

ENDNOTES

- 1 The strategic review of U.S. forces and its impact on U.S. force posture is referred to as the Global Posture Review. Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld and U.S. military commanders testified to the U.S. Senate Committee on Armed Services on September 23, 2004, regarding conclusions reached during this Review. See statements presented at the hearing at armed-services.senate.gov/e_witnesslist.cfm?id=1313 (accessed January 11, 2006). The configuration of U.S. military forces was also being considered under the Base Realignment and Closure Commission (BRAC) process, initiated in 1995 to review the utility and need for bases within the United States. In 2005, the Commission made its recommendations to the secretary of defense, including its assessment of overseas bases and the newly emerging transformation goals for the future of the U.S. military. These findings are available at www.brac.gov/finalreport.asp (accessed January 11, 2006). The Department of Defense (DOD) will submit to Congress in 2006 the first Quadrennial Defense Review to incorporate the goals of the Global Posture Review. For an overview of DOD efforts to transform the U.S. military, see *Facing the Future: Meeting the Threats and Challenges of the 21st Century*, produced by the DOD Office of the Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs, February 2005. Available at www.defenselink.mil/transformation/features/Facing_the_Future (accessed January 11, 2006).
- 2 See Roland G. Simbulan, *The Bases of Our Insecurity* (Manila: BALAI Fellowship, Inc., 1985) for a detailed critical account of the U.S. military presence in the Philippines. For an account of the debate among President Aquino's advisors who worked on the Philippine government's position in negotiations with the United States, see Alfredo R.A. Bengzon with Raul Rodrigo, *A Matter of Honor: The Story of the 1990-91 RP-U.S. Bases Talks* (Manila: Anvil Publishing, 1997).
- 3 Under the 1987 Constitution, the Senate was required to ratify the new agreement, and under Senate rules 16 Senators would have had to approve the treaty in order for it to pass. For a view from within the Senate, see Jovita Salonga, *The Senate that Said No* (Quezon City: Center for Leadership, Citizenship and Democracy, National College of Public Administration and Governance, University of the Philippines and Regina Publishing, 2001), 445-473.
- 4 Alfredo R.A. Bengzon with Raul Rodrigo, *A Matter of Honor: The Story of the 1990-91 RP-U.S. Bases Talks* (Manila: Anvil Publishing, 1997), 267-268.
- 5 See *Special Action Committee on Okinawa (SACO) Final Report*, December 2, 1996, www.mofa.go.jp/region/n-america/us/security/96saco1.html (accessed January 11, 2006).
- 6 See Katharine H.S. Moon, "Korean Nationalism, Anti-Americanism, and Democratic Consolidation," in Samuel S. Kim, *Korea's Democratization* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 135-158.
- 7 The language of the Tydings-McDuffie Act was so attractive that it was made part of the 1935 Constitution of the Republic of the Philippines.
- 8 As of 2004, the U.S. military has access to a total of 172,503 acres of land in Japan. Under the SACO Agreement, the United States has agreed to return 12,360 acres of land in Okinawa, subject to finding alternative arrangements for consolidating and relocating forces.
- 9 The U.S. military also has access to "joint use" facilities, either with the Japanese Self Defense Force or with other civilian agencies. If all land made available to the United States (either exclusively or on a joint use basis) in Japan is tallied, 23.4 percent of that is in Okinawa. Briefing materials compiled by the Military Affairs Office, Office of the Governor, Okinawa Prefecture, October 2004, for use by Governor Keiichi Inamine in meetings with U.S. officials in Washington, D.C.

- 10 The Balikatan exercises between U.S. military troops and the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) recommenced after the two governments concluded the Visiting Forces Agreement (VFA) in 1999. Since 2000, the military exercises have been held in Luzon, Palawan, and Mindanao. The scale and operational focus of the exercises vary over time, with participating American forces ranging from 300 to 2,600, depending on the annual negotiations between the U.S. and Philippine militaries. Balikatan exercises tend to last for a month or so, with the notable exception of the six-month Balikatan in early 2002 on the island of Basilan. Bilateral cooperation in counterterrorism in the southern Philippines has also occurred through the placement of U.S. military personnel with AFP units in Mindanao, and has primarily been in the form of “intel-fusion”—the integration of intelligence-gathering activities. For information on the current U.S. exercises with the Philippines, see www.pacom.mil.gov.
- 11 The bilateral negotiations on the relocation of U.S. Forces Korea (USFK) were held in the Future of the Alliance Talks (FOTA). The Land Partnership Plan is an ongoing framework that governs the use, costs, and management of land used by USFK. It is managed by the Ministry of National Defense. See www.korea.army.mil/LPP/index.asp (accessed December 11, 2005).
