

Globalized United States-Japan Alliance and Japan's Security in the 21st Century

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Abstract

This paper analyzes United States bases in Japan and Japan's options in security and foreign policy in the 21st century. First, the paper discusses the roles of and the problems over United States bases in Japan, taking into consideration potential threats to Japan. It focuses on whether United States forces in Japan really defend the country and whether there are potential threats to Japan. The author contends that it is the SDF that really defends Japan, not United States forces and that there are little potential threats to the country. The author also argues that the Japanese Government pays up to 75 percent of the cost to keep United States bases in Japan. Nevertheless, United States soldiers harm the Japanese people. The paper concludes that Japan must explore an alternative path, rather than continuing relying on the Security Treaty. The author recommends more independent foreign policy of Japan in the 21st Century. Such recommendations include signing the peace treaty with Russia and establishing diplomatic relations with North Korea. In other words, keeping good relations with Russia and North Korea enhances Japan's security as well as Japan's diplomatic options.

Introduction

Over the last fifteen years, United States-Japan alliance transformed globally from the defense of Japan and security of the Far East to the defense of the Asia-Pacific region to the Indian Ocean and the Middle East. It is also clear that the SDF further became integrated into a part of United States forces. After the Soviet Union dissolved in 1991, both the United States and the Japanese Governments were looking for the *raison d'être* for maintaining the Security Treaty and the SDF because Japan did not face little imminent threat. In 2001, terrorists attacked the United States, which later retaliated against them by attacking Afghanistan. In 2003, the Japanese Government immediately declared Japan's support for the war when the United States launched an assault against Iraq. Then, Japan dispatched the Ground SDF to Iraq in 2004 while the fighting was still going on.

It was the first time that Japan dispatched armed forces to the country which was in combat since Japan regained her independence in 1952. It was a new departure for Japan because this dispatch differed from the policy of the past Japanese Government based on "peace diplomacy." Japan began to make use of the SDF as a means of implementing her foreign policy. This new policy indicates that Japan aims at becoming a "normal state" under the Security Treaty. Japan has also paid generous host nation support to United States bases in Japan since 1978. As a

result, it is much cheaper to keep United States bases in Japan than in the United States. That is a major reason why United States bases do not decrease.

Against the abovementioned background, it is important to explore Japan's options in security and foreign policy in the 21st century. It is also important to examine the roles of and the problems over United States bases in Japan and potential threats to Japan since United States bases in Japan symbolize the essence of the Security Treaty. The paper argues that Japan must not rely on the Security Treaty, but explore a new foreign policy which is more independent and regains sovereignty.

United States Bases in Japan and Potential Threats to Japan

Since the end of World War II, United States forces and bases have never left Japan. Many Japanese people believe that United States forces in Japan and the Security Treaty defend Japan. However, many Americans do not think so. According to public opinion polls conducted in the United States in March 1999, 49 percent of those who participated in the survey said that United States forces in Japan were there not for the defense of Japan, but for the prevention of resurgence of Japan's militarism or Japan's power projection. Only 12 percent said for the defense of Japan.¹

However, it is the SDF that defends Japan. One can argue that United States forces in Japan and the Security Treaty are useful only as deterrent. About 35,000 to 40,000 United States troops are stationed in Japan, but more than half of these troops are not combat troops, but logistical support troops. Since it is extremely difficult to imagine that Japan alone would be attacked, United States forces might already engage themselves in fighting in other areas. As a result, United States forces might not come to rescue Japan soon or the number of troops might not be enough to defend Japan. As the 1997 Guidelines state, the SDF has a primary responsibility for the defense of Japan.²

If the deterrence is broken, many Japanese cities would be destroyed and many people would be killed. Therefore, even if United States would come to help Japan after an attack, such a help would not mean much to the Japanese people since by the time United States troops arrive in Japan, a large number of the people would already be dead. If Japan is an important country to an international society, the United Nations would organize multinational forces led by the United States and come to help Japan in an emergency. Kuwait in 1991 is a case in point. There was no military alliance between the United States and Kuwait. There were no United States troops stationed in Kuwait. Nevertheless, the United States organized multinational troops under the auspices of the United Nations and rescued Kuwait. Therefore, one can argue that the United Nations could be deterrent.

