differential treatment that warrant further inquiry. Even differences in proximity and sheer size of the two territories surely shaped Tokyo's policies. Only 10-15 miles separate the island of Hokkaido from Japan's main island of Honshu, which made mass migration relatively easy, and Hokkaido constitutes 20% of Japan's current landmass. Okinawa Island—the main island the Ryūkyūs is 350 miles from Japan's southernmost tip of Kyushu, and the Ryūkyū Archipelago makes up only 0.6% of Japan.

demonstrate recognition of a shared political relationship with the Japanese state. For Okinawan activist and folk singer Mayonaka Shinya, the impetus and reasons for maintaining connections with activists in the Ainu community was the ability to express and mobilize around this shared political position through music:

> "As a result of Japanese invasion and annexation, Uchinanchū and Ainu have suffered similar fates, in terms of losing our culture through assimilation and discrimination. For both the Japanese government outlawed our native languages and banned our cultural traditions, and even the clothes we wore. Both have suffered similar problems within Japanese society. Even though our cultures are different, it was a great discovery to me that our music resonates and expresses our similar circumstances. My music allows me to celebrate my Uchinanchū heritage and be a peace activist. Singing in *uchinaguchi*[169] is my true political voice. When I meet Ainu musicians, I realize it is the same for them.[170]

Some of my own encounters with Okinawan and Ainu activists, although seemingly coincidental, shed light on the kinds of events that bring these two groups together. I first met Okinawans Mayonaka Shinya and Chibana Shōichi—the flag burner—in February 1998 in Sapporo, on the island of Hokkaido. At the time I was living in Hokkaido while doing research on the contemporary rights struggle of the Ainu. Chibana was the keynote speaker at an Ainu political gathering held annually on "Northern Territories Day" (*hoppō ryōdo no hi*), a dubious holiday established by the Japanese government to assert its claim to the four islands in the Kurile island chain, which it accuses the Soviet Union of unlawfully seizing in the final days of World War Two. Chibana spoke in solidarity with Ainu claims to the four islands and Hokkaido, and about the effects of Ryūkyūans' loss of control over their islands.[171] Mayonaka Shinya performed at the event, alongside Ainu musician Kano Oki. Kano

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[169] Uchinaguchi is the word for the Okinawan language.
[170] Personal interview, April 3, 2005.
[171] Personal notes, February 8, 1998.

and I also met for the first time that day, but we went on to work together for several years with Ainu and Okinawan activists in various United Nations fora for indigenous peoples. Six years later, on May 15, 2004, I was with an Okinawan friend whom I first met at the United Nations. We were in Ginowan City looking for a place to squeeze into the 23,000-person "human chain" encircling Futenma Air Station. When I reached out for the hand of the person next to me, I found myself staring into a pair of oversized mirrored sunglasses and a face half hidden by a checkered *kefiya*. But the long beard and mustache were unmistakable. It was Ainu elder Kawamura Shinichi, the person who took me to the *hoppō ryōdo* gathering in Hokkaido in 1998 where I first encountered Mayonaka Shinya and Chibana Shōichi.

Similar demonstrations of solidarity, exchanges and political coordination have also developed between Okinawan and Korean activists within Japan. Connections with Koreans are rooted not only in their shared position as a minority population within contemporary Japan, but also in colonial and wartime experience of harsh treatment as imperial subjects. The Japanese government forcibly brought generations of Koreans over as laborers, and Korean women as sex slaves, during Japan's 1910-1945 colonial rule over the Korean Peninsula (Cummings 1997:177-81). Like Okinawans, Tokyo conscripted Koreans into the Imperial Army during the Pacific War. In the postwar era, Koreans living in Japan have faced serious social and institutionalized political discrimination (Ryang 2000; Nozaki et al, 2006). "When I was a laborer in Tokyo [in the 1950s], I still saw signs outside of restaurants with 'Koreans and Ryūkyūans not allowed'[172] or 'Ainu or and Koreans not allowed'"

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[172] *Ryūkyūjin* was the word Kinjo used, which is the Japanese word for a person or people from the Ryūkyūs. Its widespread use in the decades following the Pacific War speaks to the extent to which the average Japanese person did not view the Ryūkyūs as being a part of Japan.

recalled Okinawan Kinjō Yoichi. "We all faced the same attitude and discrimination from *Yamatonchū*."[173]

Okinawan ties with Korean activists are similar to those Okinawans have with the Ainu community, in that they are not rooted in formal coalitions as much as they center on personal relationships and informal organizational and activist networks. Mutual invitations to speak at political gatherings and to participate in protests and other political events are common. Since the Henoko sit-in began, Korean members of activist networks in Osaka in particular have come to sit in solidarity, and invited representatives from the Henoko campaign to speak about the struggle against the new air base.

While ties with the Ainu community and most ethnic Koreans are rooted in a shared history of Japanese colonialism and its legacies, ties with some ethnic Korean groups reflect the intertwining of Japanese and US imperialism. Connections with Koreans who maintain strong political ties with groups on the Korean peninsula are also animated by a common desire to address the problems that arose when Japanese colonialism gave way to US military presence in both the Ryūkyūs and on the peninsula. It is this complicated history that characterizes Okinawan activists' alliances in the region more generally.

Connecting empires and peoples regionally

By challenging the dominant historical narrative of Okinawa as naturally part of Japan, Okinawan activists evoke a different historical relationship with their neighbors, one characterized by peaceful coexistence and trade. Moreover, by foregrounding the shared experiences of imperialism, war and prolonged military occupation, they bring to light the extent to which this historical relationship has been

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[173] Personal interview, December 22, 2004.

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altered, and is still being altered, by Japanese and American imperial interventions in the region.

Okinawan activists' relations with anti-US bases groups in the Philippines, South Korea and Guam would appear to be grounded in anti-Americanism due to its long military presence in each and the immediacy of ongoing concerns.[174] However, statements by activists from Okinawa and these other countries suggest that this is not the only or (for some) even the primary basis for their solidarity. Instead, these alliances are informed as much by a sense of shared experience in relation to Japanese imperialism. "Our exchanges and solidarity with anti-US base activists in East Asia are the most important to me," said Tomiyama Masahiro, who has strong ties to South Korean anti-base groups and helps keep the Okinawan activist community updated on developments in the Korean anti-base struggle. He explained:

> "We are each burdened by US military bases, but as you know we also have in common our experiences as people colonized by Japan. Okinawa was annexed by Japan, and then so was Taiwan and Korea and the Philippines and so on. Since the war we have all faced America's militarism—American imperialism. I know a lot of other communities face the US military around the world. But for me it's most important to put my effort into these ties [with people in East Asia], so we can change our relationship with them. The Ryūkyūs used to have a friendly relationship with neighboring countries."[175]

Mr. Tomiyama not only evokes a common experience of Japanese colonialism, but frustration over how it intervened in the historical relationship between Ryūkyūans and other peoples in the region, which American expansion further transformed. I sought Mr. Tomiyama out after seeing photographs of him and other Okinawan

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[174] The US military has been in Guam since the Allies displaced the Japanese military there in July 1944, and in South Korea since September 1945. US military presence in the Philippines dates from an earlier period in America's expansion. Spain ceded it to the United States in 1898, soon after which US forces suppressed the Filipino struggle for independence.
[175] Personal interview, April 30, 2005.

activists I knew during a research trip I took to Pyongtaek, South Korea. As in Henoko, residents of Pyongtaek and their supporters are currently struggling to stop massive expansion by the US military in their community.[176] Photos of Tomiyama and other Henoko activists were on the "solidarity wall" in the meeting place of Pyongtaek's anti-base activists. Before I left Pyongtaek, I was given a bright yellow flag emblazoned with a red circle and slash over the words "US Army." After I returned to Okinawa I noticed the same flag in the Henoko sit-in headquarters and in several private homes. It had become a symbol of solidarity with the Pyongtaek community.

Some Okinawan activists, especially those old enough to have experienced the Pacific War, spoke poignantly about how Okinawa's particular experience of both Japanese and US expansionism also connects them with peoples in the region (and beyond) as "aggressors" and "victimizers." "I feel responsible as a former Japanese soldier. Not many people know that I was in the Philippines with the Imperial Army," explained an anti-base activist in his late 70s, who asked that I not print his name. "And I came to feel responsible for US aggression. I protested America's war in Vietnam. We all did. It was a part of the reversion movement. So I got a real shock when I met a group of Vietnamese in the 1980s at a peace gathering in Hiroshima and one of them said to me 'Oh, you are from Okinawa? The land of the B-52s'. He was talking about the US bombers that were used in the war. So many of the B-52s left from Okinawa that the Vietnamese people saw us as being on the side of US aggression. Suddenly my dominant image of Uchinanchū as merely victims of America changed."[177]

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[176] "U.S. Move Is Spurring Evictions In S. Korea" *Washington Post* (March 19, 2006). See also Christine Ahn, "Postcard from … Pyongtaek," in *Foreign Policy In Focus*. Silver City, NM and Washington, DC, December 13, 2006. Retrieved June 3, 2007 from http://fpif.org/fpiftxt/3801.
[177] Personal interview, December 11, 2004.

In his testimony in a hearing of the Okinawa Prefecture Committee for Military Base Land Use, Ie Island landowner Kubota Ichiro evoked the Ryūkyūs' peaceful past with its neighbors as he lamented being implicated in the two countries' militarism:

> "Uchinanchū men were forced to join the Japanese Army and go off and kill people we had traded peacefully with for centuries. We were victimizers. And then under Article 6 of ANPŌ our land was taken for the support of the US military. It was used in the Korean War, the Vietnam War, the Gulf War, Afghanistan and now again the Iraq War. We may not be brandishing the weapons in our own hands, but we are still nonetheless victimizers with the Americans."[178]

Frustration over the ways in which Okinawans are compelled, as a result of Japanese and American imperial interventions, into violent or competitive relations with other peoples in the region is also captured in Okinawan responses to Washington and Tokyo's efforts to push through the May 2006 agreement regarding Henoko. As I explained in the previous chapter, the plan introduced the "incentive" of moving 8000 marines from Okinawa to Guam in exchange for Okinawans' acceptance of the expanded air and naval complex. A few months after the plan was formalized, an activist acquaintance in Okinawa remarked on the arrangement in e-mail correspondence, emphasizing Okinawans' experience of this intersecting imperialism is as Japanese citizens:

> "Chamorros were colonized by the US, then invaded and ruled over by the Japanese military during the war, and then re-colonized by the US. Uchinanchū were colonized by Japan, invaded and ruled by the US military during and after the war, then after reversion returned to what really is a re-colonization by Japan—a result of collusion between the US and Japanese governments. Now we are being told once again that the US and Japanese governments will 'lessen our burden' by moving

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[178] Personal notes, May 30, 2005.

US soldiers to Chamorro land if we accept the new air and naval bases in our land. And because the Japanese government has agreed to move the soldiers and build the new bases at Henoko, we are paying for this as citizens! *We're paying for our own colonialism, and US colonialism of Chamorros. Chamorros are paying for their colonialism, and ours. This is why we have to resist together.*[179]

A similar analysis of the intertwining of US and Japanese colonization informs the solidarity with anti-base activists from the region is reflected in events commemorating the Pacific War. In June 2000, at the fifty-fifth anniversary of the end of the Battle of Okinawa, a "Silent Walk to the Cornerstone of Peace"—the memorial for all who died in the Battle of Okinawa—was held as a part of an International Women's Summit. Both were organized by the East Asia-U.S. Women's Network Against Militarism and the organization Okinawa Women Act Against Military Violence. The purpose of the silent walk by these activists, who came together around gendered violence associated with US military basing, was to commemorate the victims of the Battle of Okinawa whose names were not inscribed on the Cornerstone monument, particularly so-called "comfort women." There were women in countries throughout the region who were forced by the Japanese military to participate in an institutionalized system of brothels to provide sex to Japanese soldiers (Akibayashi 2002).

Debbie Quinata, anti-US base activist and current leader of the Chamorro Nation of Guam, made the following comments to hundreds of Okinawans gathered in 2005 to commemorate the sixtieth anniversary of the end of the Battle of Okinawa:

"I feel a strong kinship with Okinawans. I should tell you that all day long, as we traveled around your island, I've seen people who look just like my aunties and uncles at home. And I've talked to people who feel just like I do. We are Pacific Island peoples who are tired of our islands being militarily occupied by colonial powers."

[179] Personal communication, October 23, 2006; emphasis added.

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Quinata was followed by anti-US military activist and lawyer Corazon Fabros from the Philippines, who spoke of how Filipinos share with Chamorros and Okinawans a history of Japanese and American invasion and military rule, and subsequent long-term US military presence.

A month following this event, Debbie Quinata took the time to point out to me another experience shared by Okinawans, Koreans and Chamorros. I was in her native Guam. It was our second day of driving around the island in order to give me a sense of current US military presence.[180] Quinata took a detour to what looked like a tiny park, a small patch of grass in front of a shorn hillside. Tropical foliage hung low over large gaping holes in the white stone of the hill. A bronze plaque in front of them read:

Japanese San Ramon Caves

> The six caves in this cliff are part of an extensive island-wide cave
> system used by the Japanese. The caves are an example of the tunneling
> created by the Japanese military throughout the Pacific islands in the
> 1940s. They were built by Chamorro, Okinawan and Korean forced
> labor using primitive tools working under extreme conditions.

Quinata's incorporation of the San Ramon Caves into her tour of US military sites may have seemed like a fascinating historical side trip if I had not already seen similar natural and human-made "Japanese caves" in South Korea, the Philippines, and Okinawa, and if I had not been taken to see the caves by anti-US military activists in each of these places (see figure 5.1). These earthen relics scattered across the region embody relations—initially created by the Japanese military and now sustained by the

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[180] Currently, the US military occupies a third of Guam's roughly 210 square miles. This proportion is expected to grow considerably in the next decade if the controversial plan to redeploy Marines now stationed in Okinawa to Guam is realized.

US military—between a particular people and place *and* among peoples in these different places. That anti-US base activists in each locale thought it important for me to see the caves highlights the meaning these activists themselves find in such relations. The connections activists are making between their respective histories of Japanese imperialism and contemporary experience of US military presence implies a global analysis of particular circumstances. In other words, while such connections can only emerge out of a strong attachment between a particular people and place, they rest fundamentally on these activists' ability to locate their particular history and circumstances within a world-historical context that exposes the imperial dimensions of the state system and contemporary foreign military basing. Collectively, they expose the irony in the United States' (and in most cases, at least for a time, local populations') representation of the US military as "liberator" of peoples in the region and thus the "solution" to empire, as they condemn continued US military occupation sixty years on. It is in their world-historical sensibility that we also see how the politics of US militarization in Okinawa increasingly intersects with the politics of contemporary self-determination movements globally. Okinawan activists' global analysis of their current circumstances creates political space in which to consider Okinawa as a potential locus of rights.

Figure 5.1 Caves used by Japanese military forces. From top to bottom, San Ramon Caves in Guam; the entrance to caves at Himeyuri in Okinawa, where Okinawan schoolgirls were conscripted to serve as nurses to care for wounded Japanese soldiers inside the caves; and a beachside cave in Seoguipo, Jeju Island, South Korea used for storing munitions and supplies.

Connecting empires globally: Okinawan autonomy and collective rights claims

Politicizing Okinawan ethnic identity in the current conjuncture makes possible the emergence of claims rooted not in rights conferred by citizenship but by new political identities that emphasize territorialized collective rights. Activists' broader connections and claims reflect how their analysis links their struggle against the relations of internal colonial basing with contemporary anti-imperialist struggles more generally.