- 12 For an overview of Korean public opinion and its impact on the alliance, see Derek J. Mitchell, ed., *Strategy and Sentiment: South Korean Popular Opinion and the U.S.-ROK Alliance* (Washington: Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2004), www.csis.org/media/csis/pubs/0406_mitchell.pdf (accessed December 11, 2005). A number of public opinion polls have focused on changing South Korean attitudes toward the United States and the U.S.-ROK alliance. See, for example, The Pew Global Attitudes Project, *What the World Thinks in 2002* (Washington: The Pew Research Center for the People and the Press, 2002), available at pewglobal.org/reports/display.php?ReportID=165 (accessed January 11, 2006) and U.S.-Korean Comparative Report compiled by the Global Views 2004 Project of the Chicago Council of Foreign Affairs, available at www.c CFR.org/globalviews2004/index.htm (accessed December 11, 2005).
- 13 In June 1983, Senator Aquino testified before the Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs of the U.S. House Committee on Foreign Affairs. He openly challenged the policy of maintaining U.S. bases in the Philippines, stating, “All the weapons that the Marcos regime is acquiring will never be pointed at a foreign invader but will be used against Filipino freedom fighters struggling against dictatorship. . . . Why then should American taxpayer’s money be spent to purchase weapons that would be used against Filipinos opposed to the Marcos dictatorship?” From Roland G. Simbulan, *The Bases of Our Insecurity* (Manila: BALAI Fellowship, 1985).
- 14 Article XVIII, Section 25, of the 1987 Constitution of the Republic of the Philippines states: “After the expiration in 1991 of the Agreement between the Republic of the Philippines and the United States of America concerning military bases, foreign military bases, troops, or facilities shall not be allowed in the Philippines except under a treaty duly concurred in by the Senate and, when the Congress so requires, ratified by a majority of the votes cast by the people in a national referendum held for that purpose, and recognized as a treaty by the other contracting State.”
- 15 See the Subic Bay Metropolitan Authority website, www.sbma.com (accessed December 11, 2005).
- 16 This annual operating budget covers direct costs incurred by the U.S. Air Force and does not include the budget also provided indirectly for Kadena’s operations by the Japanese government. The overall operating value of Kadena was estimated at US\$6 billion: US\$4 billion in weapons, US\$1 billion in capital assets, and US\$1 billion in equipment and contracts. Briefing to Shifting Terrain research team by Lt. Col. Kevin Krejcarek, Chief, 18th Wing Public Affairs, Kadena Air Force Base, Okinawa, Japan, April 2004.
- 17 In 2001, the U.S. Marine Corps began publishing a bilingual magazine *OkinaWa/The Big Circle* highlighting the various activities and events that brought U.S. Marine Corps personnel and their families in greater contact with local communities. See www.okinawa.usmc.mil/Okina_wa/Okina_Wa.html (accessed December 11, 2005).

- 18 Briefing to Shifting Terrain research team by Lt. Col. Kevin Krejcarek, Chief, 18th Wing Public Affairs, Kadena Air Force Base, Okinawa, Japan, April 2004.
- 19 See Sheila A. Smith, "Challenging National Authority: Okinawa Prefecture and the U.S. Military Bases," *Local Voices, National Issues: The Impact of Local Initiative in Japanese Policy-Making* (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 2000).
- 20 See "U.S. Military Issues" link on the webpage of the Government of Okinawa Prefecture, www.pref.okinawa.jp/english/index.html (accessed January 11, 2006).
- 21 The tradition of going to Washington, D.C., to advocate Okinawan interests began under U.S. occupation during World War II. Taking their municipality's case to the halls of Congress, the Department of State, and the Department of Defense has been the practice of local mayors ever since. Most recently, Mayor Iha of Ginowan City has been urging U.S. policymakers to return Futenma Marine Corps Air Station. His recent visits are chronicled on the city's website, www.city.ginowan.okinawa.jp (in Japanese) (accessed December 11, 2005).
- 22 See Special Commission on USFK Affairs, Office of the Prime Minister, Government of the Republic of Korea at www.cua.go.kr (in Korean) (accessed December 11, 2005). The Commission is headed by two commissioners—one is the deputy minister of defense, the other a representative from the prime minister's office. There are four basic areas of policy responsibility: the planning oversight department (laws and regulations, public relations, and policy oversight); project support department (base vicinity, land development, and Yongsan land usage); policy coordination department (population relocation and USFK base conditions); and the regional cooperation department (window for local grievances and cooperation with local governments).
