

**The Asia-Pacific Consultation
of Movements against U.S.
Military Bases, Tokyo**

November 25 - 28, 2006

*The Asia-Pacific Consultation of Movements against U.S. Military Bases, Tokyo
-- A significant step toward the creation of regional anti-base movement linkages --*

On November 25-28, 2006, around fifty peace activists from the Southeast-East Asia and Pacific region in struggle against U.S. military bases gathered in Tokyo in the first sub-regional encounter ever held on the specific topic of American military bases. Titled the Asia-Pacific Consultation of Movements against U.S. Military Bases, Tokyo, the gathering was called to facilitate exchange of experiences in anti-base struggles and to work out common strategies to resist and defeat the U.S. defense transformation process that is being carried out to further militarize this region violating the interest of the local grassroots people. It was held also as a sub-regional preparatory step toward the inaugural conference of Global Network to Abolish Foreign Military Bases scheduled in March 2007 in Ecuador.

The Consultation was convened jointly by an ad hoc Japanese national organizing committee composed of about 40 groups and individuals, the Stop the War Coalitions Philippines, and the Focus on the Global South. The Japanese committee comprised anti-base groups based in communities affected by the U.S. base reorganization plans as well as national peace networks. Among the organizing committee members are the progressive trade union-based Peace Forum, National Christian Council of Japan, Catholic Justice and Peace Commission, and the Asian Peace Alliance-Japan.

The participants were from Australia, Guam, Hawaii, Okinawa, mainland Japan, Korea, the Philippines, and Mindanao, all dedicated activists fighting against the U.S. military presence. The presence of activists fresh from struggle scenes in Pyongyang (South Korea), Okinawa, Kanagawa prefecture (Camp Zama, Yokosuka), Yokota (Yokota airbase), Hiroshima-Iwakuni (Iwakuni airbase), and Yufuin (Hijudai exercise ground) as well as Mindanao and Australia made the discussion concrete and down to earth.

The participants analyzed the U.S. global strategy, shared reports of country and regional situations, exchanged successful and unsuccessful experiences, and adopted a statement and an action plan that would strengthen the strategic network of regional movements.

While the above was done in closed sessions, the Consultation also opened itself by holding a public forum on its first day that drew hundreds of audience listening to struggle reports and appeals from abroad. On November 28, the day following the closure of the session, the overseas participants were invited to participate in an outdoor rally and street demonstration of 3,000 people expressing opposition to new U.S.-Japan military arrangements involving strengthening of base functions. The event was held by the Peace Forum, one of the main organizers of the regional consultation.

Through this Consultation, the participants certainly came to have a clearer whole picture of U.S. "defense transformation"-related activities throughout their region. Also brought

into relief was the willing support given by host country governments to the U.S. war arrangements. They try to trick us saying, "this is for your security." But experience has shown clearly enough that the U.S. military presence, far from protecting the people, only violates people's sovereignty, destroy local people's cultural and economic life, bring on violence against women and children, and disaster to environment. We, the participants in the consultation, understand that our activities to stop the U.S. military are to take back our rights to live in genuine peace that are taken away from us by the U.S. and our elite groups. We also understand our struggles are to usher in a world with no military and to pass it to our future generations.

We are convinced that the network against U.S. military base and military presence in our region has expanded and strengthened through the Consultation. And we are excited by the outlook that we are going to meet more people with common aspirations and hopes from all over the world in Ecuador. We see the Ecuador conference is going to be a landmark event for our struggle. We express our ardent solidarity with the Conference and will show our commitment to this global people's fight against military bases and other forms of military presence.

*February 19, 2007
The Japan Committee for
the Asia-Pacific Consultation of Movements against U.S. Military Bases, Tokyo*

The Tokyo Consultation joint conveners

The Japan committee for "Asia-Pacific Consultation of Movements against U.S. Military Bases, Tokyo" & the No Bases Network "the International Conference in Ecuador"

The Japanese Committee that hosts the conference constituted for this event include the following organizations and anti-base movement-related individuals :

<Organizations>

Asia Pacific Peace Forum (APPF)/Asian Peace Alliance (APA)-Japan/Base Issues National Network/Catch Peace/Yokosuka Citizen's Nuclear-Free Declaration Movement/Gensuikin (Japan Congress against A- and H-Bombs)/Hokkaido Peace Net/Japan Catholic Council for Peace and Justice/No Rape! No Base! Women's Group/Peace Boat, Peace Forum/People's Plan Study Group(PPSG)/Reject Bases! Women's National Network/Religion's Network for Making Peace/Rimpeace, Religion's Network for Making Peace/VAWW-NET (Violence against Women in War-Network) Japan

<Individuals>

Ashitomi Hiroshi (Nago Council against Helicopter Base Construction, Okinawa)/Endo Yoichi (Rimpeace, Fussa City Councilor)/Funakoe Shuichi (Nagasaki Network for Citizen's Movement)/Ichiro Hirata (Crush Japan-U.S. Security Treaty Lantern Demonstration Group)/Ichiro Yuasa (Peace Link/Hiroshima-Kure-Iwakuni)/Ikezumi Yoshinori (Institute of Primary Health Care Japan Office)/Makishi Yoshikazu (Okinawa Environmental Network)/Matsumoto Machiko (Yufuin Women's Network Sunflower)/Nagasawa Masataka (Japan Catholic Council for Peace and Justice)/Natsume Taira(Revelent, Okinawa Citizens' Peace Network)/Shibazaki Masato (Sasebo Citizen's Network)/Takazato Suzuyo (Okinawan Women Act against Military Violence)/Terao Terumi (Peace Action Aichi)/Uehara Seishin (Association of Okinawa Anti-War Land Owners Group, Kanto Block)/Umebayashi Hiromichi (Peace Depot)/Urata Ryuji (Hijyudai Local Consultation Network on U.S. bases and Japan)/Yamashita Haruko (No Rape! No Base! Women's Group),/Yamamoto Mihagi (No War Network)/Yamamoto Toshimasa (National Christian Council Japan)

***STOP the War Coalition Philippines
Focus on the Global South***

The Tokyo Consultation Participants

Corazon Fabros (Stop the War Coalition Philippine/Philippines)
Denis Doherty (Australian Anti-Bases Campaign Coalition [AABCC], Australia)
Kang Cheol-woong (Korean Confederation of Trade Unions, Solidarity outreach Department/Korea)
Kyle Kajihiro (American Friends Service Committee, DMZ-Hawai'i / Aloha 'Aina Network/Hawaii)
Lisa Natividad (Nation Chamorro/Guam)
Octavio Dinampo (Mindanao State University/Philippines)
Park Jung-eun (Center for Peace and Disarmament of People's Solidarity for Participatory Democracy [PSPD]/Korea)
Yoon Kidon (Green Society, GreenKorea/Korea)
You Youngjae (Solidarity for peace and Reunification of Korea/Korea)
Ko You-kyoung (The Pan South Korea Solution Committee Against U.S. Base Expansion in Pyongtaek/ Korea)

Amano Yasukazu (Action Committee against US-Japan Security Pact)
Ashitomi Hiroshi (Nago Council against Heliport Building , Henoko, Okinawa/Okinawa)
Endo Youichi (Fussa City Councilor, Rimpeace/Japan)
Kasahara Hikaru (People's Plan Study Group [PPSG], Asian Peace Alliance[APA]/Japan)
Hirota Shizue (Japan Catholic Council for Peace and Justice/Japan)
Kaneko Tokio (Sagamihara City Councilor, Rimpeace/Japan)
Kawasaki Akira (Peace Boat/Japan)
Kushibuchi Mari (Peace Boat/Japan)
Kunitomi Kenji (Action Committee against US-Japan Security Pact)
Matsumura Machiko (Oita Hijyudai Local Network/Japan)
Muto Ichiyo (People's Plan Study Group [PPSG], Asian Peace Alliance [APA]/Japan)
Niikura Hiroshi (Citizens's Declaration of Nuclear Free City Movement, Yokosuka/Japan)
Nitta Hideki (Peace Link Hiroshima-Kure-Iwakuni/Japan)
Otsuka Teruyo (MP Ms. Tsujimoto Kiyomi Office/Japan)
Sugihara Kouji (No to Nuclear and Missile Defense! 2006 Campaign)
Suzuki Reiko (Religions' Network for Making Peace/Japan)
Suzuyo Takazato (Okinawan Women Act Against Military Violence/Okinawa)
Taba Yoko (Violence against Women in War Network [VAWW-NET] Japan/Japan)
Taira Natsume (Okinawa Citizens' Peace Network/Okinawa)
Ueda Sakiko (Violence against Women in War Network [VAWW-NET] Japan/Japan)
Yagi Ryuji (Forum Peace, Human Rights and Environment/Japan)
Yamashita Haruko (No Rape! No Base! Women's Group/Japan)
Yamaguchi Hibiki (People's Plan Study Group [PPSG]/Japan)
Yamoto Toshimasa (National Christian Council Japan/Japan)
Yuasa Ichiro (Peace Link Hiroshima-Kure-Iwakuni, Hiroshima/Japan)

The Tokyo Consultation Resource Book Contents

The Tokyo Declaration against U.S. Military Presence	8
Action Plan	10
Towards a Dynamic and Effective People's Movement for a Bases Free Asia and the Pacific	12
<i>Corazon Valdez Fabros</i> (Member of the International Organizing Committee for the International Conference for the Abolition of All Foreign Military Bases, March 2007 in Quito/Manta, Ecuador; Co-Convener, STOP the War! Coalition Philippines)	
The Global U.S. Military Strategy and the Asia-Pacific Region	14
<i>Umebayashi Hiromichi</i> (Peace Depot)	
Japan's willing military annexation by the United States - "Alliance for the future" and grassroots resistance	18
<i>Muto Ichiyo</i> (People's Plan Study Group [PPSG], Asian Peace Alliance(APA) Japan)	
Path of people's struggle against the plan of building a new U.S. military base in Henoko, Okinawa	24
<i>Ashitomi Hiroshi</i> (Nago Council against Heliport Building , Henoko, Okinawa)	
Our Activities to make a local community without military bases	28
<i>Machiko Matsumura</i> (Hijudai, Oita Prefecture, Japan)	
Reality and challenges of military bases in Hiroshima --Effect of U.S. military restructuring on Iwakuni, and on the forward deployment hub of MSDF [Maritime Self-Defense Force] Kure	31
<i>Yuasa Ichiro</i> and <i>Nitta Hideki</i> (Peace Link Hiroshima-Kure-Iwakuni)	
Re-coordination of South Korea-US Alliance and the Relocation of US Forces in Korea	34
<i>Park Jung-Eun</i> (People's Solidarity for Participatory Democracy (PSPD), Center for Peace and Disarmament (Peace Center)) Center for Peace and Disarmament	
The Report on the KCTU's Anti-U.S. Military Base Struggle	38
<i>Kang Choel-woong</i> (KCTU : Korean Confederation of Trade Unions)	
Problems of Foreign Military Presence and Its Solutions: an Environmental Perspective	42
<i>Yoon Kidon</i> (Green Korea)	
The Struggle against the US Armed Forces Base Expansion in Pyeongtaek and to Bring Peace to the Korean Peninsula and Protect Residents' Lives	46
<i>Ko You-kyoung</i> (The Pan South Korea Solution Committee. Against US Base Extension in Pyeongtaek [KCPT])	
People's Struggle in PyongTaek	52
<i>You Young-jae</i> (Solidarity for Peace And Reunification of Korea [SPARK])	
The Philippine SOFA and the State of the Philippine-US Security Relations	54
<i>Corazon Fabros</i> (STOP the War! Coalition Philippines)	

U.S. Interventions in Mindanao and Sulu	60
<i>Octavio Abbilani Dinampo (Mindanao State University)</i>	
People's Struggle in Guam	64
<i>Lisa Natividad (Nation Chamorro)</i>	
" GUAM.... THE LAND OF THE ROSARIES "	66
<i>Luis Szyfres, M.D., M.PH.</i>	
Hawai'i Report for the Asia-Pacific Consultation of Movements Against U.S. Military Bases	73
<i>Kyle Kajihiro (American Friends Service Committee - Hawai'i and DMZ-Hawai'i / Aloha 'Aina)</i>	
The Fight Against United States Bases in Australia	77
<i>Denis Doherty (Australian Anti-Bases Campaign Coalition)</i>	
The Tokyo Consultation contact list	83

The Tokyo Declaration against U.S. Military Presence

Tokyo, Japan November 28, 2006

We, peace and anti-base activists from Asia and the Pacific, have gathered in Tokyo and discussed with a sense of urgency the regional situation caused by the aggressive and anti-people policies of the Bush administration. These policies have meant that Governments on all levels have to disregard the wishes of the people by ruining local environments, under-funding education and health, and attacking human rights. Sharing our experiences in struggles against military bases and militarization, we have reaffirmed that this situation is unbearable, unsustainable and unjust. It should be ended with the people's action all over the world. The US attempt to dominate Afghanistan and Iraq has failed and have achieved nothing but misery and death to the people of the Middle East and poverty and distress to the people of the Asia Pacific Region.

We note with alarm that a process of monstrous military buildup in the name of U.S. Global Posture Review and 'defense transformation' is being carried out with its major focus on Asia-Pacific, for the sake of imperial domination all over the world. Through our three-day exchange, we have come to share a clear picture about what is happening in our region.

- The U.S.-Japan military alliance has been redefined to strengthen Japan's role as a yet more loyal U.S. military partner for its long- and short-term global hegemonic design. For this "alliance of the future" the United States practically placed the Japanese Self-Defense Forces under the U.S. command, qualitatively reinforced its bases in Japan, and has already begun to freely use SDF and civilian facilities for military exercises and operations. The Japanese ruling elite is using this opportunity to rapidly remilitarize the country and to accelerate the campaign to revise the 1946 Constitution for deletion of its Article 9. Struggle of Japanese people, particularly communities around bases, are now rising against these war-like moves and developments.
- As part of the current U.S. force transformation, the U.S. and Japanese governments are now attempting to force the construction of a new military airport and port in Henoko in the city of Nago in exchange for the closure of Futenma Base. They also announced the relocation of 8,000 U.S. marines and their families to Guam on condition that Okinawa accept the new Henoko base. Though the two governments plead that they intend to reduce burdens of bases, their aim is nothing else than drastic reinforcement of military functions.
- Nonviolent resistance by local residents has effectively derailed the earlier U.S.-Japanese governments' plan of building a U.S. base off the Henoko coast. Faced by an alternative base project in Henoko, the Henoko residents are determined to fight to prevent its construction.
- Along with this, the United States, in the name of 'strategic flexibility', is transforming its military presence in South Korea through consolidation of its bases on the huge Pyeongtaek base complex. This base will be used to intervene in the conflict in the North-East Asian region by US forces. The struggle of farmers resisting violent government repression for eviction and their supporters is mounting, heightening, drawing support from all parts of the county as well as neighboring countries. The so-called US forces 'strategic flexibility' is a violation of the Republic of Korea-US Mutual Defense Treaty and poses a serious threat to peace on the Korean Peninsula. The US should pay for the restoration of its polluted bases.
- Guam is given a new crucial springboard position in the U.S. lily-pad strategy as the hub for the newly deployed U.S. war systems. Military facilities will be constructed to accommodate marine troops along with nuclear submarines and attack planes. Leaders of the island's territorial government have not been allowed participation in the decision-making process or development of the masterplan for the relocation of approximately 8,000 marines from Okinawa projected in 2008. In addition, the military population is insidiously being increased on existing bases, while the island's people simultaneously suffer from the long-term consequences of radiation exposure and contamination from reckless mili-

tary practices.

- Violating treaties and international law, the United States invaded and occupied the sovereign nation of Hawaii more than a century ago to gain a militarily strategic outpost in the Pacific. This has contributed to widespread environmental destruction and contamination, grave social injustice, and the disintegration of Native Hawaiian culture. Today, the U.S. military is threatening its largest expansion since World War II, including a Stryker brigade, expanded missile defense programs, and a possible aircraft carrier battle group. Communities in Hawaii opposed to militarization call for no military expansion in Hawaii, the clean up and return of military-occupied lands, sustainable economic alternatives to military spending, and just compensation for those harmed by the U.S. military.
- The Philippines, and especially the Mindanao-Sulu region, has been turned into the U.S. second front on "War on terror". American troops permanently stationed and engaging in anti-insurgency operations in the name of training the Philippine armed forces, under the Visiting Forces Agreement and Mutual Logistics Support Agreement that have opened the whole national territory to U.S. military penetration and expedition. The rampant activities of the United States are causing serious damage to local communities and environment and threaten women's security. The second front thus made visible in the Philippines threatens to extend into Muslim populations in neighboring Indonesia and Malaysia.
- The Australian Government gives political, moral and concrete support for US hegemonic desires. It has troops in Iraq and Afghanistan supporting US aims in that region. However, by far the biggest contribution to US policy in the world and region by Australia is the hosting of over 40 US bases and the provision of training areas for the next aggressive acts by the US military. The US has set up a trilateral agreement between itself, Australia and Japan to further the aims of US domination.

The Global Posture Review-based U.S. strategy is binding the Asia-Pacific region into a single unit of military operation. This process is damaging people's lives, people's security, environment, and sovereignty, depriving people of their land, and militarizing all aspects of the people's lives. Under the Global Defense Posture Review, US bases have changed their structure into three main groups, one group of bases are the main operating ones with permanent facilities while the others are less permanent and use the client military structures to pursue US objectives in our region.

We have all come from the people's movements in our respective countries. We are heartened and encouraged by each other's experiences and pledge to continue to work together to free ourselves from this global and regional regime of military domination. We are committed to support each other in our common struggle.

Realizing that Empire wants to rule globally, we have come together and pool our strength on a global scale to protect people's lives and wellbeing against U.S. military system. We therefore enthusiastically welcome the initiative of holding the Inaugural Assembly of a global anti-base network in Ecuador in March, 2007 and will join it physically, spiritually, electronically, and in action.

Global struggle is intensifying and we pledge to carry it forward.

Action Plan

I. Right after the Consultation

- Making a report of the Tokyo Consultation and collecting media resources for the Ecuador Conference.
- Setting up the Tokyo Consultation mailing list server.

II. Possible Action Plan

Hawaii

- Holding a show of the documentary films of Pyongtaek and Henoko. Encouraging local TV stations to broadcast it.
- Sending a representative to the women's conference in San Francisco, in September 2007.
- Making effort to host a gathering of anti-base activists who have an opportunity to visit to Hawai'i.
- Hosting Peaceboat (Japan) participants in Hawaii in January 2007. It is hoped that a booklet of the Consultation will be ready by then.
- Pursuing the possibility of a joint action with Australians against US-Australia military drills.
- Strengthening the solidarity between Korea, Guam and Hawaii.

Mindanao

- Continuous monitoring of a new US military base construction plan in Sulu.
- Making efforts to reveal the US conspiracy in Mindanao by working together with other NGOs.

Australia

- Encouraging people in Asia-Pacific region to join the campaign against US-Australian military exercise in 2007.
- Encouraging people monitoring military exercise in each country or region to work together.
- Making effort to invite people from Pyongtaek.
- Asking Ms. Matsumura to visit Australia for the campaign against APEC.

Guam

- Making efforts to raise fund for a speaker from Okinawa to share the negative impact brought by US marines.
- Asking the permission to show the documentary film of Henoko struggle.
- Pursuing the possibility to send delegates to the Ecuador Conference and the Women's conference in the US.
- Pursuing the possibility to do a campaign against using the money from the Japanese government for the relocation of US marines from Okinawa to Guam.

Japan mainland

- Creating campaigns to fight against the Japanese Government's war-pursuing attitude by raising public awareness of the issue of the allocation of national budget to the relocation of US marines, missile defense and the involvement of the JSDF in Guam through working together with friends from Guam.

Okinawa

- Sending delegates to Guam.
- Making effort to reinforce an existing network with Koreans for a timely mutual support.
- Continuing to tackle on the issue of environment and base.
 - Eg. Distributing information of the ongoing Dugong court case in the US for more support.
- Making a network of translators for more effective information distribution.

Hijyudai (Oita)

- Continuous monitoring and distribution of information on US-Japan military drills against North

Korea.

- Making an omnibus film about anti-base movements in Okinawa and Japan.
- Organizing a show of the Pyongtaek documentary film.
- Sending two participants to the Women's conference in the US
- Continuing the effort to make a sustainable local community.

South Korea

- An action against the construction of a Korean navy base in Cheju. The US forces may use the base.
- Information-sharing with friends in Hijyudai on US-ROK or US-Japan joint military drills.
- International people's tribunal on environmental crime [Green Korea], which was originally proposed by people in Vieques.
- Lobbying the US Congress over the US bases relocation to Pyongtaek area.
- We can negotiate with the director of a film about Pyongtaek (which was shown during the Consultation) so that it can be shown anywhere.
- We have already decided to take part in the Women's conference in San Francisco.
- Planning the 5th Peace March on the Pyongteak issue, possibly in February.
- List of U.S. military pollution issue.

Green Korea has already made a report in Korean language, and has set up a project team on the issue.

- Green Korea has a documentary film depicting the situation of lands that used to be exploited as a U.S. military base. It can be shown in Ecuador.

Philippines

- VFA Watch: the monitoring of US forces visiting Philippines. Compilation of materials about crimes and environmental pollution by the US forces. Collecting information from Hawaii and Okinawa about when the US marines come to Philippines.
- Showing of films and videos about Henoko and Pyongtaek. We are also about to make a film 'Unconventional Warfare.'
- Cooperation with friends working for the Women's Conference in San Francisco.
- Supporting the Subic rape case.
- Cooperation with Australian friends to stop an Australia-Philippines military agreement.
- The creation of an activists' school.

About the Ecuador conference

- An address list of the participants both from overseas and from Japan. [Japan National Committee]
- Pursuing the possibility to hold an Asia-Pacific workshop in the conference. Need to confirm participants from the region by Christmas, and venue.

Towards a Dynamic and Effective People's Movement for a Bases Free Asia and the Pacific¹

Corazon Valdez Fabros²

Allow me to express warm greetings of solidarity and friendship from the International Organizing Committee of the Conference for the Abolition of All Foreign Military Bases that will be held in March 2007 in Quito and Manta, Ecuador. I am personally grateful to the Japan National Organizing Committee for their commitment and generosity that made it possible for us to come together in this Consultation.

Over the past two years, movements for justice and peace have been building an international network for the abolition of foreign military bases around the world. In year 2004, No Bases Network (International Network for the Abolition of Foreign Military Bases) was established at World Social Forum in Mumbai with 125 participants, from 34 countries, who fought against various injustices and violations brought by the presence of military power and military bases. The Network has since then been working as an information exchange platform for the people in anti-base struggle. Meetings and strategy sessions at various Social Forums such as that in Porto Alegre, in Europe, in the United States, in Cuba, Greece and Latin America and most recently at the World Peace Forum in Vancouver, Canada, the No Bases Network has moved towards consolidation through the International Conference for the Abolition of All Foreign military Bases which will take place in Ecuador (Quito and Manta) on March 5 to 10, 2007. It is envisioned that this will be the biggest gathering of anti-bases activists to date. The main objectives of the Ecuador Conference are:

- *Analyze the role of Foreign Military Bases and other forms of military presence in the strategy of global domination and its impacts on the population and the environment.*
- *Highlight, share experiences, and solidarity with resistance struggles against foreign military bases in the world.*
- *Reach consensus on objectives, action plans, coordination, communication and decision-making mechanisms for a global network for the abolition of all foreign military bases and other forms of military presence.*
- *Establish global struggles and action plans that strengthen local and national struggles and the coordination among them.*

The international conference in Ecuador aims both to highlight the political, social, environmental and economic impacts of foreign military bases and the grassroots movements that oppose them, as well as to formally construct the network, its strategies, structure and action plans. Since the Imperial scheme of domination is global, we on our part should together meet it globally. The Ecuador conference is designed as a step towards it.

In Asia and the Pacific where the people's anti-bases movements have rich history, we face a new and enormous challenge as the United States is reorganizing the region on the basis of its "Global Posture Review" into the major hub of the United States' regional and global military operations with a view to control the so-called "Arc of Instability" extending from Korea through Japan and Okinawa and Southeast Asia to Central and West Asia.

We bear witness to the various forms and manifestations of this scheme and the peoples of this region continue to suffer the impact of continuing U.S. military occupation of our lands. There is the construction of a huge military base complex in South Korea (in Pyongtaek) under the slogan of "strategic flexibility"; the strengthening of functions of bases in Okinawa and mainland Japan where new bases are built in the name of "alliance for the future"; the forcible and deceptive taking of ancestral and sacred lands of the peoples of Hawai'i and Guam, poisoning and integrating them into the U.S. military industrial complex; Australia's

increasing role in the U.S. War on Terror in the region; the frequent joint military exercises with Asian countries and free military entry into the Philippines under the Visiting Force Agreement. Let us not forget that our women and children continue to be exposed to the risk of rape and sexual abuse in the hands of the men in uniform as they go about their "rest and recreation".

In the midst of all these challenges, we draw inspiration and courage from each others struggles and commitment. We are also aware of the urgency and the strategic importance of our work.

U.S. military bases and other forms of military intervention in Asia and the Pacific and their destructive impacts are meeting with strong grassroots opposition, everywhere – in South Korea, in Okinawa, in mainland Japan, in Hawaii, in Guam, in the Philippines, Australia and Aotearoa/New Zealand and in other parts of the Pacific. It is these movements we wish to highlight and bring together for mutual support and strategies.

Let me express at the outset that this consultation is a small but important step towards building a dynamic and effective peoples' movement for a bases free Asia and the Pacific and hopefully contribute to the ongoing work to create a global anti-base network that will be launched in March 2007 in Ecuador.

The following will be specific objectives of the Tokyo Consultation:

- 1) *Share information, situations and strategies within Asia and the Pacific;*
- 2) *To gain a clear understanding of US Strategy and the implications of military bases/ military presence in Asia and the Pacific and the imperatives of building a strong grassroots peoples' movement for peace and justice. It is important to have a clear insight into the realignment of bases/forces in the region and to emphasize the concept of global "demilitarization" as an important guide post or principle if we are to build a strong anti-bases campaign;*
- 3) *To provide a venue to prepare for the Ecuador conference and come up with proposals and strategies;*
- 4) *To provide an occasion to gather data, stories and visuals for the production of resource and information materials on Asia & Pacific situation with specific focus on people's struggles and social movements which could be effective tools for media work, general campaign work, lobbying, conference deliberations and the public actions;*
- 5) *In more concrete terms: To prepare a regional situationer and general basis of cooperation and unity. Included is an endeavor to produce a resource material on No Bases Asia and the Pacific (in booklet form and a PowerPoint material) which will eventually be reproduced as Asia-Pacific material for the Ecuador Conference and will be in at least four languages (English, Japanese, Korean, Spanish)*

It is my fervent hope that we come out of this consultation richer in knowledge of our shared struggles and aspirations; more humane, courageous and inspired in the thought that we are building a bases free, just and peaceful world for ourselves, our children and the future generation.