One effort in recent years has seen scholars, policy makers and activists[181] come together over a common recognition of the Ryūkyūans' ethnic and historical distinctiveness as a people (*minzoku*) to lay out a vision, in concrete terms, of what a self-governing Okinawa might look like (Okinawa jichi kenkyu kai 2002, 2004a, 2005). The group was initially established as the Study Group on Okinawan Self-governance—*Okinawa jichi kenkyu kai*, or "Jichiken"—by scholars of constitutional law, politics and public policy at the University of the Ryūkyūs and Okinawa International University. So while Jichiken is not an activist organization per se, it is far from just an intellectual exercise. All members' biographies reveal their progressive and activist backgrounds in the reversion movement and anti-base activism since.

At the same time, the legal expertise and public policy bent of its founders has led the group to tackle head-on the practical matters of self-governance, and what it would take to get from A to B. This begs the question: *Where is B?* In general terms, it is the point where inhabitants of the Ryūkyūs can collectively think about and decide what the islands' future should look like. Jichiken member Shimabukuro Jun explains:

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[181] These are simplistic distinctions which do not capture the rich biographies and personal passions of Jichiken members. I use them only to give a sense of the kinds of actors involved in this particular project.

"Of course we each have personal ideas and preferences about Okinawa's future, but as a group we don't want to impose a definition or a course for self-governance. Rather than deciding what self-governance entails in concrete political terms, our immediate goal now is to get more Uchinanchū thinking and talking about what it means and how it might help Okinawa move beyond our current circumstances. Along with this we want to get the political structure to a point where Uchinanchū could collectively determine our future *outside* the limiting control of the Japanese government."[182]

For the members of Jichiken, because Okinawa's identity as a distinct people is inseparable from territory, greater autonomy means greater political and economic autonomy over the whole of the Ryūkyū Islands. Central to this would be to reclaim Okinawans' right as a people to negotiate their own diplomatic relations (*gaikōken*)—now only a right of states—in order to negotiate with the United States government directly (Okinawa jichi kenkyu kai 2004b). Jichiken members have spent the last several years researching and theorizing different paths Okinawans could take to greater autonomy, looking at a range of case studies of "home rule" and different forms of self-governance, including Scotland and the Äland Islands (under Finland's jurisdiction).

After three years of mostly internal working groups, Jichiken began organizing its activities toward making the project a more popular endeavor. In 2003 the group began holding open meetings, inviting progressive politicians, municipal administrators, and anyone else who could lend skills or interest to the project. In December 2004, Jichiken convened an international conference of researchers of different forms of self-governance. The second day of the conference was a symposium aimed at the general public. Early in 2005, the group again held a public forum to introduce the project more broadly. It was attended by close to 200 people, including progressive intellectuals, local elected officials, municipal administrators,

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[182] Personal interview, June 14, 2005.

veteran activists, local media and one curious graduate student from upstate New York. The forum was intended to introduce their effort, increase involvement by a broader constituency, and to seek input about the next steps.[183]

As a way of introducing the possibilities for greater collective autonomy in Okinawa, Jichiken members posited three basic paths at the public forum. Notable about these proposals is that they capture the transitional moment in Okinawa. The first would be to work within the constitution and be based on rights of local governance provided for in Article 95 of Chapter VIII, which pertains to local self-government, and/or to explore the possibilities for Okinawan self-governance in current national moves toward greater decentralization; the second would work "outside" the constitutional framework, seeking instead a form of territorial autonomy where Okinawa's right to negotiate its own diplomatic relations; the third would consider paths to independence. The group published a booklet on the same themes aimed at the general public entitled *Okinawa as a self-governing region: What do you think?* (Okinawa jichi kenkyu kai 2005). Together the proposals reflect the ambivalence within Okinawa today: while citizenship remains a meaningful category for some, it is being challenged and reworked by others.

Jichiken's proposal to work outside the constitutional framework resonates with ideas and efforts by Okinawan activists for whom Japanese political institutions are no longer a viable course for redress. The statement below introduces the handbook *Questions and Answers: International Human Rights Law and the Ryūkyūs/Okinawa,* written and self-published in 2003 by the Association for Indigenous Peoples in Okinawa and the Ryūkyūs[184] (AIPR):

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[183] Personal notes, February 30, 2004.
[184] AIPR members use the inclusive phrase "Okinawa and the Ryūkyūs" to highlight the linguistic and cultural diversity among the peoples throughout the Ryūkyū Archipelago. The Japanese government instituted the use of "Okinawa" to refer to the all the islands when it overthrew the Ryūkyū Kingdom and designated the entire territory Okinawa Prefecture (*Okinawa-ken*). The frequently used word

"It has become abundantly clear that…we, the people of the Ryūkyūs
and Okinawa are placed outside the framework of protections provided
for in the Japanese constitution."

AIPR was founded in 1998 by Chinen Hidenori, owner and head instructor of a

private English language school, a year after he first participated in a United Nations

meeting on indigenous rights. Chinen was initially invited to attend the UN by the

Shimin Gaikō Centre, an indigenous and human rights advocacy organization based in

Tokyo. Upon returning to Okinawa, he set out to find others who were interested in

establishing an organization that would approach Okinawan issues from an indigenous

rights perspective systematically. Chinen writes,

"After that [initial participation], the concept of 'indigenous peoples'
became an entry point to fundamentally reconsider the various
problems Okinawa faces from the perspective of human rights and
international law. We saw a new means of getting our voices out to the
world" (*Ryūkyū-ha no senjūminzoku* 2004).

Like activists such as Takazato Suzuyo of OWAAMV, AIPR members are

what Sidney Tarrow (2005) identifies as "rooted cosmopolitans"—the "agents of

interaction" who connect dense social networks together in transnational spaces.[185] As

a group, AIPR members have more experience traveling and living outside Okinawa

and outside Japan than most Okinawan activists. Although language has at times

become a barrier without interpretation, most of them have come to feel at ease with

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Uchinanchū refers only to inhabitants of Okinawa Island, or *Uchinaa,* in the language dominant there
and immediately surrounding islands, *uchinaguchi*. Those from the over one hundred outlying islands
have not historically referred to themselves as *Uchinanchū*, though in Japanese and English they are
subsumed under the term "Okinawan."

[185] Tarrow defines rooted cosmopolitans as "individuals and groups who mobilize domestic and
international resources and opportunities to advance claims on behalf of external actors, against external
opponents, or in favor of goals they hold in common with transnational allies." See Sidney Tarrow, *The
New Transnational Activism.* Cambridge University Press, 2005:43.

international travel, attending UN meetings and global conferences. However, the connections AIPR members make challenge the concept of "the transnational" employed by Tarrow and other prominent social movements scholars contributing to the study of transnational social movements.[186] Tarrow's concept of rooted cosmopolitans uses "national" in a state-centric sense, so that the national context is the territorialized, domestic political realm of a particular state and "transnational" networks are those between people in different nation-state contexts, albeit sometimes forged within international institutional settings. This conceptualization would not recognize the connections between Okinawan and Ainu activists within Japan as transnational in character. An historically grounded view of Okinawan-Ainu interactions belies the conventional interpretation, and suggests that more can be learned by moving beyond solely a statist view of "the national." I am not suggesting that tracing actions and coalitions outside of state contexts is unimportant or lacks analytical value. My own effort to do so in this and the previous chapter highlights the extent to which Okinawans are becoming increasingly disillusioned with their ability to change their circumstances within Japan's political institutions, and what might be gained by going beyond them. However, by also taking seriously the dynamic relations and processes that challenge the taken-for-grantedness of the state, this study is better positioned to understand how the state form itself, and international political space more generally, might be changing precisely because of cosmopolitans and their networks rooted in *other kinds of nations.*

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[186] See, for example, Jackie Smith, Charles Chatfield, and Ron Pagnucco, T*ransnational Social Movements and Global Politics: Solidarity Beyond the State.* Syracuse University Press, 1997; Jackie Smith and Hank Johnston, eds., G*lobalization and Resistance: Transnational Dimensions of Social Movements.* Rowman & Littlefield, 2002; Sanjeev Khagram, James V. Riker, Kathryn Sikkink, eds., *Restructuring World Politics: Transnational Social Movements, Networks and Norms.* University of Minnesota Press, 2003; and Donatella della Porta and Sidney Tarrow, eds., *Transnational Protest and Global Activism*, Rowman and Littlefield, 2005.

The emergence of claims based on Ryūkyūans' relationship to Japan as a minority and as indigenous peoples reflects an historically new perspective on Okinawa's circumstances. Although the universal identities "minority" and "indigenous people" are founded on a general notion of rights, both sets of rights are a postwar phenomenon. It was the "modern" resolution of the last major crisis of sovereignty—the globalization of the state form consequent upon the decolonization movement—that provided the current manifestation of self-determination movements a basis within the international human rights regime. With already-codified human rights as the blueprint for their ongoing elaboration, however, minority and indigenous rights introduced a collective framework that challenges the individualistic rights associated with liberal citizenship. I elaborate on the politics of the differences between minority and indigeneity in the following chapter, but for now it is important to note that both apply to the collective circumstances of a people vis-à-vis a state.[187] The Okinawan context grew to parallel such conditions only after 1972, after Okinawans and their territory were subsumed within the state-citizen relationship.

As with the notion of a distinct nation/people (*minzoku*) employed by Jichiken, because minority and indigenous rights emphasize collective experience, they offer a more holistic interpretive framework for thinking about the interrelationship among issues often taken up separately (e.g. environment, gender equality, preservation of language and other cultural practices, economic rights). This appeals to AIPR activists and others who see US military presence as just one problem, albeit a central problem, that intersects with many others stemming from Okinawans' relation with Japan. So although military base issues figure prominently in AIPR members' interpretations of Okinawa's ills, the group's approach is rooted in two basic convictions. First, that the

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[187] Or state*s*, given that many people's territories were arbitrarily divided and subsumed within adjacent states in the process of decolonization.

problems associated with the bases emanate from Okinawa's unresolved colonial

relationship with Japan. Second, that Okinawa's problems ultimately cannot be solved

within the national political context. AIPR member and high school teacher Ueshiro

Masako explains how these premises shape the relationship between the organization

and the larger movement against US military presence.

> "Our activities are based on a long-term perspective on the
> Ryūkyūs….Of course we fully support the ongoing campaigns, like
> stopping the construction at Henoko and closing Futenma, and
> particular efforts to address the base problems, and AIPR members
> often participate in anti-base rallies and campaigns. I think we all see
> our activities as AIPR, as an organization, as part of the anti-base
> activities because we raise awareness about the base problems, but also
> because our goal is to change the relationship with Japan. To do this we
> must raise awareness among Uchinanchū about our rights as a people,
> and about how taking our case and forging other relationships beyond
> Japan may help our circumstances. Also, we must assert our rights like
> other sovereign peoples[188] of the world….We need to let the world
> know about the Ryūkyūs, our history, and how the US uses the
> relationship between Japan and the Ryūkyūs to do whatever it wants
> here."[189]

For AIPR members, the concept "indigenous people" is meaningful because it

offers a new way for Okinawans themselves to think about their circumstances and

their rights. In particular, it foregrounds the historical connection between Ryūkyūans

and their territory(ies), as well as the notion that they have a collective right to social,

cultural, economic and political self-determination within that territory. Within

Okinawa, most of AIPR activities are aimed at raising awareness about human rights

and specifically indigenous rights. In addition to holding public meetings to report on

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[188] Indigenous activists demand a voice alongside state governments within the UN, drawing a sharp
distinction between their participation and that of non-governmental organizations within the United
Nations and other international bodies. "Indigenous Peoples' Organization" (IPO) is the official UN
designation for indigenous groups.
[189] Personal interview, March 3, 2005.

their participation in UN fora and other meetings, members hold study groups about international rights conventions. As Siddle (2003) points out, media coverage is an important part of AIPR's strategy within Okinawa. AIPR proactively contacts Okinawa's two main newspapers, the *Ryūkyū Shimpō* and the *Okinawa Times*, to initiate coverage on their activities and the rationale behind them.

The notion of indigeneity also provides a fundamentally different way for those unfamiliar with Okinawa to understand the islanders' circumstances. Oyakawa Yūko, a women's counselor in the Chatan city office and AIPR member since 1998, explains how the concept of indigeneity figures in what she calls "AIPR's message" outside of Japan:

> "The US bases are the immediate cause of so many day-to-day
> problems in our society. So when we have an opportunity to speak to
> people outside Okinawa, we must let them know what is happening
> here. No one really knows. But we also must explain *why* it is
> happening here. No one knows that we are a different people or that the
> Ryūkyūs was once independent. Most think Okinawa is Japan, and
> Okinawans are Japanese. But a lot of people outside Japan know what
> 'indigenous people' means. So when we talk about our situation and
> say, 'This and this and this are happening in Okinawa because of the
> US military bases,' people are always surprised. When we explain that
> Okinawans are not Japanese but indigenous peoples in Japan, suddenly
> our situation makes sense to them. The term 'indigenous people' is a
> kind of global code, or a kind of shorthand. But of course people
> usually respond, 'I didn't know there were indigenous peoples in
> Japan'."[190]

Political identities like indigenous people and minority are thus seen to provide Okinawans with new ways of interpreting their circumstances which, if not concrete means of redress, allow them to find and create additional political space for telling an alternate version of the history and contemporary circumstances of the Ryūkyūs. In

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[190] Personal interview, March 13, 2004.

this regard, Okinawan activists join the Ainu in intervening in dominant representations of Japan as a mono-ethnic and historically and territorially coherent nation-state (Siddle 2003). In November 2006 Shimabukuro Rin represented AIPR at the First Northeast Asia Meeting for Indigenous Organizations, held in Taiwan. Long-time Ainu activist Hasegawa Yuuki represented the Ainu Resource Centre at the same meeting. Such alliances make the interventions each group is making part of a larger intervention, evoking previous modes of East Asian interstate relations.

By intervening in dominant representations of Japan within UN fora focusing on indigenous and minority issues, these activists also engage the Japanese government in new ways. AIPR has sent its members to various United Nations meetings since 1999, though individuals in the organization began attending UN meetings in 1996. The organization sends representatives annually to the Working Group on Indigenous Populations. In doing so they compel the Japanese government to formulate and make public Japan's official position on its historical relationship to Okinawa in ways that the government would not have to otherwise. Ongoing Ainu activism in international fora, particularly their participation in United Nations meetings on indigenous issues, made it impossible for the Japanese government to remain silent on Ainu self-determination claims (Dietz 1999; Lewellan 2008). While of course official or formal recognition means little in and of itself, until Ainu began participating in indigenous for a, Tokyo had no reason to send representatives to UN meetings on indigenous issues, let alone make formal statements regarding indigenous matters when they arose within other UN agencies and human rights venues.

In addition to compelling the Japanese government's participation in new kinds of political spaces, leverage comes from the institutional requirements of international human rights conventions. As a signatory to various conventions, the Japanese government is obligated to report periodically on its compliance with each.

For example, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, which the
Japanese government ratified in 1979, recognizes in Article 27 the right of "ethnic,
religious, or linguistic minorities to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practice
their own religion, or to use their own language" (United Nations, 1994a). It is in
reference to this article of the ICCPR that Japan was finally compelled to acknowledge
the existence of the Ainu, which it had long denied (Dietz 1999). The Japanese
government managed to draw out its formulation of its stance on Ainu indigeneity
over two decades, [191] but in 2001 it finally acknowledged the Ainu as a distinct ethnic
minority that originally inhabited Hokkaido. In June 2008, the Diet finally passed a
resolution recognizing Ainu as "an indigenous people with a distinct language,
religion and culture."[192] By airing their grievances in a political space that compels a
response by the Japanese government, Okinawans have played the same hand as their
Ainu counterparts.