Japan does not face any imminent threat. It is extremely difficult to think any country that would attack Japan, including North Korea, Russia, and China. Some might think that North Korea is a threat to Japan. North Korea has ballistic missiles and might have nuclear weapons. However, these weapons are mainly against South Korea and the United States. North Korea makes full use of nuclear weapons as a diplomatic card against the United States. North Korea wants to keep her political system and unify the Korean Peninsula under a North Korean leader-

ship. North Korea also wants Japan to make compensation for her colonial rule. Japan can establish diplomatic relations with North Korea in exchange for economic assistance. Therefore, if there are no United States troops or bases in Japan or if Japan maintains a neutral position, there would be little reason that North Korea would attack Japan. There is an issue of abduction of Japanese citizens, but Japan cannot solve this problem using the SDF. It is important for Japan to normalize the relations with North Korea so that North Korea would be willing to talk about the abduction issue and Japan could enhance her security.

One might think that Russia would attack Japan. However, Russia is a democracy and holds the Northern Territories. In other words, Russia is satisfied with a current territorial issue. If there is a possibility of war between Russia and Japan, it is the time when the SDF would attack the Northern Territories. Under Article 9 and current international situation, it is unthinkable that the SDF would attack the Northern Territories. Russia needs money and technology from Japan. Russia and Japan are recently cooperating in trade of natural gas through Sakhalin I and II. It is Japan's interests to promote trade with Russia in oil and natural gas because Japan could reduce import of oil from the Middle East. Trade with Russia would certainly provide Japan with economic security. Moreover, if Japan could conclude a peace treaty with Russia, the treaty would also enhance Japan's security. Japan should abandon the Northern Territories in exchange for the peace treaty, if necessary.

China is not a threat to Japan either. China wants trade and technology from Japan. If Japan can maintain a neutral position when there is a conflict between China and Taiwan, there is little possibility of China attacking Japan. In recent years, China has been Japan's largest trading partner although the United States is still an important customer in Japan's export. Although the Chinese Navy is recently growing and has a plan to have two conventional aircraft carriers by 2015 and two nuclear powered conventional aircraft carriers around 2020, this naval power is aimed at United States Navy. There is a problem over the Senkaku (Diaoyutai Qundao in China) Islands between China (and Taiwan) and Japan, but this issue would not lead to a conflict. China needs peaceful environment in conducting trade and, given the fact that trade in East Asia is rapidly growing, it is inconceivable that China would attack Japan over the territorial issue. If Japan could keep active trade relations with China and would not intervene in a Taiwan problem, China would not become a security headache for Japan.

All three countries mentioned above do not pose a threat to Japan. Therefore, even if Japan abrogates the Security Treaty with the United States, Japan would not have to strengthen the SDF. It is not well known among the Japanese people that Japan has already the most powerful conventional armed forces in Asia including six AEGIS destroyers, 202 F-15 interceptors, 94 P-3C anti-submarine reconnaissance airplanes, and four AWACS planes. The Ground SDF is as strong as the British Army. The Maritime SDF has the second largest escort vessels in the world. The Air SDF is as strong as the British, French, or German Air Forces.³

Regarding United States bases in Japan, it is inconceivable that the United States abandons Japan by closing her bases. Japan pays about 75 percent of the cost to keep United States bases in Japan. No United States allies pay such a cost more than Japan does. It is much cheaper to keep the bases in Japan than in the United States. It is not a wise policy for Japan to keep 35,000 to 40,000 United States troops in Japan and pay more than US\$2 billion per year in the 2000s to

keep them.⁴ Moreover, the United States could use her troops in Japan for not only the security of the Asia-Pacific region, but also the Middle East and the regions up to the Cape of Good Hope. Japan also finances, along with China, the United States federal budget deficit and current account deficit through the so-called "Japanese Money." Therefore, Japan is indispensable to the United States in keeping her superpower status.

Future Perspective: More Independent Foreign Policy

Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi was well known for a pro-American politician. He thought that following United States foreign policy was Japan's national interests. Keeping good relations with the United States was of his vital importance. However, in the past, the United States pursued her own national interests, which was different from those of Japan. Examples include Japan's recognition of Taiwan in exchange for ratification of the San Francisco Peace Treaty in United States Congress and Japan not concluding peace treaty with the Soviet Union in exchange for the United States not keeping Okinawa permanently. In recent years, the United States decided to remove North Korea from a list of countries that supported terrorists in spite of the fact that Japan had asked the United States not to remove North Korea until the abduction issue solved. In this way, United States national interests are naturally different from those of Japan because the United States globally pursues her national interests. If a certain foreign policy does not fit her national interests, the United States would not pay much attention to national interests of the allies. Therefore, it is important for Japan to seek her own national interests instead of blindly following United States foreign policy.