¹ General Overview and Rationale of the Asia-Pacific Consultation of Movements Against U.S. Military Bases, November 24-28, 2006, Zensuido Kaikan, Tokyo, Japan

² Member of the International Organizing Committee for the International Conference for the Abolition of All Foreign Military Bases, March 2007 in Quito/Manta, Ecuador; Co-Convener, STOP the War! Coalition Philippines; Chairperson of the Pacific Concerns Resource Centre (Secretariat of the Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific Movement)

Keynote speech

The Global U.S. Military Strategy and the Asia-Pacific Region

Umebayashi Hiromichi (Peace Depot)

Two motive factors

The U.S. military posture in the Asian-Pacific Region is now undergoing a major change, one often described as the most drastic since the Korean War. This change has been introduced by what the United States Department of Defense (DOD) terms the Global Defense Posture Review, a program presented in the 2001 Quadrennial Defense Review which the Bush administration published at the end of September 2001.

This change in the global military posture of the United States reflects two background factors. One is the thrust of the long-term U.S. forces transformation planning. This process of a term of ten years was launched with the Clinton administration's 1997 QDR. The other is a short-term need for military reorganization generated by the war on terror started by the Bush administration. The Bush administration faced the serious difficulty of securing sufficient numbers of soldiers in order to keep around 150,000 soldiers in Iraq and more than 15,000 in Afghanistan for wars that may last over an indefinite period of time. This brought into relief the weaknesses of the U.S. global military posture that had been shaped by the Cold War requirements. Also, the wars the United States is now fighting are seen as an experiment with 21st century type wars. The GPR is instrumental to the immediate need of reorganizing troops and military bases to suit the on-going wars.

The forces transformation in the long term perspective involves large scale remaking of the U.S. forces to meet the 21st century type threats including terrorism, guerrilla warfare, missile attacks, cyber attacks, and star wars. In this area, the United States is determined to carry out a revolution in military affairs (RMA) relying on its overwhelming superiority in information technology (IT). This revolution involves not only changes in military equipment and technology but also fundamental changes in the modality of war and organization of military forces. The U.S. armed forces are required to become a "more agile and more flexible force" (President Bush). Key to this is the promotion of the joint operation concept. This means that the organizations and modes of operation of the Army, Navy, Air Force, and the Marine Corps, developed separately over a long period of time, are to be unified. The traditional separate operation of the four sections of the military is predicated on the mobilization of large troops and vast quantities of war materials. But in irregular and diversifying modes of future wars, joint forces, which will share information instantaneously over long distances with the help of advanced IT and can thus bring to play the mutually complementing advantages of the four sections, should be the standard formation of the U.S. military.

Along this line, the Joint Chiefs of Staff produced the Joint Vision 2010 in July 1996 and the Joint Vision 2020 in May 2000. The DOD in 1999 abolished the Atlantic Command, which was a U.S. geographical command paralleling the Pacific Command, and in its place established the Joint Forces Command as the force whose sole mission was to promote joint operation of all the U.S. forces.

As regards another side of the American global posture, President Bush in his August 16, 2004 speech had this to say, "Although we'll still have a significant presence overseas, under the plan I'm announcing today, over the next 10 years, we will bring home about 60,000 to 70,000 uniformed personnel, and about 100,000 family members and civilian employees...our service members will have more time on the home front, and more predictability and fewer moves over a career. Our military spouses will have fewer job changes, greater stability, and more time for their kids and to spend with their families at home." This statement reflected the growing difficulty the U.S. government faces in recruiting a sufficient number of soldiers under the voluntary service system. To meet war needs, the DOD was transferring more and more personnel from Germany, South Korea, and Okinawa to battlefields in Iraq and Afghanistan, causing tremendous discontent among the soldiers. Bush had to promise to call back more soldiers back home in order to dissipate this discontent.

The U.S. Defense Strategy announced in March 2005 also made it clear that the defense transformation was intended not only to facilitate the on-going war but also to protect the U.S. forces and their bases overseas. The immediate war requirements in Afghanistan and Iraq strongly characterize the transformation planning.

Involving partners and lily-pad strategy

In implementing the GPR, the U.S. government pursues five policy themes, according to the U.S. Defense Strategy disclosed in March 2005. They are:

1. Strengthen allied roles
2. Flexibility to contend with uncertainty
3. Focus within and across regions
4. Develop rapidly deployable capabilities
5. Focus on capabilities, not number

Overall, the U.S. intends to build and spread such a global network of bases all over the world as will allow the U.S. military to deploy its forces flexibly and rapidly on its own judgment and without being restricted by host countries.

Of the above five items, the first is of crucial importance. The underlying idea here is that the U.S. defense transformation is being conducted for the sake of common interests of the United States and its allies. This may be called the ideology of transformation. By using this ideology, the United States is not only enticing allies by offering benefits but also threatening them by demanding an unequivocal yes to committing themselves to the U.S. cause. In other words, the United States demands that its allies and friendly states accept as their common objectives the formation of a global order that the United States wants to establish. The U.S. will help those which have accepted it to “modernize their own forces, doctrines and strategies.” The United States will explore “ways in which we together can transform our military capabilities” (then Under Secretary of Defense for Policy, Douglas Feith).

In an attempt to stimulate “voluntary” commitment of the allies (certainly in a way serving the U.S. interests), Feith mentioned the need to “reduce friction with host nations, the kind that results from accidents and other problems relating to local sensitivities.” In this regard, Rumsfeld, in one of his congressional testimonies, said that bases should not be located where they were not welcomed. “Our troops,” he said, “should be located where they are wanted, welcomed, and needed.” In some cases, “the presence and activities of our forces grate on local populations and have become an irritant for host governments,” he continued. “The best example is our massive headquarters in some of the most valuable downtown real estate in Seoul ... long a sore point for many South Koreans.” The DOD should not be double-tongued. We should utilize these statements for our anti-base movement.

In pursuit of these goals and also for the purpose of reducing its military burdens by redefining the responsibilities of the allies, the United States has categorized its overseas military bases into three groups. The new base locating policy is dubbed a “lily pad” strategy. As lily pads are floating scattered over the surface of a pond, American bases are to be strewn all over the world. As frogs jump from pad to pad, American troops will use the bases as springboards for quick movement to reach any spot in the world. This disposition of bases and forces will enable the United States to fight a protracted warfare. As the sizes of lily pads differ, the overseas U.S. bases have different sizes and functions. There are to be three kinds.

- Main operating bases (MOB): permanent bases supported by solid infrastructure where troops are permanently stationed and where training of personnel, provision of security cooperation, and stationing of operational troops are possible; these bases will hire local people as employees.
- Forward operating sites (FOS): more austere facilities to which operational troops are assigned on a rotational basis; they can be enlarged as need arises; often they have forward munitions depots for whose management small logistic units are stationed.
- Cooperative security locations (CSL): Yet simpler facilities than FOS; they are made usable at a short notice

for support for military activities; they are used for access and logistic support in unforeseen situations and open to temporary use by rotational operating units; stationed personnel is small or nil.

- The DOD's policy of making distinction among different types of bases is intended to reduce the number of MOBs and build versatile networks of bases.

Global strike, missile defense, and the Korean Peninsula

Looking at the changing posture of U.S. forces in the Asian-Pacific region, we need to pay attention to the new triad of the U.S. strategy. The first and the central element of the triad is the global strike (long-distance precision attack) connected with the Bush administration's preemptive attack theory. The second is the missile defense program. The third is the maintenance of infrastructure to allow expansion of these facilities in response to emergency situations. According to the Presidential Directive (classified) issued in January 2003, the global strike means an attack either by conventional or nuclear weapons, also defined as:

“a capability to deliver rapid, extended range, precision kinetic (nuclear and conventional) and non-kinetic (elements of space and information operations) effects in support of theater and national objectives.”

Weapon systems for global strikes and missile defense are now being operationalized using the North Korean crisis as the excuse.

In January 2005, the Joint Functional Component Command (JFCC) for Space and Global Strike was established as part of the U.S. strategic forces. The JFCC announced that it achieved the initial operational capability (IOC) on November 18, 2005. The IOC was achieved in an exercise code-named Global Lightning, whose scenario focused on nuclear attacks on North Korea.

The Bush administration began initial assignment of still technically immature missile defense systems around Japan in October 2004, targeted mainly against North Korean missiles. The U.S. conducted patrols by Aegis destroyers belonging to the Seventh Fleet (home-ported in Yokosuka) in the Sea of Japan/East Sea and assigned Patriot missiles to South Korea. The Japanese government is taking advantage of this opportunity to carry forward its own missile defense program and to build joint operation systems with the United States.

Moves in other parts of the world

As the result of the GPR, the numerical strength of U.S. troops overseas has diminished from 200,000 (100,000 each in Europe and Asia) to a total of 130,000 (excepting troops in Afghanistan and Iraq), broken down into 55,000 in Europe and 75,000 in Asia-Pacific (including Guam). The relative weight of Asia-Pacific has signally increased.

It is true that some major changes have occurred in Europe too such as the drastic reduction in the U.S. army troops mainly in Germany and establishment of FOS for the first time in former socialist East Europe, that is, in Bulgaria and Romania. But here let me outline remarkable changes in the U.S. military role in Asia and Pacific.

After three year-long consultation, Japan and the United States agreed on three major strategic documents. Though, as far as the texts went, these did not alter the Japanese Constitution or the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty and their interpretations, in substance the new agreements modified the nature of the alliance to suit the requirements of the new U.S. strategy. The Japanese Self-Defense Forces are to share the same command facilities in Camp Zama (for anti-terrorist operations) and in Yokota (for missile defense and comprehensive joint operation) so that the SDF and the U.S. forces achieve command level integration. In Okinawa, measures are taken to eternalize the presence of most of the U.S. bases in exchange for return of minor facilities.

In South Korea, “strategic flexibility” of U.S. forces was agreed upon by the U.S.-South Korea joint statement signed in January 2006, and under it, a major U.S. base complex is going to be built in Pyongtaek through harsh repression of the farmers who are resisting eviction.

In the Philippines, the Visiting Forces Agreement (VFA) and the Mutual Logistic Support Agreement comple-

menting it signed in 2002 in fact forestalled the concept of the current forces transformation. Under these arrangements, the whole national territory has practically been turned into potential sites (FOS) of U.S. military operations on the forefront of the war on terror. In addition, the Armed Forces of the Philippines are being reinforced under the guidance of the United States military forces.

Under the lily-pad strategy, new light is cast on the strategic importance of Guam, which is placed under the U.S. administration, and the island is now undergoing drastic changes. It is reemerging as a forward hub airbase for aerial attacks in the global strike strategy and being turned into a major submarine and marine base. In addition to 8,000 marines relocated from Okinawa, the island may come to have 21,000 U.S. marines, according to an estimate.

Singapore signed a Strategic Framework Agreement in July 2005, taking upon itself enlarged roles as CSL. As the first step under this agreement, the country conducted the first joint PSI (Proliferation Security Initiative) exercise with the U.S. in Asia in August the same year.

India and the United States clinched a new alliance. In June 2005, the two countries signed a new ministerial level framework agreement on defense matters. Wide-ranged cooperation is now in effect in the areas of missile defense, space utilization and so on. The effort to make a U.S.-India nuclear power agreement, now drawing criticisms as an act to undermine the NPT regime, symbolizes the new bilateral relationships currently emerging between the two countries.

In Central Asia, the United States signed a strategic partnership agreement with the Karzai government of Afghanistan in May 2005, thereby obtaining the right to use military posts in Afghanistan centering on Bagram air base. Uzbekistan rejected the U.S. request for the use of its bases. With Kirgistan, the U.S. barely managed in October 2005 to sign an agreement on the use of some locations as FOS. In Central Asia, hegemonic struggle is already under way between the United States and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization.

The GPR-based U.S. force reorganization scheme is facing strong opposition movement in many places in the world. I expect this international consultation to lay bare the anti-people nature of the U.S. program with respect to its varied aspects, such as national sovereignty, human rights, and environment, so that global solidarity and joint struggle against it will emerge and spread.

Japan's willing military annexation by the United States

- "Alliance for the future" and grassroots resistance

<abridged version>

Muto Ichiyo (People's Plan Study Group [PPSG], Asian Peace Alliance(APA) Japan)

It is hard to believe that it happened but it did. In an 18-month working process begun in February 2005 and completed in June 2006, Japan willingly surrendered command over its military forces to the United States, committing itself unconditionally to the American empire's global strategic imperatives. It is surprising that the Japanese government made this commitment at a time when the U.S. war chariot was sinking into the bog of a "long war" it had unleashed.

If military command is the most essential element of national sovereignty, one could argue that Japan having made its military an integral part of a foreign power can no longer be considered a sovereign state. Has then Japan become a new U.S. colony? Certainly not. Nor is it ruled by the U.S. occupation as it was in the 1940s. What then is taking place?

Reorganization into a global partnership

On June 29 2006, Bush and Koizumi met in Washington D.C. and issued a joint statement titled, "The Japan-U.S. Alliance of the New Century." This marked the ceremonial conclusion of the intense planning process that had gone into full swing in 2005 to annex Japan militarily into the U.S. global imperial rule. The alliance of the new century, according to the statement, is not just to meet common threats but *par excellence* "for the advancement of core universal values such as freedom, human dignity and human rights, democracy, market economy and rule of law." This expression, innocent as it may appear, meant Japan's unconditional commitment to whatever military venture the United States would undertake ostensibly for the sake of these "core values." This venture is precisely what President Bush called a "long war" in his 2006 state of the union address. Japan promised to be an automatic part of it.

The press conference in June was the finishing touch to the new alliance making process that had produced three bilateral agreements: the "common strategic objectives" made as of February 19, 2005, "U.S.-Japan Alliance: Transformation and Realignment for the Future" (hereafter referred to as T&R) signed on October 29, 2005, and the "Roadmap for Realignment Implementation" dated May 1, 2006. All these instruments worked out at the U.S.-Japan Security Consultative Committee, were signed by "two-plus-two," namely, Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice and Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld for the United States and Minister of Foreign Affairs Machimura Nobutaka (Aso Taro for the Roadmap) and Minister of State for Defense Ohno Yoshinori (Nukaga Fukushima for the Roadmap) for the Japanese government.

The major change that has been made is that under the new arrangements the alliance is to cover the "Arc of Instability" running from Korea to the Middle East, instead of the East Asian region, as the area of U.S. military operation from Japan covered by the alliance. It should be remembered that under the 1960 treaty, the United States was "granted the use by its land, air and naval forces of facilities and areas in Japan" only "for the purpose of contributing to the security of Japan and the maintenance of international peace and security in the Far East." The "U.S.-Japan alliance in the world" under the new arrangements has repudiated this restrictive clause and turned Japan to a major hub for American military operations all over the world and transformed the Japanese military forces into part of the globally deployed U.S. military forces.

Ten Year Process of Alliance Redefinition

While the 2005-2006 arrangement is a drastic breakthrough, it should be noted that it has resulted from a 10-year process of redefinition of the U.S. global military strategy in the U.S. search for the construction of its post-Cold War global empire.

It was in 1997 that the Clinton administration adopted its national security strategy and the Pentagon its Quadrennial Defense Review, launching the “defense transformation” process to reorganize the U.S. global military posture away from the Cold War period. The key concepts of the post-Cold War U.S. strategy such as “shape, respond, and prepare” to counter “asymmetrical enemies” as well as the notion of “full-spectrum dominance” preventing the emergence of any potential hegemonic rival in the foreseeable future were already formulated in this period. The redefinition of the U.S.-Japan alliance involving ever increasing pressure on Japan to share more of the “burden” proceeded along the line of the U.S. defense transformation.

Along this line, the new Guidelines for Japan-U.S. Defense Cooperation were made in 1997, replacing the 1978 Cold War version, detailed measures for the mobilization of Japanese military and civil resources in the event of contingencies arising “in areas surrounding Japan.” This was already a great leap from the 1960 security treaty restriction, as the “area surrounding Japan” was defined not as a geographical concept but a situational one that can cover even the Persian Gulf if events involving Japanese security interests break out there.

But Washington felt that these Japanese domestic arrangements still fell far short of the new strategic requirements of the United States. In October 2000, the Pentagon’s special committee chaired by long-time Japan hand, Undersecretary of Defense Richard Armitage, produced a report titled, “Mature Partnership” that openly urged Japan to remove its restraints on the exercise of the right to “collective defense” as unconstitutional.

A breakthrough to a “mature partnership”

After George Bush Jr. and Koizumi Junichiro came to power one after another in 2001, and especially after 9/11, Japan’s military commitment to the U.S. went forward by leaps and bounds. Koizumi readily supported Bush’s invasion of Afghanistan and made a special law to send a Japanese navy fleet to the Indian Ocean. When the United States invaded Iraq, he parroted the Bush rationale of the war – WMDs – and in a political blitzkrieg made legislation to send Japanese Ground Self-Defense Force troops to Iraq as part of the “coalition of the willing.”

In the three years from 2001 through 2004, the Koizumi government forced one war-related law after another through the Diet – a package of draconian laws providing for emergency measures to facilitate U.S. and Japanese military operations in and around the Japanese territory in the event of an armed attack on Japan.

With these legal and institutional receptacles having been readied on the Japanese part, the United States in January 2003 set out to remake the alliance relationship with Japan in what was called the Defense Policy Review Initiative. The full negotiation on alliance reorganization began only in October 2004 when then Secretary of State Colin Powell visited Tokyo, pressuring Japan into a reexamination of its strategy. Powell was followed by Assistant Secretary of Defense Douglas Feith who flew to Tokyo in November to tell the Japanese government that maintaining the alliance with Japan would become difficult if Japan failed to adapt to the new situation.³ Earlier in the year, the U.S. government adopted a “Global Posture Review” providing for “reshaping America’s global military footprint” through reorganization of bases and alliances.

It should be noted in this context that the United States in this same process was pursuing a trilateral military arrangement. Testifying before the Senate Armed Service Committee in March 2006, Adm. William Fallon, head of the U.S. Pacific Command, said that the United States planned to “launch trilateral military cooperation with Japan and South Korea to deal not only with North Korea but also with China and terrorist threats in Asia.” In the same process as the U.S. was talking with Japan, “the United States has been working to transform its bilateral defense alliances with the two nations to deal with regional and global issues and develop them into a stronger trilateral initiative.” (Japan Times, March 6, 2006). The slogan for the South Korean part of the U.S. military restructuring is “flexible responsibility” under which the consolidation of U.S. bases in South Korea on a huge base complex in Pyongtaek is being carried out, involving the forced relocation of farmers, leading to fierce resistance by the victimized farmers and peace and anti-base groups.

It was in the context of this grandiose U.S. military transformation and “position review” that Japan was prescribed new, heavy military roles in the previously mentioned 2+2 documents adopted in 2005.

Of the three documents, “U.S.-Japan Alliance: Transformation and Realignment for the Future” (T&R) should be considered the most important, as it redefines “the roles, missions, and capabilities of Japan’s Self-Defense Forces (SDF) and the U.S. Armed forces” allegedly to pursue their “common strategic objectives.”

Taking over Japanese command

The T&R is an exacting, no-nonsense document. It lists a whole gamut of strengthened military cooperation ranging from Japan’s commitment to full participation in ballistic missile defense, counter-terrorism, search and destroy operations, intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance operations, through response to attacks by weapons of mass destruction and joint use of bases and facilities in Japan with the SDF to the U.S. use of seaport and airport facilities, roads, water spaces, airspaces, and frequency bands.

But the greatest emphasis of this document is on “close and continuous policy and operational coordination.” “Recognizing the Government of Japan’s intention to transform the SDF into a joint operations posture,” the document states, “the Headquarters, U.S. Forces Japan will establish a bilateral and joint operations center at Yokota Base.” It goes on, “The shared use of this center will ensure constant connectivity, coordination, and interoperability among U.S. forces in Japan and the SDF.”

Here is the basic philosophy and practice running through the new alliance arrangements – the unification of the SDF and U.S. forces under the U.S. command. It is surprising to learn from this document signed by the two Japanese leaders that the Japanese government is willing to “transform the SDF” into this “posture.” Given the power relations between the U.S. and Japanese military which are to be inter-connected, there is little doubt that these “joint operations” must end up as operations that are totally commanded by the United States.

Along with the coordination center in Yokota for the whole SDF and U.S. forces, the integration of the air force command will also be carried out. T&R reads:

Japan’s Air Defense Command and relevant units, currently located at Fuchu, will be collocated with the headquarters of the U.S. 5th Air Force at Yokota Air Base, strengthening the coordination between air and missile defense command and control elements, and sharing relevant sensor data through the bilateral and joint operations coordination center.

This step is considered essential to Japanese participation in the ballistic missile defense system, one of the top priority tasks assigned to Japan under this arrangement. The BMD system deployed in Japan is of course intended to protect the American mainland and for this the new U.S. X-Band radar system is to be introduced at Shariki base in Japan.

One step in this document that sheds light on the nature of the overall reorganization process is the upgrading of the Zama Camp to a global U.S. army command headquarters. “The capabilities of the U.S. Army Japan’s command structure in Zama Camp will be modernized to a deployable, joint task force-capable operational headquarters element,” the document states. This jargonized expression simply means that the U.S. is moving the headquarters of the First Army now located in the state of Washington to Zama to command its global operation. “The transformed command structure will provide an additional capability to respond rapidly for the defense of Japan and other contingencies.” Moreover, the SDF will establish the headquarters of a Ground SDF Central Readiness Force Command in the Zama Camp for mobile operations and special tasks “thereby strengthening the coordination between the headquarters.”

Another major step provided for in the document is the relocation of a carrier air wing from Atsugi Air Facility to Iwakuni Air Station. Atsugi is near Zama, both in Kanagawa Prefecture adjacent to Tokyo, where the local community has been conducting a decades-long struggle against destructively noisy night landing exercises by carrier-borne planes. In successive lawsuits filed by the local citizens, the courts have repeatedly sided with the plaintiffs and the Japanese government has had to pay compensation for the noise damage. But the T&R-provided relocation of the exercise to Iwakuni Air Station is being done not in consideration of the voices of the local people. The purpose of the transfer, according to T&R, is simply “to ensure the viability of a long-term

forward-deployment of the U.S. Aircraft carrier and its air wing” by using the Iwakuni base which “will have the necessary facilities and training airspace.”

The single major political focus of the strategic realignment is Okinawa, where 75% of U.S. bases in Japan are concentrated causing perpetual suffering to the local people who are overwhelmingly opposed to the U.S. and Japanese military presence. As is well known, one long-contested issue is the Futenma Marine Corps Air Station located in the midst of densely populated Ginowan city. After the 1995 crisis triggered by the rape of a 12-year old girl by U.S. soldiers, Washington and Tokyo organized a special action committee (SACO), on the pretension that it would do something to meet Okinawan people’s demand for alleviation of the burdens of the bases, centering on the closure of the Futenma base. SACO came out with the decision that Futenma base would be closed in exchange for a replacement base to be built off the coast of Henoko beach. This step, which would simply move the base from one location to another within Okinawa, called forth another wave of protest. Local people organized sustained non-violent action on the sea to prevent the initial sea bottom drilling and succeeded in paralyzing the construction work. In the meantime, in 2005 a U.S. helicopter from Futenma crashed at a nearby university campus, again dramatizing the danger of the base and further spurring anti-base feelings and activities. Earlier in 2003, Rumsfeld himself, visiting Okinawa to make an on-the-spot investigation, had flown over Futenma base and found it utterly impossible to continue to use it. This was the situation the U.S. and Japanese governments were facing in designing the alliance reorganization.

In the 2005 thrashing out process, the two governments found it impossible to go ahead with the original Henoko offshore base project due to the fierce opposition. Instead of abandoning the project, they improvised a new plan to build a larger base located partly inside Camp Schwab, the U.S. marines’ huge training base, and protruding into sea areas on both sides of Cape Henoko. The proposed new base is to have two runways arranged in a V shape, complete with a large naval port and other facilities created through the reclamation of sea areas. The abrupt announcement of the new plan, which is far worse than the original Henoko offshore plan, set the Okinawan people aflame, spreading anti-base movement to new groups and sectors as Yui Akiko details.

The Tokyo government was certainly speculating that it could appease the Okinawans by promising to relocate 8,000 U.S. marines and their dependents to Guam Island. The government slogan justifying the whole realignment business is “alleviating burdens while keeping deterrence intact.” But it could not deceive the Okinawan people. The movement of marines, having nothing to do with “burden alleviation,” was solely motivated by the desire to strengthen the U.S. marine’s crisis response capability by increasing flexibility. T&R introduces the transfer of part of marines to Guam as follows:

As part of its global posture realignment effort, the U.S. is making several changes to strengthen its force structure in the Pacific. Among these changes are a strengthening of Marine Corps crisis response capabilities and a redistribution of those capabilities among Hawaii, Guam and Okinawa that will provide greater flexibility to respond with appropriate capabilities according to the nature and location of particular situations.

The false rhetoric of burden alleviation for the sake of Okinawans is useful to the U.S. side, too, in the most peculiar manner. It serves to present a perverted picture of the situation – the United States is on the side of obliging Japan by agreeing to move the marines to Guam.

In fact, the United States demanded that Japan meet most of the cost involved in the relocation of the marines from Okinawa to Guam, calling initially for 75% the estimated \$10 billion expenditure covering the construction of the marine headquarters, other base facilities, roads, ports, and recreational facilities for use by the marines. The Japanese government negotiated a reduction of its share and finally agreed to meet 60% but no questions were raised as to why Japan should be the host of marines stationed in Guam, a territory under U.S. administration

This U.S. assumption that Japan should pay for the cost of moving American marines to Guam as well as the idea of locating the headquarters of the First Army for global deployment in Zama Camp in Japan betrays the

prevailing American understanding behind the alliance realignment – Japan is an extension of the U.S. territory across the Pacific and the Japanese budget part of the American budget.

In this context, the T&R emphasizes general joint use of military and civilian facilities by U.S. and Japanese forces and their joint exercises. “Recognizing the limited access that the SDF have to facilities in Okinawa,” the T&R states as though Okinawa were a U.S. territory, “the U.S. underscored its willingness to implement shared use of Kadena Air Base, Camp Hansen, and other U.S. facilities and areas in Okinawa in cooperation with the Government of Japan.”

Community-based resistance rises anew and links up

The Japanese government conducted the process of the new alliance making silently, if not totally secretly. Nor did media follow the process with sufficient attention. So, when the “Transformation and Realignment” document was disclosed in October, it came as a sheer surprise to the public, and particularly to the local communities, their people and local administration, who were going to be affected by the new arrangements. “This is abrupt; we were not consulted” was the unanimous angry response coming from practically all the local governments in the base-bordering areas and regions.