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[191] In its first report to the ICCPR, submitted in 1980, the Japanese government briefly stated that
"minorities of the kind mentioned in the Covenant do not exist in Japan" (Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
Initial Report of Japan to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. CCPR/C/10/Add.1,
1980). By the time Tokyo submitted its second report seven years later, action on the part of the Ainu
made it difficult for the government to maintain this stance. Although it did not use the term "minority",
the government acknowledged that the Ainu "preserve their own religion and language, and maintain
their own culture" (Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Second Periodic Report of Japan to the International
Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. CCPR/C/42/Add.4, 1988). In 1991, the government referred to
Ainu as a minority, but stressed their equality with ethnic Japanese as Japanese citizens. It added
information (referring back as far as 1974) on its welfare initiatives and measures aimed at "improving
their living environment" (Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Third Periodic Report of Japan to the
International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. CCPR/C/70/Add.1, 1992). Although in 1997
Tokyo finally acknowledged that the Ainu "lived in Hokkaido… even before the Wajin [ethnic
Japanese], it still insisted that the land on which they lived was "inherent Japanese territory (Ministry of
Foreign Affairs. Fourth Periodic Report of Japan to the International Covenant on Civil and Political
Rights. CCPR/C/115/Add.3, 1998). Its fifth report in 2006 came two years before the government
officially recognized the Ainu as an indigenous people, though for the first time it made no attempt to
describe its official view of their status. The government had clearly come to see such reports as an
opportunity to detail its policies aimed at "promoting Ainu culture" and "improving the standard of
living of the Ainu people in Hokkaido" (Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Fifth Periodic Report of Japan to
the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. CCPR/C/JPN/5, 2007).
[192] See Philippa Fogarty, "Recognition at last for Japan's Ainu," BBC News (June 6, 2008). Retrieved
June 7, 2008 (http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/7437244.stm).

Again, that such a strategy will, on its own, lead to effective redress remains unlikely, and AIPR members themselves are quick to point this out. But it does contribute to the pressures on Tokyo in new ways. This is perhaps especially the case in relation to the government of Japan because demonstrating that its national institutions meet, at least in form, "international standards" has long been a concern of Japanese leaders. Scholar of Japanese social movements Susan Pharr explains a version of what Keck and Sikkink (1998) later termed the "boomerang effect": that activists in Japan have been able to gain leverage in relation to the government "by building ties with protest groups abroad and by taking part in international conferences where foreign media attention can be directed to social problems within Japan" (Pharr 1990: 231). Long-time Japanese human rights activist and founder of the indigenous rights advocacy group Shimin Gaikō Centre, Uemura Hideaki, makes a similar observation, though he is less sanguine than Pharr was seventeen years ago:

> "Although I think the Japanese government's so-called 'peace-keeping mission' in America's war in Iraq suggests that it is trying to create a different, tougher image and prove that it can be a major military partner of the US in the future, unlike the United States the Japanese government still appears to care about its international image. Japan still has a national inferiority complex which makes Japanese leaders want to demonstrate in the international arena that Japan is just like a modern Western country, which at least *says* it protects rights. Of course the irony here is that it was in part because of Japanese leaders' desire to be like a modern Western country that led them to expand imperially, including to the Ryūkyūs. And obviously Western governments' records don't often live up to their rhetoric, which gives the Japanese government similar leeway. The government's human rights record is abysmal from our standpoint. But we can still use its susceptibility to external expectations to make it change its stance on issues. Then we go from there."[193]

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[193] Personal interview, June 1, 2005.

Politicization of Okinawan identity and employment of political identities like "indigenous people" also creates opportunities for new kinds of interventions around militarization. Okinawan activists offer a new lens on the politics of US military presence in Okinawa, which in turn contributes significantly to the growing focus on and awareness of the militarization of indigenous and minority territories—both by the state that claims sovereignty over their territory and, in cases like Okinawa, through the state's complicity in foreign military basing. The following statement, given by Omine Nariko to the 2005 United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Populations (WGIP),[194] is emblematic of the kinds of oral reports AIPR members make in the WGIP and related fora[195] about the everyday effects of US military presence and structures contributing to its continuation:

> "Last year, I had an opportunity to speak to the Working Group about my homeland in relation to the theme 'conflict resolution.'…I'm afraid to say the situation has not changed at all since last year. In fact, it is getting worse every day.…First, just three weeks ago, on July 2nd, a 10-year old girl was sexually molested by a US military servicemember. This is the latest in a long history of sexual violence by US military personnel against Okinawan women. Second, in August of last year, just after our delegation returned to Okinawa, a U.S military transport helicopter crashed into a local university and the surrounding neighborhood. The U.S military prohibited city officials, university

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[194] The Working Group on Indigenous Populations (WGIP) was established under the auspices of the Commission on Human Rights in 1982. It became the first regularly held forum within the United Nations on indigenous issues. The WGIP was the culmination of years of pressure from indigenous activists, mostly from the Americas. Buoyed by "native" civil rights movements and other anti-imperialist movements around the world, indigenous mobilization gained strength in the 1970s and began reaching, in solidarity, across what they argued were to them arbitrary borders. In the twenty-five years since its inception, however, the WGIP has grown to become the largest, regularly held meeting in the entire UN system. The original mandate of the WGIP was two-fold: to elaborate a draft *Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*, and to update the international community on developments within indigenous communities. The UN General Assembly adopted the Declaration in September 2007.

[195] AIPR has also sent representatives to meetings of the subsequent Draft Declaration Working Group, the World Conference Against Racism (which they attended with Resident Koreans, Ainu and other communities as a delegation from Japan), the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, and hearings convened by the Commission on Human Rights to review member states' compliance with international human rights.

authorities, police and the press from entering the crash site. We Okinawans were not allowed to investigate the crash. Third, the U.S. military has built a new live-fire urban warfare training facility located just 250 meters from a residential area and highway. In Guam, the U.S military tried to build a facility like this, but cancelled the plan because it was too close to a residential area. Those who live close to the Okinawa facility have led a growing opposition against its construction. In response to strong opposition, the Japanese government and U.S military finally agreed to relocate the facility. However, the U.S military insists that it will use the current location until a substitute is completed. It began using the facility last week. They can do this because of the unequal "Status of Forces" agreement governing US military practices in Japan, which allows the US to ignore the rights of Okinawans, and because the Japanese government does not stand up to protect Okinawans."

Okinawan indigenous rights activists are also forging new kinds of alliances, as they seek to strengthen their ties with other indigenous groups mobilizing around militarization (Siddle 2003). At the 2004 Working Group for Indigenous Populations, members of AIPR co-sponsored a strategy workshop entitled Indigenous Peoples and Militarization with the Shimin Gaikō Centre (Dietz, Omine and Oshiro 2005).[196] AIPR's formal call for "indigenous rights and militarization" to be adopted by the WGIP as its main theme, which changes annually, was echoed by several indigenous organizations. This call was heeded and, in 2006, the UN saw its first formal meeting on the issue of indigenous rights and militarization—in effect a global conference on internal colonial basing.

Although mobilizing as a minority and an indigenous people has allowed a group of Okinawan activists to create new political spaces in which to intervene in dominant understandings of Japan and US military presence in Okinawa, the international cache of the concept 'indigenous people' itself has been slower to catch on among Okinawan activists than AIPR members originally hoped. Although some

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[196] This author participated in the workshop as a representative of the Shimin Gaikō Centre.

Okinawan scholars use the term (see, for example, Taira 1997), it has yet to gain a place in everyday self-descriptions. The problem seems to stem from preconceptions of the term as a descriptor of a particular way of life, rather than as a political position vis-à-vis states.[197] "I think too many associate the term with—what do you call it?—the hunter-gatherer tradition, which isn't compatible with Uchinanchū self-perception of our traditional lifestyle," explains member Toma Shisei.[198] Ambivalence may also reflect a degree of local resistance to the institutionalizing effects characteristic of the NGO sector (*c.f.* Feldman 1997), particularly when the influence is seen to come from Japan. "Initially I think some activists were suspicious of the idea [of mobilizing around indigeneity] because it seemed to be the idea of a Japanese NGO," offered Oyakawa Yūko, referring to the early influence and ongoing support by the Tokyo-based Shimin Gaikō Centre. She continued:

> "A lot of Uchinanchū have experience with Japanese activists who are well-intentioned but come to Okinawa proclaiming, 'I've come to help Okinawans fight the US military!' They raise their fists at the gates of the US bases, make stops at Henoko and Kin to validate their Okinawan 'peace tour', and they leave saying, 'Don't give up!' (*gambatte!*), as if the problem is just *ours* to solve and can only be solved *here*. Most don't have a deeper consciousness about Japan's role, which is to say their own role, in our circumstances. This attitude feels patronizing and a lot of Uchinanchū activists are, frankly, tired of it. But of course some Japanese are different. The Shimin Gaikō Centre is different. That group's starting point is that Japan is a colonizer of the Ryūkyūs, and so Japanese people must stand up and take responsibility. [SGC founder] Uemura-*san* sees the struggle against US bases and for Ryūkyū rights as equally the responsibility of Yamatonchū, about making their country a better country. He always says, 'Let's not give up' (*gambarimashō*)."[199]

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[197] At the same time, Japan's ideographic language captures the political meaning of indigenous peoples and indigenous rights quite well. The term "indigenous peoples" (*senjū minzoku*) highlights the chronological ordering of human settlement and (though implied) rule in a given territory: *sen* (preceding, or before) *jū* (to live) *minzoku* (nation, or people). Accordingly, indigenous rights (*senjūken*) locates rights with a people who lived in given territory first.

[198] Personal notes, June 23, 2004.

[199] Personal interview, March 13, 2004.

That the term indigenous people as a political identity may not catch on popularly within Okinawa does not seem to concern AIPR's members. They see merit in the formal and informal interventions it allows Okinawans to make outside Okinawa—within Japan, at the United Nations and elsewhere—and in what the notion has lent to local discussions about Okinawa's future. The sentiments of member Miyazato Gosamaru, a 41-year old physical therapist, capture those expressed by other members about the use of the term indigenous people, and why its meaning is what makes it useful but not absolutely necessary:

> "Looking at Okinawa's history and our current circumstances from an indigenous rights perspective makes perfect sense to me. It also offers new places in which Uchinanchū have a voice, where we can stand alongside the US and Japanese governments, and other nations like us whose sovereignty is, for statist political reasons, not recognized. But it might not be the term Okinawans want to use to describe themselves. In the end, of course I don't care about the term. I care about the outcome. It's not really necessary to use the term 'indigenous people' within Okinawa. We can talk about the idea of self-determination (*jitō ketteiken*) in different ways. We don't have to use difficult or unfamiliar terms or labels. What we notice is that more Okinawans understand and agree that, as a *people*, we have a right to decide our future for ourselves (*minzoku toshite jibun no shorai o jibun de kimeru kenri*). From this perspective, AIPR is getting support, even from veteran activists. They were skeptical of our activities at first. I think they thought our movement was faddish, but then they recognized that we were serious, and of course they agree with our direction, and efforts to get more people involved in thinking about how Okinawa's future could be different."[200]

Thus while the political idea of indigeneity has helped AIPR members contribute to the opening of a dialogue amongst Okinawans about the Ryūkyūs as a locus of rights,

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[200] Personal interview, June 4, 2005.

the label itself is not essential to continuing the dialogue regarding their future and their relation to Japan and the United States.

Meanings of self-determination

The future most Okinawan activists envision does not, at least for now, involve independence. At the same time, their alternative to Ryūkyūan independence is clearly not the status quo; it is not citizenship according to the dominant rendering. They overwhelmingly articulate something new: a self-determination rooted in citizenship, but which differs from and challenges the notion of self-determination located in the individual liberal subject via a representational state. Instead they imagine a self-determination located in the collectivity within the state.

When I asked AIPR members what self-determination means to them, like Jichiken members nearly all answered that it was a collective decision for all Okinawans and that AIPR's goal was to help realize that decision. Pushing each of them a bit more on what they personally hoped for Okinawa, only one of the six core members saw independence as the end goal. Instead they expressed a desire to see a different political arrangement where Okinawa would remain a part of Japan but Okinawans would exercise collective autonomy in the Ryūkyūs. "What government leaders seem not to understand is the right to self-determination does not have to mean independence. They interpret it this way because they are stuck in their own statist ideas," offered Chinen Hidenori. "The so-called 'reversion movement' should be viewed in this way. It too was an exercise of Uchinanchū will, an exercise of our collective right to determine our future for ourselves. We haven't lost the right to self-determination as a people just because we chose to be a part of Japan. We still have

our right to determine our future, but this means that it's *our* decision how to execute

our self-determination," he said.[201]

This same sentiment—the vision of reworking Okinawa's political relationship

with Japan so that Okinawa has more autonomy—was shared by over 80% of the

nearly 100 anti-base activists I interviewed. For all of them, "more autonomy" meant a

form of ethnicized and territorialized autonomy, via which people across the Ryūkyū

Islands would have greater political, cultural and economic control over the islands

than the central government. What greater self-determination might look like in

practice was expressed in a number of ways. For example,

> "We need to have more control over which corporations participate in
> Okinawa's tourist industry. Now, major Japanese corporations have
> come to dominate the hotel and airline industries, so that most of the
> profits leave Okinawa."

> "The education system needs to provide for instruction in Ryūkyūan
> languages."

> "Our agricultural products are becoming less diverse due to outside
> pressures to practice mono-cropping. Tobacco is taking over."

> "National textbooks obscure the real history of the Ryūkyūs and our
> relationship to Japan. History education needs to be rethought with the
> oversight of Uchinanchū scholars and perspectives."

> "Exploitation of our natural resources by outsiders must be stopped.
> More monitoring of resource use would be possible if we had more
> autonomy. Now the bases and construction and Japanese corporate
> interests take priority."

> "Okinawans must have the right to negotiate with the US and close the
> US bases."[202]

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[201] Personal notes, March 7, 2004.
[202] Personal interviews, July 3, 2004; October 17, 2004; January 30, 2005; March 4, 2005.

When asked if autonomy within Japan differed from their "ideal future," roughly one-half of my interviewees replied that an independent Ryūkyūs is their ideal, but not feasible or practical (approximately 40%) or not practical for a considerably long time (approximately 60%). Different ways in which the latter expressed "a long time" ranged from 50 years, several generations, and the remainder of this century. Among those who saw an independent Ryūkyū nation as the ideal outcome, in addition to a general uneasiness about it "going well," the main reasons they gave for the impracticality of independence include: concerns about Okinawa's ability to compete economically; the related fear of becoming an impoverished island that then would be forced to turn to outsiders (especially Japan) for assistance, risking dependence and coercion of a neo-colonial sort. Reflecting the power of dominant rhetoric in Japanese media, and perhaps drawing on collective histories of the Ryūkyūs as a Chinese tributary state, some interviewees expressed a concern over China asserting hegemonic power over an independent Ryūkyūs. More expressed their distrust in Japanese, American and also Okinawan leaders when they cited the potential for Okinawa to be reoccupied militarily by the US and/or Japan, or (for a few) the risk of future Okinawan leaders' decision to make a deal with either of the two countries and allow military basing again.