- 23 *Special Law for Economic Vitalization of Pyeongtaek* (translation from Korean), drafted by the Special Commission on USFK Activities, Prime Minister's Office, South Korea.
- 24 Interview by Shifting Terrain research team with Wan Su Han, Hong Gu Kang, and Tang Yong Shim—representatives of the Democratic Citizen's League—in Tongducheon, South Korea, November 2004.
- 25 For an analysis of the impact of civil society in Korea's democratization process, see Sunhyuk Kim, "Civic Mobilization for Democratic Reform," in Larry Diamond and Doh Chull Shin, eds., *Institutional Reform and Democratic Consolidation in Korea* (Stanford: Hoover Institutions Press, 2000); Sunhyuk Kim, *The Politics of Democratization in South Korea: The Role of Civil Society* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2000).
- 26 Sheila A. Smith, "A Place Apart: Okinawa and Japan's Postwar Peace," in Akira Iriye and Robert A. Wampler, eds., *Partnership: The United States and Japan, 1951-2001* (New York: Kodansha International, 2001), 179-200.
- 27 Patricio Abinales, *Making Mindanao: Cotabato and Davao in the Formation of the Philippine Nation-State* (Manila: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2000).
- 28 Marites Danguilan Vitug and Glenda M. Gloria, *Under the Crescent Moon: Rebellion in Mindanao* (Manila: Ateneo Center for Social Policy and Public Affairs and Institute for Popular Democracy, 2000).
- 29 For an in-depth treatment of the discrimination experienced by camp towns and of Korean and U.S. government efforts to "clean up" these areas, see Katharine H.S. Moon, *Sex Among Allies* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 57-83.
- 30 One of the most compelling chronicles of the interactions between the U.S. military and prostitution in Asia are the first-person accounts of the women who work in Olongapo (Philippines), Tongducheon (South Korea), and Kin (Okinawa, Japan). These are found in Sandra Pollock Sturdevant and Brenda Stoltzfus, *Let the Good Times Roll: Prostitution and the U.S. Military in Asia* (New York: The New Press, 1992).

- 31 Suzuyo Takazato, "Report from Okinawa—Long-term U.S. Military Presence," in the special issue of *Canadian Woman Studies/les cahiers de la femme* on "Women in Conflict Zones," (Winter 2000) 19:46. An English-language chronology of crimes documented by Suzuyo Takazato, Harumi Miyagi, Carolyn Francis, and Nana Oshiro, entitled, "Postwar U.S. Military Crimes Against Women in Okinawa" given to the Shifting Terrain research team during an interview with Takazato in April 2004.
- 32 See www.usacrime.or.kr for an accounting of crimes by U.S. military personnel in South Korea (accessed December 11, 2005).
- 33 In the Okinawa Women Act against Military Violence brochure, they outlined their position as follows: "We base our position on the section of the Platform of Action approved by the Beijing Women's Conference that clearly states: 'Rape that takes place in a situation of armed conflict constitutes both a war crime and a crime against humanity.' We are proceeding on the premise that the same holds true for Okinawa, which has long suffered a foreign military presence. Okinawan women have resolved that we will no longer tolerate this violence and violation of human rights, and have petitioned the Japanese government to consolidate the U.S. bases and withdraw U.S. military personnel, review the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty and the Status of Forces Agreement, and award full compensation to all victims."
- 34 Interview by Shifting Terrain research team with Tomi Mashiki, a local activist in the effort to oppose the construction of a new base for the U.S. military in Nago City, April 2004.
- 35 For example, a group of women leaders from Okinawa visited Washington, D.C., in early 2004 and met with key women legislators in the House and the Senate. See their report (in Japanese), "Our Report on our Visit with U.S. Legislators on the Need for a Review of U.S. Overseas Bases." Interview by Shifting Terrain research team with Suzuyo Takazato, an elected representative in the Naha City Assembly, April 2004.
- 36 Interview by Shifting Terrain research team with Hyun Sun Kim, director of Saewoomtuh, in Pyeongtaek, November 2004. For an account of the conditions facing prostitutes in the *kijich'on* (camp towns) in South Korea, see Saewoomtuh's English-language publication, *Lives in Kijich'on*, published May 5, 1999.
- 37 Interview by Shifting Terrain research team with the staff and clients of the Saewoomtuh counseling centers in Pyeongtaek and Tongducheon, South Korea, November 2004.
- 38 This was one of the key criticisms of the handling of the sinking of the Japanese high school training vessel *Ehime Maru* after it was accidentally struck by a surfacing U.S. nuclear attack submarine off the coast of Hawai'i in 2001. See Sheila A. Smith, "Japan's Uneasy Citizens and the U.S.-Japan Alliance," *AsiaPacific Issues*, No. 54, September 2001. See http://EastWestCenter.org/res-rp-publicationdetails.asp?pub_ID=1186 (accessed February 14, 2006).