Okinawa: Anger mounts against the U.S. and Yamato governments

The most vigorous opposition of course came from Okinawa. As Yui Akiko points out in her detailed report,⁴ Japan’s new commitment to the global U.S. strategy has “meted out a yet more cruel fate to Okinawans” and “the treatment of Okinawa in this series of arrangements is reminiscent of the historical incident called the Ryukyu annexation (*Ryukyu Shobun*) in which the Meiji government abolished the Ryukyu Kingdom and annexed it as a prefecture of Japan.” This was an affront to Okinawa, a blatant expression of discrimination against Okinawans by the Yamato (mainland Japan) government. Governor Inamine Keiichi categorically rejected the new plan. The Tokyo government responded by threatening to make a special law to deprive the governor of the powers to issue permits for the use of sea area. On the other hand, the Tokyo government promised new subsidies which would be disbursed in accordance with the progress of the base construction. Nearby communities and Nago city asked that the projected location of the base be moved a little bit further away from the populated areas. Koizumi’s response was that there was no room for negotiation on the siting. “We may move it if at all by a few centimeters,” he said.

As righteous anger and a growing sense of crisis take hold of the majority of Okinawans, the anti-base movement in Okinawa is gaining momentum, incorporating new groups and segments of people. Even many of those who had accepted the Henoko offshore base project changed sides in the face of the Yamato government’s haughty attitude.

Zama-Sagamihara: whole cities stand up for the closure of bases

Kanagawa Prefecture, adjacent to Tokyo, is next only to Okinawa in its concentration of U.S. military bases and facilities. It has been forced to be the host to strategic U.S. bases and facilities in Zama, Sagamihara, and Yamato, and the largest U.S. naval port overseas, at Yokosuka. In mainland Japan, the Zama-Sagamihara area and Iwakuni near Hiroshima are two current focuses of local communities’ resistance. There, the local governments headed by the mayors have taken the initiative in expressing opposition to the imposition of the military projects, mobilizing municipal resources and powers, in collaboration with grassroots anti-base groups. These and other local movements support each other through mutual visits and exchanges of information.

Camp Zama encompasses two cities, Zama and Sagamihara, while Sagamihara also has a U.S. Sagami Depot. In the adjacent cities of Yamato and Ayase is located the Atsugi Airbase. Citizens’ movements and the municipalities involved have long been working together to get rid of the bases and their terrible effects on communities.

Moreover, Sagamihara is where in 1972 a powerful and imaginative struggle was organized by anti-Vietnam War groups against the use of the U.S. armory for the Vietnam War. The memory of this struggle, overwhelmingly supported and joined by local people, is still vivid in the minds of Sagamihara and Zama citizens as well

as the municipal officials as a source of pride. We asked Kaneko whether the mayors and the majority of the municipal council members were not conservatives. "That's right," Kaneko said, In Sagamihara, there is a broad citizens' coalition demanding the return of U.S. bases. The mayor is its president and the coalition has as members the municipal office, municipal council, local PTA, and most influential local organizations.

This coalition has recently proposed a campaign of sending postcards to the

Iwakuni: the community expresses its will by referendum

In Iwakuni city, it was more than a signature campaign. It was a statutory referendum by all citizens that was called to express the people's will vis-à-vis the government's decision.

The referendum was held on March 12. The result was a resounding victory for the anti-base camp. Despite the anti-referendum drive by pro-base groups, close to 60% of the eligible voters cast votes, making the referendum valid. Moreover, 87% of them voted against the government scheme. This means that 51% of all the eligible voters (84,000) opposed the U.S. plane landing exercises in Iwakuni.

Yuasa Ichiro, a leading peace activist based in the nearby naval port city of Kure who played a key role in this struggle, remarked that this victory represented an "historic moment in Iwakuni's modern history."⁵ The citizens of Iwakuni, he said, by demonstrating their unequivocal rejection of the central government's policy, declared that the future of Iwakuni would be made by Iwakuni citizens themselves.

Yuasa is right that what is happening in Iwakuni, Zama-Sagamihara, and Okinawa embodies the assertion of people's sovereignty at the grassroots level and defies the central government's claimed monopoly of decision-making on defense matters and external relationships.

In this climate, one recent development is worth special mention. That is the launching of a nationwide network of anti-base community groups in February 2006. At the call of Ashitomi Hiroshi from the Nago Council against the Helicopter Base Construction in Okinawa and Kaneko Tokio from the Association of No Welcome to the First Army Headquarters in Zama, 23 local community-based anti-base groups got together on February 3 in Naha, Okinawa. Coming from Iwakuni, Hiroshima, Yokota, Zama, Sagamihara, Yokosuka, Kadena, Futenma, and Nago cities, they set up a National Liaison Council to Struggle Against U.S. Base Reorganization and Reinforcement with Ashitomi and Kaneko as coordinators. This is a loose network for cooperation in action, information sharing, and for dissemination of information about Japanese activities to anti-base activities in other countries. This is the first time that anti-base groups of different places and backgrounds have come together on an equal footing in a single network.

Path of people's struggle against the plan of building a new U.S. military base in Henoko, Okinawa

Ashitomi Hiroshi (Nago Council against Heliport Building , Henoko, Okinawa)

Perspective of our struggle

Expected impacts on the struggle in Henoko in case the liberal candidate is elected in the coming governor's election in Okinawa to be held on November 19, 2006

Our position and views

1. Positive effects are expected: With wider public support, stronger actions may rise to call for the U.S. and Japanese governments to immediately close US Marine Corps Futenma Air Station and return of the land, in cooperation with IHA Yoichi, the liberal mayor of Ginowan City where Futenma Air Station is located. Such action as the lawsuit about protection of the sea mammal, Dugon, the endangered species in Okinawa, may gain more support among American citizens. The UN Human Rights Council could be a possible arena to bring cases of endangering the lives of people in Okinawa by U.S. military operations and practices that include: Aggravated night flying practices, the unequal Status of Forces concluded between the U.S. and Japanese governments, breaches of Air Installation Compatible Use Zone (AICUZ), violation of safety standards.
2. Island-wide movement can rise focusing also on protest against the deployment of Patriot Missile System (PAC3) on U.S. military bases in Okinawa: Deployment of PAC 3 will significantly increase deterrence power of the U.S. military in the region. The deployment goes against the necessity of alleviating the burden of the host communities of the bases imposed on people in Okinawa. Defense Minister KYUMA Fumio recently said that people in Okinawa should feel appreciative for the U.S. military for deploying PAC 3 as these would protect people in Okinawa. The U.S. military is planning to deploy MV-22 Osprey, medium-lift, multi-mission, tilt-rotor aircraft, in Okinawa, that can provide vertical take-off and landing. They also suggested that controversial touch-and-go practice to be conducted in Okinawa. The U.S. military explained that 4 sets of aircraft approach light would be built at the V-shape runway, the proposed plan of the facility in Henoko that would replace Futenma Air Station. The Master Plan of the building of the alternative military base in Henoko reveals that the two governments are planning to build arresting gear system. This means military aircrafts may fly over the residential area. Also emergency situation can be used as leeway for the U.S. military to gain more liberty in the usage of the base.
3. Return of the bases located in the southern part of the Okinawa main island can be realized: The Coherent package plan with regard to the plan of the new facility in Henoko described in the Roadmap for Realignment issued by the US-Japan Security Consultative Committee in May 2006 reveals that these bases to be returned are no longer necessary in the current U.S. military strategies. The Okinawa Prefectural government can propose a new program of return of the bases.
4. By conducting thorough archeological research in the U.S. bases where the new facility is proposed and by demanding preservation of these cultural properties, we may paralyze the functions of the U.S. bases.

Anticipated actions of the Japanese government to suppress people's movement

1. The Japanese government may override the power given to the prefectural governor on reclamation of the public sea. It may also enact a special ad-hoc legislation to ensure smooth operation of the U.S.

military activities. The special legislation can be applied only to Okinawa or nationwide.

2. The Japanese government may try hard to divide people in the host communities by threatening residents and paying the newly emerged residents' group who support building the new base. This plan was implied in the comment by one of the government officials when she visited Okinawa recently and said that government subsidiaries would not be provided to the community where cooperation to U.S. military base is not assured.
3. The Japanese government may take more forceful ways to suppress people's protest using police power as was seen in the case in which the Rev. TAIRA Natsume, a non-violence peace activist, was unjustly arrested when he was protesting in Henoko in September, 2006.
4. The Japanese government may punish the Okinawa prefectural government by decreasing the subsidiary, if the liberal governor was elected.

Anticipated impacts in case the liberal candidate loses the governor's election: We will have to continue even more severe struggle. Feeling of resignation is the beginning of defeat. Only persistent efforts can lead to a hopeful future. Wisdom is always born in the struggle.

1. The new master plan of building a new facility has not been made public.
2. How can we establish working relationship and solidarity with Archeology Committee who conducts research in U.S. base? And with scholars in this field?
3. We need to devise measures to respond to the plan of environmental assessment to be conducted before the end of March 2007. To re-vitalize the monitoring group on Dugongs in Okinawa may be necessary.

How will we cope with national policies?

1. Defense policies should not be exclusively conducted by the national government. We need to thoroughly reflect on the Pacific war of invasion that killed over 20 million people in Asia. We need to find out who are responsible for the atrocities in the war including "comfort women" by the Japanese military, the Battle of Okinawa, the atomic bombings in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, air bombing on cities in which many Japanese people lost their lives.
2. We, people, have the right to protest against wrong policies of the government. This is the source to develop democracy.

Our Hope!

1. To close and dismantle all military bases — War brings the largest and worst environmental destruction. Military base is the largest waste.
2. Reviving natural environment in the Ryukyu archipelago to be recognized as UNESCO World Natural Heritage.
 - The beautiful sea area of Oura Bay and Henoko should be designated as the preservation area for Dugongs in Okinawa.
 - Coral reef needs to be revitalized.
 - Dugond, the endangered species, must be protected to increase the number to several thousands so that inhabitation of them to be expanded to Miyako & Yaeyama islands and Amami islands where in time of the Ryukyu Kingdom they actually inhabited.
 - Our hope has to be passed on to the future generations.
3. Demilitarized Peace Zone: Peace must be created not only protected. Okinawa has to be once more the intersection of peace and trade with other Asian nations as it used to be in the Ryukyu Kingdom era.

4. To establish people's network over the Pacific on anti-base, peace and environmental protection.

Air Installation Compatible Use Zone Program: The purpose of the AICUZ (Air Installation Compatible Use Zone) Program is to protect the health, safety and welfare from noise and hazards through compatible development in the airport environment. The program was instituted by the Department of Defense of the United States. It designates areas within 900 meters from the end of runway as prohibited areas and 3.6 km as accident hazardous areas. In these areas, housings, schools or hospitals are not to be built.

Arresting Gear: A system to decelerate fighter planes or other types of aircrafts on a short runway such as ones on an aircraft carrier using wire.

Selected Events regarding Peace Movement in Okinawa

Sep. 4, 1995	Three U.S. soldiers abduct and rape an Okinawan girl.
Oct. 21, 1995	85,000 citizens participate in the Citizens' Rally to call for abolition of crimes by U.S. soldiers and consolidating and decreasing the U.S. military bases in Okinawa.
Apr. 12, 1996	Prime Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto and Ambassador Walter Mondale meet and reach to an agreement that USMC Futenma Air Station will be closed in 5-7 years.
Dec. 2, 1996	Special Action Committee on Okinawa submits the final report noting a plan to build an alternative military facility in the northern part of the main island of Okinawa that can later be dismantled.
Dec. 21, 1996	Nago City referendum is held in which 52 % of voters express opposition to the plan of new off-shore base.
Nov. 15, 1998	Prefectural Governor's election: The liberal incumbent OTA Masahide loose to INAMINE Keiichi, who supports the building of the alternative military facility on the land area.
Nov. 22, 1999	Governor INAMINE officially accepts the plan to build a new U.S. military facility in the shore of Henoko, Nago.
July 21, 2000	The G8 summit was held in Okinawa.
Oct. 10, 2001	International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN) adopts protection recommendation of Dugong in Okinawa and other species.
July 29, 2002	Japanese government-organized Council on alternative facility for Futenma Air Station reaches an agreement on the plan to build the facility off-shore of Henoko by land-fill, and the facility to be used both by military and civilians.
Sep 25, 2003	Based on National Historic Preservation Act, a case on protecting Dugong in Okinawa is brought to the court in the U.S. The plaintiff is dugongs and others, and the accused are the Pentagon and Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld. Biodiversity Center supports the case.
April 19, 2004	Defense Facility Agency of Japan Naha Bureau begin boring survey in Henoko fishing harbor. Local citizens' groups, political party members, labor union members establish an office and prevents the survey boat from leaving the harbor. Sit-in protest begins.
June 6, 2004	Upper House Election: ITOKAZU Keiko wins. She is the liberal candidate supported by all liberal parties and she expresses her opposition to the relocation of Futenma Air Station to Henoko.
Aug. 13, 2004	U.S.M.C.CH-53, a heavy-lift transportation helicopter stationed in USMC Iwakuni base crashes on Okinawa International University campus.
Sep. 9, 2004	Defense Facility Agency of Japan Naha Bureau attempts to conduct boring survey of Henoko shore. Sit-in protest on the sea started.
Sept. 2, 2005	DFA removes the four sets of scaffold built on the reef for preparation for boring survey.
Oct. 29, 2005	US-Japan Security Consultative Committee agrees on "US-Japan Alliance: Transformation and Realignment for the Future." The agreement overturns the Special Action Committee Okinawa final agreement and designates the shore of Camp Shcwab located in Henoko area as the site for the new facility.
Jan. 22, 2006	Nago City Mayor's Election: SHIMABUKURO Yoshikazu wins. Among three candidates, SHIMABUKURO supports the building plan in Henoko while other two oppose. Oppositions can not agreed on single candidate thus ended up with two candidates leading to

- Feb. 3, 2006 divide the voters who are against the building plan.
Nationwide Committee to Protest U.S.-Japan Military Realignment and strengthening of the functions of U.S. bases in Japan is established.
- Apr. 7, 2006 Defense Minister NUKAGA Fukushima and Nago City Mayor SHIMABUKURO agree on the plan to build a V-shape runway on the shore of Henoko. Mayors of neighboring municipalities also agree on the condition that US military aircrafts will not fly over residential area.
- May 1, 2006 US-Japan SCC discloses the Roadmap for Realignment Implementation that describes the detailed process of the building plan.
- May 30, 2006 The plan to review U.S. troops stationed in Japan by Japanese government is adopted by the Cabinet.
- Oct. 11, 2006 Patriot Missile System is deployed in the Kadena Air Base against the opposition of Okinawan people.
- Oct. 19, 2006 Adoption of The Master plan of building the new base in Henoko is postponed.
- Oct. 21 2006 Okinawa Times reports that the Master Plan for the new facility reveals that the U.S. government is planning to install arresting gear, implying possible emergency landing of fixed-wing aircrafts.
- Nov. 1, 2006 IHA Yoichi, Ginowan City Mayor, announces that Futenma Air Station does not meet safety standards.
DFA Naha Bureau consigns private business to make methods plan of environmental assessment.
- Nov. 6, 2006 The U.S. government demands installing 4 sets of aircraft approach lights for the V-shape runway so that aircrafts can land and take-off from both directions. This means that the U.S. government ignores the prior agreement to prevent aircrafts from flying over residential area.
- Nov. 19, 2006 Okinawa Prefecture Governor's Election

Our Activities to make a local community without military bases

Machiko Matsumura (Hijudai, Oita Prefecture, Japan)

My name is Machiko Matsumura and I am from Yufuin-Machi, in Oita, in Kyushu, the southern island of Japan. I would like to discuss some of the political activities in our local area.

Yufuin-Machi is famous for hot springs and town development policies. More recently it has become a tourist spot that attracts 4 million people annually.

While its image of beautiful scenery and tourism is widely known throughout Japan, the reality of the town as a military camp is not as well known.

Located in the center of the Yufuin Basin is a Self Defense Force base. Another 10-minutes from the base is the Hijudai Maneuver Area. The Hijudai Maneuver Area is the biggest training camp in western Japan, and it was once a front-line military base for the invasion of other Asian states 100 years ago.

Therefore, various military vehicles run through the town on a daily basis.

What do you think this picture is?

During a local mayoral election, a candidate and her/his supporters began their election campaign by standing at the front gate of the base and waving at the members of Self Defense Force during their morning commute.

The reasoning behind this is that votes from Self Defense Force members are a considerable advantage to any campaign. The total population of Yufuin-Machi, previous to its merge to Yufu-Shi, was 12,000. And of the 9,000 constituents in this area, those related to the Self Defense Force amount to 2,000. Thus, the mayoral election depends on Self Defense Force votes.

Consequently, when Yufuin-Machi faces problems, the voice of the Self Defense Force is very influential.

From 1999, the US Marines have begun live-fire drills at the Hijudai Maneuver Area.

The first things we have observed related to the first seven drills are as follows:

The Marines fly from a private Okinawan airport.

They use a private bus for transportation when they come to Yufuin-Machi from the airport or when they go out.

Military vehicles and 155-mm howitzers are discharged at a port and dockworkers are engaged in the landing. The police manipulate traffic signals to give the highest priority to the US military so they can transport their military vehicles and weapons.

Private delivery companies transport ammunitions from Sasebo to Hijudai.

In this way, institutions and agencies that would otherwise be uninvolved in military operations are forced to cooperate with the US Military during their drills.

Recently, unification between the US military and the Self Defense Force has progressed, and step-by-step measures have been taken to coordinate emergency response.

The second point we have noted related to the drills is:

A massive amount of tax money (SACO related budget) goes to enabling US military drills. Further, the local

government receives 400 million yen a year, which gradually leads to a financial dependency of the local government on the military base.

The third point we have noted related to the drills is:

This year, the US military demanded additional drills using small guns and machine guns other than the 155-mm howitzers. The US Military stated at first that they were only going to drill the use of 155-mm howitzers, but now they are expanding without any debate.

In response to this, we have rented farmland where we can oversee the Maneuver Area during one month of the US Marine's drill so we can monitor their movement and the number of the ammunitions used to make sure that they do not make any unusual movements. We have been monitoring them since 1999 when the US Marines started the drills.

In addition, when the soldiers go out after the drill, we pass out hand-made good-luck charms in which we place a message to them. Although they often refuse our flyers, they usually accept these charms and read the message inside.

The message inside (in English) is:

*May you never kill anyone,
and never be killed by anyone.
May no one suffer from your military bases and exercises.
May you go back to your hometown,
and live with your family and friends peacefully.*

*We wish one day you visit here, our hometown,
not as a soldier in U.S. Military force
which makes wars most in this world,
but as an American citizen
who loves nature and people here.
Then we will welcome you as our friends.*

We also put a flyer with the contact information of an organization that helps soldiers' rights inside of the charm bag.

In the time I have been involved in various social movements, I have developed some thoughts. Although people have opposed the US Marine drills at Hijudai and also against the municipal merger policy, our resistance has been nearly futile against the power of the nation. Many of us are becoming used to giving up.

In our social movement against the military drills and municipal merger, we have said "We shall protect our life." When I look back at my activism, I feel that I might not have asked myself some important questions such as, "What kind of life do I want to protect?" and, "Do I have such a life?"

While I was struggling with such questions, I became determined to orient my daily life aiming for a peaceful society without wars, and to establish an NPO group, "Mura zukuri, Kaze no Harappa (community building, a field with a breeze)."

The aim of this group is to create a local community without depending on the military base, where everybody can live safely, and to explore a system that is economically independent and does not have to deprive other countries of food and energy.

We put the issue of nurture from food and agriculture at the core of our activities.

Adopting the rice-duck farming method, we introduced an environmentally friendly method of agriculture, without using pesticide and chemical fertilizer. Due to the issue of the aging society, it is becoming difficult for

some farmers to maintain the agricultural fields. We try to create a support system for such farmers by utilizing a community currency. Also we try to produce and sell authentic safe food in our community and we also provide for people who visit Yufuin-Machi.

In addition, we provide an opportunity for students and children to experience farming so we can inherit agricultural skills for the future. In cooperation with partners abroad who understand organic farming, we will accept visitors from overseas and utilize any opportunity for international exchange and understanding.

In order to create a community where everybody can live without fear, we create a space for aging people and children and we have lunch/dinner parties serving our safe food. We also hold a film showing event. In making a relationship among community members where we can help each other when someone is in trouble, I believe that we can build a relationship where we communicate well with each other.

Further, we started an energy workgroup with the aim of creating an energy self-sufficient community, without depending on petroleum or nuclear power. We have just begun collecting used cooking oil with the intent of converting it to diesel fuel.

Lastly, our activities are small, but I would like to continue to create a social safety net and build human relationships so everybody can live safely in their communities, only then can we fight back against the national policy that would carelessly disregard socially vulnerable groups of people.

Reality and challenges of military bases in Hiroshima

Effect of U.S. military restructuring on Iwakuni, and on the forward deployment hub of MSDF [Maritime Self-Defense Force] Kure

<provisional translation>

Yuasa Ichiro and Nitta Hideki (Peace Link Hiroshima-Kure-Iwakuni)

Hiroshima, the first place in the world to have been attacked by nuclear weapons, now stands as a city symbolizing peace—and yet it still continues to be surrounded by enormous military bases. The following is a report from anti-base and anti-war citizens groups who recount the deep connections between these bases and the waging of war in the Asian-Pacific region that continued following the end of World War II. At the same time, this report represents an appeal for the removal of these bases altogether from the region.

1) Japanese Self-Defense Forces and the U.S. Military in “Hibaku” Territory

Following its defeat in World War II, Japan’s renouncing of war should have spelled the end of the existence of military bases within its borders that are involved with the making of war. In reality, however, this policy was abruptly changed in 1950 with the outbreak of the Korean War. The GHQ spearheaded a forced remilitarization in the form of the National Police Reserve, and the year 1954 saw the birth of the country’s Ground, Maritime and Air Self Defense Forces (SDF). The San Francisco Peace Treaty resulted in the Japanese military being removed entirely and replaced by U.S. forces and the Japanese SDF.

Hiroshima is no different in this regard, as the area surrounding the A-Bomb Dome by a 30 km radius reveals an astonishingly large number of military bases crowded close together. The headquarters of the 13th brigade of the Japanese ground SDF are located in Hiroshima City itself, and controls both the Chugoku and Shikoku regions of Japan. The unit sends large numbers of participants to the northern field maneuvers that are held yearly in Hokkaido. It also partook in the dispatch to Cambodia for peacekeeping operations in September 1992, as well as the fifth and sixth rounds dispatch of forces sent to Iraq between January and June 2005.

Various Maritime SDF facilities have been crammed together in the sites of the former Japanese navy in Hiroshima prefecture’s southwesterly port city of Kure, which now houses one-fourth of Japan’s total naval forces. The port is home to 41 vessels that include large transport ships for unloading combat vehicles, supply vessels capable of ocean refueling, naval escort (destroyer) ships, submarines and mine sweepers. Despite the atmosphere that resulted from the end of Cold War relations between the United States and the Soviet Union, the surrounding bases continued a rapid process of diversification and strengthening during the 1990’s that included such acquisitions as ocean surveillance ships, training squadrons, and the deployment of transport ships.

Due to the anti-terrorism legislation passed in October 2001 following the launching of an “anti-terror” war in Afghanistan, a strategy was commenced whereby the Maritime SDF began providing supplemental shipments of fuel to the U.S. military. One of the central locations for this effort was Kure, from where a supply vessel called the “Towada” has been sent as many as six times to the Indian Ocean and the Arabian Sea. Similarly, the transport ship “Osumi” has been dispatched from Kure to participate in maritime transport after the passage of special measures laws related to Iraq.

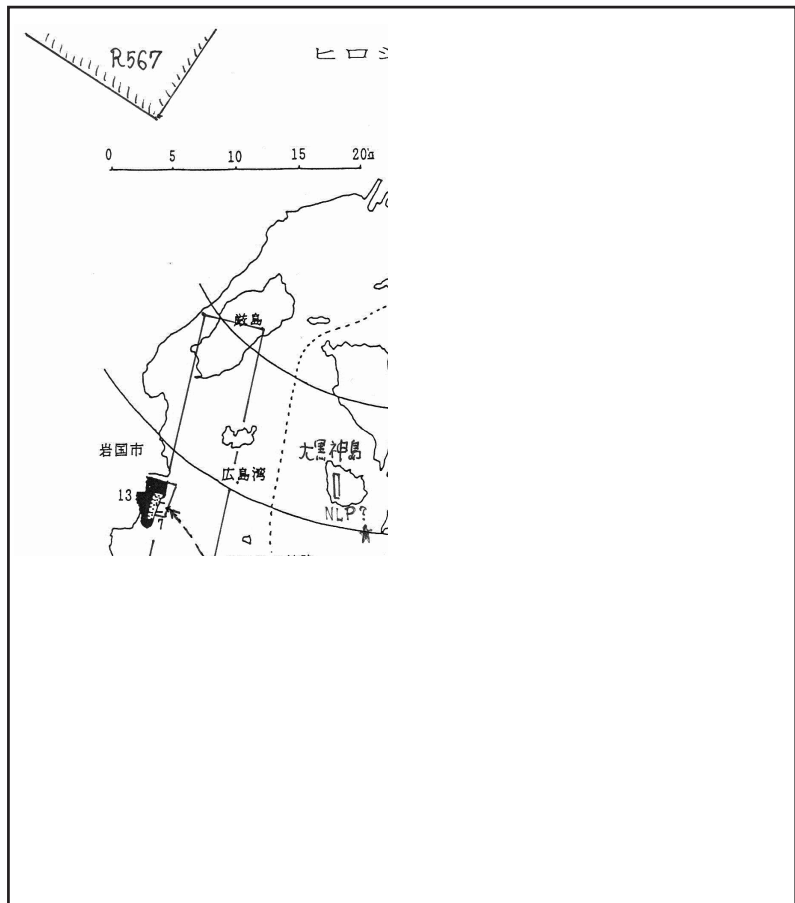
In the vicinity of Kure also lies the U.S. Army Akizuuki Weapons Battalion Ammunitions Depot, which includes three storehouses located in Kawakami (Higashi Hiroshima City), Hiro (Kure City), and Akizuki (Edajima City). The depot holds a total of 120,000 tons of ammunition, which were completely spent in continuous shipments during the last three major wars. In a message delivered to troops at the end of 1991, the depot commander said, “Our greatest achievement this year has been the supplying of ammunition to the Gulf War.

In addition, Akizuki has also continued to play a vital role over the past 40 years in providing stability to the Pacific Region.”

Clearly, according to this commander’s speech, the depot played an important role in the Gulf War as well. Just after the war broke out, ammunition supplies were transported on land from the warehouse in Kure to Sasebo Port in order to be sent to their final destination in the Gulf. The trailer carrying the shipment also made its way through Hiroshima City, which also makes it clear that there is a direct connection between the city and the Gulf War.