Finally, the concept of self-determination articulated in my interviews is a demilitarized one. Not surprisingly, all interviewees saw eventual if not immediate removal of the US bases as an essential element of an autonomous arrangement. Much more telling than their thoughts on US bases were their answers regarding Japanese military presence at this juncture. Without exception, anti-US base activists did not want *Japanese* military forces to remain in the Ryūkyūs. Only two out of nearly 100 activists added that it might become necessary in the future (the same two also expressed concerns about a more powerful China). Okinawans' historical mistrust of

Japan's militarism is bolstered by their increasing lack of faith in the government's willingness to protect its Okinawan citizens.

As with activists' emphasis on Ryūkyūan histories of independence and colonialism in their reinterpretation of their citizenship and US military basing, the new political identities and ideas of self-determination emerging within the Okinawan anti-base movement implicate Japanese rule in ways far beyond a critique of any one particular administration's policies. They challenge the very meaning and legitimacy of the Japanese state in Okinawa's socio-political context. Individually and together, these identities and the ideas embodied in them de-center the Japanese state as *the* locus of sovereignty and as a legitimate source of protection.

Conclusion

In this chapter I sought to complicate this study's narrative of what citizen relations have meant for Okinawa and the anti-base movement. In the previous chapters, I demonstrated how, because reincorporation of Okinawa into Japan changed the terms through which US occupation continued, it also shaped the ways it is challenged. Okinawans' citizenship had the effect of channeling most protest through institutionalized channels. This chapter shows that, as a relation rooted in coloniality, Okinawans' citizen relations also shape the mode of struggle in another, potentially transformative way. The conditions of internal colonial basing reinforce Okinawans' experiences as ethnically marginalized citizens, facilitating a global analysis of their citizen relations and more fundamental challenges to the Japanese state.

However, Okinawan activists' rearticulation of the territorial relations with the state does not displace citizenship as a meaningful relation. Rather, the emergence of new identities, claims and visions alongside longer-standing demands for equal rights reflects a transitional moment in which the contradictions of internal colonial basing

dislodge *liberal* citizenship as the only meaningful relation. The alternative future articulated by many Okinawan activists is nation-centric rather than state-centric, yet still claims territorial autonomy over social, political, cultural and economic life. Of course the potential challenges embodied in such a redefinition of self-determination and citizenship are not lost on Japanese leaders. As the following chapter will show, how the Japanese government is taking a relationship to Okinawan rearticulations of their citizenship sheds light on the politics of collective rights within Japan, which increasingly parallels the contestation over sovereignty globally.

CHAPTER SIX

THE POLITICS OF COLLECTIVE RIGHTS: MULTICULTURALISM, TERRITORIALITY AND THE SUBJECT OF SOVEREIGNTY

"Take time to enjoy Okinawans' vibrant and distinct island culture, which enriches Japan's diversity."

~ Unnamed Japanese official, speaking to world leaders gathered for the Group of Eight meeting in Okinawa in 2000.[203]

"In post-colonial Africa and Asia, autochthonous groups/minorities/ethnic groups/peoples cannot… claim for themselves, unilaterally and exclusively, the 'indigenous' status in the United Nations context. …These States whose existence as such is, in the majority of cases, very recent - have not only the right but also the duty to preserve their fragile territorial integrity. The risk to such States of breaking up (or 'balkanization') which such unilateral claims to 'indigenousness' imply naturally cannot be taken lightly."

~ UN report on the status of state treaties and other arrangements between governments and native peoples, in light of increasing indigenous rights claims in post-decolonization Asia and Africa.[204]

Introduction

In the face of increasing collective rights claims emanating from the Ryūkyūs, the Japanese government's response is puzzling. On the one hand, successive administrations have taken pains to avoid making official statements domestically and internationally regarding the Ryūkyū population's collective position within Japan, namely their status as an ethnic minority or as indigenous peoples. This has been the case even when the government is obliged to comment formally as part of its

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[203] *Ryūkyū Shimpo*, July 19, 2000.
[204] United Nations Commission on Human Rights, Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, Fifty-first session, document E/CN.4/Sub.2/1999/20, paragraphs 88-90. Retrieved September 3, 2005 from http://daccess-ods.un.org/access.nsf/Get?Open&DS=E/CN.4/Sub.2/1999/20&Lang=E.

international human rights commitments. On the other hand, Japanese officials went out of their way to highlight and indeed celebrate the distinct history and culture of the Ryūkyū Kingdom in the most prominent of settings, the Group of Eight summit, which the Japanese government hosted in Okinawa in 2000. On a related note, Tokyo surprised many in when it reversed course and endorsed the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples in 2007, only to trump this by recognized the Ainu as an indigenous people in 2008.

This chapter explores these divergent approaches by situating the emergence and meanings of Okinawans' collective rights claims, and Tokyo's responses, within national and global context. Why is the government responding to Okinawan activists' new political identities, alliances, and claims differently in different venues? How do national and international relations and priorities shape the government's approach to Okinawan claims—and how does the government's approach shape its relations with collective rights claims-makers and other states? What do emergent challenges within Okinawa portend for the state-citizen relation, for sovereignty, and for US military presence in the islands?

Just as Okinawan collective rights proponents have learned from Ainu efforts within Japan and similar efforts elsewhere, so too have Japanese leaders learned from successive administrations' experience with Ainu activism, as well as other governments' approaches to self-determination claims within their respective borders. Tokyo's divergent responses to Okinawan collective rights claims reflect official attempts to shape representations of the Ryūkyūs' place in Japan—and therefore the territory's place in its relations with the United States. Viewed in the national context, official celebrations of Ryūkyūan difference are an effort to co-opt and depoliticize this difference, reflecting the central government's emphasis on a discourse of "multicultural Japan" that celebrates regional difference within Japan. Representing

Ryūkyūan difference as an integral part of Japan allows Tokyo to assert Japan's territorial reach and shore up its commitments to the US. Such efforts both draw on and contribute to strategies of other national governments facing self-determination claims within their borders. Rather than merely a case of each government acting to protect its own borders, however, the Japanese government's stance is part of a collective effort to delegitimize and/or narrow the meaning of collective rights claims globally as a way to preserve the state system and modern territoriality as constituted in the postwar era.

It is this convergence with global politics and Okinawan activists' alternative visions of Okinawa's relationship with Japan that shed light on the potential implications of collective rights claims in Okinawa for both the state-citizen relation and for the presence of US forces. The shifts in identity and claims within the anti-base movement reflect the current world-historical context in which self-determination movements have the *state* as their object of struggle. Contemporary self-determination claims in Okinawa mirror those emerging elsewhere, in that, rather than reproduce or reject the state, emergent Okinawan claims reflect a desire to rework it and, in particular, the exclusionary nature of liberal democratic citizenship under internal colonial basing. In their challenge to the state, therefore, Okinawans problematize the very premises legitimating US military presence, namely, state sovereignty and citizenship. By contributing to the erosion of citizenship and the crisis of the Japanese state in the Okinawan context, the United States is pulling the legitimating rug out from under its own military presence in the territory.

This chapter builds in particular on the previous chapter's insights about the meanings Okinawan activists give to their experiences of internal colonial basing, and how these inform their effort to rework their citizen relations. I begin this chapter by considering the Japanese government's differential reactions to Okinawans'

expressions of ethnic difference alongside its approaches to Japan's other ethnic minorities. This directs my attention to how Japan's national policies intersect with its geopolitical relations. In the second half of the chapter, I explore how the politics of collective rights within Japan are shaped by, and shape, contestations over the meaning of sovereignty globally. This informs some concluding remarks about the implications of Okinawan collective rights claims for the state-citizen relation, for our understanding of sovereignty, and for US military basing in Okinawa.

The indigenous other within: Okinawa as part of "multicultural Japan"

Silence and celebration: The Japanese government's puzzling approach to Ryūkyūan difference

The government's divergent responses to Okinawan collective rights claims suggest Japanese officials have learned from the government's drawn out engagement with Ainu claims that silence on particular topics and in particular venues may be effective. Such an approach has not precluded official representations of the islands, and even their distinct history and culture, as an important part of Japan and its geopolitical relations.

In contrast to the fairly regular statements the government has made regarding Ainu in UN fora in which Ainu participate, Japanese officials have not referred to Okinawans or to the Ryūkyūs despite regular participation by Okinawan activists. This has also been Tokyo's general strategy even when it is obliged to submit reports on the status of its measures to uphold international conventions concerning minorities, despite the fact that Ryūkyūans, at 1.3 million strong, are the largest minority group in Japan.[205] This strategy is notable in part because, as I explained in the previous

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[205] For example, in its 2000 report to the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, in which it acknowledged ongoing racism of several different groups within Japanese society, the government did not make any reference to Okinawans. Tokyo omitted Okinawans again in 2006, in its most recent periodic report to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, for which the government is obliged to address the status of the protection of minority rights.

chapter, it is through such obligatory state reports that Tokyo elaborated, albeit very slowly, its official position on its relationship to the Ainu and its policies toward them. The government's silence regarding Okinawans suggests that Japanese officials are extremely reluctant to engage in the same process regarding Okinawa.

One exception seems to prove the rule. Tokyo did respond, quite stridently and at length, to a formal report filed by UN Special Rapporteur Doudou Diene (2006) following his official visit to Japan. Charged with investigating "contemporary forms of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance", Diene focused his comments regarding Okinawans on how the presence and impact of US forces relates to their collective marginalization. The report begins by noting Japan's overthrow of the Ryūkyū Kingdom and the implementation of "colonialist and assimilative policies" (p. 6). Referring to the present, the report states that Okinawans are still "rarely consulted on the decisions affecting their island and its future" (p. 14). Highlighting the disproportionate siting of US bases concentrated in Okinawan territory given its size relative to the rest of Japan, it observes that "the most serious discrimination [Okinawans] presently endure is linked to the presence of the American military bases in their islands" (p. 14). The report lists a range of effects of the bases, noting the systemic negative impact of the bases on "the environment, indigenous culture and customs of the Okinawa people" (p. 6). It also points to systemic discrimination in the courts, where Okinawans "have almost always lost" cases seeking redress for military base impact. Diene concludes the section on Okinawa with the statement: "As a consequence, some of the people of Okinawa want it to become an independent territory, in order to stop being subject to permanent human rights violations" (p. 14).

Obviously Diene's is not the first formal report presented in an international setting to detail the impact of US military presence in the islands, or to account for

military base problems by referencing Japan's discriminatory treatment of Okinawans. Okinawans themselves and third-party NGOs have done so for years. However to this author's knowledge this is the first time such charges regarding US military presence have been levied on behalf of an international body.[206] This helps explain why Tokyo chose this opportunity to address Okinawan matters explicitly.

In its formal response to Diene's report, the Japanese government begins by challenging the Special Rapporteur's report *en toto* on the basis that his comments and conclusions are beyond his mandate, given that the "issue of the military bases has no relation to the issue of racial discrimination" (Government of Japan 2006:3). The government then cites "factual errors" in the report, including its "rare consultation with Okinawa" over matters affecting the prefecture. It also takes issue with the reasons the report notes for disproportionate US military presence in the Ryūkyūs. It is "because of geopolitical and military reasons and not because of discriminatory intentions on the part of the Japanese government" (p. 5).[207] Repeating Japanese and American officials' common refrain about "lessening the burden" of the bases on Okinawans, the government cites the SACO agreement as key evidence.[208]

In the end, the government's response to the Diene report was not about the situation or status of Okinawans as much as it was about how US military presence

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[206] At most, reports from UN bodies ask for information, or merely allude to the problems associated with US military presence rather than make specific charges. The 2001 report by the UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, which monitors progress on the international convention of the same name. CERD's report calls on the government of Japan to provide more information on the ethnic composition of its population, including the Okinawan community, adding, "The population on Okinawa seeks to be recognized as a specific ethnic group and claims that the existing situation on the island leads to acts of discrimination against it." See "Comments of the Japanese Government on the Concluding Observations of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination on its initial and 2nd periodic reports: Japan," document A/56/18, AnnexVIIA, August 10, 2001. Retrieved October 9, 2006 from www.unhchr.ch/tbs/doc.nsf/%28Symbol%29/cbe5e3370454667bc1256aa700473a65?Opendocument.

[207] The government's response also correctly points out that some court cases have resulted in judgments awarding plaintiffs damages, and it corrects the number of military plane crashes in Okinawa, which it claims was wrong in Diene's report.

[208] For the complete text of Diene's report, the Japanese government's retort, and the response to both by a consortium of NGOs within Japan, see www.imadr.org/multi/erd/.

should be understood by international institutions. Indeed, the government goes out of its way to downplay Okinawan difference, dismissing at the outset any connection between US military presence and the issue of ethnic discrimination. In this way, Tokyo's response to the Diene report is actually quite consistent with its strategy of silence on Japan's relationship to Okinawans, and their circumstances as an ethnic minority or indigenous people. However, this stands in contrast to the government's embrace of the islands' distinct history and culture on an even more prominent international stage.

When the Japanese government hosted the 2000 Group of Eight (G8) Summit in Okinawa, the conference appeared to be an official celebration of Ryūkyūan history and culture (Yonetani 2001). A new two-thousand yen note was released just before the meeting, depicting the gate of Shuri Castle, the political center of the Ryūkyū Kingdom. The luxury hotel and conference site, which was built especially for the summit on the southern outskirts of Nago City—the municipality expected to also "host" the new air base on Cape Henoko—was given the name "Bridge between Nations" (*Bankoku Shinryōkan*). This was the motto of the Ryūkyū Kingdom at the time of its unification in the 15th century. Throughout the meeting, Japanese officials treated the world's leaders to the islands' distinct cuisine, music and dance. Foreign leaders were each presented with a shirt made of *minsa*, the Ryūkyūs' traditional hand-dyed and hand-woven fabric. One Japanese official encouraged world leaders to "…take time to enjoy Okinawans' vibrant and distinct island culture, which enriches Japan's diversity" (*Ryūkyū Shimpo*, July 19, 2000).[209]

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[209] Official treatments of Ryūkyūan history did downplay one key part—the history of the kingdom's demise as a result of Japanese colonization. On the "Okinawa History" pages of the government's official G8 Summit website, the kingdom's overthrow came under the heading of "The Birth of Okinawa Prefecture" and is described rather vaguely as having been "brought to a close." In its brief entirety, it reads, "The Meiji Government, which came into being as a result of the Meiji Restoration of 1868, transformed the Ryukyu Kingdom, first into the domain of Ryukyu in 1872, and later into the prefecture of Okinawa in 1879. The Ryukyu Kingdom was thus brought to a close. This is known as the

Given such overt celebration of the Ryūkyūs' distinct history and culture, did the G8 summit mark the beginnings of a sea change in Japan's stance regarding Okinawa? Yes and no. Historically, Japanese leaders have emphasized Ryūkyūan cultural differences as self-referential markers of Ryūkyūan inferiority, and as a basis for discrimination and assimilation. And so Tokyo's deliberate decision to highlight Okinawan difference in such a positive manner, and in such a prominent venue, does suggest a change. But the historical record begs the questions, to what end, and why now? I suggest the answers lies, first, in Japan's shifting national project and, second, in its relation to the US and an international system experiencing a crisis of sovereignty more generally.

Multicultural Japan: Territoriality and the discourse of "regional difference"

Viewed within a broader national context, in which mobilization by Ainu, Koreans, Okinawans and other groups challenge still dominant narratives of Japan as a monoethnic nation-state (*tan'itsu minzoku kokka)*,[210] the government's celebration of Okinawan difference is part of the Japanese government's effort to steer the redefinition and representations of Japan's national identity and assert its territoriality.