In order to establish Japan's own foreign policy, Japan must change her attitude toward the United States, which has been almost always following United States foreign policy. First, Japan has to reconsider the host nation support and the Security Treaty. Given the fact that there is little imminent threat to Japan and United States economic growth is larger than Japan's, it is a waste of Japanese taxpayers' money. Before 1978, Japan did not pay the host nation support, but the United States did not withdraw her troops from Japan. Japan began to pay the host nation support when her economy was at the height. In the 1980s, Japan's economy looked invincible while United States economy was in serious recession. Entering the 1990s, however, the situation reversed. Japan's economy has declined over the last twenty years as compared with her economy in the 1980s whereas United States economy improved dramatically over the same period. Therefore, Japan cannot afford to pay the host nation support any more. It is time to abrogate the host nation support.

Moreover, United States troops in Japan do not protect the Japanese people. On the contrary, they hurt the Japanese people. Between 1952 and 2004, 201,481 cases of accidents and crimes took place and 1,076 Japanese people were killed. This number does not include the cases in Okinawa before 1972 when the United States returned Okinawa to Japan.⁵ If the number includes the cases in Okinawa before 1972, the figure would certainly increase. Nevertheless, Japan has paid the United States a total of US\$53 billion as the host nation support and its related expenses between 1978 and 2008 in addition to providing United States forces with free land and many privileges including de facto extraterritoriality.⁶

Japan does not have oil, but provides the navy of the United States and her allies with free oil in the Indian Ocean. In other words, when Japan imports expensive oil and the Japanese people suffer from a hike in oil price, the Japanese Government gives oil for free to the United States that is one of the largest oil producing countries in the world. It is doubtful whether providing oil with the United States and her allies' navy is effective in fighting terrorists in Afghanistan, because terrorists are active and strong in the mountains and not on the seas in the Indian Ocean. Moreover, operations in Afghanistan have not been successful. Therefore, President Obama decided to reinforce United States troops in Afghanistan. Instead of providing free oil to the United States and her allies, Japan must further make a contribution to non-military areas in Afghanistan including education and medical care.

After September 2001, terrorists aim at United States facilities including embassies and military bases in foreign countries. Nowadays, it is the Japanese police and the SDF that protect United States bases in Japan against terrorist attacks. Japan had maintained relatively good relations with countries in the Middle East including Iraq and Iran until September 2001. However, now, because of the Security Treaty, Japan also becomes a target for terrorists. In other words, there is a possibility that United States troops and bases in Japan might cause a terrorist attack against Japan. In this respect, the Security Treaty is not beneficial to the people of Japan. On the contrary, the very existence of United States bases in Japan might pose a threat to Japan.

Secondly, Japan has been financially supporting the United States after the Plaza Accord in 1985. Japan invested the " Japanese Money " in the United States. The Japanese yen appreciated against the American dollar by 60 percent over the last twenty five years. As a result, Japanese investors lost huge amount of money that they had invested in the United States. However, Japan's Finance Ministry has continued to support the United States at the expense of Japanese investors. For example, the Japanese Government invested US\$320 billion in the United States from March 2003 to April 2004. This amount is equal to 40 to 64 percent of United States federal budget deficit.⁷ Until 2007, Japan was the largest holder of United States treasury bonds whose amount was US\$550 billion.⁸ It is time, however, for Japan to further invest in euro to keep the balance with dollar in foreign-currency reserves to avoid sharp decline in dollar. Over the last two decades, the " Japanese Money " has financed United States federal budget deficit and trade deficit. In other words, Japan has financially supported the war in Iraq and Afghanistan. Without the " Japanese Money, " the United States would have difficulty continuing fighting in these countries.

Japan carries out these policies because of the Security Treaty. Many Japanese people believe that it is the United States that helped reconstruct Japan after the war and many of them think that the United States defends Japan. It is time, however, for Japan to realistically analyze a threat to her security. Since North Korea, China, and Russia are not imminent threats to Japan, Japan can rely on the SDF and the deterrence of the United Nations without the Security Treaty. Many Japanese think that if Japan abrogates the Security Treaty with the United States, the United States would retaliate against Japan in trade. There might be such a possibility of the United States restricting imports from Japan, but an international society would criticize the United States since such a policy would be protectionism that contradicts a free trade policy advocated by the United States for many decades.