2) Expansion of bases leads to transfer of aircraft carrier warships to Iwakuni

The southwesterly lying Iwakuni is home to aircraft wing #1 of the U.S. Navy, which deploys 57 attack aircraft including the Hornet. With the attack capabilities of its aircraft carriers, the base was aligned with Okinawa as the central front during the Korean and Vietnam Wars. Now, with the global restructuring that is being carried out by the U.S. military, the base is under extreme pressure to become even more fortified. 59 aircraft carrier warships have been transferred to Iwakuni from Atsugi base in Kanagawa prefecture, and permanent facilities have also been added for takeoff and landing exercises such as NLP (night landing practice).



Now, with the global restructuring that is being carried out by the U.S. military, the base is under extreme pressure to become even more fortified. 59 aircraft carrier warships have been transferred to Iwakuni from Atsugi base in Kanagawa prefecture, and permanent facilities have also been added for takeoff and landing exercises such as NLP (night landing practice).

There are numerous problems associated with the above, including the following: 1) the securing of long-term frontward development capabilities, which mean that the U.S. bases and the surrounding quarters will be in place for the next 100 years; 2) the provision of permanent training facilities such as those for the NLP; 3) increase of noise damage and the risk of dangerous landings; 4) the possibility of adjustments and additions made to existing training airspaces; and 5) the possibility of nuclear aircraft carriers coming to Iwakuni port, which sits right at Hiroshima’s doorstep.

The background to these developments may be traced to the base expansion that occurred in 1994 after the end of the Cold War, when funds were allocated to relocate offshore runways. Iwakuni citizens, who had previously been compliant, revealed during the March 2006 referendum that their patience had run out. At this time, a majority opposed the relocation of carrier-based aircraft to their port—and a historical liaison was also forged between these citizens and their local government, who together, voiced opposition to the national government’s policies. In response to the national government’s insistence that matters of defense and diplomacy rest under its exclusive control, the local citizens and governments countered with their own assertion that it is in fact they themselves who have the most important role to play in this regard.

3) New troop deployment location

Hiroshima remains sandwiched in-between the U.S. military and the Japanese SDF, with warships moving in and out of Hiroshima Bay and several U.S. warships also passing through the waters in front of Hiroshima City

several times yearly. Land shipments of ammunition are taking place by truck from Kawakami and Hiro to Yokosuka, Misawa and Sasebo, and U.S. and SDF planes are flying overhead and resulting in frequent accidents such as crash landings and falling missiles.

Every time that peace activists come visit us from overseas, they are inevitably shocked to learn of the number of military bases in the vicinity of Hiroshima. In addition, they never fail to express dismay that the citizens of Hiroshima are not more vocal in their protests against these facilities.

In reality, we are now living in an era of “contribution to international society” and “cooperation with the United Nations”—and we are also moving toward a situation whereby the Japanese SDF will be participating in overseas operations. Hiroshima bases such as those at Kaida and Kure are playing a role in the moves that are being taken toward stationing military operations overseas, which will in turn contribute to the maintenance of the vested interests that continue to be held by the industrially developed countries of the north.

The idea of the Hiroshima region being involved with strategic military positioning in Asia, therefore, is not one of the prewar past. Rather, the reality is that the area is once again functioning as a modern-day hub for the deployment of military troops. This situation must firmly be kept in mind as Hiroshima continues to proclaim its status to the world as the survivor of the nuclear attack that occurred 60 years ago. Now, as we seek to build bridges with the rest of the world’s population, we firmly believe that the task is upon us to review the idea of a modern Japan while simultaneously taking into full account the half-century of history that precedes us.

¹ Literally, “Atom Bomb Victim”

Re-coordination of South Korea-US Alliance and the Relocation of US Forces in Korea

Park, Jung-Eun (People's Solidarity for Participatory Democracy (PSPD),
Center for Peace and Disarmament (Peace Center))

Relocation of US Troops in Korea and the Strategic Flexibility

1. Discussions around the re-coordination of South Korea-US alliance: An Overview

- With the forming of the US-Japan alliance, discussed the changes in the policy around South Korea-US alliance since the 1990s, especially the strengthened regional roles that the alliance serves in Security Consultative Meeting (SCM), and conducted a South Korea-US joint research in 1995.
- Re-coordination of the South Korea-US alliance was discussed more seriously when the Roh Moo-hyun administration took office in 2003. During the FOTA, the changes and the transfer of the US troops' role in South Korea was discussed including the issues of merging and relocating US military bases to Pyeongtaek, reducing the US 2nd division, the strategic flexibility of US army and South Korea's "defense against North Korea" and US army's contribution to the "regional stability."
- Since February 2005, through SPI the so-called strategic flexibility and the reformation of the South Korea-US joint commandership was conceptualized; the vision of future South Korea-US alliance, the recovery of South Korea's wartime operational control, and the question of environmental damages at the returned US base was discussed.
- In January 19 2006, the strategic flexibility of US troops in Korea came under agreement during the first high-level strategy talks.
- In October 2006, "the vision of future South Korea-US alliance" was first agreed on during the annual SCM.

2. Relocating and reducing the US forces in Korea

- Since 2003, South Korean and US governments are pushing the plans to relocate the Yongsan base and US 2nd division to the two sections of Pyongtaek and Daegu, Pusan.
- In December 2004, the national assembly agreed on the ratification to amend the agreement to relocate Yongsan base and the agreement of Land Partnership Plan (LPP)
- In June 2004, reducing the US troops from 37,000 to 12,500 by 2008 was agreed on.

<Table>

Stage	Stage 1	Stage 2		Stage 3
Year	2004	2005	2006	2007-2008
Reduced armed Forces	5,000	3,000	2,000	2,500

3. Strategic flexibility of the US forces in Korea and its significance

- "Strategic flexibility" of the US forces in Korea implies that the US troops will expand its range of its operations and no longer remain as the fixed army but be reformed and relocated to the prompt mobile group.
- Flexibility includes the flexibility of equipment, base utilization, the mobility of the army forces and also the procedures for preliminary consultation.
- Since the 1990s, the regional role of overseas US forces such as the US forces in Korean and Japan were emphasized. The Bush administration, as it took up a serious military transformation, aims at expanding the regional and global role of US forces in the Asia Pacific area (strategic flexibility), transforming them to the prompt mobile group, unifying and relocating the units and the bases (Global Posture Review), and forming a joint cooperative system (regional alliance).
- New military strategy of the US and the East Asia: US forms a large "unstable bow-shaped" encircling net of its armed forces from the Middle East passing through the Bay of Bengal and reaching to the South East Asia and all the way to the North East Asia.
- Among the four war deterring areas in its 1-4-2-1 strategy, three are in Asian regions: two in North East Asia

and South East Asia respectively and one in Middle East and Mid Asia.

- Especially, the areas of Middle East and Mid Asia that the US recently expanded to has the largest petroleum-gas resource and is the crucial point in the pipeline.

- During the post-Cold War period and after declaring the war against terrorism, the US attempted at pressuring and besieging the potential supreme power and old socialist country, Russia and China, and the "black sheep" North Korea in seas and continents.

- In January 19 2006, South Korean Minister of Foreign Affair and Trade and the US Secretary of Defense agreed on the strategic flexibility: "South Korea, as the ally of the US fully understands US's logic of changing its global military strategies, and respects the USFK's need for strategic flexibility. In carrying out the strategic flexibility, the US respects South Korea's position not to intervene in North East Asia's regional disputes against its people's will."

- The strategic flexibility of US forces in Korea will lead up to the Korea-US alliance performing the regional and global role in joint forces. In 2004, South Korea and the US signed the Mutual Logistics Support Agreement (MLSA) which has provided the ground for performing joint military operation outside of South Korea.

4. Transforming the US forces in Korea to the prompt mobile group in Asia Pacific area

- In 2005, the 2nd division of the US forces in Korea was transformed to the Unit of Employment X (UEX) for the first time as an overseas US forces. The 2nd division possesses a much more accurate shot and operation ability in expanded and distant battlefield, equipped with the C4I and Unmanned Aerial Vehicle (UAV), the brand new AIM tank, M270A1 and the most advanced Multiple Launch Rocket System (MLRS). The 1st brigade under the 2nd division is heavily armed with strengthened military forces two or three times stronger than existing brigades. It is called the "super brigade" for the first time in the world.

- If the 2nd division is reformed to the UEX, under normal circumstances it possess one brigade, but in time of emergency, it operates five Units of Action (UA) flung from Hawaii and the continent.

- US plans to reform the 8th army that operates the US armies in Korea to a Unit of Employment Y (UEY), a superior ordinate of the UEX. UEY serves the administration, battle and work support function of the UEX.

- The current structure of the 8th army-2nd division-brigades existing in the US forces in Korea will go through a complete transformation to the UEY-UEX-UA.

<Table> Changes in USFK due to the strategic flexibility

	Present (ROK-US Mutual Defense Agreement) South Korean territory (Article 3)	Future (based on what agreement?) Asia, Pacific, Globe	Controversies
Operation range			Violation of ROK-US
Operation purpose	Denies invasion- just defense (Article 1)	Pre-emptive strike in precaution doctrine-aggressive	Mutual Defense Agreement Question of violating the constitution
			Possibility of pre-emptive strike against NK Relation to the concept plan 5029-05
Transforming mission	Deterring North Korea	Deterring North Korea + intervening in disputes in and out of the territory Korean: focuses on defense against NK US: contributes to the regional stability	South Korean involvement in the war against terrorism South Korean involvement in China-US relation and China-Taiwan tension
Characteristic	Fixed army mostly of ground army	Mostly of navy and air force Mobile Group	Requesting interoperability Requesting the reinforcement of the ROK-US joint forces Flexible ROK-US joint forces
Base	Training long-term station	Distant projection hub	Advanced base for dispute intervention ROK-US Mutual Logistics Support Agreement

5. Redefining the alliance and the US-Japan alliance

- South Korea-US alliance and US-Japan alliance are bilateral agreement that puts strict restraint on the purpose and role of the alliance and the range of military operation.

- After the break of Cold War, US announced "US-Japan Joint Declaration on Security Alliance"(1996) and "Expanding NATO and Redefining Its Mission" (1999) with Japan and Western Europe (NATO) respectively and promoted the redefinition of the alliance in during the post-Cold War. In other words, US expanded the allies' range and role to the regional and global level for them to cope with US's transformation in military strategy (reinforcing the so-called "interoperability" between the alliances and strengthening the strategic flexibility of the overseas US forces.)

As the Global Posture Review (GPR) became official since the Bush administration, the US put more effort in changing and expanding the role of the alliance or mutual security agreement with each nation. Mostly emphasized the new threats of counter-terror, anti-expansion, etc.

- US and Japan are preparing the "Redefinition of the alliance-2nd US-Japan Joint Declaration on Security Alliance" as a part of regional alliance against the new threats such as global terrorism and the expansion of weapons of mass destruction (WMD).

- Re-coordination of the South Korea-US alliance lies in this context as well. The strategic flexibility of US forces in Korea already infringes the range and role of the US troops defined by the ROK-US Mutual Defense Agreement. In October 2006, the US and South Korea agreed on the "vision of future ROK-US alliance" in the annual Security Consultative Meeting.

Activities of the Peace Center of PSPD

- Main activities and method: Evaluating and monitoring policies concerning peace security issues in Korea and proposing alternatives; publishing annual reports on policy evaluation and announcing statements, forming peace movement network and anti-war peace solidarity in and out of Korea.

- Monitoring fields: Nuclear conflict between North Korea and the US; current issues concerning the re-coordination of South Korea-US alliance; Iraq's current situation and the issues of dispatching Korean troop to Iraq; reforming defense plans and weapons increase projects; human rights issues in North Korea.

Counteraction of the Peace Center to the relocation of US forces in Korea

- Monitoring the re-coordination of South Korea-US alliance: raising questions related to the transfer of US military base to Pyongtaek and strategic flexibility-its purpose, size of the base, cost, etc; additionally, monitoring the negotiation about the recovery of environmental damages in the returning base; South Korea's recovery of wartime operational control; financial aid for US troops' station cost in Korea (the defense charges).

- Publishing the monitoring report

- The 10 truth about the government's argument relocation of the US forces in Korea and the Pyeongtaek base.

- The fallacy behind "providing 3.6 million pyong for the recovered 51 million pyong"

- Obtaining source from the Ministry of National Defense, Relocation of Yongsan base is a part of Global Posture Review.

- Pressuring to hold a national assembly hearing related to the negotiation about the relocation of the US military base

- Requested a people's inspection on the negotiation about the relocation of the US military base to the Board of Audit and Inspection.

- Conducted a public poll about the relocation of US military base

- 82.2 percent of the people "renegotiate the relocation in case the purpose of Pyeongtaek base is modified or the cost rise."

- 55.5% percent of the people opposed to flinging armed forces to Pyeongtaek ;65.1 percent saw that government held more responsibility for the physical collision in Pyeongtaek.

- 70.9 percent of the people said that prior consent must be received from South Korean government in case US forces in Korea was flung to intervene in the disputes outside of Korean peninsula.

- Organized statements from public figures in different fields against the forcible execution of relocating US military base to Pyeongtaek.

Proposals for the Anti-Base Symposium in Tokyo

- Establishing East Asian network countering the US-centered military bases.
- Sharing information about the change of US military strategy, relocation of the base and related problems.
- Seeking joint responses such as holding regular international conferences and having active interactions.
- Announcing joint statement: supporting Article 9 in Japanese constitution, protesting to the relocation of US military base that has caused disputes and conflicts and expansion of armaments.

The Report on the KCTU's Anti-U.S. Military Base Struggle

Kang Choel-woong (KCTU : Korean Confederation of Trade Unions)

1. The Outline

The KCTU tries to enlarge the people's movement against U.S. military base by following the education, propaganda and organization plans of struggles set by the Reunification Committee.

The Reunification Committee was made for the purpose of empowering workers to achieve the reconciliation and peaceful reunification of North and South Korea. Many different pro-democracy and pro-reunification movement groups are in solidarity with it.

The Committee not only educates and organizes workers for the reunification, but also builds goals and strategies. It also makes many events and participates in different meetings and activities for the reunification movement.

The Aims of KCTU

...

2. The KCTU will work towards political empowerment of workers. The KCTU will enhance solidarity among all democratic forces. The KCTU will work for the strengthening and advancement of national sovereignty and national culture. The KCTU will campaign for the realization of full and comprehensive democratic rights. The KCTU will work towards the peaceful reunification of Korea suffering from the devastating and distorting impact of the division.

...

7. The KCTU, by developing solidarity with workers around the world, will enhance the capacity of the international workers movement. The KCTU will join with all progressive people's forces to realize and defend human rights, democracy, and peace against the threat of war and nuclear weapons.

The Solidarity Outreach and External Relations Office is the executive body, which undertakes the work the Committee plan (the SOERO is generally responsible of strengthening solidarity with people and citizen groups and doing work about the government, congress, parties, international issues, politics and reunification).

The Committee sets their goal on the unification of nation. To reach the goal, it gives a great effort to popularize the anti-U.S. struggle.

2. The Recent History of Anti-U.S. Military Base Struggles

[2002]

1. Protests and struggles for the death of two school girls, Hyo-soon Shin and Mi-sun Shim

- June 13th

A U.S. heavy armored vehicle (from the Camp Red Cloud) ran over two Korean school girls into death in Yangju, Kyeonggido. The girls tried to get away from the car as hard as even their snickers were taken off. It was not just an ordinary accident even though the government and the U.S army authorities said it was. Jatonghyup (The Committees for the National Reconciliation, Sovereignty and Reunification) and Democratic Labor Party started to move immediately. They inspected the accident site.

- July 14th

Demonstrations got larger and spread. The workers from the KCTU had a rally at 11 a.m. The 4th People's Protest was held at the main gate of the Camp Red Cloud at 12 p.m.

- July 23th

The KTCU distributed black ribbons to their 6 hundred thousand union members not only as a mark of the respect to the dead, but also as a protest. The phrase, "Get out, U.S. army! You murdered two school girls" was written on the ribbons. They also asked the union members to spread the nonviolent direct actions until they got an apology from Bush.

- July 27th

The 5th People's Protest was held first time in Seoul.

- July 31st

49 Jae (a traditional funeral held 49 days after a person die) of the two school girls was held in City Hall, Seoul. A huge number of people joined it.

- November 10th :

The General Workers' Rally was held. 20 thousand of the KTCU union members wore the black ribbons.

2. 2002 Workers' Rally for the Reunification of Korea (held in Gwangwoon University, July 13th ~ 14th)

The rally was supposed to be held in front of the U.S. army camp in Youngsan. Instead, the KTCU decided to hold it at the main gate of the Camp Red Cloud in Uijeongbu, to demand the thorough investigation of the murder and the punishment of the people in charge of the case. Further, they insisted on the revision of unfair SOFA to prevent crimes committed by U.S. soldiers, and finally the closedown of U.S. army bases in Korea.

1,000 people joined the rally; then 1,500 union members (the total number of the participants was 3,000) went protesting in the 4th People's Protest, which was an important stepping stone for the popularization of the struggle.

3. Struggles against the LPP (Land Partnership Plan)

In the 3rd ROK-US Security Consultative Meeting (SCM), the South Korea and U.S. governments signed the suggestion that the U.S. army return 4,000 pyeong of their base, instead, receive 75,000 pyeong of urban area from the Korean government. The struggle groups began to be organized in different cities.

4. Struggles against the construction of a U.S. naval port in Hwasoon, Jeju

5. Actions for the revision of SOFA

The KTCU joined the monthly protest held at the gate of U.S. Embassy every Tuesday of the second week. They were active in organizing the public hearings on the revision of SOFA in the National Assembly.

[2003]

1. June 13th : the first anniversary of the two school girls' death

A large service was held to honor them.

2. July 20th : the demonstration against the extension of the U.S. army base in Pyeongtaek.

1,500 residents joined it.

3. July 26th : the peace rally in front of the U.S. army camp in Yongsan

* Jeonbuk Branch of KTCU

They held Wednesday vigils to demand the return of the land U.S. army occupied in Gunsan, and organized a protest for the school girls, which 8,000 people joined.

* Kyunggi Branch

The labor activists led the struggles against the concentration of U.S. force on Pyeongtaek

[2004]

1. Struggles against the dispatch of the troops

Many people disagreed on the dispatch of troops when U.S. waged a war on Iraq. The struggles went on strongly in 2003-4, which promoted anti-U.S. and anti-war criticisms among people.

2. Struggles for the withdrawal of U.S. force

The demand for the withdrawal of U.S. force became not just a phrase but also a crucial goal to definitely achieve because people realized the aggressive nature of the U.S. force more clearly than ever before through the Iraq war.

2004 was also an important year because the national solidarity was considered very crucial for the breakthrough of the problems caused by the U.S.-South Korea alliance.

[2005]

1. Teardown of the fences of U.S. Patriot Missile base in Gwangju

The 5,000 members of KCTU joined the 25th anniversary rally of the Gwangju uprising, which more than 20,000 joined. The participants tore down 1 km of the fences surrounding U.S. Patriot Missile base. This direct action built up a strong confidence among people.

2. The demonstration against the extension of the U.S army base in Pyeongtaek

(1) The outline of the event

a Place : Daechu Elementary School in Pyeongtaek

Time : at 2 p.m., July 10th, 2005.

b Programs :

- 13:00 : opening event

- 15:30 : standing hand in hand to make a human belt

- 16:30 : hanging handkerchiefs on the fences

- 18:00 : final event

c the number of participants was over 10,000 (3,000 from the KCTU)

3. Sempember 11th : teardown of the General MacArther statue

a Time: September 11th, 2005

b Place: Jayu(Liberty) Park in Incheon

c The number of Participants : 1,500 KCTU members from 4,000 in total

d It was 60 years since the U.S. force occupied the Korean peninsular. The statue was chosen to be destroyed to show people's will to stop the occupation.

[2006]

Struggles against the extension of the U.S army base in Pyeongtaek

March 4-5th : stopped the eviction of people from Daechu Elementary school building

- 350 participants (150 from KCTU)

March 15th : stopped the destruction of farm roads

- 150 KCTU members, especially the activists from KIA and Ssangyong Motors, struggled hard

April 7th : struggled against the second destruction of farm roads

- 500 participants (300 from the KCTU)

- struggled hard against the backhoes and the riot police during the day, and repaired the destroyed roads at night

- 31 activists were arrested (2 people were placed under restraint, and the others were freed right after)

May 4th : the government tear down the elementary school building and set the barbed wire on the fields by

mobilizing the military troops

- 3,000 people struggled
- 524 people were arrested, and 10 people were under restraint (including the chairperson of the Reunification Committee)

May 5th : People's Protest to criticize the government on the mobilization of military troops and claim the land and peace

- 1,000 people joined
- over 100 people were arrested (arrest warrants were issued for 23 people)
- over 100 people were got injured

May 6th : Candle light vigil in Gwanghwamoon

- 1,000 people joined

May 7th : Candle light vigil in Gwanghwamoon

- 3,000 people joined

May 13th : the First National Workers' Rally in Gwanghwamoon (to honor the 5.18 Gwangju uprising, demand the retirement of the minister of National Defense and the withdrawal of the troops from the fields in Pyeongtaek, and encourage people to continue farming and struggling together)

- 3,000 people joined
- Struggle Festival for Pyeongtaek in Hongik Univ.

May 14th : the Second National Workers' Rally

- 7,000 people joined (4,000 from the KCTU)
- 36 were arrested (including 25 KCTU members), and freed on the next day

June 18th : the 3rd People's Protest against the extension of the U.S. army base in Peongtaek

- 2,500 people joined
- had the final rally at the entrance to Doduri

July 22nd : the 4th People's Protest against the extension of the U.S. army base in Peongtaek

- demanded the withdrawal of the plan to destroy the residents' houses
- 2,500 joined

Translated by Radical Language Exchange

Problems of Foreign Military Presence and Its Solutions: an Environmental Perspective

Yoon Kidon (Green Korea)

I would like to send warm feeling of camaraderie to everyone here who is working hard on the anti-base movement for peace in the Asia- Pacific region and express gratitude for giving us the opportunity to present our view.

The issue of environment accompanying foreign military presence may be a small matter, when one puts it in the entire purview of the anti-base movement. Meanwhile, we at Green Korea deem that withdrawal of foreign troops in Korea is not a matter that can be put into practice immediately. We cannot deny the fact that the US military play a certain role in North East Asia, especially since we face the militarily powerful states such as Russia and China, the reality of division with North Korea, and Japan, which is becoming a military power. And this is because withdrawal of the US troops in Korea, if it goes wrong, can induce an arms race among states in North East Asia. Therefore, we need to look for ways in which to achieve peaceful co-existence in North East Asia first before withdrawal of foreign troops, and seek deeply into what the civil society needs to do for this purpose. Furthermore, we now need to have a concrete discussion on how the civil society in the Asia-Pacific region respond so that the US military stationed in countries such as Japan and Korea in the Asia-Pacific cannot maneuver according to its unilateral intention. I hope this conference becomes an opportunity in which we have a deep reflection as to how to make the first step toward realizing our ideal of refusing to live with bases in the Asia-Pacific region

1. History of Environmental Monitoring Activism against the US military in Korea

Simply put, the way the US forces in Korea (USFK) conduct itself is nothing different from occupying forces. The crimes the USFK committed as occupying forces are various, and cases of such crimes being brought to justice in Korean court have been extremely rare. Perhaps it might have been impossible to expect occupying forces to understand and obey the Korean law to begin with.

As an environmental organization, Green Korea, focusing on the environmental problems arising from the USFK, started to monitor them in 1996.

The history of environmental problems caused by the USFK had a huge turning point when their dumping of poisonous material into the Han River was reported through media on July 13th, 2000. The incident--disposing the poisonous material formaldehyde from a morgue without permission into the Han River, which Seoulites' water supply thus life itself depends on, enraged Korean citizens. This incident as a result forced the commander of the USFK to apologize for the first time in history. This incident triggered the governments of Korea and the US to revise the infamously unfair Korea-US SOFA (Status of Forces Agreement) albeit unsatisfactorily by adding provisions concerning the environment on a memorandum of special understandings of the SOFA in January, 2001.

It turns out that the incidence rate of environmental contamination caused by the USFK went up dramatically after the Han River Poison Incident. While the rate in 1990s was 1.8 incidents per year, it went up nearly by four fold to 7 incidents per year after 2000¹⁾. This was not because the incidence of contamination by the USFK actually went up. Rather the correct interpretation of the data would be that Korean citizens' raised awareness on the USFK pollution caused the incidents that would have remained uncovered previously to surface.

In this way, the way Korean citizens look at the USFK became increasingly critical after 2000. Moreover, the

deaths of two junior high school girls by an US armored vehicle in 2002 touched off the discussion about Korean citizens' sovereignty in relation to the US military presence. This in turn made the governments of ROK and US to sign an "agreement on comprehensive operational training and safety measures" and "an agreement on environmental contamination surveys and remediation," thus making them to reach the conclusion that the USFK is responsible for cleaning up the environmental contamination on the grounds to be returned to Korea. While doubts were raised about the actual impacts the agreement might have due to its lack of clear environmental cleanup standards at the time, such concerns became reality in 2006.

2. The Negotiation Process for Return of USFK Bases

Repositioning of US forces are currently underway in Korea as well according to the change in US military strategy. They plan to build a base in Pyeongtaek and return 59 bases by the year 2011. The government of Korea and USFK started the negotiation process on base return in June 2005. The chronology of the process is as follows:

June, 2005-September, 2005 Although negotiations on environmental remediation were conducted in the SOFA Subcommittee, differences between two nations' positions became clear in face of the ambiguity caused by the unspecified level and methods of remediation.

The Korean side: Remediation according to the Korean environmental standards

The US side: Remediation unnecessary unless KISE exists

KISE: Known, Imminent & Substantial Endangerment to Human Health

Sept.28th, 2005 (The Fourth SPI)

The Korean side: As eight provisions proposed by the US are premised on KISE, they do not cover contaminations discovered through environmental survey for remediation, thus, they are unacceptable.

The US side: Proposed KISE plus eight provisions (removal of underground oil tanks, unexploded ordinance within shooting ranges, etc.).

SPI: ROK-US Security Policy Initiative

Dec. 6th, 2005 (The Fifth SPI)

The Korean side: Proposed to negotiate on the reasonable level of remediation based on the eight provisions proposed by the US side. Especially they proposed negotiation of remedial levels based on the results of the KISE analysis and the ROK-US joint environmental survey with specialists from both sides participating.

The US side: Opposed the Korean proposals alleging that holding additional negotiations other than KISE is meaningless.

Jan. 30, 2006 Proposal made by the USFK Commander LaPorte

Substance of the proposal: KISE plus Eight Provisions plus Six month removal of floating oil by Bioslurping (Limited to 5 Bases)

Feb.14th, 2006 (The Sixth SPI)

The Korean side: Pointed out that fundamental remediation of contamination is impossible based on the US proposal. They proposed to discuss the technical aspects of cleaning up soil contamination by oil and heavy metals, which was their utmost concern.