- 39 Interview with Kanetoshi Yoseda, chairman of the Okinawa Bar Association, via correspondence with Sheila A. Smith, summer 2004.
- 40 Interview with Chong Sang Yu, deputy minister, Special Commission on USFK Affairs, Office of the Prime Minister, South Korea, November 2004.
- 41 This amount is the total paid for the Kadena Air Base and the Kadena Ammunition Storage Area.
- 42 Based on data from the Naha Defense Facilities Administration Agency, compiled by the Military Affairs Office of the Okinawa Prefecture Government. Facilities owned by the Japanese government are excluded from these calculations, as are rental fees paid for base land jointly used by the Japanese Self Defense Force (SDF). The rents paid are calculated in Japanese yen but converted to U.S. dollars for illustrative purpose in this publication. For a more accurate accounting of change over time, the original data should be consulted. Yen-dollar conversions are based on exchange rates as of June 30 each year. *Okinawa no Beigun oyobi Jieitai Kichi (Toukei Shiryoshuu), Heisei 17-nen 3-gatsu* (U.S. and SDF Military Bases in Okinawa [Statistics], March 2005), 12-15, from the Military Affairs Office of the Governor of Okinawa Prefecture.

- 43 The Korean Ministry of National Defense (MND) has experienced some difficulty in its attempt to gain local citizen support for some of its policies. For example, in September 2005, a town hall meeting organized to explain the MND's decision to deploy Patriot missiles near the Kwangju Airport (in South Cholla Province) was interrupted by protestors calling themselves the Kwangju-South Cholla Common Response Committee (Kwangju-Junnam-Gongdong-Daecheok-Wewonhweh). Soon thereafter the Kwangju City Council also declared its opposition to having Patriots there. Likewise, in a town hall meeting organized to explain the USFK relocation plan in Pyeongtaek, representatives from the prime minister's office and the MND encountered vocal and organized opposition to their efforts to explain policy decisions. Interview by Shifting Terrain research team with Chong Sang Yu, deputy minister, Special Commission on USFK Affairs, Office of the Prime Minister, Seoul, South Korea, November 2004.
- 44 Interview by Shifting Terrain research team with Soo Ho Park, chairman, USFK Relocation Policy Response Committee of Tongducheon City Government, Tongducheon City, South Korea, November 2004.
- 45 For a detailed outline of the planning process, see the Ginowan City government website at www.city.ginowan.okinawa.jp (in Japanese) (accessed December 11, 2005).
- 46 Presentation to the East-West Center Shifting Terrain Workshop, Bohol Island, Philippines, April 2005, by Marites D. Vitug, editor-in-chief, *Newsbreak Magazine*.
- 47 See Marites Danguilan Vitug, "America, Once More," in *Newsbreak Magazine*, March 31, 2003, www.inq7.net/nwsbrk/2003/mar/31/nbk_3-1.htm (accessed January 11, 2006).
- 48 The governor was also the head of the Moro National Liberation Front, making him a doubly powerful voice in the Muslim community. The Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (ARMM) was established in 1990 to create self-government and development for the Muslim communities in Mindanao. ARMM at present includes the four provinces of Sulu, Tawi-Tawi, Maguindanao, and Lanao del Sur.
- 49 Central Mindanao was in fact home to the Mindanao Independence Movement in the 1960s, and some leading Moros from that area joined the Moro National Liberation Front. One of the first clashes in the war that erupted in the 1970s was in Cotabato and surrounding areas. Two major MILF camps were located in Central Mindanao: Camp Rajah Muda in Cotabato and Camp Abubakar in Maguindanao. Presentation by North Cotabato Governor Emmanuel Piñol at the East-West Center Shifting Terrain Workshop, Bohol Island, Philippines, April 2005.
- 50 Briefing by General Benjamin Dolorfino, Commander, Lanao del Sur Marine Task Force, at the East-West Center Shifting Terrain Workshop, Bohol Island, Philippines, April 2005. See also interview of Ambassador Riccardione, "Q and A with U.S. Ambassador Francis Riccardione: Why Mindanao?" *MindaNews*, February 28, 2005, www.mindanews.com/2005/02/28index.html (accessed December 11, 2005) and coverage of U.S. military activities in Lanao del Sur in April 2005 in Froilan Gallardo and Violeta M. Gloria, "US Troops Stationed in Marawi? Marine Chief Says They've Left," *MindaNews*, April 26, 2005, www.mindanews.com/2005/04/25nws-us.html (accessed December 11, 2005).