Japan is a democracy and United States ally and pays a huge amount of the host nation support to keep United States forces in Japan. China is neither a democracy nor a United States ally. China does not keep United States troops in her own territory or pays the host nation support to the United States. Nevertheless, the United States imports more goods from China than Japan. In other words, the United States pragmatically seeks her business interests rather than her official stance of promoting democracy and human rights in China. In the future, there might be a possibility that the United States would conclude *modus vivendi* with China at the expense of Japan.

In the 1980s, New Zealand decided to adopt a non-nuclear policy to keep all nuclear weapons and nuclear-powered vessels out of the country. The United States temporarily retaliated against New Zealand import and decided not to defend New Zealand under the ANZUS treaty. However, since the 1990s the relations between the two countries have been relatively good. The Philippines asked the United States for the hike of the rent to keep United States bases in her territory. However, the United States refused to accept the increase of the payment. Due to the eruption of the volcano near the United States base as well as the rent issue, the United States decided to close her bases in the Philippines. In spite of this incident, the relations between the two countries are still good. These two countries are small ones and not strategically located as Japan is. Nevertheless, Japan can learn a lesson from them. Japan supports the United States with the "Japanese Money" and the host nation support. Without United States bases in Japan and the "Japanese Money," the United States would not be able to remain a superpower status.

These examples indicate that even though Japan abrogates the Security Treaty, the United States would have to resume trade relations with Japan sooner or later since the two countries are the largest and the second largest economic powers. Abrogation of the Security Treaty does not mean the end of the relations with the United States. Japan can conclude a peace and friendship treaty with the United States and still financially support the United States. An independent, neutral Japan can choose a policy of remaining neutral or supporting the United States in case of an emergency in either the Korean Peninsula or the Taiwan Strait. Japan, without the Security Treaty, does not pose a threat to China, North Korea, or Russia. Coupled with the conclusion of a peace treaty with Russia and normalization with North Korea by establishing diplomatic relations, Japan would be able to enhance her security. As a result, Japan does not have to increase her defense budget or the SDF after the abrogation of the Security Treaty. Due to the Security Treaty, Japan's options in diplomacy are limited, Japan's sovereignty is violated, and the Japanese people suffer. It is almost two decades since the Soviet Union is gone. Therefore, there is little merit for Japan to keep the Security Treaty.

However, the Japanese leaders and people still believe that Japan must retain the Security Treaty. In order to look for an alternative foreign policy, it is important to consider whether the Security Treaty is beneficial or detrimental to Japan in the 21st century. First, those who support the Security Treaty argue that the United States helped Japan by providing a market and a nuclear umbrella and that United States forces in Japan and the Security Treaty defend Japan. Therefore, the United States is the only ally for Japan. In other words, for them, Japan cannot survive without the United States. As a result, Japan has no choice but to rely on the Security Treaty. There are, however, many cases that Japan can maintain good trade relations with the

United States without the alliance or keeping United States forces in her own territory or paying the host nation support.

Secondly, the only merit that Japan keeps the Security Treaty is the deterrent. If a country attacks Japan, the United States would certainly retaliate against an aggressor. Since the United States is the superpower, no state will win the war against the United States. Therefore, no state will dare to attack Japan. This is the deterrent. The history tells us, however, that many wars stemmed from irrational reasons and the deterrent did not work. If the deterrent failed and the war broke out, it would be too late for the Japanese people even though United States forces came to rescue Japan. By that time, there would be tremendous casualties among the Japanese people.

However, the United Nations has the same deterrent. For many decades since 1945, this function of the United Nations did not work due to the Cold War. As the case of Kuwait in 1991 shows, however, there is a possibility that the United Nations works as deterrent. Since 2001, the United States has become a target for the terrorists. If a war breaks out in the Korean Peninsula or the Taiwan Strait, there is a possibility that the United States would get involved in these conflicts. Under the Security Treaty, Japan has no choice but to follow the United States decision. However, if there is no Security Treaty, Japan will have a choice. Under the 1997 Guidelines, the entire Japanese archipelago will become a logistical supply base for United States forces. In case of an emergency surrounding Japan, the Japanese Prime Minister will not be able to command the SDF. The SDF will be placed under the command of an American general. In other words, under the Security Treaty, Japan cannot exercise her sovereignty in case of an emergency surrounding Japan.