The US side: Stated that the LaPorte proposal was the last and best one they could come up with. They mentioned that they would announce the official position once the Korean side can inform the US side whether they were going to accept the US proposals or not.

March 21, 2006 (The Seventh SPI)

The Korean side: Presented the idea that test application of two cleanup methods (Cleanup of the contaminated ground water by bioslurping/ After drilling the contaminated soil cleanup with the ground water) for 2-3 months.

The US side: The Korean proposal is unacceptable since it is an additional proposal outside what the US

proposal covers. The specific determinations regarding the implementation of the US proposal are to be communicated in writing.

May 25, 2006 (The Eighth SPI)

The Korean side: For ten bases with contamination on soil alone, return them after remediation according to the US proposal is completed. For sixteen bases where both soil and ground water are contaminated, return them after remediation according to the Korean standard is completed.

The US side: There are no changes in the substance of the letter dated April 7th. They cannot accept the proposals made by the Korean side.

July 13-14th, 2006 (The Ninth SPI)

Both sides agreed to the return of fifteen bases that went through the eight cleanup measures according to the SOFA procedures.

3. The Responses of Environmental Groups to the US Base Turnover Negotiations and Their Limitations

The Korean civil society that includes the environmental movement camp made various efforts to make the USFK clean up their own pollutions based on the "Polluter Pays Principle" during the US base turnover negotiations.

We conducted an public-opinion poll with a reliable polling agency, and 79.1 percent of the Korean respondents answered "the USFK needs to take full responsibility for the cleanup of the environmental contamination on the US bases to be returned." In addition to publishing the poll, we made various efforts through the media to raise awareness on the issue.

One hundred persons representing the Korean civil society called on the US ambassador stationed in Korea and the US government to directly handle the issue for its resolution. The United States does not have strong environmental regulations on its overseas troops even though they are stationed in over 100 countries. It was an occasion to demand more attention to be paid overseas at a comparable level of attention that their domestic environmental problems had commanded.

In June, we brought suit against the Ministry of Environment. They had refused to reveal almost all documents including the results of the environmental contamination survey, saying that they had no permission from the USFK. As a result, the court took side with the civil society, stating that the right of the citizens of Korea to know cannot be restricted based on "the appendix A on sharing of environmental information and the procedure to access area/facility."² It also stated that the result of environmental contamination survey is not a matter of foreign policy, and moreover that it does not even qualify as kind of information restricted under the domestic law. In September, the 371 claimants from around the country demanded the Board of Audit and Inspection, an independent organization within the government, to inspect the negotiation process.

The Korean civil society made various efforts to put pressure on the government. For example, we held three meetings with the head of the Ministry of Environment, the agency in charge of the environmental cleanup negotiation, so that the government of Korea change its passive stance on this matter, as they almost seemed to represent the US positions. And we also met with the National Assembly members who are on the Committee of Environment and Labor so that this problem is dealt with in the National Assembly.

However, we were not able to get satisfactory results even though the civil society made diverse efforts. More than anything, the reason why the Korean civil society ran into the limit can be placed on the fact that we underestimated not just the USFK but also Pentagon's firm and unwavering position on this issue.

If the USFK were to cleanup its environmental contamination in Korea, it would mean setting precedents for all the other nations around the world, where the US bases are stationed.

As a result of this, there emerged a gut feeling Green Korea as well the Korean civil society share in. That is the urgency to make this problem into an issue for the international community. Fortunately the Korean society has yet to see direct harms done on the local people caused by the environmental pollution from the USFK. However, there is no guarantee that the environmental problems from the US forces and the suffering of the local people that are occurring in Pilippines, Vieques, and Panama do not occur in each country where the US forces are stationed

The Korean civil society needs to exercise its basic powers around the world that brought about the "Land Mine Ban Treaty." We propose to make an international treaty that would force foreign troops to cleanup according to the "Polluter Pays Principle" on the environmental problems caused by foreign troops.

1) These figures are based on information Green Korea collected through media reports, reports by citizens and our own research. Therefore, its limitation is that not all instances of environmental contamination committed by the USFK are recorded.

² (Translator's note) The exact wording of the name of this document in English is not clear. The one provided here is a direct word-by-word translation of the Koran name.

The Struggle against the US Armed Forces Base Expansion in Pyeongtaek and to Bring Peace to the Korean Peninsula and Protect Residents' Lives

Ko You-kyoung (The Pan South Korea Solution Committee. Against US Base Extension
in Pyeongtaek [KCPT])

1. The Pyeongtaek US Base Expansion and the Process of Struggle

March 2002: The Land Partnership Plan (LPP) Agreement concluded between ROK and the US for the turnover and consolidation of the US military bases

May 2003: Basic agreement at the ROK-US summit meeting on repositioning of the 2nd Infantry Division

July 2003: Creation of the Paengseong Residents' Committee Against the US Military Base Expansion

1 September 2004: The first "Save Our Land" candlelight vigil held by the Paengseong residents

October 2004: Agreement reached between the ROK and the US on Yongsan base relocation and the revision of the LPP

February 2005: Start of the residents' struggle against the structural survey of Pyeongtaek land scheduled for expropriation. Formation of the Pan-South Korea Solution Committee against US Base Extension in Pyeongtaek (KCPT)

July 2005: The first peace march against the US base expansion in Pyeongtaek

November 2005: Forced appropriation of land from the Pyeongtaek residents decided by the Central Land Tribunal (the government agency that makes decisions on land appropriation for state construction projects)

March 2006: First major attempt to sabotage the farm land by the Ministry of National Defense(MND)

April 2006: Second major attempt to sabotage the farm land by the MND

4 May 2006: Destruction of the Daechuri Primary School by the MND ("Administrative Execution"), and erection of barbed wire fences around the farm land. Military occupation of the farms

September 2006: The fourth peace march against the US base extension in Pyeongtaek (translator's note: this was a nationwide march, culminating in a gathering of 20,000 people in Seoul)

13 September 2006: The forceful demolition of some 60 houses in the village by the MND

8 November 2006: Erection of additional barbed wire fences

9 November 2006: The 800th "Save Our Land" candlelight vigil held by the Paengseong residents

2. Relocation of the Bases Due to the US Military Realignment

On 20 January 2006, the top diplomatic bureaucrats of the ROK and US held a strategic dialogue and concluded an official agreement granting "strategic flexibility" to the United States forces in Korea (USFK),

after holding negotiations on the LPP, the FOTA (Future ROK-US Alliance Policy Initiatives), and the SPI (ROK-US Security Policy Initiative).

The USFK realignment and its changing nature are evidenced by such events as the recent move to disband the command center of 8th US Army, turnover of the operational control to the ROK, and the subsequent disbanding of the ROK-US Combined Forces Command that.

In 2004 it was finally agreed to move the US 2nd Infantry Division and the Yeongsan base. This American base relocation and military realignment would guarantee the continued presence of the US armed forces in Korea. This agreement includes not just the relocation of the base, but the actual construction of a new base according to changes in American military strategy.

The built-in presence of American troops in Korea had always been directed towards defending the ROK against an attack from North Korea. Today, however, the process of relocating American military bases within South Korea is understood as a military strategy that not only encompasses defense against North Korea but also of the disputed area of the entire Northeast Asian region, and the transformation of US troops into a rapid deployment force, to be known as the the Northeast Asian Regional Army.

In August 2004, two units of the American 2nd Infantry Division of Korea, numbering 3,600 soldiers, were first deployed to the war in Iraq. Military police units, intelligence units, and airforce units are also regularly rotated to Iraq.

The changes of the US armed forces in Korea included characteristic changes to American army stations. However, these changes were accompanied by the use of Korea as battle training grounds for US occupation forces.

Therefore, overseas American armies can be trained in Korea and deployed again overseas. This procedure will take place at a combined training center which will be constructed in the northern Gyeonggi-do region.

In August 2003, the American ground force, the Stryker Brigade Combat Team which is stationed at Fort Lewis in Washington State, first received their overseas military training in Pochon, Korea, before being deployed to Iraq.

The agreement granting strategic flexibility, officially announced as a joint statement by the ROK Minister of Foreign Affairs and the US Secretary of State, caused uproar over the possibility of the USFK's involvement in conflict areas other than the Korean peninsula.

This means that the US would have occasion to violate the terms of the ROK-US Mutual Defense Treaty, permitting the USFK to engage in military conflicts beyond the Korean peninsula, even against the will of the ROK.

The USFK receives land without paying for it, and the ROK government bears the costs of stationing the US troops under the terms of the Status of Forces Agreement (SOFA), within the framework of the ROK-US Mutual Defense Treaty.

Accordingly, when the MDT is violated, there are no longer any legal grounds for the ROK government to provide land and funding.

However, the ROK and US governments cleverly have prevented any public debate of such issues.

By putting this into the joint statement between the high-ranking officials, rather than in a treaty or official agreement, it was possible for them to prevent any challenges that would assert that Koreans' constitutional rights had been violated.

The ROK negotiators failed in several ways: they agreed to give the land and funding to the US bases without seeking Koreans' consensus, without taking into consideration the reasons why the US wants to

realign its forces in Korea and expand its bases.

Through the conclusion of this agreement, which makes the ROK bear too much of the costs of the realignment, in the end the financial burden is shifted onto the Korean citizens.

3. In the process of the struggle which has lasted for 4 years, the residents' lives have been devoted to trying to save their lands.

The residents of the Pyeongtaek-Paengseong township villages Daechuri and Doduri organized a residents' resistance committee. Their struggle already has gone on for 4 years. In the process of undertaking the base expansion, the government mobilized the national police, private security contractors, and even the military, who mercilessly destroyed the residents' community and trampled on the people's fundamental rights and human dignity. In spite of all the government's efforts to persuade them or force them to give up their lands and homes, the old women and men, who have taken part in more than 800 candlelight vigils, are absolutely determined to defend their way of life and the farmland which they reclaimed from the sea with their own hands. Even if they are forced out by the US military, they will rebuild their village community again.

This is the second time that the Daechuri residents have faced the crisis of being expelled from their homes because of a US military base. The village of Daechuri, built outside the entanglement of barbed wire at the end of the K-6 army base's runway, was a fairly large village that occupied the site in that area before the residents were pushed out, in order to make way for the construction of the US air field in 1952. The US military took over the air field, which had been used by the Japanese military, and while proceeding with expansion work, they brought in heavy construction equipment and demolished houses and forced the residents to leave. Using what they had received as a so-called compensation -- tents, boards, some barley, a stove -- they started to build houses again at the end of the runway. The residents joined together to build one house, and when they finished that, built another house, and in that way managed to reconstruct the village. Since there wasn't enough agricultural land in the vicinity, they reclaimed land from the estuary to create farmland.

Doduri likewise is built on land that was created by people who came looking for a place to live and farm. The broad fields, as they exist now, are on land that was reclaimed after the Korean War, when a group of refugees came here, built embankments around the Asan shoreline area, and drained off the brackish water there to make a space to live and farm. It is land that they reclaimed from the sea, working with their bare hands, a place to which they have devoted their whole lives, a place where lives of families are buried who died of starvation during the spring food shortages.

Last December, the farmers were enraged by the government's illegal proclamation that prohibited them from engaging in farming, after the titles to land ownership had been transferred to the Ministry of National Defense through the forcible land expropriation. They resented the government's attitude of disparaging 'the act of' farming even more than the government's policy that made it impossible for them to farm. After the fields which been sown with seed in the spring were enclosed by barbed wire on 4 May, idleness became the everyday routine for the farmers, who could only gaze at the green rice plants that were coming up. These people, for whom working was the normal activity, were depressed by the hard reality that they could do nothing. However, there was energetic activity in the village that came on the day when they harvested the rice plants grown in the approximately million pyeong of land at the edges of the rice fields, which were not enclosed by barbed wire. But on 8 November, the government brutally extinguished all remaining hope by stringing up additional barbed wire even around those 10 million pyeong. Farmers say that the most fortunate thing is to bring in the harvest and then pass away; a farmer's simple wish is to spend his whole life working on land that he and his parents reclaimed together and then die. That is what makes him struggle against the construction of a military base for the armed forces of a country that has a land known as the United States.

4. The one-sided, forcible US military base expansion project which gives precedence to the ROK-US alliance

1) Ideas about foreign relations and national security have not been adequately debated and examined.

While ROK-US negotiations about the US military base relocation have gone forward, civil society organizations have brought up issues such as the changed rationale for stationing the USFK here, the construction of new US bases, the ROK's share of the financial burden, cleaning up the environment and other such problems, but while the negotiations with the US progressed, the Ministry of Defense said that it could not make any kind of information public and open discussion also was impossible.

Even though such problems were raised, the agreement that was concluded between the ROK and the US went through an examination for the sake of the National Assembly's ratification. However, the National Assembly knew that it was possible that there would be problems, of cost, of strategic flexibility, and additional reduction of US troops, etc., but they did not discuss these problems and the possible ramifications, nor suggest ways to solve the problems. Just because this is a question of diplomacy and security, they ratified it within 40 days.

When we consider such a question of diplomacy and security, especially in relation to the US, it's typical that in these matters there is no effort to create a national consensus in an open, transparent matter, thorough dialogue and debate. They do not try to find answers to the questions that are raised in regard to these issues, and do not really provide answers to the questions. They say that a matter of national security cannot be subjected to open debate.

Everything was done unilaterally. When the National Assembly ratified the agreement, in exchange for the ratification, they promised that they would open up public hearings to discuss the problems that were pointed out, but two years have passed since then and this promise has not been kept. When they ratified the agreement, they did not submit this comprehensive facility plan — which provides the budget for the expansion of the US base — and when problems emerge later, no one will take responsibility.

2) The US base expansion plan which proceeds without taking into account the residents' opinions

Just because this a matter of foreign relations and security between the ROK and US, in the process of relocating the bases and realigning the USFK, the participation of Korean citizens is excluded from consideration. In particular, the government has intentionally excluded the input of the people who lose the most. As a result of the relocation of the US bases, it is expected that the total area of US facilities will come to 2,941 acres. This includes 556 acres at K-55 (Osan air base), and 2,394 acres at K-6 (Camp Humphreys army base).

While the ROK government was negotiating the giveaway of such an incredibly large area of land to the USFK, they did not make any effort to listen to the opinions of the residents.

On top of that, when the residents tried to meet with the responsible authorities and to obtain information, they only received misleading answers or they were ignored altogether and left to their own devices.

The Ministry of National Defense rationalized this by saying, "Such an important matter as the realignment of the USFK is closely related to the security of the Korean peninsula, therefore we cannot reveal the specific conditions of the negotiations with the US before the negotiations are concluded. Therefore, in terms of the order of this procedure, first the negotiations must be concluded, then the National Assembly ratifies the agreement, and third, the residents receive notification of the results at community meetings."

However, in November 2003, when the ROK-US negotiations were under way, the Minister of National Defense organized meetings with representatives of "the US base relocation response committee" that included the mayor of Pyeongtaek, the chairman of the city council, and the National Assembly members from the Pyeongtaek area.

But when the residents' response committee proposed a meeting at that time, the suggestion was rejected.

The Ministry of National Defense answered that they were unable to meet with all the organizations, in order to insure an efficient processing of the project.

This means that the exclusion of the residents was not based on foreign relations or security considerations, but rather the government deliberately and selectively decided who would be allowed to sit at the negotiating people.

The government insisted that they would talk to the residents only after everything had been decided between the ROK and US governments.

However, the only thing that the government was willing to discuss with the residents was the matter of compensation for moving out of their homes.

Before the destruction of the Daechuri elementary school, the Ministry of National Defense officially proposed meetings with the KCPT and the residents' committee, and by proposing this, they said that they would solve the problem of the Pyeongtaek US base through dialogue.

But on the very next day, 1 May, the Ministry of National Defense stated that they could not discuss anything other than the matter of compensation, thereby in fact refusing dialogue. Following this, on 4 May, at 4:00 am, they proceeded with the operation called "Stork Village Dawn", mobilizing the military personnel, the police, and private security contractors.

4) Differentiated compensation of residents and indiscriminate oppression by the state

The residents have resisted the expulsion but the government has only responded with more pressure and offers of financial compensation. The government has pursued two policies, one of negotiation with the residents who accepted the compensation and one of pressure against those who refused to leave. The government has announced that it will offer less compensation to those residents who have continued to resist. The government has tried to buy off residents but has never seriously discussed the residents' demands to stay on their land. The government has also tried to buy the support of other residents in the region and reduce opposition to the base expansion, by promising subsidies, new factories, and a new university.

The government has used violence against residents and supporters. For Pyeongtaek supporters, this is "state violence", not "state authority". The government has stolen residents' land by force. When the government destroyed their farms in March and April 2006, residents and supporters resisted state violence together. So in on 4 May 2006, the government sent thousands of soldiers, police and hired thugs, as well as heavy construction equipment, to destroy the Daechuri school and fence off their fields. 524 people were arrested and hundreds were injured.

The government has declared the region around Daechuri a military exclusion zone, and set up police checkpoints to limit access to the town. Visitors must go through several checkpoints to enter the town, and are often turned away for arbitrary reasons. The Korean National Human Rights Commission has denounced the checkpoints as violating human rights.

4. Plans for the future

1) The movement demands the release of Kim Ji-Tae, leader of the Pyeongtaek Residents' Committee. During the fight against the base expansion, 829 people have been arrested and fines of more than 400 million won have been levied against residents and supporters. Five people are still in jail, including Kim Ji-Tae. Kim Ji-Tae has been given a two-year sentence, but residents won't stop fighting for his freedom and to achieve justice for Daechuri. Residents plan to launch a campaign to free Kim Ji-Tae and hold a human rights concert during international human rights week, in early December. Residents and supporters plan to send thousands of post cards demanding Kim Ji-Tae's release to the Korean Supreme Court and President.

2) Supporting Daechuri residents, Pyeongtaek peace activists will continue to visit Daechuri and participate in the nightly candlelight vigils, as well as helping Daechuri residents cope with the financial problems caused by the military occupation of their fields. Supporters will also buy products made by Daechuri residents, and donate household products to residents. Supporters will help pay for residents' children's school tuition and household heating during winter.

3) The movement for peace and against the Pyeongtaek base expansion

The movement against the base expansion is in solidarity with the movements against the Korea-US Free Trade Agreement (FTA), against the war in Iraq and for the return of Korean soldiers from Iraq, and for peace on the Korean peninsula. The movement against the base expansion will make a declaration in early December, demanding freedom for Kim Ji-Tae, an end to the base expansion, and against war. Several prominent figures will publicly support this declaration. On December 17 Daechuri residents will hold a year-end party. In 2007, the fifth peace march against the base expansion will be held.

People's Struggle in PyongTaek

You Young-jae (Solidarity for Peace And Reunification of Korea [SPARK])

I. About SPARK

Name: Solidarity for Peace And Reunification of Korea (SPARK)

Organization: Inheriting the activities from the first Korean peace movement organization, "Anti-Nuclear Peace Movement Federation", two groups who are part of the peace movement in the Republic of Korea [ROK], "New Peace Movement Popular Group" and "The Federation for Peace and Reunification" consolidated and organized the SPARK in June 1994.

Purpose: Aimed at obtaining eternal and peaceful Korean Reunification and autonomy, peace and reunification of two Koreas. Aims also include contributing to the welfare, equity and prosperity of national community during and after the process of Reunification. Furthermore to contribute to the world peace system that liberates the entire human race from the threat of war.

Representative: Preacher Moon, Kyoo-Hyeon and Preacher Hong, Geun-soo

Regional Groups: Since we redefined and reestablished our organization as a national movement group, we have been promoting to organize regional branch groups. We now have seven regional branch groups and are preparing for the expansion of regional groups to other peripheral areas too.

Contact Info

- Address: Seongwoo Bldg. Floor #3, SinGongduk-dong 18-4, Mapo-gu, Seoul, Republic of Korea (zip: 121-851)
- Tel: 82-2-712-8443
- Fax: 82-2-712-8445
- Web Page: www.spark946.org
- E-mail: spark946@hanmail.net

II. Activities

Protest against the Enlargement of PyeongTaek US base

- Since 2003, we have started to protest against the enlargement of Pyeong-Taek US base with the residents of Pyeong-Taek. We have successfully drawn national attention to the US base issue. Simultaneously we are trying to draw the world attention to other Anti-US base movement in Korea.
- In the middle of this protest, two activists from SPARK were detained. This year, several activists were arrested and injured, and the organization has been fined for several thousands Korean won in total.

Protest against the Application of the "Strategic Flexibility" Policy and against the Transformation of the ROK-US Alliance to Offensive Asymmetrical Alliance

- We are protesting against the US "Strategic Flexibility" policy, which aims to bring a preemptive attack on the Democratic People's Republic of Korea [DPRK], as well as containment of China. We are also protesting against the transformation of the ROK-US alliance that supports above US policy.
- Additionally, we are also working for the denunciation of the treaty for sharing military expense between ROK-US and requesting the absolute return of Operational Control in the wartime from the US.

Protest against the Offensive US Policy against the DPRK and Securing the Peaceful Resolution of the DPRK Nuclear Issue

- We are demonstrating that the DPRK nuclear issue should be resolved by the discussion and the negotiation between DPRK and the US, rather than enforcing unilateral sanctions and repression by the US. Thus we sent our statements to the General Secretary of the United Nations [UN] and the members of the council of the UN.

We also protested in front of the UN and the Pentagon buildings.

- We are carrying out the demonstration against the offensive US military policy against the DPRK which is obviously the actual cause of the DPRK nuclear problem. We are against the military build-up of the US military in Korean peninsula, the preparation of operational plans for a preemptive strike against DPRK, and trainings of preemptive attack. Thus we are now organizing continuous protest against those US military plans.

Protest against the Importation of the US Arms and the Increase of the National Military Budget

- We are very well aware of the danger of the arms race and military expenditures that accelerate the possibility of the outbreak of war while sacrificing the welfare of the people. Therefore we have been conducting a "one-person protest" in front of the Ministry of Defense, the National Congress and the Administration of National budget committee buildings in Seoul, ROK. At the same time, we have been sending several statements to those organizations.

- In 2002, we successfully reduced the national military budget through the protest against the importation of offensive air raiders.

- We also expanded the protest against importing F-15K as a national movement.

- We have been talking about the problems of importing Missile Defense [MD] weapon system such as KDX-III and PAC-III.

- Since 2001, we have been organizing a 'Peaceful Disarmament Protest' in front of the Ministry of Defense every month.

Public Programs

- We have opened a public space called "Peace-Loving Space." We also initiated an event of exchanging weapon-like toys with peaceful gifts, and opened the "Peace School" and carried out several symposiums and lectures.

Reunification Program

- Co-organizing Reunification Events of Two Koreas in abroad. Helping the DPRK people suffering from the flood.

The Philippine SOFA and the State of the Philippine-US Security Relations¹

Corazon Fabros (STOP the War! Coalition Philippines²)

It has been five years now since the world witnessed with horror the attack on the World Center and the Pentagon. To this day, there are several interpretations why this took place. There are those that say it was a “wake-up call” to the US and aptly called it “911.” But for us in the Philippines the effects reverberated in real terms. It gave the US President George Bush and President Gloria Macapagal Arroyo a strong reason to open the Philippines to the possibility of restoring the presence of the US military bases/troops and thus (again) surrender our sovereignty. It was also an opportunity for the US to continue its policy impositions on the Philippines and use it for its own ends, thus making the Philippines the “second front” against global war on terror, next only to Afghanistan.

The Philippines continues to be of strategic military importance to the US

UP Faculty Regent Roland Simbulan, author of several books and publications on US-RP relations summarizes the US Strategic Posture in the Asia Pacific:

“The US sees the Philippines as a good location to restore its military forces in Southeast Asia in the light of threats from Islamic fundamentalists groups especially from Indonesia and Malaysia where the US finds it dangerous to deploy US forces. The Philippines is also a gateway to the Pacific to the Indian Ocean and Persian Gulf and would be therefore ideal for forward-deployed US forces in the Western Pacific.”

According to the 1997 Report of the Quadrennial defense Review by the US Department of Defense, US national defense and security policy implemented by 100,000 US troops deployed in the region, is intertwined with economic globalization such as “the protection of the sea lanes of trade”, and “ensuring unhampered access to key markets, energy supplies and strategic resources.” Pentagon literature now treats the operational jurisdiction of the US Pacific Command as “highways of trade, which are vital to US national security.”

A STRATFOR Report, prepared by former CIA and State Department analysts, talk about US plans to re-establish “forward bases” in the Philippines as part of an American strategy against international terrorism.”

Party List Bayan Muna Congressman, Crispin Beltran further explains this report, he states:

“ In the May 2002 report of the RAND Corporation, the think tank of the US Air force, it is advised that the US must once again gain access to the Philippines as staging ground to contain China and Russia for East Asia. The report advocated a “robust security assistance program to allies in the region, particularly the Philippines” which RAND senior policy analyst Angel Rabasa called “a frontline state in the war on terrorism.”

Thus, it can be said that since the 1900s, the Philippines continues to be of strategic importance to the US politically, militarily and economically. The Philippines provides the “fulcrum” of activities in this part of the world and it is in this context that the US relations with the Philippines will continue. It is a fact that during the war against Korea and Vietnam, the US Bases in the Philippines was used as a launching pad and forward deployment. The US naval ships made port calls and fuelled, re-supplied and carried nuclear weapons. The US air force used the virgin mountains of central Luzon to train attack pilots and Clark Airfield became the hub of US communications and airplanes.

The US foreign policy towards Asia became the foreign policy of the Philippines; we were stooges, lap dogs waiting for the masters to give us orders. Thus the nationalists, the activists worked hard to put an end to this subjugation. The threat of the US to attack Iraq has been looming for days, the Filipino people wonder how

this will affect us, the choice is not ours, the war is not ours, yet we are a magnet of attack if the US Bases are restored.

Reclaiming our Sovereignty – the rejection of the RP-US Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Security

The Philippines has been a colony of the US since the 1900 when it was seceded to the US by Spain and after waging a war that conquered our shores. In 1946, after the Second World War, the US granted our “independence” but not after ensuring that it had established several colonizing mechanisms through agreements, treaties aimed at manipulating and controlling our political and economic lives.

In 1947, the US and the Philippines signed both the Military Bases Agreement and the Military Assistance Agreement. The bases agreement was terminated in 1991, while the assistance agreement was amended in 1953 and later known as the Mutual Defense Assistance Agreement. In 1951, the Mutual Defense Treaty (MDT) was signed. The MDT serves as the overarching framework and the “mother” treaty of the present day US and Philippine relations in line with “common security interests.”

All these agreements made the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) totally dependent on the US for its external defense and security. This has left the AFP untrained, unskilled and ill-equipped. We, however, have trust and confidence that the Filipino soldier is not less any other soldier in the world.

Article IV of the MDT states:

“Each Party recognizes that an armed attack in the Pacific area on either of the Parties would be dangerous to its own peace and safety and declares that it would act to meet the common dangers in accordance with its constitutional processes...”