Tokyo's recent shifts in its approach to the Ainu community are relevant and instructive. At the time of the G8 summit, it had only been three years since Tokyo officially recognized the Ainu as an ethnic minority, which in theory obliges the government to protect their distinct sociocultural traditions. This recognition coincided

'Ryukyu Disposition.'" See
www.mofa.go.jp/POLICY/economy/summit/2000/outline/eng/okinawa/oki0302.html.
[210] See, for example, Michael Weiner, ed., *Japan's Minorities*. London: Routledge, 1997; Donald Denoon et al, *Multicultural Japan: Palaeolithic to Postmodern.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001; and Soo Im Lee, Stephen Murphy-Shigematsu, and Harumi Befu. *Japan's Diversity Dilemmas: Ethnicity, Citizenship, and Education.* Lincoln, NE: iUniverse, 2006.

with the government's enactment of the Ainu Cultural Promotion Act (CPA).[211] Much like its embrace of Okinawan cultural difference during the G8 Summit, on the surface the CPA appeared to be a fairly dramatic about-face on the part of the central government, which had for nearly two decades officially denied the existence of the Ainu as a distinct ethnic group warranting protection as such. In reality, however, the law focuses on only one element—culture—of the original draft submitted jointly by the Ainu Association of Hokkaido and the Hokkaido prefectural government in 1984. The legislation omits all references to and provisions for indigenous rights, which formed the core of the original draft. Instead the Japanese government inserted its *own* definition of Ainu culture in the law's opening text, which goes on to accord the Office of the Prime Minister and other central government agencies the power to decide what specific aspects of Ainu culture will be targeted for promotion, who will receive funding, the extent of such funding, and so on.

"Without provisions for indigenous rights, it is an empty law," remarked long-time Ainu activist Abe Yupo after the law's enactment. "It can't address the most pressing problems we face. And it doesn't even give Ainu much power to preserve our culture. In actuality it is more of a law for *Japanese* promotion of Ainu culture."[212] The fact that, under the law, the central government routinely awards funding to ethnic Japanese who practice or teach Ainu traditional arts and language bears out Abe's early concerns. It also sheds light on the law's place in Japan's apparent embrace of its indigenous Ainu minority; it is a means of discursively and politically managing expressions of difference.

Thus although Tokyo's official embrace of visible expressions of Okinawan difference at the G8 Summit arguably marks a change, this enthusiasm must be

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[211] The law's formal name is the Ainu Culture Promotion and Dissemination of Information Concerning Ainu Traditions Act.
[212] Personal notes, November 30, 1997.

viewed in the context of official approaches to the Japanese national project. The government's expropriation of Okinawan cultural symbols was part of its self-celebration of a new "multicultural" Japan. Japan's leaders are beginning to recognize that incorporation of the "other(s) within" can no longer happen through assimilation or outright denial. It requires careful co-optation. Careful because it is clear that Japan's leaders are not, in practical terms, embracing an inclusivist approach to the nation as a political ideal (Burgess 2007). Xenophobic and especially anti-immigrant discourse has flourished in the last decade, fueled by public comments by conservative Japanese politicians. Official policies concerning migrant labor and resident foreign nationals are as strict as ever (Arita 2003; Burgess 2007; Debito 2006; Deine 2006). In his study of multiculturalism discourses and policies in Japan, Chris Burgess (2007) points to the lack of government sponsorship of cultural events or official designations that commemorate the different cultural heritage of ethnic groups in Japan.

Although these approaches suggest that encouraging and celebrating ethnic plurality is not at all part of the official ideology, Burgess' observation that there is not merely one discourse about multiculturalism in Japan offers insight. One of the more prominent discourses of "multicultural Japan," he explains, does not celebrate the existence of other ethnic populations as much as it celebrates social variation and regional difference within Japan—amongst Japanese (Burgess 2007). It is from this perspective that Tokyo's emphasis of Ryūkyūan difference (and its recognition of Ainu indigeneity) is best understood. It is about *re*-presenting the link between people and place. In contrast to other ethnic minorities within Japan, the government cannot deny the historical connection between the Ainu and Ryūkyūans and their respective territories. And yet today both territories are not only taken for granted as part of the Japanese state, they are critical to its current construction: Hokkaido because of its sheer size and historical role—it constitutes fully twenty percent of Japan's landmass

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and remains the northern "buffer" facing Russia and the Asian continent—and the Ryūkyūs because of the central role the islands have been forced to assume in Japan's military arrangements with the US. To officially recognize and celebrate the distinct culture and history of these two peoples as *inherently part of a diverse Japan* is to reinforce Japan's territorial and political reach.

This directs our attention to the second reason that Japanese officials embraced Ryūkyūan history and culture at the G8, which involves how collective rights claims within Japan relate to Japan's geopolitical relationships. As an international space within which Tokyo could represent Okinawan difference as a marker of Japanese diversity, the G8 summit also presented Japanese leaders the opportunity to assert the state's reach to a particularly powerful audience at a particularly critical time. As I detail in the previous chapter, Tokyo faced increasingly powerful and increasingly visible challenges to its support of US military practices in the islands. Okinawans elected Governor Ota and other officials running on anti-base platforms. The widespread anti-base sentiment following the 1995 gang rape contributed to Okinawans' skepticism about the 1996 SACO Agreement. Just three years before the summit Nago city residents voted down the cornerstone of the agreement, the plan to build a new US air base at Henoko. Both governments' refusal to recognize the referendum's outcome led to an even stronger and more widespread campaign to stop the project. Moreover, the dust had barely settled on the Japanese government's stand-off with the Okinawan government after Ota refused to renew the leases on private lands occupied by the US military.

By the time of the 2000 summit, however, it looked as if Tokyo would make good on its promise to facilitate the Pentagon's restructuring of US forces on the island. Through political coercion and economic extortion, the central government had regained ground against anti-base forces within Okinawa. Its lawsuit against Ota had

been successful, and the Diet had ensured future use of Okinawan land by transferring

the power to sign leases on behalf of Okinawan landowners from the governor of

Okinawa to the prime minister. Tokyo had also resumed communication with the

Okinawan government and reinitiated the transfer of economic stimulus monies after

its preferred candidate for governor, Inamine Kenichi, was elected. The very choice of

Okinawa, and specifically Nago City, as the summit location had everything to do

with these reversals. It was understood as a *quid pro quo* for Inamine's cooperation

with the Henoko air base plan. Thus as a political space within which Japanese leaders

represented Okinawan difference as integral to the modern Japanese state, the summit

became a way for Tokyo to both reaffirm its territorial reach and demonstrate to US

and other leaders its apparent ability to manage an increasingly uncooperative

Okinawan citizenry. In other words, the summit provided the Japanese government a

stage on which to perform the role of state.[213]

As with all such performances of state, this was a collective endeavor. US and

Japanese leaders' representations of Okinawa during the summit discursively linked

its role as "host" to US forces in the postwar era to the solidity of the state system.

Former President Bill Clinton praised Okinawa for playing "an especially vital role" in

the endurance of the US-Japan alliance, adding: "Asia is at peace today because [the

U.S.-Japan alliance] has given people throughout the region confidence that peace will

be defended and preserved" (quoted in McCormack and Yonetani 2000). US and

Japanese leaders hailed the prefecture as an integral part of the system of states and the

embodiment of the ideals of the G8 (Yonetani 2001). Like his Japanese hosts, Clinton

chose to draw attention to the distinct history of the Ryūkyūs. In doing so he evoked a

connection between the final wishes of the last Ryūkyū king and the presence of US

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[213] While beyond the scope of this study, this line of argument is warranted in an analysis of the
geopolitics of Ainu-Japan relations. By representing Ainu difference as part of a diverse Japan, Tokyo
strengthens its historical claim to the Kurile Islands in its ongoing negotiations with Russia.

military as a force for peace. Standing in front of the Cornerstone of Peace, the memorial for the Battle of Okinawa, Clinton remarked,

> "In 1879, Sho Tai, the last King of the Ryūkyūs, left Shuri Castle for the last time. One of his final acts as King was to read a poem that summed up his hope for the future. 'The time for wars is ending. The time for peace is not far away. Do not despair. Life itself is a treasure.' In the end the words of Sho Tai, if we can make them real in our time, is the very highest tribute we can pay to all those people whose names are on this magnificent memorial."

Clinton's quotation of Sho Tai and the particular phrase "life is a treasure" (*nuchi du takara*, in the Ryūkyūan language of Okinawa Island) to justify ongoing US military presence profoundly offended Okinawan peace activists. For them, Sho Tai's words are a sacred mantra that implies very different means to achieving peace. But for US and Japanese leaders at the summit, like their predecessors at different times throughout history, the Ryūkyūan narrative and its cultural symbols became political devices, to construct a particular "reality." As I demonstrated in chapter two, at times this has rested on downplaying Okinawan difference so that the islands appear to be naturally part of Japan. At other times it has rested on emphasizing Okinawan difference as a way to justify separating the Ryūkyūs from Japan. In the current period, the distinct history and culture of the Ryūkyūs are employed by US and Japanese leaders in a novel way, to suggest that the islands and their inhabitants are integral to a modern, multicultural Japanese state—and the smooth functioning of its international relations. As the remainder of the chapter demonstrates, this effort reflects a broader politics of collective rights and the struggle over the meaning of sovereignty globally.

Debating the subject of sovereignty: The Ryūkyūs in global context

Globalization of collective rights and state efforts to counter them

By mobilizing around territorialized collective rights, Okinawan activists are not only challenging in unprecedented ways the meaning and legitimacy of the Japanese state in the Okinawan context, they are also at the forefront of a global struggle over where sovereignty resides. Together with Ainu activists, they add to the range of voices rejecting the process of state making framed as a modern resolution to colonialism. Simultaneously, Tokyo's efforts to co-opt and depoliticize such assertions shape, and are shaped by, other governments' approaches to self-determination claims within their respective borders.

In particular, Okinawan activists' mobilization as an indigenous people and a minority makes them part of the global debate over the meaning of these concepts and their enactment in international and national policies. A key catalyst of this debate is the increasing saliency of non-state collective rights and of the concept "indigenous people" as a political identity throughout the world. The histories and geographies of those relying explicitly on indigenous rights as a basis for claims-making has shifted dramatically over the past twenty-five years. What was in the 1970s a political identity associated with the rise of native or aboriginal rights movements in settler nations (e.g. North and South America, Australia and New Zealand) is now employed by ethnic groups across Asia, Africa, Europe and (though less so) the Middle East. Participation in the UN Working Group on Indigenous Populations is one indicator that this identity increasingly resonates across the spectrum of peoples/nations subsumed within states in the postwar decolonization process. In recent years more than half of all indigenous participants in the WGIP are from non-settler nations, primarily in Asia and Africa.

This is up from one-third of all participants in 1996 and one-quarter in 1993 (Dietz 2001). Entry by Okinawans (and Ainu) into explicitly indigenous rights activism is part of this widening scope.

Just as the emergence of collective rights claims in Okinawa constitutes in part the global phenomenon of contemporary autonomist movements, so, too, is the Japanese government's emerging stance on such claims a part of this broader story. Tokyo's official stance regarding Okinawan collective rights claims aligns it with other states seeking to delegitimize and/or narrow the meaning of such claims within their borders and globally. Not surprisingly, the increasing saliency of collective rights, and particularly indigenous rights, around the world has not been lost on state governments. In a move that draws directly on the successful effort to limit the scope of postwar decolonization, which I detailed in chapter two as the politics creating the conditions for contemporary indigeneity, today governments are seeking to formally limit the scope of who can legitimately claim collective rights. Two interrelated strategies have emerged. The first is to insist on a definition of "indigenous people." The second is to impose an interpretation of certain communities' historical experiences that underscores their "minority" status. Close examination suggests that this emergent classification scheme is neither random nor neutral. Official uses of the categories "indigenous people" and "minority" correspond quite closely to the spatial and temporal patterns of participation at the United Nations I describe above: The label "indigenous people" is readily conferred on activists from settler nations and Northern Europe,[214] while most national governments insist, in different ways, that the more recent activists from Asia and Africa mobilizing as indigenous peoples are "minorities."

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[214] Recognized as indigenous in Northern Europe are the Saami peoples, whose collective territory stretches across Scandinavia.

Why this geographical distinction between indigenous peoples and minorities? The distinction stems from these concepts' respective relationship to sovereignty and territory, whose dominant definitions were institutionalized through postwar power relations. Within international law, indigenous rights hinge on the collective right to self-determination in relation to a particular territory, drawing on the "right of all peoples and nations to self-determination" enshrined in Article three of the UN Charter. And although *place* is the central analytic through which indigenous peoples' rights and struggles are often understood, this identity is premised on much more than just land rights. In theory it claims sovereignty on all dimensions—political, economic, social and cultural. Minority rights, in contrast, are founded on the notion of plurality but are still rooted in individual rights. They aim at "pluralism in togetherness" through equal protection as individual citizens within a state. Minority rights are also not by definition tied to a particular territory.[215] To the extent that national rights legislation adopts international human rights codification, and/or to the extent that governments concern themselves with their human rights record, the distinction between indigenous rights and minority rights taking shape at the international juridical level matters a great deal. It is about the meaning of sovereignty.

In the years since Ainu and Okinawan activists began participating in international meetings on indigenous issues, the Japanese government has both gotten a boost from, and contributed to, coordinated efforts by state governments to limit who can claim indigeneity and what indigenous rights entail. To begin with, nearly all Asian and African governments reject outright any indigenous claims within their borders, which lends legitimacy to Tokyo's position.[216] Two decades ago most

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[215] Though many indigenous activists, including members of AIPR, understand and articulate their minority status as being inextricably linked to territory and the result of colonization.
[216] Exceptions to this within Asia are Taiwan and the Philippines. The government of Taiwan, established a representative council at the parliamentary level for twelve different ethnic communities that inhabited the island before widespread migration of Han Chinese in 1945. The government of the

governments in these regions were, like the government of Japan, completely unconcerned with "indigenous rights issues." None sent representatives to UN or other international meetings on indigenous issues. However, like Japan's response to Ainu and Okinawan activism, this all changed as communities across these regions began organizing explicitly as indigenous peoples and became an increasingly visible and audible force within international fora on indigenous rights.[217] Activists not only expose systemic forms of collective discrimination and violence by their governments, they continue to lay out an historical argument that state claims to their respective territories and resources are not valid from the perspective of indigenous rights. In response, Asian and African governments began participating in indigenous rights fora, becoming more assertive in their public rejections of the applicability of the concept "indigenous people" in their respective countries (Bose 1996; Sanders 1999; Gumisai 2007).

While particular governments' arguments reflect different historical circumstances and representations, as Bauer and Bell (1999:350) point out they generally fall within definitional, practical and policy concerns.[218] Definitional arguments primarily rest on the inapplicability of the concept of indigenous people in Asian and African national contexts. This argument associates the experience of indigenous peoples with only European colonialism, with Asian and African governments routinely asserting that the entire population within their respective borders is indigenous vis-à-vis their former European colonizers. Echoing the liberal

Philippines similarly recognizes several ethnic communities throughout the archipelago. Exceptions in Africa include Burundi, which recently included in its constitution guaranteed representation for the Twa people, whose territory stretches across Africa's Great Lakes region. The government of Cameroon recognizes nomadic pastoralists and Baka (more commonly referred to as "pygmies") as indigenous peoples. The government of Morocco recently changed its position to allow the teaching of the Amazigh (Berber) language (See Gumisai's "'Indigenous' people fight for inclusion" in *Africa Renewal*, vol. 21 no. 1, April 2007, page 6).