Thirdly, Japan pays up to 75 percent of the cost to keep United States forces in Japan. Given the fact that Japan herself has huge budget deficit, the Japanese Government cannot afford to pay US\$2 billion per year while cutting a part of social welfare cost, whose amount is equal to US \$ 2.2 billion per year. In other words, the Japanese Government sacrifices its own people in order to help United States forces in Japan that give troubles to and hurt the Japanese people. One can argue that the Japanese people are so generous and naive that the Japanese Government pays a bouncer who does not protect, but hurt the people.

Finally, United States forces and bases in Japan cause many problems including rape, arson, murder, hit-and-run accidents, plane crashes, noise problem, and pollution of air, soil, and water. In September 1995, three United States Marine Corps soldiers raped a twelve-year-old girl in Okinawa, but the Japanese police could not detain or interrogate the suspects due to the United States-Japan Status of Forces Agreement (SOFA) until indictment.⁹ In August 2004, United States Marine Corps helicopter crashed on the administrative building of International University of Okinawa. However, United States forces did not allow the Japanese police to even enter the scene of the accident, needless to say that the Japanese police could not investigate the accident by collecting evidence.¹⁰ These two abovementioned examples are just the tip of the iceberg that the Japanese police do not have jurisdiction over the matters related with United States forces and bases due to the SOFA. In other words, the SOFA violates Japan's sovereignty. Not only do these incidents show that the Japanese police basically do not have jurisdiction over criminal investigation in dealing with United States forces and bases in Japan, but also prove that Japan is a

vassal of the United States. United States forces and bases enjoy de facto extraterritoriality. Therefore, one can argue that United States forces and bases are continuation of United States occupation forces since 1945.

After the incident in September 1995, United States forces promised that they would favorably consider the Japanese request to hand over a suspect. However, the situation little changed. Without detaining or interrogating a suspect, it is difficult to prosecute the suspect because the Japanese police cannot ask questions to collect information. As a result, there were many cases that the Japanese police could not prosecute. The crimes committed by United States forces in Japan have not decreased. Instead of protecting people in Okinawa, United States forces and bases there excruciate the local people. A crime rate in Okinawa is worse than California. This is an amazing fact since the United States is notorious for a high crime rate, whereas Japan is one of the safest countries in the world, although the crime rate is increasing in recent years.¹¹

Noise problem is another case in point that excruciates the local people. For example, Marine Corps Air Station Futenma is located at the center of Ginowan City, Okinawa. Many students have to go through the air base to go to school, which is dangerous. Due to frequent landing and takeoff, noise is beyond endurance and causes severe mental problems. Classes are often interrupted due to much noise.¹²

United States forces and bases also enjoy extraterritoriality in the area of environment. According to the SOFA, United States forces have "no obligation to return to original condition" when they return their bases to Japan. Even though United States bases in Japan are contaminated with oil or radiation or any kind of toxic substances, United States forces do not have to clean up their bases. In other words, it is the Japanese Government's responsibility that cleans up and restores bases to its original state using taxpayers' money. Without cleaning up the returned land, an owner would not be able to use it again. In many cases, it will cost an individual a tremendous amount of money to clean up the land. As a result, some land owners do not want their land to be returned. Instead, they want to get rent from the land. Throughout Japan, the situation is almost the same wherever a municipal government hosts United States forces and bases. Nevertheless, Japan pays those who hurt the Japanese people. There is little merit for Japan to keep the Security Treaty. Japan cannot have independent foreign policy under the Security Treaty. In order to regain sovereignty and independent foreign policy, Japan has to abrogate the Security Treaty.

Conclusion

Over the last twenty years, the Japanese people have become more conservative and Japan's nationalism has been growing. Former Prime Minister Koizumi represents this trend in Japanese society. Under such circumstances, there is growing concern about China and North Korea in Japan. Recent Chinese military buildup as well as economic growth worries the Japanese people, particularly when the Japanese economy has been growing little for the past twenty years. North Korean missile and nuclear tests as well as abduction of the Japanese citizens antagonize the Japanese people. However, the United States and the Japanese Governments exaggerate these threats and justify Japan's military buildup. As a result, Japan expanded the roles and missions

of the SDF.