Article V of the MDT states:

“For purposes of Article IV, an armed attack on either of the Parties is deemed to include an armed attack on the metropolitan territory of either Parties, or on the island territories under the jurisdiction in the Pacific Ocean, its armed forces, public vessels or aircraft in the Pacific.”

What this means is that any armed attack on the US in the Pacific is to be construed as an armed attack to the Philippines. Thus the agreement commits the Philippines to retaliate regardless if the attack was directed to it or not.

The MDT was the foundation for the Military Bases Agreement, which allowed the setting up of permanent structures in four (4) areas in the country. Two of the four structures were closed down in the 1970s. The former Naval Base at Subic in Zambales and the Air force Base in Clark, Pampanga have been converted into economic zones. These bases were closed on September 16, 1991, when the Philippine senate led by nationalist Senators Jovito Salonga and Wigberto E. Tanada led 10 other Senators to reject the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Security between the Philippines and the US.

That same year on Nov. 24, the last ship of the US Forces at Subic Naval Base sailed away. The US Flag was finally lowered- a symbolic triumph for the Filipinos for it epitomized the ending of 50 years of US military presence.

The Return of the Troops –the Visiting Forces Agreement

By 1992, General Fidel V. Ramos was elected president and among his commitments was to give the US access to Philippine soil. Thereafter, several ships visited Subic and other ports for “servicing and refueling.” President Ramos allowed under the MDT, the holding of joint military exercises between the US and the Philippines and at times including Singapore. But it was not until 1994, that the proposed Acquisition and Cross Servicing Agreement (ACSA) came to be proposed by the US when the Pentagon asked that the “limited” access be expanded to include US military rights to supply, refueling and repairs, storage, and certain services on the part of the Philippine military, and the use of the Philippine territory as a launching pad for possible intervention.

The activists once more launched strong protests to this request both in and out of Congress. The proposal appeared to have been set aside, but it was not. By 1997, it was learned that discussions were ongoing at the Mutual Defense Board on the legal treatment of the US troops in the Philippines. The agreement was to be known as the Status of Forces Agreement (SOFA). It was noted that the US had several SOFA Agreements in several countries and that they took on the nature of an Executive Agreement instead of a treaty, thereby not requiring senate concurrence.

The proposed SOFA was objectionable and onerous. Among the significant provisions was the "duty-free entry of US military supplies and equipment, passport and visa exemptions for American military personnel, as well as toll-free entry of US Armed Forces vehicles, vessel and aircrafts." In addition, it exempted the US soldiers from "criminal jurisdiction" while on their tour of duty. Again opposition to the agreement was mounted, and since it was approaching the presidential elections, the issues were put aside.

Once more we were mistaken, just before the elections on February 10, 1998, the Ramos and Clinton Administration, represented by Foreign Secretary Domingo Siazon and US Ambassador Hubbard signed the SOFA. Later it became the Visiting Forces Agreement or the infamous VFA.

The VFA's ratification now became the responsibility of the newly elected President Joseph Ejercito Estrada. He was one of the "magnificent 12" who opposed the renewal of the US Bases Agreement in 1991. His Defense Secretary Orlando Mercado and his Ambassador to the US, Ernesto Maceda were also part of the "magnificent 12." They claimed that the VFA was needed as a "military deterrence" and that the urgency of the AFP modernization and military aid needs to be addressed. These were the same arguments the US supporters presented during the Bases debate seven years after its non-renewal.

The VFA contains most of the objectionable provisions of the ACSA and SOFA. It opens the whole country to visits of aircrafts, ships and vessels at the choice of the US. While in 1991 the US forces were limited to 4 major ports, now it has access to 22 ports. In addition the geographic reach has been expanded to include not just the island of Luzon but also the two other major islands of the country- Visayas and Mindanao.

It defines "US personnel" as "US military and civilian personnel temporarily in the Philippines in connection with activities approved by the Philippine Government." The activities are not defined and the duration not specified.

The US personnel are exempted and extended privileges not even enjoyed by other ex-pat and nationals, and in fact even Filipinos. These included exemption from visas, passports, driving permits and licenses, registration of US owned vehicles, duties, tax exemptions on importation and exportation of all properties, equipment and materials

The VFA allows the US total jurisdiction over crimes committed by US personnel while in the Philippines. It compels the Philippines to "waive their primary right to exercise jurisdiction (over all offenses committed by US troops) upon request by the US except in cases of particular importance to the Philippines. The Philippines also agreed to waive claims on damages to the environment, destructions caused by the activities of the VFA. Furthermore, as in the US Bases Agreement it makes no reference to the issue of nuclear weapons, which are expressly banned under the provisions of the Philippine constitution.

Upon appeal from activists, human rights advocates and Senators, the VFA was brought before the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court then was an "Estrada Court" and it upheld the VFA not merely as an executive agreement but as a treaty. By this single act, the Senate and the Supreme Court of the Philippines effectively denied the Filipino all the benefits that the rejection of the US Bases Agreement had gained. The Senate ratified Senate Resolution 18 on May 27, 1999 and VFA took effect on July 1, 1999. The US troops were back.

The VFA re-opened the doors to the US troops, albeit "temporary" the ships made port calls, the planes fuelled, the soldiers visited, and regularly on and off joint military exercises were held.

Balikatan Exercises: direct intervention on our sovereignty

Immediately after the Sept. 11, 2002 attack on the US, President Gloria Macapagal Arroyo immediately offered an “all-out aid to the United States” and joined the bandwagon of states in support of the global war against terrorism. By October, it was reported that 26 military advisers were in “dialogue” with the Armed Forces of the Philippines. So much secrecy was held with regard to the preparations for the joint exercises dubbed as Balikatan-02-1, that even the members of Congress were unaware of the terms and conditions of the Joint Military Exercises.

Balikatan 02-1 was held for 6 months from January 23, 2002 to July 31, 2002. It was the longest joint military exercise ever, and had the biggest deployment of US Forces outside of Afghanistan. The forces included about 660 military advisers, special forces and soldiers. Of these, 160 were sent to Basilan, in Mindanao were the Abu Sayaf, and the kidnap-for-ransom bandits of about 100 were based. The Abu Sayaf bandits were notorious for kidnapping. Their victims include Deborah Yap a Filipino nurse, and Martin and Gracia Burnham, of the New Tribes Mission, who were seized from the Dos Palmas Beach Resort in Palawan. About 250 were based in nearby Zamboanga City; and the other 250 in Mactan Airbase in Cebu to facilitate the transport of supplies and materials and map out air strikes to Basilan.

The choice of Basilan and Zamboanga clearly points to the intentions of the US to send a message that it will enforce the policy of pre-emptive strikes against terrorists. It identified the Abu Sayaf’s rag-tag band as having links with the notorious Al Quaida, of Osama Bin Laden.

Balikatan 02-1 was accompanied by Operation “Gentle Wind” which mobilized US development agencies to undertake community services such as medical missions, rebuilding burned churches or mosques, school and farm-to-market roads. This combination of US-RP operations was also aimed at “winning the hearts and the minds” of the people affected.

Former US Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld admitted that the deployment was not “modest in number,” but “different in size, scope and location.” It includes Special Forces like Navy Seals and Army Green Berets. Another senior official stated that “the US Forces could increase, depending on how the campaign progresses.”

The New York Times article on January 17, 2002, Rumsfeld stated “they will accompany Filipino soldiers on patrol. If they are fired upon, they will use their arms and defend themselves.” Notably, the VFA Supreme Court decisions specifically prohibit any foreign troops to engage in combat operations. On this alone, the Balikatan-02-1 had already violated our Constitution.

The “secrecy and lack of transparency” that surrounded the preparations for Balikatan –02-1 triggered the activist and the politicians led by Congresswomen Imee Marcos to deliver a privilege speech condemning these activities. It was only late January when the Department of National Defense released what was to be known as the Terms of Reference (TOR) covering the joint exercises. Only when the TOR was released did the public get to know what Balikatan was all about. As a result, there were Congressional Hearings held. Former Senator Wigberto E. Tanada in his testimony before the House Committee on Foreign Relations stated:

“I do not believe that RP-US Balikatan 02-1 consists of mere joint training exercises, it includes actual US involvement in combat operations to wipe out the country’s terrorists, for now represented by the Abu Sayaf. I thus question the wisdom of an executive policy which has not been transparent about the real mission and objective of these so called war games, its types of training, exercise, duration, area, forces, concepts of training and logistics. We cannot allow the US to dictate the terms of their presence and abuse our hospitality with their unrestricted movement. It would be the height of naiveté to think that the current war exercises will not be attended by massive displacements and even deaths of civilians in areas where they will take place...The operations may re-open old wounds that will not only inflame Christian-Muslim strife but open up the Philippines into a new front war, or as an American Senator aptly put it “ the new Afghanistan.”

It is alarming to note the role of the war in the current AFP counter-insurgency campaigns. Prof. Simbulan reveals:

“In a TOP SECRET memorandum to former President Joseph Ejercito Estrada dated May 9, 2000, of the TASK FORCE BLACK CRESCENT which analyzed the TOP SECRET OPLAN MINDANAO/BLACK RAIN operations against the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF), the TF Black Crescent headed by former Secretary of National Defense Fortunato Abat referred to the “ Conduct of military advance training exercises, in consonance with the Visiting Forces Agreement (VFA)(p.5);” the arming of the Alliance of Christian Vigilantes for Muslim Free Mindanao and the Spiritual Soldiers of God in Mindanao to whom, 20,763 units consisting of M14s and M16s had already secretly distributed.”(p.8)

This document clearly shows the wanton use of vigilantism against so-called terrorism in Mindanao, now, reinforced by the rewards systems for bounty hunters.

This development must be viewed against the perceived “crack-down” against activists in certain parts of the country. More than 800 leaders and activists have been reported missing or found dead.

Towards the Re-establishment of the US Bases in the Philippines

To further concretize the US re-entry to the Philippines, another agreement, the Mutual Logistics and Support Agreement (MLSA) was signed. Aptly called a “ Trojan Horse,” for it comes with empty promises of military aid. As in the VFA, and the Balikatan, the MLSA was also entered into by the government under the veil of secrecy.

MLSA contains the following:

- Grants permanent basing services- support services such as billeting, medical services, operations support, storage, use of facilities, training manpower resources servicing.
- Setting up of infrastructures, housing, storage, roads
- Like the VFA offers not only 22 ports but also the entire country as facilities, land, sea and air space.
- Expands the application of the MDT from mere attack on one party to times of peace, war and other possibilities
- Compromises our diplomatic relations with countries the US seeks to attack such as Iran and Iraq
- Provides for mechanisms for purchase, exchange of military material
- Will be considered an Executive Agreement, and as the Supreme Court has already ruled, will have the effect and force of a Treaty.
- The agreement covers a period of ten years

Joint Military exercises have been held not only in Luzon but also in Mindanao where the government is fighting the MILF in central Mindanao and the CPP/NPA/NDF has strongholds in northern and southern Mindanao. To the nationalist activists, the MLSA is the last agreement that will ensure the re-establishment of the US Bases in Philippine soil. It is a blatant violation of our Constitution and it is pulling the rug from under our feet on the struggle for freedom we have worked for so many years.

One of the main success factors in our work in the Philippines is the strong solidarity that prevails among the people that share a common history and oppression. Now we see a global solidarity born out of our desire for peace and justice. Our desire to preserve the gains of democracy and freedom which the US imperialist are trying to take away with a global war against terrorism and the imposition of actions against an unknown enemy will keep us on our toes and fight for what is rightfully ours.

References Cited:

Crispin Beltran, *The Philippines and the U.S. Hegemonic thrust and wars of intervention and aggression*, keynote address to the International League of People’s Struggles (ILPS), August 2002

Roland G. Simbulan. *U.S. Policy in Asia and the State of Philippine-U.S. Security Relation*, lecture delivered during the Symposium of the Asian Peace Alliance, Asian Center Auditorium, August 2002

Wigberto E. Tanada, *On the U.S. Military Assistance and the fight against terrorism*, speech delivered in the Bishop-Businessmen's Conference, February 2002

Wigberto E. Tanada, *Why the VFA should not be ratified?* speech delivered in the Kilosbayan Forum, September 1998

Wigberto E. Tanada, *The ACSA and SOFA Pacts: A throwback to our colonial past*, speech delivered in the Kilosbayan Forum, June 1997

The US-RP Visiting Forces Agreement. Ibon Special Release. No.34, April 1998

¹ Philippine Country Report given at the Asia-Pacific Consultation of Movements Against U.S. Bases, November 25, 2006, Tokyo, Japan by Corazon Valdez Fabros, Co-Convener, STOP the War! Coalition Philippines

² The Solidarity to Oppose Wars (STOP the War!) Philippines is a newly-formed multi-sectoral coalition of Philippines-based social movements, trade unions, women's organizations, non-government organizations, political parties, student formations and other concerned organizations and individuals. These organizations and individuals are united in the call to end all wars of aggression, the escalating threats of militarisation and manifestations of military intervention. It also opposes any form of Philippine participation in these illegal and immoral activities.

US Interventions in Mindanao and Sulu¹

Octavio Abbilani Dinampo²

1. Fatal Attraction

US fatal attraction towards Mindanao and Sulu is once again noticeable sixty (60) years after it granted Philippine Independence on July 4, 1946 – such “pull of the past”, however, is written in both fraudulent mode as well as bloody ways.

Fraudulent because when Spain sold “Islas Filipinas” to America in the Treaty of Paris of December 1898, the now Mindanao and Sulu were then sovereign nation-states which Spain tried to conquer but altogether failed for more than three centuries of Moro-Spanish wars. And likewise, bloody because its forcible incorporation is contested by the Moros to the present day culminating during the American occupation in the twin massacres at Bud Dahu in 1906 and at Bud Bagsak in 1913.

As then and now, Mindanao problem continues to be understood in the light of the Moros continuing resistance meant to correct this historical injustice. In fact, while contemporary writers attribute “Jabidah Massacre” of 1968 as the sole factor that triggered the founding of the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF), but judging by its battle cry of Hulah Bangsa and Agama (Country, national Identity and Islam), one can easily reckon that the present liberation movement is a continuity of the past.

Thus, while America maybe back for totally different reasons today, but the Moros will perceive it premised from this unhealed past. That is not even outright anti-American feelings. Rather, more of possessing a very long memory why America acquiesced easily to a clear machination in the unjust annexation of their homeland.

And that explains the generally lukewarm reception to Balikatan exercises (military mock war) held in Mindanao and Sulu despite the promise of peace and development consequent to it. Despite the well-explained benefits to the people, the population suspects these military exercises as play for treasure and oil hunting.

2. Second coming

While there are many anecdotal suspicions why America returned to Mindanao and Sulu, logical explanations point commonly to the current “war on terror” launched by the US after the unprecedented 9-11 attacks. Theoretically, the Philippines serves as the second front following US all-out attack to overthrow the Taliban government it helped installed in Afghanistan.

Specifically, however, Mindanao and Sulu became the theatre of the “second front” where more than a thousand US Special forces, elite troops and psycho-propagandist groups are deployed in Zamboanga City, Basilan and Sulu provinces. Since June 2002, these US soldiers along with about 4,000 Armed Forces of the Philippines were conducting “Balikatan Exercises” in Basilan, Tawi-Tawi, Palawan, Sulu. Such exercises were believed to be military language for military simulated operations or actual combat missions against the Abu Sayyaf Group (ASG).

The ASG is actually remnant of the groups which the US-CIA help recruits, enlists, and finances in defeating the Russian occupation of Afghanistan. CIA operatives worked for convenience at first with Osama Bin Laden until their successful installation of the Taliban government. The relationships turned sour later on, and the US unseating of the Taliban led to the September 11 attacks, and the current US “war on terror” converts former allies into mortal enemies. Naturally, charges of international terrorism depend largely on who’s making it in that situation.

Both ASG and Al-Qaeda may be terrorist organizations to the US and its alliance of the willing; but they may be liberation fronts/movements to others. In Sulu, for example, after years of all-out wars against the ASG,

not a dent of hope is in sight that this province can have it pass through and be done with. Instead, there is reasonable ground to believe now that there is actually a deliberate attempt to link local conflict situations in Sulu into the US global war on terror.

Such legitimate suspicion came about by way of reckoning merely the US silly linking of ASG to the Al-Qaeda and Jemah Islamiya (JI) without showing any proof or iota of evidence. Also, the seemingly innocent grant of high reward money by the FBI to anyone that can provide leads to the capture and death of ASG top leadership. Better still, the recruitment of US stooges and assets among the ranks of the Ulama, teachers, students, local government, non-government organizations and pseudo revolutionaries just to pinpoint ASG and JI whereabouts and subsequently receive reward money by secret accounts when the smoke settles down.

3. US Return Interests

Indeed, it is a blatant insult to intelligence to even think that the US returned because of the humanitarian impulses to train the Armed Forces of the Philippines and provide dental-medical attentions to Mindanaons and Tausugs. The war exercises alone and medical training activities are clear and apparent attempt to create surrogate armies for the US military operations globally. To the AFP that maybe a way to get funds from the US war chest to support the former bid to modernize. Thus, explains tolerance of the disadvantages of having US troops mixed with the AFP.

For instance, the municipalities of Patikul, Indanan, Maimbung and Talipao (all of Sulu province), US soldiers are distributed among the 33rd and 35th Infantry Battalions of the 4th Infantry Division and the Philippine Marines 9th Battalion. Meaning three or four AFP Battalions composed of 2,600 officers and men were giving shelter and protection to 60 or so US Special Forces. And that explains why the AFP sees more of the US troops than the ASG during military operations. Perhaps, it can be reckoned why casualty is high for the AFP.

Again in Sulu, infrastructure constructions priority is on making heavy wharves with thousand tonnage capacity (in Siasi, Maimbung, Parang), wide roads, water source and facilities, electricity generation and similar network supporting its military bases and other forward deployed forces. US maritime activities in the municipality of Pata (considered to be the second Philippine deep) create reasonable belief that the US is planning to have its military bases there. Through Sulu, it won't be difficult for the US to launch aggressive incursions into Malaysia and Indonesia using the JI as the needed excuse.

Also, through a US military base in Sulu, it can easily protect its economic investments in the area and in Southeast Asia after the Philippine Senate voted down the US-RP military bases agreement in 1991. In Sulu particularly, US multi-national company called UNOCAL's ongoing oil exploration in the Sulu archipelago can be sub served by that. Sulu can even serve US interest in the Liguasan marsh' US\$37 Billion worth of natural gas according to a study.

Sulu may be even be strategic to Pentagon's threat to launch yet another war (after Iraq) against North Korea and check a wider geographical spread of US military bases. An estimated 60,000 US troops are currently stationed in Afghanistan, Pakistan, former USSR and in South America.

4. Staying for Good

Looking beyond the rhetoric of military training exercises dubbed as "Balikatan", the intent for a prolonged if not staying for good of US combat troops is confirmed no less by top US officials saying "US troops will operate beyond 2002." Indeed, after the June 2002 Balikatan in Basilan utilizing 1,200 US personnel, more forces were fielded and Joint military exercises were conducted frequently.

In the pretext of conducting "Bayanihan" (community civic action), it legitimizes the continuing stay of US armed forces in a unique "permanent" arrangement despite its temporariness under the Visiting Forces Agreement (VFA). They were able to circumvent VFA and accelerate its campaign for a stronger and permanent US military presence in Mindanao and Sulu by simply linking the ASG to the Al-Qaeda of Bin Laden.

That means, just like its "Operation Enduring Freedom" is conceived as total war on terrorism without borders

and which no less than Vice-President Cheney says “that may not end in our lifetime”, it is not also far fetch for US troops to be staying for good in Sulu. If America can frustrate the Philippine Senate by using the President, there is no reason why it cannot go around an already subservient local executives in Sulu. In fact, on record 17 mayors of Sulu, a governor and a congressman from District 2 were willing collaborators of Balikatan O# in Sulu had we not prevented it. But this year, it pushes through by simply “buying out” those critical of it.

Thus from the demonization of Islam as among the other “threats” in the early 90’s, by 1999, the US government explicitly pointed to Islamic fundamentalism as a new threat⁵. Today, such concoction is supported by branding all liberation movements such as MNLF, MILF and ASG as terrorist organizations. So in the Philippines, if you are not a communist, then you should be a terrorist. And that finds justification in their aerial bombing sorties in the so-called communist and terrorist communities.

5. Actual combat Operations

There is no gainsaying the evidence that if US troops are here to stay for good, then they are to be involved in actual combat operations beyond their territorial jurisdictions. It is unthinkable for US Special Forces to be in full battle gear hunting down ASG in the battlefields. Are they just there for fashion show? As a matter of fact, US interventions in Mindanao and Sulu are being calibrated from mere training exercises into full-blown counter-insurgency. As such the setting up of storage facilities on dryland other than what USS Essex can provide.

This is required per plan drafted by the RAND Corporation. The plan, crafted by a team led by Khalilzad, called for “frequent rotational deployments” to the Philippines that would “allow for infrastructure improvements and keep facilities “warm” to enable the “rapid start of operation in a crisis” (Quoted in Tuazon, 2002). Infrastructure constructions in Pata, Parang, Maimbung and Siasi during the November 2005 full-scale war between the MNLF-AFP while denied by the authorities, is a truthful account of the US actual combat participation.

Sightings of a contingent of US troops aboard three robber boats in Mangalis and in Indanan poblacion later aboard three military “hummer” trucks are evidences of participation during the November war mentioned earlier. This year, the firing by the MNLF of a Chinook helicopter that almost crash in the dead of the night is another proof. The wounding of an American soldier in August 2006 during an ambush staged by the ASG is truthful testimony of being in the firing line. We even personally witnessed US Special Forces going with the 33rd Infantry Battalion during their hunting of ASG last Nov. 5, 2006.

In fact, early March 2003, there is a reported inquiry made by Commander Putol at the height of the news of US arrival asking, “Is there a cemetery too in America?” When one of his men allegedly replied in the affirmative, Putol retorted “that means they also die in the battlefields, so let them come and make it easily for me to avenge my grandfather that fell atop Bud Dahu.”

Cold denial can serve no purpose. It can even infuriate the Moros, furthermore for being blatantly robbed of truth.

6. ASG: Rebel, Bandit or Terrorist?

In a study we made early this year, we found out that ASG started as a rebel movement picking up from what is left of MNLF when the latter ceased to be revolutionary according to the ASG, when they signed the Tripoli Agreement of 1976. This explains why at the start, the ASG’s core leadership is mostly MNLF seasoned fighters. The ASG projects then an image that it inherits the trail to secession when the MNLF took the road to autonomy as suggested by the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC)

Later on however, ASG had taken to banditry. The shift is still in the name of accumulating enough funds for arms and ammunitions, supplies and maintenance of its growing combatants. It is also during this barbaric heyday when it became susceptible to penetration by government agents, kidnap for ransom syndicates, and other entrepreneurs in violence. Likewise, it is during this period when their supposed mass base support

declined. All these explain the difficulty of categorizing the present day ASG.

Even their receipt of ten million pesos from Jamal Khalifa of the International Relief and Rehabilitation Organization (IRRO) as reward for helping recruit volunteers to fight in Afghanistan is now factored into being terrorist funding. A one-shot deal between ASG and IRRO is now established as official link between ASG and Al Qaeda, simply because Jamal Khalifa is the brother-in-law of Osama Bin Laden. This compounded naturally the mystery surrounding the ASG.

American propaganda is successful in playing up the linkage as well as in portraying that ASG networks are spread throughout Mindanao and Sulu and therefore justifies US presence in the places where ASG-Al Qaeda-JI are present. Hence, even if Assistant State Secretary Kelly denied the supposed linkage. "The ASG do, indeed, coincide with Al Qaeda, going back to 1995 and 1996, but I am not aware of any evidence that has them in touch more recently", he said.

Nonetheless, finding shows that the ASG (at least in Sulu) is becoming more of a rebel movement as it intended to do initially, especially now that most if not all the elements that fouled it up are being eliminated either internally or otherwise. And its continuing propaganda is carrying the banner of the Bangsamoro cause may ultimately provide the difference.

7. Conclusion

In an investigative journalism of sort, Herbert Docena of Focus on the Global South came to Sulu documenting American intervention in Mindanao and Sulu. He was able to get not only answers to his queries, but a full length video-documentary. This presentation, therefore, either supports Docena's work or draws many points from it. And we believe said documentary has proven beyond reasonable doubt that American troops are all-over Mindanao and Sulu. They are there not only to train but fight. They don't think of leaving because it's their national interest to stay there for good and not because of ASG or JI.

And that intervention is currently calibrated further into a strategy of launching a hidden war against liberation fronts while at the same time mounting covert operations that undermine host state, topple it if necessary and replace it with a client government.

What worry us; however, are not the pretexts it uses in intervening. The ASG can take of themselves or any other armed groups there. Rather, the backlash or retaliatory moves of its power competitors such as China, North Korea and all those offended by US war on terror. It is the feeling of being target of a crime you did not commit. Better still, it is the feeling of dying like animals for Uncle Sam.

But what comfort us is the thought that when imperial America came and massacred savages in the past, the Moros fought tooth and nail and survived. Today, America returned and possibly massacres the Moros once more. The difference, however, is that the Moros are savage no more and will not only survive but would be given chance to settle an old score.

Finally, we hope that through this consultation in Tokyo, a clear message is sent to America: That superpower rises and falls. Let us not forget Vietnam and now Iraq.

Thank you very much for your indulgence.

¹ Paper delivered during the Asia-Pacific Peace Consultation in Tokyo, Japan, November 24-28, 2006

² Currently with Sulu Civil Society and Mindanao State University, Jolo, Sulu

People's Struggle in Guam

Lisa Natividad (Nation Chamorro)

As a colony of the United States, my people are in the midst of ONCE AGAIN struggling for our survival. Since 1898, Chamorus have been at the mercy of the United States and continue to live in a society that has bought much of what it has been sold by American consumerism and the Western value system. This is especially critical in light of the current federal initiatives to increase the military presence on island by relocating approximately 8,000 United States Marines from Okinawa. Aguon (2006), local activist and author, projects an influx of approximately 55,000 people. This number accounts for active duty personnel, their dependents, and additional labor force to support the military buildup. Aguon further reported that the relocation will result in an approximately 36% increase to the island's population.

With promises of an economic panacea, the increase of military presence is hoped to revitalize our local economy by creating more jobs- particularly in construction, bring with it the buying power of its people, and result in the awarding of contracts to local companies allowing for the trickle of money from federal coffers across the military gates to the local people. Nonetheless, at least two federal contracts have been awarded to off-island companies (one based in San Diego and the other in Virginia) to prepare for the relocation of the marines. The part of the economic equation that is often left out is one that is not based on dollars and cents. It is the reality that whatever questionable gain the relocation of 8,000 marines brings to our island is at far too great a cost. The inconveniences of increased noise, traffic, and rental rates that may lead to my people being crowded out of the rental market and no longer being able to afford housing are disconcerting. The U.S. Department of Defense currently has it's own school system for its personnel and affiliates on our island. This is clearly an example of segregation in education not allowing for equal access to quality education.