[217] See the "List of Participants" in the final reports of the WGIP, available at http://cwis.org/un.html.
[218] Although Bauer and Bell focus in particular on arguments made by governments within Asia, their observations apply well to the arguments made by representatives of African governments.

argument made by representatives of powerful Western states in the latter's effort to limit decolonization in the immediate postwar period, most governments in Asia and Africa insist that all individuals within their borders were liberated by statehood and citizenship. The practical argument emphasizes the difficulty in parsing long and complicated histories of ethnic movement and merging. The political argument is one also voiced consistently and loudly by the settler nation governments; it questions the legal implications and potential for conflict if only certain ethnic groups are accorded rights, particularly territorialized rights, that challenge existing property ownership.

Of course Japan is among the few anomalous countries in these two regions, in that it did not experience formal colonization by Europeans.[219] But it has benefited from the prevailing notion that the concept of indigenous peoples is bound up with European, or Western, colonialism. Tokyo has expressed both definitional and practical concerns, while extolling the virtues of liberal citizenship. Japanese officials insisted for years that Ainu were no different from, and enjoyed the same protections as, other Japanese citizens. When the Japanese government finally voted in favor of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples in September 2007, it did so with explicit reservations about the meaning of indigeneity (Lewellan 2008). Adopting the United States' and other Western governments' concept of *internal self-determination*[220] and liberal approach to indigenous rights, the Japanese

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[219] Thailand and China share this distinction, though both were also subject to periods of partial foreign control. In Africa only Ethiopia and Liberia claim a history free from formal European colonization. Though Ethiopia endured occupation by Mussolini's Italy in the early 1940s, and Liberia has often faced undue influence by the United States. South Africa is historically best understood as a settler nation.

[220] Throughout the drafting of the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, the Japanese government joined governments of key Western states, namely the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and Russia, in opposing the inclusion of an unconditional right to collective self-determination, which state representatives argue would render the declaration inconsistent with existing (state-centric) international law. In 2001 the United States National Security Council elaborated what has become the standard conception of *internal self-determination* in the indigenous context. It provided the following official definition as "guidance for the U.S. delegations to the UN Commission on Human Rights, the Commission's Working Group on the UN Draft Declaration on Indigenous Rights and to the OAS Working Group on the similar OAS Draft Declaration, and to the preparatory meetings

government does not recognize any collective right to self-determination that would challenge the territorial integrity of existing states, and it does not recognize collective rights if their exercise would compromise the (property) rights of other citizens.

This particular stance positions Japan alongside powerful governments of settler nations, which have long sought to limit, in legal terms, the political scope of indigenous rights. Having been compelled by popular mobilization to recognize the conceptual equivalency between the global term "indigenous peoples" and nationally institutionalized, legally potent terms like American Indian, Indigena, First Nations, Aleut, Inuit and Aborigine, the governments of settler nations are well beyond disputing the existence of indigenous peoples within their borders. But like their Asian and African counterparts, these governments are no less concerned about the potential loss of control over territory and resources. Their strategy is to make indigenous rights mean relatively little in practical terms. Therefore settler governments seek a definition of indigenous peoples rooted in individual rather than collective rights, along with the qualified right to internal self-determination.

Japan's overt alliance in recent years with powerful settler nations regarding the legal meaning of indigenous rights—the group of governments came to be known and even self-identify as CANZUS+J[221]—is surely an indicator that Japanese officials had grown less confident in the government's ability to continue denying the existence of indigenous peoples within Japan's borders. At the time Japan's representatives at

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to the UN World Conference Against Racism": "Indigenous peoples have a right of internal self-determination. By virtue of that right, they may negotiate their political status within the and are free to pursue their economic, social, and cultural development. Indigenous peoples, in exercising their right of internal self-determination, have the internal right to autonomy or self-government in matters relating to their local affairs, including determination of membership, culture, language, religion, education, information, media, health, housing, employment, social welfare, maintenance of community safety, family relations, economic activities, lands and resources management, environment and entry by non-members, as well as ways and means for financing these autonomous functions." See U.S. National Security Council, "Position on Indigenous Peoples," January 18, 2001. Retrieved on July 8, 2008 from www1.umn.edu/humanrts/usdocs/indigenousdoc.html.

[221] Canada, Australia, New Zealand, the United States and Japan.

the UN voted in favor of the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, the government still maintained that no indigenous peoples lived within Japan's borders, citing the lack of an international definition of the concept of indigeneity. The Diet's recognition of the Ainu just a year later is remarkable as a reversal in the government's long-held position, and even more so as a testimony to the decades-long effort by Ainu activists.[222] However it is less remarkable in its implications if we consider that, given the government's qualifications to its vote on the declaration, recognition of the Ainu (and by extension Okinawans) is predicated on the governments' formal rejection of an unconditional right to self-determination and a limited concept of collective rights.

In current efforts to define and codify indigenous peoples and minorities, then, we see a merging of interests between powerful Western governments and most governments throughout Asia and Africa. However to consider such efforts as an indicator of governmental concern only for what happens within their respective borders is to miss the forest for the trees. Limiting the geographic and political scope of indigeneity has as much to do with the implications of globalized indigenous claims for the state system as a whole and the power relations it upholds. A UN report on the status of state treaties and other arrangements between governments and native peoples captures the concerns of member states in the face of increasing indigenous rights claims in post-decolonization Asia and Africa:

> In post-colonial Africa and Asia, autochthonous groups/minorities/ethnic groups/peoples cannot… claim for themselves, unilaterally and exclusively, the 'indigenous' status in the United Nations context. …These States whose existence as such is, in the majority of cases, very recent - *have not only the right but also the*

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[222] For an insightful analysis of the forces that culminated in the Diet's recognition, see Ann-elise Lewallen's "Indigenous at last! Ainu Grassroots Organizing and the Indigenous Peoples Summit in Ainu Mosir." *The Asia-Pacific Journal*, Vol. 48-6-08, November 30, 2008. Retrieved July 20, 2009 www.japanfocus.org/-ann_elise_lewallen/2971.

duty to preserve their fragile territorial integrity. The risk to such States of breaking up (or 'balkanization') which such unilateral claims to 'indigenousness' imply naturally cannot be taken lightly.

The report goes on to offer the following solution to the current crisis of sovereignty:

The situations described above, the scenario of which is African or Asian States, should be analysed in other forums of the United Nations than those that are currently concerned with the problems of indigenous peoples; in particular in the *Working Group on Minorities of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities*.[223]

From this perspective, self-identification as indigenous peoples, and what this might indicate about an ethnic population's experience of their citizen relations, does not matter. What matters is that state structures collectively put in place via the decolonization process endure. To this end the report emphasizes both the "right" and the "duty" of individual Asian and African states to protect their territorial integrity. But it goes farther than this. By specifically addressing what should be allowed in the UN context, it claims a role for the collectivity of states in managing local challenges to modern territoriality. Such a claim reflects the extent to which the modern resolution to the last crisis of sovereignty—decolonization and the expansion of the state form—overdetermines dominant understandings of and responses to the current crisis of sovereignty.

Asserting a role for the collectivity of states in managing local challenges to state territoriality is also instructive for the kinds of power relations it justifies. As this study demonstrates, power relations in the current historical period depend on maintaining structures of inequality not just among but also *within* states. US military presence in the Ryūkyūs is not merely dependent on the US government's ability to

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[223] UN doc E/CN.4/Sub.2/1999/20; paragraphs 88-90; emphasis added.

sway Japanese leaders; it fundamentally rests on, and reinforces, Japan's colonial regard toward and treatment of Okinawans. These particular relations of internal colonial basing rest, in turn, on international basing arrangements formalized in the postwar period by the "collectivity of sovereigns" (*c.f.* Ruggie 1993) as way to ensure continued military expansion via the relations among states.

Reworking the relations of internal colonial basing

Viewed in relation to the current struggle to define the subject of sovereignty, new ideas and practices emerging within Okinawa's struggle reveal an historically novel reinterpretation of and challenge to the state-citizen relation. Although counterintuitive, by seeking to rework their relationship to the state rather than pushing for independence, Okinawans and their counterparts making similar challenges elsewhere present the greater challenge to state sovereignty. To be sure, truly separatist movements pose a threat to the territorial and political integrity of states, insofar as their success would result in lost territory and associated resources and power. Indeed, the specter of secession sustains most state justifications for repressing, often violently, contemporary movements for self-determination. But because the resulting polity would most likely take the nation-state form (e.g. East Timor or Eritrea), this scenario merely reinscribes the state form, and with it the system and the power relations it upholds.

In contrast, by articulating a notion of sovereignty wherein the nation is separate from the state, non-secessionist self-determination movements (e.g. Nunavut, Chiapas or Okinawa), seek to transform the state-citizen relation, rather than reproduce it. The challenges animating the Okinawan anti-base movement reflect a desire to reconfigure the state and its imperial dimensions. Like other non-secessionist self-determination movements, Okinawan articulations of, and efforts to realize, a

territorialized collective autonomy within Japan challenge fundamental assumptions undergirding the state-citizen relationship. They mark a rejection of the modernist project (*c.f.* McMichael 2005). Their effort calls into question the notion of the state as the only legitimate repository of sovereignty and *the* guarantor of rights. Furthermore their emphasis on collective autonomy within the state subverts the idea that individuals are the building blocks of the state. However, rather than rejecting citizenship altogether, Okinawan activists are challenging citizenship as governed by the relations of internal colonial basing. Their analyses and emerging claims suggest a reformulation of citizenship so that it could accommodate a *nations*-state. In this way, the alternative forms of sovereignty embodied in more recent Okinawan demands are indicative of transformative pressures on the state in the current historical period.

Conclusion

Situated in national and global context, the claims emerging within Okinawa's anti-base movement—rooted in identities separate from the state but equally territorial—make the transitional moment within Okinawa more than just about the effects of internal colonial basing on the Okinawa-Japan relationship. They reflect a broader politics of collective rights and the struggle over the meaning of sovereignty. As this and the previous chapter demonstrate, Okinawan activists' nation-centric challenge to the Japanese state resonates with movements elsewhere, reflecting broader efforts to reformulate citizenship according to an historically specific notion of self-determination.

Also a part of this broader story, the Japanese government's approach to Okinawan activists' rearticulations of their citizenship reflects the contestation over sovereignty both nationally and globally. While clearly not ready to embrace a multiculturalism that requires attention to systematic discrimination or policies for

autonomous ethnic development and promotion, the central government does have a use for the symbols of difference. Multiculturalism that emphasizes social variation and regional difference within "the nation" makes celebrating Ryūkyūan difference a claim of territorial and political reach. This stance aligns Tokyo with the US and other state governments in a collective effort to delegitimize and/or narrow the meaning of collective rights claims within their borders and globally.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION

Drawing conclusions from the Futenma-Henoko Struggle

I begin this concluding discussion with an update on the Futenma-Henoko struggle, which captures some of the core arguments of the dissertation. Nearly fourteen years after US and Japanese negotiators agreed to close Futenma Air Station in "five to seven years" in exchange for a new base, the Marine Corps continues daily combat training flights over Ginowan. However, pilots now see the words, *Don't fly over our city! US HELOs out now!*, which Mayor Iha Yoichi recently had painted in giant lettering on the roof of the Ginowan City Hall. Meanwhile, no real progress has been made on even preliminary construction of the new military complex at Henoko. On the one hand, this circumstance demonstrates vividly the power of the popular opposition to the plan itself and to the indefinite US military presence the plan signals. On the other hand, that the new base project was expanded in the May 2006 "Roadmap to Realignment," rather than abandoned in the face of a decade of sustained opposition, speaks to the confidence both governments have in their ability to realize the project and sustain US military presence in Okinawa.

Recent shifts within national politics in both the US and Japan introduced, for a time, greater uncertainty regarding the new base and Futenma's conditional closure. Although Okinawans realized long ago that little difference exists between Republicans and Democrats in terms of US military basing policy, the historic nature of the election of Barack Obama in November 2008 led some to be cautiously hopeful that it might lead to self-reflection about what was originally a plan negotiated by a Democratic administration, or to a rejection of the expansion reformulated by the Bush

Administration.[224] Within weeks of his inauguration, however, President Obama sent Secretary of State Hillary Clinton to Japan to sign an accord with the Prime Minister Fukuda Yasuo—known as the "Guam Agreement"—which reaffirmed the 2006 accord.

A cause for greater hope was the campaign of Hatoyama Yukio of the Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ), whose landmark election in September 2009 shifted power away from the long-ruling conservative Liberal Democratic Party. Reflecting the foreign policy aspirations of the DPJ, Hatoyama ran on a platform criticizing US unilateralism and the neo-liberalism of "American-style globalization," and advocated forging a "more mature" and less deferential relationship with the United States, wherein Japan would be an equal partner that could negotiate with its broader interests in mind. Although drastic changes to the alliance were unlikely, a Hatoyama administration was expected to slow down and perhaps even reverse the path embarked upon by the more conservative and nationalist LDP administrations of the last decade, namely Japan's increasing involvement in US military interventions globally. Hatoyama and the DPJ appear much more interested in building multilateral relations, beginning in East Asia.[225] In this context, Hatoyama's campaign platform included an explicit promise to renegotiate the 2006 agreement so that the new base would not be built on Okinawa, and maybe not even in Japan. He also promised to reexamine Japan's commitment to bankrolling key provisions of the agreement.[226]

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[224] Personal communications, summer-fall 2008.
[225] See Yukio Hatoyama, "A New Path for Japan," *New York Times*, August 27, 2009. Retrieved August 30, 2009 from http://www.nytimes.com/2009/08/27/opinion/27iht-edhatoyama.html. For an overview and analysis of the DPJ's foreign policy stance and Hatoyama's platform, see Leif-Eric Easley, Tetsuo Kotani, & Aki Mori, "Electing a New Japanese Security Policy? Examining Foreign Policy Visions within the Democratic Party of Japan," *Asia Policy,* no. 9 (January 2010), x–xx.
[226] In the 2006 Roadmap, the Japanese government agreed to fund the new military complex and related facilities at Cape Henoko, the bulk of relocating marines to Guam, and new facilities in Guam.

Political cleavages within Hatoyama's government quickly came to light as the new prime minister vacillated on the Futenma-Henoko issue. While Hatoyama made good on his promise to end the SDF's refueling missions in support of US military action in Afghanistan,[227] he began backtracking on his pledge to Okinawans soon after his election.[228] Only after public criticism from members of the more progressive Social Democratic Party (SDP) and People's New Party (PNP), both part of Hatoyama's coalition government, did the prime minister pushed for reopening talks with the US about the basing agreement. This was the first indication of where Okinawa stood in the new administration's priorities. Only by taking a strong stand on the Futenma-Henoko issue had Hatoyama gained the support he needed from the SDP and PNP to win the election and forge a ruling coalition. In other words, the issue was theirs, not his.

In response to Hatoyama's campaign promise, the Obama administration initially sent mixed signals regarding the possibility of reopening talks on the Henoko project. Defense Secretary Robert Gates took a hard line when he visited Japan one month before Hatoyama's election, stating that the administration would not renegotiate the agreement and reiterating the additional threat embedded in the agreement. Namely, that no new base at Henoko not only meant no closure of Futenma, but also no relocation of the 8000 marines from Okinawa to Guam.[229] In contrast, Barack Obama surprised many during his November 2009 visit to Japan

[227] Sachiko Sakamaki and Takashi Hirokawa. "Japan Ends Refueling Ships in Support of War in Afghanistan." *Bloomberg News,* Jan. 15, 2010. Retrieved January 20, 2010 from http://www.bloomberg.com/apps/news?pid=20601080&sid=aLKi3fb1j9NA.