Such a scenario as China or North Korea attacking Japan would be imagined only when Japan supports the United States according to the Guidelines of 1997 under the Security Treaty. In case of an emergency of the Korean Peninsula or the Taiwan Strait if United States forces engage with Chinese forces or North Korean forces, United States bases in Japan would be the first to be attacked. As a result, Japan would be automatically drawn into the conflict. Having the Security Treaty with the United States, Japan has no choice but to support the United States. Without United States bases in Japan, United States forces would have difficulty fighting in either case. Therefore, Japan is indispensable to the United States.

If Japan abrogates the Security Treaty and if an emergency in the Korean Peninsula or the Taiwan Strait takes place, Japan would be able to choose her own policy by either supporting the United States or remaining neutral. However, the United States would pose a threat to Japan because the United States might try to secure her bases in Japan or ask Japan to provide United States forces with logistical support in such a case. If Japan refuses to cooperate with the United States, the relations between the two countries would deteriorate and the United States might impose economic sanctions against Japan. In such a case, Japan can retaliate against the United States by withdrawing the "Japanese Money," but these actions would cause a tremendous blow not only to both the United States and the Japanese economies, but also to the world economy.

In order for Japan to survive such a scenario, Japan has to change her foreign policy that relies only on the United States. In other words, it is important for Japan to expand trade relations with other countries including China, Russia, India, and the EU countries so that Japan can get necessary raw materials and food such as natural gas, oil, and agricultural produce. As a result, Japan would be able to less rely on the United States and the Middle East than she is now. In particular, trade with Asian countries will be of vital importance to Japan. As for foreign-currency reserves, Japan must gradually increase her share of euro as well as dollar.

Thinking of Japan without the Security Treaty is a realistic scenario. A neutral Japan does not pose a threat to Asia or the United States. Many Japanese and American leaders think that if there is no Security Treaty, there would be a vacuum of power in the Asia-Pacific region and China or Japan would fill in this vacuum. However, this is a concept of the 20th century. Entering the 21st century, as globalization is progressing, trade becomes very active among the countries in East Asia, and it has become very difficult to solve issues by military forces. No state including China will benefit from conflicts over territorial issues. Japan also has to reduce and convert the SDF into Coast Guard and Police Force with specialized anti-terrorist troops. Japan must maintain Article 9 and participate in the non-military activities of the United Nations Peace Keeping Operations (UNPKO). Military forces cannot create peace in Iraq or Afghanistan or anywhere in the world in the 21st century.

Japan should conclude a peace treaty with Russia even without solving the Northern Territories. After all, Japan was able to become the second largest economic power in the world without the Northern Territories. Concluding a peace treaty with Russia enhances Japan's security and guarantees economic prosperity. Normalization with North Korea also improves Japan's security without increasing the SDF. Without normalization with North Korea, Japan would not be able

to solve the abduction issue. The United States returned Okinawa to Japan since Japan had diplomatic relations with the United States, although keeping United States bases and troops in Okinawa was an important factor. If there had been no diplomatic relations with Japan, the United States would not have returned Okinawa to Japan.

North Korea would not be willing to solve the abduction issue if there is no normalization with Japan or compensation from Japan. Japan normalized relations with South Korea in 1965 and paid compensation/economic assistance to South Korea whereas Japan has not done so to North Korea. It is difficult for Japan to normalize relations with North Korea under the Security Treaty unless the United States first establishes diplomatic relations with North Korea. Until President Nixon visited China in February 1972, Japan was not able to normalize relations with China. The same is true with North Korea. Due to the Security Treaty, Japan does not have many options in normalization with North Korea or a peace treaty with Russia since Japan needs to consult with the United States over these issues. Economic sanctions against North Korea by Japan would not work unless China participates in sanctions, which would not happen. Keeping good relations with China is also of vital importance to Japan. In the 21st century, China would be a very important country for Japan not only in the trade area, but also in the security area.

If there had been no Security Treaty, Japan would have acted differently in dealing with the war in Iraq. Japan would have been more cautious in expressing her support for the United States. Koizumi skillfully made use of the war in Iraq and was able to expand the roles and missions of the SDF. The Japanese Government set a precedent for sending the SDF to the combat area overseas. The next destination for the SDF would be Afghanistan. Japan must carefully consider sending the SDF to Afghanistan since it is difficult to solve a problem with military means.