In September 2006, U.S. Air Force Lt. General Daniel Leaf, Deputy Commander of the U.S. Pacific Command, met with I Nasion Chamoru and a women's group assembled to address concerns of the arrival of the U.S. Marines. General Leaf shared development plans for NCTAMS, a communications naval base, and the projected construction site of 3,500 housing units to accommodate the active duty personnel and their dependents. In response to questions concerning the potential for economic gain outside the base, General Leaf stated very clearly that moneys will be spent to develop the base and possible upgrade the quality of the island's main road, Marine Drive. With no uncertain terms, General Leaf made it clear that the vast majority of money to be spent on Guahan will be within the gates of U.S. bases. When asked about clean-up efforts of the island's contaminated areas as a result of military activity, the General was "not able to make any commitments" about resources to address concerns. Nor was he able to make commitments about improving the island's infrastructure such as the only civilian landfill, failing health system, or educational woes.

No matter how you slice it, an increase in military presence equates to an increase in the dependency of Guahan and her people on the United States for sustenance. American political commentary all too often refers to Guahan as a welfare state; one that has become a fiscal liability to their nation. However, Chamorus are wise enough to know that our sacrifices to America by having had over four military bases on a 212 square mile land mass is far greater than any grant support or territorial subsidies we have received. The United States has exploited Guahan and her people with the prize being our ideal geographic location to allow it access to the rest of the world with no rental fees.

Guahan and her people have paid too great a price in the name of American national security. There are multiple ill-consequences that Guahan is experiencing as a result of U.S. military presence. The level of environmental contamination on Guahan has caused significant health problems in our population. Recent testing has revealed high levels of agent-orange and purple exposure, radiation exposure, and illegal dumping of chemicals throughout the island as manifested in PCBs found in Apra Harbor and Cocos Lagoon. In addition,

the island served as a decontamination sight following the clean-up efforts of the Marshall Islands in the 1970s resulting in increased exposure to radiation. These factors have been linked to the overrepresentation of diseases such as cancer and resulted in the short life expectancy of Chamorus.

The projected increase of military presence on Guahan is inclusive of up to six nuclear submarines being stationed in our harbors, an arsenal of bombs, and military exercises taking place in our archipelago. Guahan has indisputably become a first-strike target with China, North Korea and potentially Iraq. The safety of our people and children cannot be assured in the midst of destructive forces and weapons surrounding us.

In closing, on behalf of I Nasion Chamoru, we implore you to assist us with lobbying against the relocation of the 8,000 Marines from Okinawa to Guahan. While we support the need for their exit from Okinawa, we evoke your assistance in countering the allocation of resources- particularly on the part of Japan- to fund the relocation of the base to our island. I Nasion Chamoru continues to support the collective effort strengthening anti-U.S. base struggles in the Asia-Pacific region. In solidarity, we are stronger and can certainly reclaim the safety of our region.

" **GUAM... THE LAND OF THE ROSARIES** "

Luis Szyfres, M.D., M.P.H.

IT IS A VERY SAD & DRAMATIC SITUATION, THE UNIVERSITY OF GUAM HAS BEEN CONDUCTING STUDIES FOR MORE THAN 30 YEARS, INVOLVING MORE THAN 20 PROFESSORS.

ALL THESE STUDIES PROVE THAT THE ENVIRONMENT OF GUAM IS HEAVILY CONTAMINATED WITH VERY TOXIC CHEMICALS, AND THEIR ASSOCIATION WITH VERY SEVERE DISEASES AND/OR DEATH.

BUT

INSTEAD OF INFORMING THEIR OWN STUDENTS (MORE THAN 3,000) THEIR FAMILIES, AND THE COMMUNITY HOW TO PREVENT AND TREAT THE CONSTANT ACCUMULATION OF THESE DEADLY POISONS IN THEIR BODIES...UOG PUBLISHED AN EDITORIAL IN THE NEWSPAPER (M. VARIETY) DENYING ANY CONTAMINATION OF THE FOOD THEY EAT, AND THE WATER THEY DRINK

MAP OF THE AREAS CONTAMINATED WITH DEADLY TOXIC CHEMICALS IN GUAM....." ALL GUAM " (See the map on the next page)

EXAMPLE OF THE CONCENTRATIONS, DISPERSION, AND ASSOCIATED DISEASES OF A TOXIC CHEMICAL IN GUAM

DIOXINS, TCDD, AGENT ORANGE

Federal Agency for Toxic Substances & Disease Registry (ATSDR)
TCDD: sites, dates, and concentrations/comparison values (CVs).

One of the most toxic manmade substances known.

Three ounces of dioxin can kill in excess of one million people.

The toxicity of TCDD is 1,000 times more lethal than potassium cyanide.

Shallow Subsurface Soil

GUAM , YIGO (SITE NO. 26)

Fire Training Area No.2-Operable Unit. Main Base: used between 1958 and 1988 .

TCDD: concentrations above CVs ---- up to 19,000 ppm

GUAM , YIGO (SITE NO. 35)

Waste Pile No.1-Operable Unit. Main Base:

Several thousand deteriorated drums of asphaltic tar from unknown dates are at this site.

TCDD: concentrations above CVs ---- up to 87 ppm

GUAM , MARBO (SITE NO. 37)

War Dog Borrow Pit-Operable Unit. MARBO Annex.

Its contents and dates of operation are unknown.

TCDD: concentrations above CVs ---- up to 94 ppm

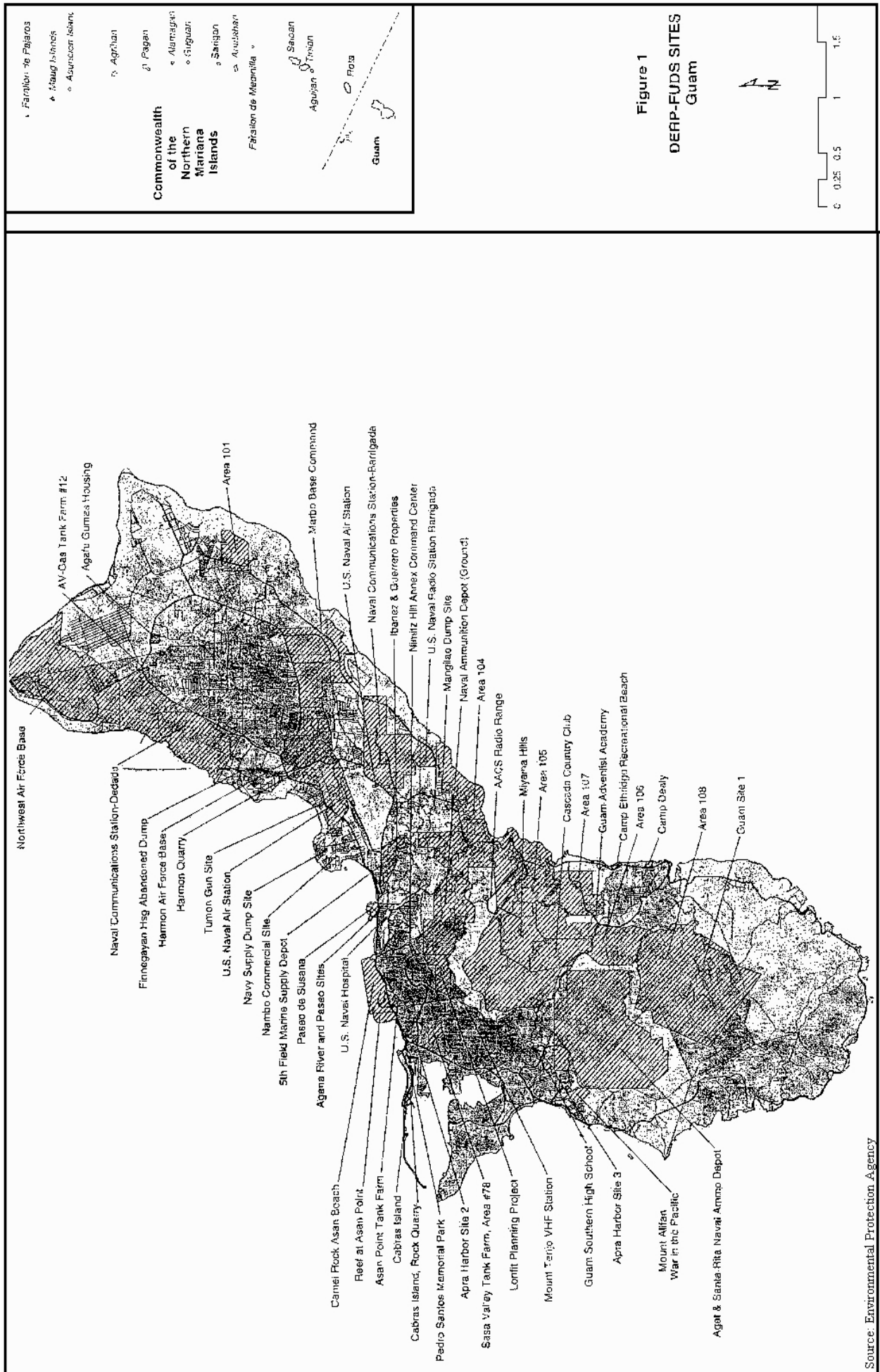
GUAM , NORTHWEST FIELD (SITE NO. 31)

Chemical Storage Area No. 4 . Operable Unit. Northwest Field: waste oils and solvents were stored at this site.

TCDD: concentrations above CVs ---- up to 130 ppm

GUAM , YIGO (SITE NO. 2)

Landfills No.2/Landfill No.4/Landfill No.5 (4 & 5 are contained within 2)-Operable Units. Main Base: used from 1947 to 1975, with a small area remaining active until 1982.. Materials disposed of at this site include, petroleum, oil, lubricants,



solvents , pesticides, ferrous metal, construction debris, and unexploded ordinance.

TCDD: present/concentration not-specified

GUAM , HARMON (SITE NO. 19)

Landfill No.24-Operable Unit. Harmon: holds sanitary trash and possibly other types of debris from the 1950s.

TCDD: present/concentration not-specified

GUAM , NORTHWEST FIELD (SITE NO. 21)

Landfill No.26-Operable Unit. Northwest Field: is filled with sanitary trash and construction debris from 1966.

TCDD: present/concentration not-specified

GUAM , YIGO (SITE NO. 5)

Landfill No.7-Operable Unit. Main Base.

TCDD: concentrations above CVs

EXPOSURE

2, 4-D is an herbicide, that was a component of the *Agent Orange* defoliant used during the Vietnam war and it frequently is contaminated with traces of *TCDD/Dioxin*, which is one of the most toxic manmade substances known.

A major route of current and past exposures is from the movement of dioxin from soil into water sediment, then into fish, and from fish consumption...into people.

Dioxin released into the atmosphere contaminates the rivers and soil. Because dioxin compounds do not break down easily, they eventually find their way into the food chain in fish, crops, and other produce.

Dioxin is lipophilic, which means that when it is assimilated into the human body, the heaviest deposits are to be found in body fat, or in the case of lactating women, in their milk.

HEALTH EFFECTS

NOTE:

The information presented here about the effects of TCDD on human health, was obtained from a large-scale study sponsored by the Governing Board of the National Research Council, whose members are drawn from the councils of the National Academy of Sciences, the National Academy of Engineering, and the Institute of Medicine. (10)

Background Information

In 1991, because of continuing uncertainty about the long-term health effects on Vietnam veterans of the herbicides sprayed, Congress passed Public Law 102-4 (PL 102-4), the Agent Orange Act of 1991. That legislation directed the Secretary of Veterans Affairs to ask the National Academy of Sciences (NAS) to perform a comprehensive evaluation of scientific and medical information regarding the health effects of exposure to Agent Orange, other herbicides used in Vietnam, and the various components of those herbicides, including TCDD.

Human Studies: evaluation of evidence

1. Objective: To fulfill its charge of assessing whether specific human health effects are associated with exposure to at least one of the herbicides or TCDD, the committee concentrated its review on epidemiologic studies.
2. Methodology: The committee reviewed studies of cohorts of populations that resided near sites of environmental contamination, or areas used to dispose of toxic waste. More than 3,000 relevant studies were identified in those searches, and more than 550 were reviewed.
3. Evaluation of the health effects of Agent Orange: Was studied in individuals, general population, or groups of veterans were evaluated in terms of disease or medical outcome. Pathologists, clinicians, and epidemiologists use several classification systems. For a patient to be correctly diagnosed, careful staging of the extent of disease is necessary and a biopsy of the tissue must be analyzed by microscopy, often with special immunohistochemical stains, to confirm a clinical impression.

4. Committee Conclusions about Health Outcomes

The present committee weighed the strengths and limitations of the epidemiological evidence reviewed in this report and in previous Agent Orange studies. Its conclusions were drawn from the new evidence in the context of the entire body of literature. It assigned each health outcome to one of four categories based on the evidence. Table 1 defines these categories and gives criteria for assigning a health outcome to each of them. Based on the committee's evaluation of occupational, environmental, and veteran's studies, this table also lists the relative weight of evidence for association between particular health outcomes and exposure to the herbicides. The conclusions are related to associations between exposure to Agent Orange and outcomes in human populations, not to the likelihood that any individual's health problem is associated with or caused by the herbicides in question.

TABLE-1

Summary of Findings of the association between Exposure of the Population to Agent Orange and Specific Diseases.

- A.** Sufficient evidence of an association
 - 1. Hodgkin's disease
 - 2. Non-Hodgkin's lymphoma
 - 3. Soft-tissue sarcoma
 - 4. Chronic lymphocytic leukemia (CLL)
 - 5. Chloracne

- B.** Suggestive evidence of an association
 - 6. Respiratory cancer (lung and bronchus, larynx, and trachea)
 - 7. Prostate cancer
 - 8. Multiple myeloma
 - 9. Type 2 diabetes (mellitus)
 - 10. Early-onset transient peripheral neuropathy
 - 11. Spina bifida in offspring of exposed individuals
 - 12. Porphyria cutanea tarda

- C.** More evidence needed to determine whether an association exists
 - 13. Hepatobiliary cancer
 - 14. Oral, nasal, and pharyngeal cancer
 - 15. Bone and joint cancer
 - 16. Skin cancers (melanoma, basal cell, and squamous cell)
 - 17. Breast cancer
 - 18. Female reproductive cancer (cervix, uterus, ovary)
 - 19. Testicular cancer
 - 20. Urinary bladder cancer
 - 21. Renal cancer
 - 22. Leukemia (other than CLL)
 - 23. Abnormal sperm characteristics and infertility
 - 24. Spontaneous abortion
 - 25. Neonatal or infant death and stillbirth in offspring of exposed individuals
 - 26. Low birth weight in offspring of exposed individuals
 - 27. Birth defects (other than spina bifida) in offspring of exposed individuals
 - 28. Childhood cancer (including acute myelogenous leukemia) in offspring of exposed individuals
 - 29. Neurobehavioral disorders (cognitive and neuropsychiatric)
 - 30. Movement disorders, including Parkinson's disease and amyotrophic lateral sclerosis (ALS)
 - 31. Chronic peripheral nervous system disorders
 - 32. Respiratory disorders
 - 33. Gastrointestinal, metabolic, and digestive disorders (changes in liver enzymes, lipid abnormalities, ulcers)
 - 34. Immune system disorders (immune suppression, autoimmunity)
 - 35. Circulatory disorders
 - 36. Amyloidosis
 - 37. Endometriosis
 - 38. Effects on thyroid homeostasis

TCDD & HEALTH EFFECTS IN THE POPULATION: WHO KNEW WHAT, & WHEN?

A. U.S. OFFICIAL STUDIES

1986: a study by the National Cancer Institute of Kansas revealed that farmers exposed to 2,4-D, an ingredient of Agent Orange, had six times more non-Hodgkin's lymphomas than farmers not exposed did.

1987: a VA study showed that Marines who served in areas of Vietnam that had been heavily sprayed with Agent Orange had a 110 percent higher rate of non-Hodgkin's lymphomas. The study also showed these Marines had a 58 percent higher rate of lung cancers.

1987: a study in the state of Washington showed veterans who had been exposed to Agent Orange had significant increases in soft tissue sarcomas and non-Hodgkin's lymphomas.

1987: a VA study showed veterans who were most likely exposed to Agent Orange had eight times more soft tissue sarcoma than other veterans did.

B. MAKERS /CHEMICAL CORPORATIONS

1965: Dow Chemical convened a meeting of executives of Monsanto, Hooker Chemical, Diamond Alkali/Diamond Shamrock Corp., and the Hercules Powder Co. The purpose of this meeting was "to discuss the toxicological problems caused by the presence of certain highly toxic impurities" in samples of 2, 4, 5-T. The primary "highly toxic impurity" was 2,3,7,8 TCDD, one of 75 dioxin compounds. Three months later, Dow Chemical sent an internal memo informing him that dioxin "is exceptionally toxic, it has a tremendous potential for producing chloracne and systemic injury."

1982: veterans filed a class action lawsuit in 1982 against the chemical companies that had made Agent Orange. Among the companies named were Dow Chemical Co. of Midland, Michigan; Monsanto Co. of St. Louis, Missouri; Diamond Shamrock Corp. of Dallas, Texas; Hercules Inc. of Wilmington, Delaware; Uniroyal Inc. of Middlebury, Connecticut; Thompson Chemical Corp. of Newark, New Jersey and the T.H. Agriculture and Nutrition Co. of Kansas City, Missouri.

1984: the Agent Orange lawsuit was settled. Prodded by a U.S. District Judge, attorneys for the veterans and the chemical companies reached an agreement. At that time, 15,000 veterans and their relatives were involved in the suit, but about 250,000 subsequently filed claims. Under the terms of the settlement, the veterans received \$180 million from the chemical companies..

C. US MILITARY

1967: documents uncovered in the National Archives show that the military officials aware as early as 1967 of potential long-term health risks of frequent spraying.

1969: a message went out from Joint Chiefs of Staff to Commander in Chief Pacific, stating that "A report prepared for the National Institute of Health presents evidence that 2, 4, 5-T can cause malformation of offspring and stillbirths in mice, when given in relatively high doses. This material is present in the defoliant (Agent) Orange.

1971: the U.S. Surgeon General prohibited the use of Agent Orange for home use because of possible harmful effects on humans, all United States defoliation operations in Vietnam were brought to an end.

1988: an Air Force scientist wrote a letter to Congress, "we were aware of the potential for damage due to dioxin contamination in the herbicide. We were even aware that the 'military' formulation had a higher dioxin concentration than the 'civilian' version, due to the lower cost and speed of manufacture.

D. US ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AGENCY (EPA)

1979: EPA banned the use of Agent Orange in the United States when a large number of stillbirths were reported among mothers in Oregon, where the chemical had been heavily used.

1983: EPA announced a nationwide plan to clean up more than 200 dioxin-contaminated sites, including 50 plants where 2, 4, 5-T had been manufactured. The cost of the cleanup was put at \$250 million and was expected to take four years.

E. US DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH & HUMAN SERVICES (DHHS)

1983: DHHS released a report citing an association between dioxin exposure and incidence of soft tissue sarcoma.

F: US. CENTERS FOR DISEASE CONTROL & PREVENTION (CDC)

1986: the CDC released a report that showed that the residents of a mobile home park near St. Louis were suffering from liver and immune system damage because of their exposure to dioxin laced chemicals. 154 residents of Quail Run Mobile

Home Park in Gray Summit, Missouri, near Times Beach southwest of St. Louis, showed depressed liver function and deficiencies in their immune systems. The dirt roads in the mobile home park had been sprayed in 1971 with dioxin-laced oil to keep down the dust.

G.US . CONGRESS

1979: a National Veterans Task Force on Agent Orange was formed and legislation was passed by Congress to commission a large-scale epidemiological study of veterans who had been exposed to the herbicide.

1984: Congress passed Public Law 98-542, designed to provide compensation for soft tissue sarcoma, and required the VA to establish standards for general Agent Orange and atomic radiation compensation.

H. WHITE HOUSE

1986: the House Energy and Commerce Committee learned that the White House's Office of Management and Budget (OMB) was trying to stop all dioxin research, claiming that enough research had been done.

GUAM

Unknown to 165,000 civilians who live, breathe, eat, drink water, and bath in a virtual omnipresent mist of the rainbow herbicides. To the present, no action has been taken by the government.

LEAD

Federal Agency for Toxic Substances & Disease Registry (ATSDR)
Lead: sites, dates, and concentrations/comparison values (CVs).

A. *Shallow Subsurface Soil*

EPA: Uncontaminated soil-concentrations of less than 50 ppm . Soil cleanup level-400 ppm

GUAM, YIGO (SITE NO. 10).

Landfill No.14. Main base: contains concrete debris and construction debris.

Lead: concentrations above CVs----up to 40,000 ppm

GUAM, MARBO (SITE NO. 22)

Waste Pile No. 6 (formerly known as Landfill No. 27). MARBO Annex: contains construction debris.

Dates of operation are unknown.

Lead : concentrations above CVs ---- up to 6,500 ppm

GUAM, MARBO (SITE NO. 24)

Landfill No.29. MARBO Annex: is littered with household debris and garbage.

Dates of operation are unknown.

Lead: concentrations above CVs ---- up to 1,100 ppm

GUAM, YIGO (SITE NO. 28)

Chemical Storage Area No. 1. Main Base: in the early 1970s, the site was used for the disposal of waste petroleum, oils, lubricants, and chlorinated solvents.

About 70% of the site is filled material covered with vegetative cover.

Lead: concentrations above CVs ---- up to 770 ppm

GUAM, NORTHWEST FIELD (SITE NO. 31).

Chemical Storage Area No. 4. Northwest Field: waste oils and solvents were stored at this site.

Lead: concentrations above CVs --- up to 3,100 ppm

GUAM, YIGO (SITE NO. 27).

Hazardous Waste Storage Area No. 1. Main Base: beginning in 1950 and continuing through the 1970s, petroleum, oil,

lubricants, and solvents were stored. From the late 1970s to 1983 was used to store hazardous wastes.

Lead : concentration above CVs----up to 8,600 ppm

GUAM, NORTHWEST FIELD (SITE NO. 16).

Landfill No. 21. Northwest Field: operated as a sanitary trash disposal site.

Lead: concentrations above CVs----up to 16,000 ppm

GUAM, YIGO (SITE NO. 5).

Landfill No. 7. Main Base.

Lead: concentrations above CVs

GUAM, MARBO (SITE NO. 38)

MARBO Laundry Facility. MARBO Annex.

Lead: concentrations above CVs ---- up to 15,700 ppm

B. *Groundwater from Downgradient Wells of Each Site*

GUAM, YIGO (SITE NO. 1)

Landfill No. 1. Operable Unit. Main Base: opened in 1945 and continues to be used today. Materials disposed of include waste petroleum, oil, lubricants (POL), solvents, ferrous metal, construction debris, and pesticides

Lead: concentration above drinking water comparison values (CVs)

GUAM, MARBO (SITE NO. 24)

Landfill No. 29 (LF-29). OU: MARBO Annex. LF-29 is littered with household debris and garbage.

Hawai'i Report for the Asia-Pacific Consultation of Movements Against U.S. Military Bases

Kyle Kajihiro (American Friends Service Committee - Hawai'i and DMZ-Hawai'i / Aloha 'Aina)

Warm greetings from Hawai'i to all of our brothers and sisters of the Asia-Pacific region. It is a great honor to be part of this important gathering of movements to build international solidarity for true and lasting peace in our region. We know from our experience in Hawai'i that a military-imposed order will bring neither peace nor security; rather it will only increase the resentment and rage of those living under occupation and oppression and will eventually explode in protest or other forms of resistance.

Despite racist and colonialist fantasies of Hawai'i-as-tropical-paradise that you may have encountered, the underlying truth about our nation is not so idyllic. Hawai'i is a nation invaded, occupied and still struggling to be free.

In the mid 1800s, the Hawaiian Kingdom was a bustling, cosmopolitan and independent nation that had treaties with many of the nations of the world, including the U.S. and Japan. But U.S. military planners desired and envisioned a military outpost that would provide a stepping stone to Asia and give the U.S. dominance over trans-Pacific commerce.

The United States sent spies and plotted with *haole* (white foreigner) business owners to gain control of Ke Awalau o Pu'uloa, the original, ancient name for Pearl Harbor. In the struggle for control of Pu'uloa, the haole business leaders staged a reactionary coup d'etat and forcibly enacted a new constitution that disenfranchised most of the Hawaiian people while concentrating power in the hands of the foreigners. The attempt by Queen Lili'uokalani to restore Hawaiian civil rights in 1893 triggered the conspiracy to land U.S. troops and overthrow the Hawaiian government.

So, Hawai'i's present relationship to the U.S. was consummated in 1893 by a military invasion, an act of aggression in violation of treaties and international law. Then came the Spanish-American War of 1898 that provided justification for a full scale military occupation of our islands and unbridled military expansion, and led to the colonization of Guam, the Philippines, Cuba and Puerto Rico. But Hawaiian people successfully resisted annexation by the U.S., and as a result, the U.S. never lawfully attained sovereignty over the Hawaiian Islands through a treaty.

Rather it was the brute force of invasion and occupation that turned Hawai'i into a tragic pawn in America's imperial wars. As in the game of Chess, pawns are used to attack the opponent, but are also expendable. Hawai'i was the first overseas casualty of U.S. empire, and later became a reluctant and expendable accomplice in the building of that empire.

The American guns that were rolled off warships and aimed at 'Iolani Palace never left; they multiplied and evolved into the massive military regime that dominates Hawai'i today. Hawai'i has the dubious distinction of being the headquarters of the U.S. Pacific Command (PACOM), the oldest and largest of the United States' unified commands. Its area of responsibility stretches over more than 50 percent of the earth's surface and encompasses 60 percent of the world's population. PACOM has 300,000 military personnel in the theater (one fifth of the total U.S. active-duty military force), including 100,000 forward-deployed troops in the western Pacific.

To use an analogy coined by Kaleikoa Kaeo, a Native Hawaiian scholar and activist, Hawai'i has

become the head of a monstrous military *he'e* (octopus) in the Pacific. Its eyes and ears are the telescopes, sensors, radio and radar facilities on our mountaintops and ocean floors, and its brain and nervous system are the supercomputers and fiber optic networks that crisscross our islands. The tentacles of this octopus are the network of bases coiled around Okinawa, Korea, the Philippines, Guam, Diego Garcia, and many other sites in Alaska and the Americas.

The U.S. Military has 161 military installations in Hawai'i. It occupies 95,627 hectares in Hawai'i, or 5.7 percent of the total land area. On O'ahu, the most densely populated island, the military controls approximately 22.4 percent of the island. This does not include the 54,388,734 hectares of military ocean operating areas that completely surround the Hawaiian Islands, nor does it include the 15,176,788 hectares of military controlled airspace above us.