[228] "*Futenma no henoko issetsu, hatoyama shusshou, 'younin' mo sentakushi* [Approving the relocation of Futenma to Henoko is still an option, says Prime Minister Hatoyama] *Asahi News,* October 7, 2009.

[229] "No Futenma relocation, no transfer of Marines to Guam, Gates says," *Japan Today*, October 21, 2009. Retrieved October 30 from http://www.japantoday.com/category/politics/view/japan-stays-elusive-on-us-base-issue-ahead-of-gates-visit; and Michael Green, "Tokyo Smackdown" *Foreign Policy,* October 23, 2009. Retrieved October 25, 2009 from *http://shadow.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2009/10/23/tokyo_smackdown*.

when he announced the US agreed to study the 2006 agreement.[230] The two governments established a joint working group at the end of 2009, which promptly fell apart, presumably after several other US officials stated publicly that the working group was not a concession to Japan, nor would it lead to reopening the 2006 agreement.[231]

Hatoyama's administration further signalled its lack of commitment to Okinawans when it abruptly postponed the decision regarding the new base until May 2010. Given that renegotiating an alternative arrangement in such a short time was highly unlikely, the new prime minister appeared to be anticipating the upper house elections scheduled for early summer 2010. Although the DPJ controls an unprecedented majority in the powerful lower house, the party needs to win an outright majority in the upper house if it wants to break free of its dependence on the SDP and PNP, whose members' commitment to Okinawa is much stronger than the rank-and-file DPJ. Popular support of the new administration in the run up to the election would have smoothed the way for Hatoyama to reaffirm Japan's commitment to the 2006 agreement without jeopardizing his party's control. Instead his support among the Japanese electorate plummeted. This was partly due to Japan's continuing economic woes, partly to a political funding scandal involving one of Japan's most powerful politicians and the current secretary general of the DPJ, Ozawa Ichiro, but also because of Hatoyama's perceived dithering on Henoko, which was among several

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[230] "Obama, in Japan, says U.S. Will Study Status of a Marine Base on Okinawa," *New York Times* (November 14, 2009). Retrieved November 14, 2009 from http://www.nytimes.com/2009/11/14/world/asia/14japan.html.

[231] "A US-Japan Working Group on Marines At Okinawa That Seems to Be In the Eye of the Beholder" *ABC News,* November 13, 2009. Retrieved November 13, 2009 from http://blogs.abcnews.com/politicalpunch/2009/11/a-usjapan-working-group-on-marines-at-okinawa-that-seems-to-be-in-the-eye-of-the-beholder.html; and Martin Fackler, "Japan Suspends Talks on Where to Move a U.S. Air Base" *New York Times,* (December 9, 2009). Retrieved December 11, 2009 from http://www.nytimes.com/2009/12/09/world/asia/09japan.html.

key campaign promises he failed to keep.[232] Although most Japanese support the US-Japan alliance more generally, not immediately capitulating to Washington was one of the few decisions for which Hatoyama still garnered public support.[233]

After months of deliberation and persistent pressure from US officials, the prime minister indicated his administration's plans to press ahead with the Henoko project.[234] At a March 18 press conference, he announced plans to "draw up a government proposal later this month. Following that, we will ask for the understanding of the U.S. government and the people of Japan too, though perhaps mostly that of Okinawans."[235] Speaking at an open meeting with Okinawa governor Nakaima Hirokazu in Okinawa on May 23, Hatoyama invoked Japan's national security in the face of ''remaining uncertainties in East Asia,'' especially on the Korean Peninsula. ''As prime minister, I have to say we cannot allow the situation in which deterrence provided by the U.S. forces in Japan will diminish,'' he explained.[236]

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[232] Jun Hongo and Alex Martin, "Hatoyama tenure tenuous as poll looms," *Japan Times*, May 28, 2010. Retrieved on May 28, 2010 from http://search.japantimes.co.jp/cgi-bin/nn20100528x2.html.

[233] Hiroko Tabuchi and Martin Fackler, "U.S. and Japan Reach Okinawa Deal," *New York Times,* May 27, 2010. Retrieved May 28, 2010 from http://www.nytimes.com/2010/05/28/world/asia/28japan.html?emc=tnt&tntemail0=y; Axel Berkofsky, "Okinawa call to shape new US-Japan era," *Asia Times,* February 6, 2010. Retrieved February 20, 2010 from http://www.atimes.com/atimes/Japan/LB06Dh01.html.

[234] Hatoyama's cabinet reportedly considered a range of alternative plans, including moving Futenma's functions to Shimoji, an island about 280 kilometers southwest of Okinawa Island, and even to Iwoto, an island relatively close to Tokyo. Another plan was to keep Futenma in Ginowan and transfer the helicopter drills to Tokunoshima, an island midway between Okinawa Island and the Japanese mainland. See Axel Berkofsky, "Okinawa call to shape new US-Japan era," *Asia Times,* February 6, 2010. Retrieved February 20, 2010 from http://www.atimes.com/atimes/Japan/LB06Dh01.html.

[235] David Allen, "Japan's prime minister hints Marine air operations will stay on Okinawa" *Stars and Stripes Pacific Edition* (March 20, 2010). Retrieved March 21, 2010 from http://www.stripes.com/news/japan-s-prime-minister-hints-marine-air-operations-will-stay-on-okinawa-1.100116.

[236] "Hatoyama apologizes for plan to move Futenma base within Okinawa," *Japan Today*, May 23, 2010. Retrieved May 27, 2010 from http://www.japantoday.com/category/politics/view/hatoyama-apologizes-for-plan-to-move-futenma-base-within-okinawa.

American and Japanese officials issued a joint statement on May 28 reaffirming the basic outline of the May 2006 agreement.[237] The new pact stipulates that Futenma's functions will be moved to a new facility at Henoko. The accord also reiterates the conditional incentive of relocating approximately 8,000 Marines to Guam, which remains dependent on "tangible progress made by the Government of Japan toward completion of the replacement facility [at Henoko]." At the same time, nowhere does the statement refer to Futenma's closure. Instead it refers only to its "return," and not to Okinawans, but specifically "to Japan as part of the Alliance transformation and realignment process." This distinction must be understood alongside the two governments' plans, initiated in the 2006 Roadmap to Realignment and further elaborated in the May 28 statement, to "expand the shared use of facilities between U.S. forces and the SDF" with an eye toward "closer bilateral operational coordination, improved interoperability and stronger relations with local communities." This may very well mean a greater influx of SDF in the future, perhaps as the recipients of facilities, like Futenma, the US identifies for "return." The plan to increase the shared use of facilities reflects the two governments' recognition that US forces are increasingly unwelcome in Okinawa and elsewhere. However, it does not recognize, or at least seriously underestimates, the inevitable opposition any increase in SDF numbers and visibility would also face under conditions of internal colonial basing.[238]

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[237] See US Department of State, "Joint Statement of the United States-Japan Security Consultative Committee," May 28, 2010. Retrieved May 28, 2010 from http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2010/05/142318.htm.

[238] The plan to share facilities reflects the Pentagon's doctrine of, and rationale for, "joint use," which refers to the practice of using military (and often civilian) facilities of the host nation to train and forwardly position troops rather than maintaining separate foreign military installations. Joint use is a central component of ongoing efforts to reconfigure the US military's overseas posture. Notable among the Pentagon's rationales for joint use is that it is expected to reduce friction with host nations that arise from the "sensitivities" of local populations. Thus the May 27 accord associates "sharing facilities between US forces and the SDF" with "stronger relations with local communities." But this also highlights US military officials' lack of appreciation of Okinawan views of the SDF. As chapter five

The accord also includes proposals that appear intended to appease critics beyond Okinawa. First, as if addressing environmentalists and others who have little knowledge of the Henoko project, the statement introduces the concept of a "Green Alliance" between the two countries in their approach to basing, which would involve "consider[ing] ways to introduce renewable energy technology into U.S. bases in Japan and under development in Guam." The notion of the "Green Alliance" will remain window dressing to those who know any details of the broader arrangement, for not mentioned is the massive landfill planned for Henoko and Oura Bays, and the predicted destruction of the critically endangered dugong and surrounding coral reef ecosystem.

Second, the statement names Tokunoshima, an island roughly 200km north of Okinawa Island, as a possible site for some of Futenma's training exercises.[239] The Hatoyama administration publically cited the island in April as one possible location for training, as the prime minister's appeals to officials from around Japan to consider accepting US forces met with refusal.[240] Whether Futenma's flight training would in fact be moved off Okinawa if the new base is completed at Henoko seems unlikely. Part of the planned construction near Henoko is intended for the base's new mission— becoming home to the MV-22 Osprey aircraft—and the May 28 accord does not mention changes to this plan. Also, in April the Pentagon reacted unenthusiastically to the idea of shifting exercises even to Tokunoshima, citing operational difficulties

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suggests, any sustained increase in SDF in Okinawa will undoubtedly be met with fierce local opposition by anti-base activists.

[239] Part of the Ryūkyū Islands, Tokunoshima is roughly halfway between Okinawa Island and Kagoshima Prefecture, on the mainland's southernmost tip. It was separated along with the rest of the Ryūkyūs from Japan following the end of World War II, but formally reincorporated into Kagoshima Prefecture in 1953.

[240] At a May 27 meeting of Japan's National Governors' Association, governors from prefectures that already host Self-Defense Force bases rejected Hatoyama's recent appeals, reiterating that their prefectures would not accept U.S. forces. See "Joint statement on Futenma designed to show Hatoyama met May deadline," *Mainichi Daily News,* May 28, 2010. Retrieved May 28, 2010 from http://mdn.mainichi.jp/mdnnews/news/20100528p2a00m0na014000c.html.

given the island's distance from its bases on Okinawa Island.[241] Finally, there is also

the question of whether moving training to Tokunoshima would resolve or merely

expand the problem of local opposition to US military presence. For of course

transferring a few training exercises off Okinawa Island changes very little for

Okinawans; nearly forty bases will remain in operation on the island. Moreover,

despite promises of massive financial incentives and public works projects,

Tokunoshima's three villages have been the sight of protests against possible US

military presence since April, and reactions on the small island to the May 28 accord

were similarly oppositional. Any transfer of training to Tokunoshima will thus most

likely give birth to a new anti-US military movement.[242]

Opposition was also immediate from within Hatoyama's own government,

signaling a potential split with the left and an apparent solidification of the DPJ as a

centrist partner of the US. Fukushima Mizuho, leader of the Social Democratic Party

and cabinet minister for consumer affairs and gender equality, announced her refusal

to support the May 28 agreement. As if to underscore his administration's

reconciliation with the United States and the continuity it ultimately implies,

Hatoyama promptly fired Fukushima.[243] Given the relatively few seats held by the

SDP, the party's withdrawal from the coalition, should it come to that, would not

jeopardize the DPJ's rule because of the large number of seats the latter gained in

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[241] "Hatoyama's modified Futenma plan runs counter to pledge to move base out of Okinawa," *Mainichi Daily News,* May 1, 2010. Retrieved May 14, 2010 from
http://mdn.mainichi.jp/perspectives/editorial/news/20100501p2a00m0na001000c.html.
[242] Promises included a guaranteed per person ¥100,000 monthly subsidy to all Tokunoshima residents over 60 years old, as long as they were registered as of April 2010, plus a ¥20,000 monthly payment to all households and a ¥20,000 monthly child allowance that augments what is currently provided. See Eric Johnston, "Feud over Futenma: Tokunoshima is a risky gambit," *Japan Times,* April 23, 2010. Retrieved on April 27, 2010 from http://search.japantimes.co.jp/cgi-bin/nn20100423f2.html; "Locals outraged at new accord to move Futenma within Okinawa," *Associated Press*, May 28, 2010. Retrieved from Brietbart on May 28, 2010
http://www.breitbart.com/article.php?id=D9FVRG0O1&show_article=1.
[243] "Hatoyama fires coalition partner over US base," *Financial Times,* May 28 2010. Retrieved May 28, 2010 from http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/48e567c6-6a49-11df-b268-00144feab49a.html.

September 2009. Significantly, the People's New Party seems to be standing by Hatoyama's decision. However, to what extent this rupture in the coalition and the new accord with the US will ultimately have on the DPJ is unclear, and depends on more than just the Futenma-Henoko issue. The prime minister's unpopularity on numerous fronts will likely lead to considerable DPJ losses in the July 2010 upper house election. But Hatoyama and other DPJ leaders, most of whom came to power through the ranks of the LDP and remain centrists within the DPJ, clearly weighed the political losses incurred from backtracking on the promise to Okinawa against the potential losses—vis-à-vis the US and the Japanese electorate—that would result from backtracking on a major agreement with the US.[244]

How Hatoyama's lack of commitment to Okinawa will be received must be considered in light of the history of US-Japan-Okinawa relations, and in light of the fact that most Japanese are in favor of US military presence in Japan. Historically, they have not demonstrated an interest in resolving the US military's disproportionate presence in Okinawa. In this context, getting the US to pay for more of the relocation of Futenma—an issue yet to be resolved between the two governments, but next on Tokyo's agenda—would be considered an overall "win" for Japan. Similarly, getting the US to accept relocation of any of Futenma's military functions off Okinawa Island would also be considered a "win" for Japan, even though it would only come at the expense of Okinawans' acceptance of yet another base. If Hatoyama or the next prime minister—assuming the DPJ holds onto power—can gain either of these concessions from the US, it would, from the perspective of Tokyo and much of the electorate, reflect the "more mature" relationship the DPJ seeks, wherein Tokyo can negotiate with Japan's broader interests in mind.

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[244] "Ruling Bloc On Brink Of Collapse After Futenma Fiasco" *Nikkei.com*, May 29, 2010. Retrieved May 29, 2010 from http://e.nikkei.com/e/fr/tnks/Nni20100528D28JFA26.htm.

At the same time, what the Japanese electorate sees as "Japan's interests" is changing. Hatoyama and the DPJ leadership may have seriously underestimated the frustration amongst the Japanese public over the Futenma-Henoko issue, and what lies behind it. Clearly the electorate desires a stronger Japan that will stand up to the US. However, although US media coverage of the recent dispute between Washington and Tokyo paints the Japanese citizenry with one brush stroke, this sentiment is most likely the shared vision of otherwise quite ideologically opposed segments of the population. On the one hand, it reflects the views of those Japanese whose increasing sense of nationalism is evident in rising support for reform of Article 9 and for taking aggressive stances toward North Korea and China. On the other, it also reflects the views of those who see an increasingly belligerent and militarized Japan—militarized by the US or Japan itself, or both—as jeopardizing rather than contributing to security and stability in East Asia and beyond. That Hatoyama was elected in the first place on a platform that criticized the political and economic hubris of the US and advocated greater multilateralism within East Asia suggests that it is the latter segment of Japanese that will hold sway. Of course, to what extent they will continue to see Japan's interests as including Okinawa's interests remains to be seen. In the meantime, however, it appears as if Hatoyama and the DPJ would have been wise to listen to their coalition partners and take their own rhetoric more seriously.