Over the last twenty five to thirty years, Japan has supported the United States with the host nation support and the "Japanese Money," which has financed United States federal budget deficit and trade deficit. In other words, Japan has indirectly supported the war in Iraq and Afghanistan through financial means. However, it is time for Japan to change this policy and seek her own national interests. The United States would not voluntarily withdraw her forces or close bases in Japan because it is cheaper to keep her forces and bases in Japan due to the host nation support and because United States forces can enjoy de facto extraterritoriality. Therefore, Japan must take the initiative to improve living conditions of the people near United States bases by rectifying the SOFA, and make every effort to abrogate the Security Treaty in the future. Even though Japan abrogates the Security Treaty, Japan does not have to increase the defense budget or the SDF because Japan has already the military power in Asia under the Security Treaty. Moreover, Japan does not face imminent threat.

Abrogating the Security Treaty does not mean that Japan would become antagonistic to the United States. A neutral Japan can keep good relations with any country including China and the United States. Today, the Japanese people face a crucial moment to choose whether Japan keeps Article 9 and does not use the SDF as a means of conducting foreign policy or Japan revises Article 9, reinforces the Security Treaty, and dispatches the SDF to combat areas overseas along with United States forces. Japan must maintain Article 9, reduce the SDF, and abrogates the Security Treaty relying on the United Nations for her security.

Notes

- ¹ *Asahi Shimbun* , 13 April 1999 . Under such circumstances, the Japanese Government pays from US\$140,000 to US\$160,000 per United States soldier per annum to keep United States troops in Japan. *Asahi Shimbun* , 14 March 1996 .
- ² Boeicho, ed. , *Defense of Japan 1998* (Boei hakusho 1998) , Tokyo: Okurasho Insatsukyoku , 1998.
- ³ Boeicho, ed. , *Defense of Japan 2005* (Boei hakusho 2005) , Tokyo: Gyosei , 2005; *Defense of Japan 2008* (Boei hakusho 2008) , Tokyo: Gyosei , 2008; *Defense of Japan 2009* (Boei hakusho 2009) , Tokyo: Gyosei , 2009; and Shunji Taoka, *Nihon o Kakomu Gunjiryoku no Kozu* (Composition of military power surrounding Japan) , Tokyo: Chuokei Shuppan , 2003 .
- ⁴ Tetsuo Maeda, *Zainichi Beigun Kichi no Shushi Kessan* (Settlement of accounts of United States bases in Japan) , Tokyo: Chikuma Shobo , 2000; and *Yomiuri Shimbun* , 3 April 2008.
- ⁵ *Shimbun Akahata* , 2 July 2005.
- ⁶ According to the Japan Communist Party, the total amount of the host nation support and its related expenses is US\$53 billion for thirty one years from 1978 to 2008 . *Shimbun Akahata* , 25 April 2008.
- ⁷ “ Zuroku: Nicchu Boeki • Nichibeï Boeki no Sui ” (A pictorial record: changes in China-Japan trade and United States-Japan trade) available from <http://www2.ttcn.ne.jp/~honkawa/5050.html>; Internet; accessed 30 September 2005 . Regarding the “ Japanese Money ” and the Plaza Accord in 1985 , see Kikkawa Mototada, *Manee Haisen* (Defeat in monetary war) , Tokyo: Bungei Shunjuu , 1998.
- ⁸ As of September 2008 , Japan was the second in the world holding US\$573 billion after China's US\$585 billion. *Sankei Shimbun* , 20 November 2008.
- ⁹ *Asahi Shimbun* , 7 September 1995.
- ¹⁰ *Asahi Shimbun* , 16 August 2004.
- ¹¹ According to *Dayton Daily News*, United States bases in Japan have high rate of sex cases. The paper, dated 8 October 1995 , states as follows:

More Marines and Navy sailors were tried for rapes, child molestations and other sexual assaults at bases in Japan than at any other U.S. military site in the world. Computer records of Navy and Marine Corps cases since 1988 show bases in Japan, which have a total of 41,008 personnel, held 169 courts-martial for sexual assaults. That's 66 percent more cases than the No. 2 location, San Diego, which had 102 cases and has 93,792 personnel.

“ Ugly American: Japan bases have high rate of sex cases ” http://nl.newsbank.com/nl-search/we/Archives?p_action=doc&p_docid=0F51AEBBF095F549&p_docnum=1; Internet; accessed 11 March 2009.

The above case shows that while San Diego base has more than twice the number of soldiers of United States bases in Japan, its crime rate is lower than that of the entire United States bases in Japan. Seventy percent of United States bases in Japan are located in Okinawa. Therefore, one can argue that the crime rate in Okinawa is very high.

- ¹² *Ryukyu Shimpo*, 9 December 2008.