The majority of the military-controlled land in Hawai'i consists of the occupied national lands of the Hawaiian nation, stolen lands that are often erroneously referred to as "ceded" lands. And after one hundred and thirteen years, what is the result?

Native Hawaiian people have the worst social statistics in Hawai'i, the highest rates of homelessness, poverty, diseases and incarceration and the lowest rates of educational achievement and life expectancy. The recent explosion of homeless families living in tents on our beaches are symptomatic of the dispossession of land and forced cultural assimilation that has led to disastrous social and cultural trauma and disintegration. Native Hawaiian sovereignty activist Skippy Ioane put it simply: "We the evidence, not the crime."

The military-exacerbated colonization of Hawai'i has made Native Hawaiians a marginal minority in their own homeland. There are 44,458 active duty military personnel and 56,572 military dependents living in Hawai'i, the combined total of which amounted to 8 percent of Hawai'i's population. Combined with the 116,000 retired military personnel living in Hawai'i, the military-connected population rose to 17 percent of Hawai'i's total population, nearly eclipsing the Native Hawaiian population, which is approximately 20 percent of the total population.

Environmental destruction and contamination are part of the military's toxic legacy in Hawai'i. With over 800 military contaminated sites, the U.S. military is arguably the worst polluter in Hawai'i.

Pu'uloa, once the food basket of O'ahu has become a military toxic harbor and a major nuclear weapons storage and maintenance area. Signs are posted warning not to eat any of the fish or shellfish in its waters, but many people continue to fish and eat seafood from Pu'uloa out of necessity.

The military has dumped millions of pounds of chemical munitions into the seas around O'ahu or buried them in forgotten landfills.

Live fire training has rendered thousands of acres of land off-limits due to deadly unexploded ordnance. The military lists approximately 70 sites as munitions contaminated areas.

Agent Orange tests on Kaua'i contaminated the soil and led to the death of several University employees who worked with the substance, and the Project 112/SHAD biological and chemical weapons tests were conducted in Hawai'i during the 1960s.

After denying that it had ever used Depleted Uranium (DU) in Hawai'i, in January 2006,

community groups exposed that DU was found in a training range in Wahiawa.

Other military toxins in the soil, water and air include PCBs, mercury, lead, radioactive cobalt 60, RDX, TNT, HMX, perchlorate, trichloroethylene, and many others.

In 1976, a group of nine Native Hawaiian activists landed on Kaho'olawe island to protest the Navy bombing of that sacred place, with "Aloha 'Aina" - to love the land - as their rallying cry.

Many others followed and the movement grew until it successfully stopped the bombing of Kaho'olawe and forced the Navy to perform some clean up of the unexploded bombs and return the island to the Hawaiian people. While the clean up was only 10% complete, Native Hawaiian groups are restoring native ecosystems and Native Hawaiian cultural sites and practices on the island. The movement helped to spark the contemporary Hawaiian sovereignty movement and cultural renaissance.

The struggle to stop the military destruction of Hawaiian lands continues in Makua Valley, a place whose name means "parents", that has been used as a bombing range for more than fifty years. The struggle continues in efforts to clean up the bombs in Waikane Valley, where the military used a Hawaiian family's land for training and seized the land rather than clean it up. The struggle continues in Pohakuloa, the largest live fire range outside of the continental U.S., and in Lihu'e, a land sacred to O'ahu chiefs, both of which are in the path of a Stryker brigade expansion. It continues in Nohili, where 'star wars' missiles are launched atop ancient Hawaiian burial grounds.

Today these various struggles have formed a network of communities resisting militarization called the DMZ-Hawai'i / Aloha 'Aina. We uphold the Native Hawaiian belief that the 'aina (land) is a living ancestor and thus sacred. In this way our movement is deeply connected to other peoples' struggles in Asia and the Pacific. As people born of the land, we have a sacred responsibility to defend her. We see our movement as part of the wider movements for a Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific and the emerging alliance to end the empire of U.S. military bases.

Our history has taught us that whenever the U.S. goes to war, its military devours more Hawaiian land. This is true for the United States' present wars. In Hawai'i we are faced with the largest military expansion since World War II.

Despite overwhelming opposition and protest, the Army is proceeding with plans to station a Stryker Brigade in Hawai'i, which would mean the taking of an addition 25,000 acres of land for training. Recently, the federal court has ruled that the Army violated environmental protection laws and issued a temporary injunction on Stryker Brigade projects.

In its realignment of forces in the Pacific, a strategy to encircle and contain China, the U.S. may station an aircraft carrier strike group in either Hawai'i or Guam. This would be a disaster for either place.

Under the Bush administration and with the active support of Hawai'i politicians, business and military leaders, Hawai'i has become a target of 'star wars' missile defense expansion plans. The Pacific Missile Range Facility has blocked public access to famous fishing and surfing beaches and offshore waters. The military has turned these sacred burial sites into a high tech playground for the military industrial complex.

And the military tentacles are invading our education system. Last year, a coalition of students, faculty and community activists at the University of Hawai'i occupied the University President's office in protest of plans to establish a classified Navy research lab called a University Affiliated

Research Center (UARC) that would be deeply involved in Star Wars programs. As a result of the protests, UARC negotiations between the Navy and the University appear to have stalled. And our efforts to counter military recruitment of our youth are growing.

We get inspiration and courage from all who continue to struggle for freedom and peace under difficult circumstances. Let us refuse to be used and abused as pawns of U.S. empire. The empire of U.S. bases is a global problem. The solution must also be global. From Vieques to Okinawa, from Korea, Guam and the Philippines to Navajo uranium miners and Marshallese and Tahitian nuclear survivors, may we link arms in the struggle for a better, just and peaceful world. We know from our own experiences that military power is incompatible with freedom and true security. Their guns are powerful, but the peoples of the world united in a commitment to liberation is a force more powerful.

I would like to close with an ancient Hawaiian prophesy that has become a popular chant in our movement:

E iho ana o luna All that is above shall be brought down

E pi'i ana o lalo All that is below shall be lifted up

E hui ana na moku The islands shall be united

E ku ana ka paia The walls (nations, peoples) will stand

The Fight Against United States Bases in Australia

Denis Doherty (Australian Anti-Bases Campaign Coalition)

After World War II, Australian political leaders — both conservative and social democrat — exploited fears of invasion and gratitude to the US to tie Australia into US foreign policy aims. This culminated in the ANZUS treaty signed in 1951.

As the cold war got under way Australia became tied into the nuclear weapons systems of the United States, hosting communications and spy bases and allowing nuclear capable warships and aircraft to use Australian territory.

The ANZUS treaty has become a cover for aggression in the region. It does not contain specific commitments or any guarantee that the US will assist Australia in times of need.

The current conservative government is more pro-US than any previous Australian administration. Prime Minister John Howard has led a combined offensive of cultural change and activism on behalf of the US. He has been so effective with this policy that he has been invited to George W Bush's ranch which I am told is a great honour.

Militarising Australia

The Howard Government is accelerating the militarisation of Australian society.

Present and projected war capabilities far exceed any threats to Australia's security. These acquisitions are for 'coalition of the willing' type engagements far from our shores led by US foreign policy aims. Australia is engaged in preparations for invasion and occupation from our soil as part of a US pre-emptive attack, aimed primarily at China.

The Howard Government gives military and political support to the Bush administration's illegal military strike against Afghanistan and it provided troops and naval forces for the invasion and occupation of Iraq. A further 400 troops have recently been sent to protect Japanese engineers in Iraq.

By signing up as a front line collaborator with US global war plans, the Howard Government is putting all Australians in danger. Subsistence to the US makes Australia poorer, not safer.

Australian Defence Minister Robert Hill announced in Washington in November 2003 that joint exercises and other measures would be taken to ensure "seamless interoperability" between the United States and Australian military.

Interoperability is the process of the gradual fusion of the Australian Defence Force into a de-facto arm of the United States military.

The government's current military spending is nearly one-tenth of its disposal income per year and there are calls for this to be significantly increased. Australian military spending is A\$60 million a day or approximately 2.1% of GNP. Many countries of Australia's size spend far less. Sweden, for example, spends 1.4% of GNP. In the 2006-07 budget the military component overtook the amount spent on education to become the third most important part of Australia's expenditure.

This level of spending is achieved by running down welfare, education and health. Australia is one of the meanest providers of aid in the developed world.

Beyond its increasing dependence on the US military alliance to bolster Australian capitalism's strategic interests, the Howard Government is seeking a commercial payoff, both in terms of Pentagon contracts for some

Australian-based military suppliers and through the Free Trade Agreement.

The Australian establishment also hopes for US support for Australian operations in the Asia-Pacific region such as the occupation of the Solomon Islands and in East Timor, where Washington endorsed an Australian-led intervention in 1999, which secured corporate Australia's grip over the oil and gas fields in the Timor Sea.

The "old" bases especially Pine Gap

Pine Gap, 20 kms southeast of Alice Springs in the centre of Australia, is one of the largest and most important United States war fighting and intelligence bases in the world. It is a satellite ground control station. It has been an important element of Star Wars for decades. It employs over 1,000 American and Australian personnel.

Established in 1968, it now consists of around 20 radomes working as satellite receiving stations for the various satellite programs such as reconnaissance and intercepting of signals.

Every branch of the US military as well as the National Reconnaissance Office, National Security Agency and the CIA are stationed at Pine Gap.

Pine Gap's most important role is processing information gathered by satellites and transmitting that information to the United States. The satellites span a strategically important third of the globe, encompassing China, southern Russia and the Middle East oil fields. In regard to our present conference the satellites' footprint covers most of the Northern Pacific, Central and Southern Pacific and most of China.

Pine Gap receives from satellites and forwards to the US many different types of information, including early warning of missile launches, surveillance, weather, photographic and computer lines for battlefield command and control. The use of computers in war fighting has enabled the US to set up a virtual battlefield command centers in the US with the commanders there able to coordinate the battle down to the battlefield commanders with hand held computer devices.

Pine Gap has also been converted into a front-line base for the US Star Wars system. It has taken over the role of early detection of missiles and is integral to the change from the nearly obsolete DSP (Defence Support Program) satellites to the Space Based Infra-Red System (SBIRS), which is a key element in missile defence. We should remember that every US military base in the world has resulted in some soil and/or ground water contamination and well as other forms of environmental pollution.

There are also significant social implications, including an increase in anti-social behaviour, crime and sexual related illnesses.

Other bases

Australia provides over 30 facilities for US use, including seismic stations, weather/atmosphere testing and intelligence listening posts for the Echelon system.

A former Labor Government signed an agreement allowing the US to use Australian military facilities, especially naval and air force bases, when the Pentagon thinks fit. There are also so called 'lily pad' bases in northern Australia, which can be used by the US if they need them.

New bases

Australia signed on for three new "training bases" with the US military at the annual Australian-US Ministerial Consultations (AUSMIN) in Washington in July 2004.

Australia and the US agreed to develop a Joint Combined Training Centre which will include state-of-the-art technology that allows commanders to oversee the exercises in real time, then replay missions in debriefs to

personnel.

Under the concept, facilities at the Shoalwater Bay Training Area in Queensland and the Bradshaw Training Area and Delamere Air Weapons Range in the Northern Territory will be developed at the cost of tens of millions of dollars.

(The Anti-Bases campaign held a demonstration in June 05 at the gates of the Shoalwater Bay Training area.)

The three facilities will be linked with certain bases in the United States and will be inter-linked through a node in the Pacific War Fighting Centre in Hawaii.

In keeping with Rumsfeld's "transformation" policy of converting the U.S. military from its heavy, largely static Cold War mode to smaller, lighter, more flexible and more rapidly deployed units, these forward outposts would be lightly garrisoned but capable of accommodating a large surge of American military power.

The Howard Government has also agreed to a new tank base in Darwin (on the northern coast), which will provide another facility for the United States military to exploit.

Australia bought US Abrams tanks despite the fact that they are inappropriate for the region because of their great size and weight (up to 68 tonnes) – but heavier tanks are suitable for far-flung operations with the US. In 2006 the Australian Government purchased 4 huge Globemasters planes to carry these tanks at cost of several billion dollars

The base is valuable because Darwin is a port city ideal for control of the strategic Timor Gap naval passage and for US plans for containment of China.

Halliburton, US Vice President Dick Cheney's corporation has recently built what is a strategic railway from Alice Springs (near Pine Gap) to Darwin.

In late 2002, in the lead-up to the Iraq invasion, the Howard Government began Sea Swap, a program allowing the US military to use Fremantle (in West Australia) to rotate crews on US warships operating in the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean. Ships taking part arrived in Fremantle and the crew handed over to a completely new crew flown in from the US, before returning home themselves.

The program reduces the time needed for crew changes. This is important for the US because it means US warships will be available when quick action is needed for pre-emptive strikes in the Asia-Pacific area or the Persian Gulf.

It is also designed to save fuel and money, keeping the ships on station for longer and reducing the amount of time taken returning to the US.

All these new bases represent a quantitative leap in the progress of United States interference in Australia's internal and international affairs. Traditionally Australian bases have provided the US with electronic facilities; now there will be US military personnel on Australian soil.

Missile defence

The Howard Government announced in November 2003 that Australia would become involved in the United States "missile defence" program.

Missile defence is the armed wing of globalisation. The US is planning to militarise, commercially exploit and to control space, becoming the master of space and taking corporate globalisation to a new and more terrifying level.

Space-based weapons are an essential part of this plan. The US military plans to base weapons in space and to control and dominate space and from there, the Earth below.

There is no benefit for Australians in joining Star Wars. We will suffer economically, our security will be put at risk, trade and diplomacy will be undermined, relations with our neighbours will be damaged and our sovereignty will be diminished.

Star Wars means loss of national independence with the domination of Australia by US policy makers, the US

military and US transnational corporations. The Australian Parliament has no idea about what is going on at Pine Gap.

Additionally, Australia's reputation and influence internationally are injured by the Howard Government's subservient and unquestioning support for such an aggressive plan.

The Australian Government is also involved in US theatre missile defence plans. It is building three new destroyers and is putting its "over the horizon" radar network at the disposal of the US military.

This mirrors Japan's plans to upgrade its four Aegis destroyers and to construct a land-based radar network and a command and control system. To track incoming missiles, Japan would rely on intelligence from United States satellites.

Aegis destroyers

The US is rapidly expanding its anti-missile systems and plans to base the Aegis anti-missile system in Japan, South Korea, Taiwan and Australia in order to surround and help "contain" China.

Aegis ("aegis" is Greek for "shield") is a surface-to-air integrated weapons platform, which operates as a computer-based command-and-decision system, capable of simultaneous anti-air, anti-surface and anti-submarine warfare.

The Howard Government will station three air-warfare destroyers with long-range anti-missile Aegis capabilities off the coast of West Australia. Japan's Kongo-class destroyers are equipped with the Aegis system and the U.S. Navy has Aegis equipped destroyers in the Sea of Japan.

The US has called Australia "the southern arm" of its strategy in the Pacific. Japan is the "northern arm".

Australia's radar network is becoming an important component of the US Star Wars program, in addition to the planned Aegis air warfare destroyers and the US satellite ground station at Pine Gap.

Trials in 2004 of the possible application of Australia's Jindalee over the horizon radar to missile defence succeeded in detecting a target.

The anti-bases movement in Australia

There were several major demonstrations against US bases in Australia before 1987.

In 1987 the Australian Anti-Bases Campaign Coalition (AABCC) was established in an effort to co-ordinate and sustain a consistent and determined effort to close US bases in Australia. The AABCC aims to be as broad and inclusive as possible.

A secretariat was set up in Sydney and a pattern of a major demonstration against a US base every 2 or 3 years was developed. In between demonstrations the group continued with lobbying and education activities about US bases here and against the US-Australian alliance.

In the early days of the coalition, we were able to co-ordinate demonstrations against US bases in three countries — Australia, New Zealand and the Philippines. There is no reason we cannot do the same again with the addition of Japan and other countries.

Recently we were able to stage a significant protest against US-Australian war games called Talisman Sabre, including delaying a tank convoy for some hours. We are already planning for a major demonstration in 2007 when the Talisman Sabre military exercise will take place again. We are planning to start our week of demonstrations on the 16th or 22nd June 2007. We hope some of the people at this conference may be able to join us or send us messages of solidarity.

There are difficulties in organising against the military bases in Australia. The two major political parties and the great majority of the media support the facilities and the US-Australian alliance uncritically. Other problems include huge distances (Sydney to Pine Gap, for example, is a 43 hour bus journey) and lack of resources.

The AABCC still produces a quarterly bulletin and maintains a web site and an office. We are one of the few

functioning national peace groups in Australia. We work to establish local anti-bases groups and to assist them to stage demonstrations and keep the issue alive in the minds of Australians.

While we very much wish we could have a greater impact, we can point to the fact that our protests have caused so much concern that the Australian Government has sent in the army on one occasion to protect a US base and the US Government sent out the USAF intelligence service to investigate us. We can certainly say we have them upset them from time to time!

Developments over the last 12 months

Australia's role in the South Pacific has become more delineated and more aggressive. The US seems to accept that Australia has the franchise to operate freely in the South Pacific. The Australia Government is constantly fanning flames of instability in the region calling it an 'arc of instability' and referring to the various countries in the South Pacific as 'failed states'. Australia has intervened in the Solomons, Papua New Guinea, and Fiji in the last few months. Most leaders of these states have complained loudly about the bullying of Australia. This action seems to be tailored to impose neo-colonialism.

Australia has also been responsible for what we call a 'coup in East Timor' because the elected Government was not compliant with Australian wishes in regard to the Timor Gap's oil resources.

Australia's relationship with Indonesia is always 'testy' but we have signed an agreement not to support West Papuan independence. This agreement is called the Lombok agreement and is only several days old.

Australia is always ready to criticize North Korea and joined the chorus of criticism of that country's nuclear program while hypocritically remaining silent on the US nuclear program and being allowing US warship into our waters with nuclear weapons on board. The DPRK has an embassy in Australia.

Even more threatening is the fact that Australia is encouraging 'interdiction of North Korean ships' on the high seas. A conference on this topic was held in Brisbane and the US and Australian Navies have trained in this activity at the Talisman Sabre 05.

Recent and future actions

In December 2005 several people broke into the Pine Gap base and sat on the roof of one of the buildings. The resultant trial and actions have brought some attention to the base.

The huge Australian-US military exercise called 'Talisman Sabre 07' is causing much resistance and many groups from the peace and environmental activists sectors.

Conclusion

We know that Australia does not have to become a cog in the US military machine.

There is an alternative, one that is affordable and genuinely serves the defence of our country. An independent, made-in-Australia policy for reduced military spending and respect for the sovereign rights of nations to independence, equality and self-determination would best serve the need for peace and stability in our region.

We look for a new world security order. This new approach includes such policies as:

- Close US military-bases on Australian soil and end the ANZUS Treaty. No involvement in US anti-missile programs. Adoption by the Australian Government of an independent foreign policy.
- Change Australia's defence policy and military capability to one of defence of our own territory, ruling out aggression against the territory of other states. Focus on dual-use equipment (for example, aircraft which can be used for water bombing bushfires as well as for coastal surveillance and interception).
- Substantially cut the military budget. Convert military-related industries to socially useful and environmentally sustainable production with the consequent creation of additional employment.
- Uphold the nuclear weapons free status of Australia. Work for nuclear free zones throughout Asia and the Pacific.

- Forbid foreign warships and military aircraft to call at Australian ports and airfields or transit through Australian territorial space.
- Work to restrict a regional arms race and to develop transparency and confidence building.

The peoples of the world are paying for the drive towards war. The price of failure in the struggle for peace will be not just global dictatorship, human misery, and environmental destruction but also the possibility of human and planetary annihilation.

The United States is not all-powerful and is being challenged by the “super power of peace”. The recent rise of the anti-war movement has brought an unprecedented force onto the world stage. In February 2003 there were over 10 million people in the streets around the world, including nearly a million people in Sydney.

A just and peaceful world is possible. The Australian people can and must play their part in imposing it on US imperialism.

The Tokyo Consultation contact list

Denis Doharty [Australia]

Australian Anti-Bases Campaign Coalition [AABCC]

Email: aabcc@zipworld.com.au

Address: 499 Elizabeth St, Surry Hills NSW 2010.

Phone: (02) 9698 2954

Postal Address: PO Box A899, Sydney South, NSW 1235

Kyle Kajihiro [Hawaii]

American Friends Service Committee

Email: kkajihiro@afsc.org

Address: 2426 O'ahu Avenue, Honolulu, Hawai'I 96822

Phone: (808)-988-6266 Fax: (808)-988-4876

Octavio Dinampo [Mindanao]

Tulong Lupah Sug, INC. [TLS]

Email: Odinampo@yahoo.com

Phone: 0927-429-57-29 (mobile)

Corazon Fabros [Philippines]

Stop the War Coalition Philippines

Email: corafabros2000@yahoo.com

Address: 31 Dao Street, Mapayapa Village 3, Quezon City, Philippines

Tel&Fax: +632-931-1153

Lisa Natividad [Guam]

Nasion Chamoru

Email: lisanati@ite.net

Address: P.O. Box 22945 GMF Barrigada, GUAM 96921

Tel: 671-653-7285 Fax: 671-477-5714

Kang Cheol-woong [Korea]

Korean Confederation of Trade Unions

Email: kangcw59@hanmail.net

Address: 1st Floor, Daeyoung Bldg., 139 Youngdeungpo-2-Ga, Youngdeungpo-ku, Seoul, 150-982
Korea

Phone: +82-2-2670-9231 Fax: +82-2-2635-1134

Park Jung-eun [Korea]

PSPD (People's Solidarity for Participatory Democracy)

E-mail: jjepark@pspd.org

Address: 3rd Floor, New Anguk Building, 175-3 Anguk-Dong, Jongno-ku, Seoul, 110-240 Korea

Tel: +82-2-723-4250 Fax: +82-2-723-5055 Fax: +82-2-723-5055

Ko Yoo-gyung [Korea]

The Pan South Korea Solution Committee Against U.S. Base Expansion

E-mail: us@usacrime.or.kr

Address: 2nd Floor, 184-3 Pil-un Dong, Jongno-ku, Seoul, 110-044 Korea

Tel: +82-2-723-7057 Fax +82-2-723-7059

You Youn-gjae [Korea]

Solidarity for peace and Reunification of Korea [SPARK]

Email: spark946@hanmail.net
Address: 3rd Floor, Sung Woo Building, 18-4 Shin-kong-deuk Dong, Mapo-ku, Seoul, Korea
Tel: +82-2-711-7292 Fax: +82-2-712-8445

Yoon Kidon [Korea]

Green Korea

Email: kdyoon@greenkorea.org
Address: 113-34 Seongbuk-Dong, Seonbuk-Gu, Seoul, Korea
Tel: +82-2-747-5800 Fax: +82-2-766-4180

Umebayashi Hiromichi [Japan]

Peace Depot

Email: office@peacedepot.org
Address: Minowa-cho 3-3-1-102, kohoku-ku, Yokohama, Japan, 223-0051
Tel: +81-45-563-5101 Fax: +81-45-563-9907

Ashitomi Hiroshi [Okinawa]

Nago Council against Heliport Building, Henoko

Address: Onishi 5-5-6, Nago City, Okinawa, Japan
Tel: +81-980-53-6992 Fax: +81-980-55-3131

Takazato Suzuyo [Okinawa]

Okinawa Women Act Against Military Violence

Email: suzuyo@mxi.mesh.ne.jp
Address: Kumoji 3-29-41-402, Naha City, Okinawa, Japan
Tel&Fax +81-98-864-1539

Taira Natsume [Okinawa]

Okinawa Citizens' Peace Network

Email: taira@n.email.ne.jp
Address: Nakama 96-1, Nanjyo City, Okinawa, Japan
Tel: +81-098-945-3999 Fax: +81-98-944-3880

Matsumura Machiko [Oita]

Oita Hijyudai Local Network

Email: yufukiri@fat.coara.or.jp
Address: Kawakita 1112-26, Yufuin-cho, Oita-gun, Oita, Japan
Tel&Fax: +81-977-85-5003

Yuasa Ichiro [Hiroshima]

Peace Link Hiroshima-Kure-Iwakuni

Email: yuasa3@do6.enjoy.ne.jp
Address: Kure YMCA, Saiwai-cho3-1, Kure City, Hiroshima, Japan
Tel: +81-823-21-2414 Fax: +81-823-21-2514

Nitta Hideki [Hiroshima]

Peace Link Hiroshima-Kure-Iwakuni

Email: nitta906@ms8.megaegg.ne.jp
Address: Hiroshima YMCA, Otemachi4-3-10, Cyuo-ku, Hiroshima, Japan

Kaneko Tokio [Kanagawa]

Sagamihara City Councilor, Rimpeace

Email: kaneko@rimpeace.or.jp

Higashirinkan4-21-19, Sagami-hara City, Kanagawa, Japan
Tel&Fax: +81-42-741-0232

Niikura Hiroshi [Yokosuka]

Citizen's Declaration of Nuclear Free City Movement, Yokosuka

Email: BQA01737@nifty.ne.jp

Yamamoto Building 2F, Honcho 3-14, Yokosuka City, Kanagawa, Japan

Tel&Fax: +81-46-825-0157

Endo Yoichi [Tokyo]

Fussa City Councilor, Rimpeace

Email: endo@rimpeace.or.jp

Address: Musashinodai1-3-7, Fussa City, Tokyo, Japan

Tel: +81-42-551-8906 Fax: +81-42-552-5156

[Contacts of the Japan Committee for the Tokyo Consultation]

Yagi Ryuji

Forum Peace, Human Rights and Environment (Japan Peace Forum)

Email: yagi@gensuikin.org

Address: Sohyo-kaikan 1F, Surugadai 3-2-11, Kanda, Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo, Japan

Tel: +81-3-5289-8222 Fax: +81-3-5289-8223

Yamaguchi Hibiki, Kasahara Hikaru, Muto Ichiyo

Asian Peace Alliance [APA-Japan], People's Plan Study Group [PPSG]

Email: ppsg@jca.apc.org, hibikiy1976@yahoo.co.jp

Address: Nikken Building 2F, Waseda-cho 75, Shinjyuku-ku, Tokyo, Japan

Tel&Fax: +81-3-5273-8362

Otsuka Teruyo

Secretary of Tsujimoto Kiyomi, MP (Social Democratic Party of Japan)

Address: Office of Tsujimoto Kiyomi, Second Members' Office Building of the Lower House Rm. 305,
Nagatacho 2-1-2, Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo, Japan

Email: h02912@shugin.go.jp

Tel: +81-3-3508-7055 Fax: +81-3-3508-3855

The Japan Committee for
the Asia-Pacific Consultation of Movements against U.S. Military Bases, Tokyo
c/o Forum Peace, Human Rights and Environment
Sohyo-kaikan 1F, Surugadai 3-2-11, Kanda,
Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo 101-0062 Japan
Tel: +81-3-5289-8222 Fax: +81-3-5289-8223
Email: ppsg@jca.apc.org