What is also clear is that the struggle will continue—both the Futenma-Henoko campaign and the broader movement to demilitarize Okinawa. Not surprisingly, the May 28 accord was met with tremendous frustration and anger in Okinawa, over what is viewed as yet another betrayal by the Japanese government. As the back-and-forth between Tokyo and Washington unfolded, Okinawans stopped hoping that things

would be different under the DPJ.[245] For many, the recent high-level exchanges, not-so-veiled threats and broken promises only reinforce the sense of resignation and ambivalence the dissertation identifies as crucial to the continuation of US military presence. However, activists continue to mobilize and protest against the new military complex and the conditional closure of Futenma.[246]

The anger and frustration that emerged among the general population and even conservative local leaders over the 2006 expansion has not waned. Riding the wave of hope that Hatoyama would renegotiate the plan, voters ousted Nago City's pro-base mayor in January 2010. On April 25, Okinawans held the largest anti-base demonstration since reversion, with over 100,000 gathering in Ginowan after it became clear that Hatoyama would likely abandon his campaign promise. 17,000 encircled Futenma Air Station on May 16, in the "human chain" protest that in recent years has marked the anniversary of the Ryūkyūs' reincorporation into Japan. In contrast to his predecessor, Governor Nakaima Hirokazu has maintained his opposition to the plan, while both the Okinawa Prefectural Assembly and Okinawa's mayors unanimously passed resolutions calling for the immediate closure of Marine Corps Air Station Futenma and redeploying the air units outside Japan.[247] Following the May 27 announcement, Susumu Inamine, the new mayor of Nago, said he would not engage in negotiations regarding the Henoko base, adding that the probability of the base being built there is "zero."[248]

[245] Martin Fackler, "Okinawans Grow Impatient With Dashed Hopes on U.S. Base," *New York Times*, November 11, 2009. Retrieved November 12, 2009 from http://www.nytimes.com/2009/11/12/world/asia/12okinawa.html.

[246] Eric Johnston, "Hot Button Henoko: Opposition to Futenma move won't go away," *Japan Times*, October 19, 2009. Retrieved October 20, 2009 from http://search.japantimes.co.jp/cgi-bin/nn20091019a4.html.

[247] "Okinawa mayors unanimously pass anti-Futenma resolution," *Stars and Stripes,* Pacific Edition, April 7, 2010. Retrieved April 20 from http://www.stripes.com/article.asp?section=104&article=69189.

[248] "Locals outraged at new accord to move Futenma within Okinawa," *Associated Press*, May 28, 2010. Retrieved from Brietbart on May 28, 2010 http://www.breitbart.com/article.php?id=D9FVRG0O1&show_article=1.

Civil disobedience at Henoko continues, and has spread to include an area nearby identified as the future site of new helipads to accommodate the air base's expanded training mission involving the controversial MV-22 Osprey. "As long as we have a dream of restoring peace on the island, we'll simply continue our campaign to pressure the government to abandon the relocation plan," explained Ashitomi Hiroshi, co-president of the Council Opposing Heliport Construction and one of the leaders of the direct action.[249] Transnational activism has also increased, centering especially on ties and collaborations with Chamorro activists in Guam. Their mutual framing of the current circumstances foregrounds the intersection of the colonial relations each confronts, capturing the point of departure and central analytical lens of this study: the politicization of Okinawan identity and emergence of collective rights claims vis-à-vis the Japanese state. It also reinforces a key argument of the dissertation. Namely, that Okinawans' resistance and claims upon the state resonate with movements elsewhere, reformulating citizenship rights in substantive, historically concrete terms that challenge the abstract formal rights of the liberal subject, and politicize the meaning of sovereignty.

The Okinawan struggle as a lens on social change

Through an examination of the anti-US military base movement in Okinawa, the dissertation sheds light on struggles over sovereignty in the contemporary relationship between state formation and military expansion. I use the concept of internal colonial basing to shed light on the particular state structures and social relations that sustain US military presence in Okinawa, and condition the emergence of demands for greater autonomy. The increasing convergence of the Okinawan

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[249] "Okinawans express anger, disappointment at Hatoyama over broken Futenma promise," *Mainichi Daily News,* May 5, 2010. Retrieved May 12, 2010 from http://mdn.mainichi.jp/mdnnews/news/20100505p2a00m0na010000c.html.

movement with contemporary self-determination movements elsewhere generated broader, and comparative, questions about colonial relations embedded in the modern state system. However, questions about the broader political context of contested sovereignty within a state proved difficult to answer from the perspective of conventional scholarship on state formation, foreign military basing, and social movements. The relations that structure the Okinawan case are not captured by the concepts and categories that traditionally animate these literatures. This is because the subject of citizenship and sovereignty is nearly always taken for granted. This study has attempted to examine the social construction of these reified institutions, as opposed to making generalizations that presuppose their existence.

The dissertation demonstrates that analysis of struggle over, and changes in, the meaning and practice of citizenship and sovereignty must be informed by an historical approach to state and subject formation as always-ongoing processes constituted by concrete social relations. The methodology of incorporated comparison (McMichael 1990) allows for a reconstruction of the politics of US military presence in Okinawa both temporally and spatially. I am able to show how processes of state and subject formation in the Okinawan/Ryūkyūan context interrelate with global political dynamics at conjunctural moments. Political shifts within the Okinawan demilitarization movement over time are seen as mutually constituted with the historical (re)construction of not just the Japanese state, but state formation more generally: postwar decolonization and the conjoint transformation in military expansion, and more recently the emergence of alternative self-determination claims elsewhere.

These connections are revealed by exploring everyday experiences of militarization and *what is made of them* by Okinawans themselves. This attention to meaning becomes key; the dissertation foregrounds, in particular, how experiences

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and meanings of ties to "place" shape social and political identities in relation to changes in political context. In doing so this study sheds light on how and why citizenship remains a meaningful category for some, while it is challenged and reworked by others. In turn, the reworking of citizenship and sovereignty reflected in new political identities and claims within the Okinawan movement and elsewhere sheds light on how the state form itself, and international political space more generally, might be changing. This demonstrates the analytical gains to be made by employing struggle in a methodological sense, as a window on particular world-historical processes and relations rather than as an object of study in itself. By using the struggle methodologically, I show that the struggle itself is the medium through which citizenship and sovereignty assume new meanings, which in turn problematize the assumptions undergirding the Japanese state and the projection of US power.

Coloniality, foreign military basing, and the struggle over the subject of sovereignty

The dissertation begins with a basic historical observation: that the story of colonization is a story of militarization. Despite dominant representations today, the study demonstrates that colonial relations did not disappear as a feature of military expansion and foreign military basing with the historical institution of modern territoriality on a global scale in the postwar period. I identify four historically contingent forms of the general phenomenon I call *colonial basing*:

- *direct colonial basing*: a state's military presence in its existing formal colonial territories
- *post-colonial basing*: a state's military presence in its former colonial territories
- *cross-colonial basing*: a state's military presence in the formal colonial territories of other states
- *internal colonial basing*: a state's military presence in indigenous or otherwise contested territories within its or other states' borders

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Considered together, these four forms demonstrate how, and the extent to which, the state system sustains and shapes militarized colonial relations. They also help me better specify the particular configuration of colonial relations governing US military presence in the Ryūkyūs. The concept of internal colonial basing captures one manifestation of how empire "works" in the current historical conjuncture. US basing in Okinawa rests not only on Japan's compromised sovereignty vis-à-vis the United States, but also on the Ryūkyūs' compromised sovereignty vis-à-vis Japan. Reflecting the postwar regime of military presence extended to the Ryūkyūs, however, politically and discursively US basing in the islands came to rest on state sovereignty and citizenship.

Okinawan activists' challenge to these legitimizing premises directs my attention to how US military presence shapes, and is shaped by, Okinawans' citizen relations in the post-reversion era. Legitimization of US military presence is at once state-driving and reproduced by Okinawans themselves, within the institutions and structures of their citizen relations. This happens as interstate relations and national political and economic policies intertwine with Okinawans' everyday routines of life and work, and ordinary relationships. It is this very "intimacy" of occupation that sustains the relations of internal colonial basing. While the institutions associated with citizenship provided new forms of representation and new bases for important challenges to immediate problems, they also have a depoliticizing effect on the anti-base movement, insofar as they redirect energy and claims away from the long-standing goal of ending US military presence. Simultaneously, management of the effects of US basing happens via the US-Japan Security Treaty, which provides the legal-political and discursive framework for ensuring that military operations and planning continue. The Japanese government's consistent deference to the treaty in the

Okinawan context severely limits the extent to which the latter's citizenship provides protection from the bases' effects.

At the same time, the politics surrounding the Futenma-Henoko struggle also illustrate how institutions associated with citizenship are not unilaterally depoliticizing. As the Japanese government's actions fueled the erosion of confidence in national channels of redress and disillusionment in the Japanese state, activism continued along different paths. Sustained civil disobedience on land and at sea has so far successfully prevented any real progress on the construction at Henoko. Increasing transnational activities and coalition-building has helped to shift the debate over the Henoko project, and base issues more generally, beyond local and bi-lateral "base politics." This provides opportunities to intervene in dominant narratives about US military presence, de-centering the terms through which the US-Japan Security Treaty dominates the definition of basing problems and solutions. In this way, state efforts to push SACO through at any cost contributed to Okinawan activists' increasing engagement in more challenging forms of activism.

As a relation rooted in coloniality, Okinawans' citizen relations also shape the mode of struggle in another, potentially transformative way. Over time, the conditions of internal colonial basing have reinforced Okinawans' experiences as ethnically marginalized citizens, while simultaneously eroding the legitimacy of the Japanese state in a way that sustains citizenship as a salient identity. Reevaluations of the Ryūkyūs' historical relationship with Japan have contributed to a rethinking of reversion itself and its implications for US military presence. Japanese complicity in the continued presence of US bases has become a central part of activists' accounts, analyses, and claims regarding US military presence and their citizen relations. While the institutions associated with citizenship remain central as a means of activism, activists' engagement *as* citizens is increasingly informed by this ethnic perspective.

The significance of the politicization of Okinawan identity in the current conjuncture is that it facilitates historically novel claims against the Japanese state and the relations governing internal colonial basing. These are not rooted in rights conferred by citizenship, but rather in new political identities—minority, nation/people, indigenous peoples—that foreground collective claims to territory. These political identities inform, and are informed by, anti-base activists' connections with other activists and movements, both within and Japan and beyond. Activists' ties rest on shared experiences and critiques of empire. They share a critique of Japanese expansion and how Japanese imperialism intertwines with US imperialism in a way that transformed their historical and contemporary relations. Activists' broader connections, including finding models for a self-governing Okinawa and relations with indigenous activists in international fora, mark a convergence of their demilitarization movement with contemporary self-determination movements elsewhere.

By adopting territorialized collective rights claims, Okinawan activists' add to the range of voices rejecting the postwar process of state making framed as a modern resolution to colonialism. As with many other contemporary self-determination movements, however, Okinawan activists' rearticulation of the Ryūkyūs' relationship with the state does not reject citizenship as a meaningful relation, but rather seeks to transform its instantiation under conditions of internal colonial basing. Situated globally, then, Okinawa serves as an example of the transitional character of the current historical moment.

Simultaneously, the Japanese government's efforts to co-opt and depoliticize Okinawan expressions of difference shape, and are shaped by, other governments' approaches to self-determination claims within their respective borders. Today, Tokyo's (and Washington's) novel representation of Ryūkyūan difference as part of a modern, multicultural Japanese state- *and* its international relations reflects broader

efforts to steer the dominant narrative of the Japanese nation and, closely related to this, efforts to sustain Japan's relations with the US and an international system experiencing a crisis of sovereignty. Governments are collectively seeking to "internalize" contemporary self-determination claims, rooting them in a liberal formulation of individual rights and rejecting interference with existing property relations. Thus the politics of collective rights within Okinawa parallel contestations over collective rights nationally, which in turn constitute an important and transformative part of a broader debate within the international system. The shifts in identity and claims within Okinawa's anti-base movement reflect the current world-historical context in which the legacies of colonialism, under relations of empire, fuel broader efforts to rework citizenship and sovereignty.

Contradictions, transitions and global social change

In identifying the social relations and state structures that make the Okinawa anti-base movement part of these broader efforts, the dissertation demonstrates that the struggle is not a linear process of transformation, or emancipation. Rather it is contradictory, operating on several fronts. It is fueled by individual and allied action. Its "multi-issue" character captures the ways in which militarization intersects with gendered, ecological, political, cultural and economic relations. The multiplicity of activists' political identities and claims intertwine and overlap, and as they do so they constrain, create, and shift scales. Collective rights claims rooted in notions of Ryūkyūan nationhood and indigeneity exist alongside demand for equality as Japanese citizens. In particular, the simultaneity of different notions of self-determination in Okinawan political identities and associated rights claims speaks to how the transitional moment in Okinawan society reflects the contradictions of the current era. As I have attempted to show, the mobilization of territory and the (re)defining of place

in relation to people is a dialectical process. In this instance, it is not a reaction by Okinawans to state power but an interaction within state power.

Okinawans' place-based yet (conceptually and empirically) transnational struggle engages the kind of politics of difference that constitute both a challenge *and* an emergent alternative to empire (*c.f.* Escobar 2001). While not reflective of a linear process, the broader politics embodied in the Okinawan struggle are transformative. Today, the unfulfilled, or partially fulfilled, promise of the entitlements of citizenship as part of the modern national project would appear to facilitate what Shami (1996) refers to as "erasure through inclusion," whereby particular identities and corresponding experiences are subsumed, and in the dominant rendering erased, via their inclusion within the universalizing category of citizenship. This process of "erasing colony" happened on a global scale via postwar decolonization, when dominant powers orchestrated a limited decolonization that subsumed countless nations within emerging and existing states. The process continues today, as state governments individually and collectively seek to manage contemporary challenges to state territoriality. However, as this study illustrates, the processes defining national membership via erasure cannot be seen as unilaterally disempowering. The same processes that marginalize, displace, and depoliticize also create the conditions—and political space—for individuals and groups to rework definitions of difference.

This paradox is revealed through the effects of internal colonial basing, which serves to underline the compromised sovereignty of the state, and doubly so its collectively marginalized citizens, through a postwar regime of militarization rooted in colonial relations. Under such conditions, reclaimed identities serve to leverage power in challenging discriminatory practices obscured by liberal discourses espousing the equality of citizenship. Although counterintuitive, the return to particular "small-n" national identities and away from a universal *National* identity makes it possible for

groups to reinterpret their circumstances in collective and indeed world-historical terms of minority and/or indigenous rights. In this way, reclaimed identities also become a basis to rework the content of modern sovereignty.

As I have argued, such reworking proceeds on two related fronts – first, identifying the coloniality of power embedded in the process of state system completion under UN auspices, and second, exposing the articulation between coloniality and militarization of the state system under US hegemony. The latter relationship is the stimulus for a more fundamental challenge to the liberal narrative informing modern citizenship, a critique animating movements for collective rights to territory, culture and resources. By tracing the historically specific relations, structures and processes within which challenges form, the dissertation shows how the short-term politics and everyday experiences of internal colonial basing condition long-term struggle and social change.

The contemporary relationship between state formation and military expansion reveals itself as a nexus of global social change. This study thus supports and builds on Gerard Ruggie's (1993) insights about "unbundled territoriality" by presenting foreign military basing as a particularly potent, and a particularly violent, instance, which offers an understanding of how the rearticulation of international political space is occurring today. The particular political space created in the "unbundling" of territoriality via the US-Japan basing arrangements is rooted in coloniality but framed in terms of sovereignty and citizenship. Contradictions therein lead to transformative efforts, as Okinawans challenge and rework citizenship as governed by the relations of internal colonial basing. These challenges thus implicate the postwar security relations among states as much as they do the US and Japanese governments in the problems of US military presence in the Ryūkyūs. So although foreign basing arrangements are a key expression of the modern liberal project, the Okinawan struggle offers a new lens

on their construction as such. Under conditions of coloniality, the contemporary regime of military expansion and occupation creates political space to challenge liberalism's foundations.

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