- 51 Presentation to the East-West Center Shifting Terrain Workshop, Bohol Island, Philippines, by Wahida Abtahi, April 2005. Abtahi is the executive director of the Federation of United Mindanawan Bangsamoro Women, a grassroots women's organization founded in 1997, operating within Muslim communities across Mindanao.
- 52 See statistics for March 31, 2005, prepared by the Directorate for Information Operations and Reports, U.S. Department of Defense, available at www.dior.whs.mil/mmmd/military/history/hst0305.pdf (accessed on December 11, 2005).

- 53 For the *U.S.-South Korea: 12th Future of the Alliance (FOTA) Talks: Special Press Summary*, see www.vic-info.org/RegionsTop.nsf/0/a6113434d1d3920b0a256f1a000281c0?OpenDocument (accessed January 11, 2006). For details of the agreement and its impact on Korean defense planning, see also the *Defense White Paper 2004* of the Ministry of National Defense, South Korea, 30-42, http://maiusbook.com/etext/main.php?id=mnd&code=mnd_99 (accessed February 14, 2006).
- 54 In the 1990s, policymakers in Tokyo and Washington had extensive discussions over the redefinition of their alliance in post-Cold War Asia, and as a result went on to develop new guidelines for U.S.-Japan defense cooperation that were adopted in Japan in the late 1990s. Details on these policies and their implementation can be found in the annual English-language summary of Japan's annual *Defense White Paper* available at www.jda.go.jp/e/index_.htm (accessed January 11, 2006). The full Japanese-language report, *Boei Hakusho*, can be found at www.jda.go.jp/j/library/wp/index.html (accessed January 11, 2006).
- 55 See *U.S.-Japan Alliance: Transformation and Realignment for the Future*, October 29, 2005, www.mofa.go.jp/region/n-america/us/security/scc/doc0510.html (accessed December 11, 2005).
- 56 For a list of U.S. anti-terrorism aid to the Philippines, see "Fact Sheet: Announcements Related to the Visit of President Arroyo," prepared by the Department of State on the occasion of the Bush-Arroyo summit of May 20, 2003, manila.usembassy.gov/wwwhr008.html (accessed December 11, 2005).
- 57 In return, the United States committed itself to assist in Philippine defense reform. The United States agreed to continue to help the AFP more broadly, including with its military modernization and reform efforts. President Bush also agreed to designate the Philippines as a Major Non-NATO Ally, which allows greater access to U.S. military weapons purchases and research and development. The White House announced this designation on October 6, 2003. See "Pres. Bush Designates RP as Major Non-NATO Ally," news release, October 10, 2003, manila.usembassy.gov/wwwhr118.html (accessed January 11, 2006).
- 58 See *The Pew Global Attitudes Project: What the World Thinks in 2002* (Washington, D.C.: The Pew Research Center for the People and the Press, 2002). Available at pewglobal.org/reports/display.php?ReportID=165 (accessed January 11, 2006).
- 59 U.S. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice and South Korean Foreign Minister Ban Ki Moon began talks on a new strategic partnership in January 2006. Regarding the future role of USFK, Moon agreed to the premise of "strategic flexibility" for U.S. troops in his country, in principle agreeing that American forces might be used for areas of conflict outside South Korea. In return, the joint statement acknowledged Korean concerns, stating that, "in the implementation of strategic flexibility, the U.S. respects the [South Korean] position that it shall not be involved in a regional conflict in Northeast Asia against the will of the Korean people." The statement is available at <http://seoul.usembassy.gov/wwwwh41hf.html> (accessed January 31, 2006).
- 60 The U.S. and Japanese governments have crafted new strategic goals, outlined during the February 19, 2005, meeting of the bilateral Security Consultative Committee (SCC). See the resulting joint statement at <http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/n-america/us/security/scc/doc0510.html>. The bilateral discussions on the realignment of U.S. forces in Japan took place in reference to these new strategic goals, and the agreement was announced in the joint statement issued by a second SCC meeting on October 29, 2005. Available at <http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/n-america/us/security/scc/joint0502.html> (accessed January 30, 2006).

- 61 The rape was reported in the global media in early November 2005. See Simon Montlake, "US military rape case tests Philippine president," *Christian Science Monitor*, November 10, 2005, <http://www.csmonitor.com/2005/1110/p05s01-woap.html> (accessed January 11, 2006). Reaction within the Philippines was immediate. See, for example, coverage of allegation and protests in early November 2005 at "Prosecutors summon 6 US Marines accused of rape," *Sun Star*, November 9, 2005, www.sunstar.com.ph/static/net/2005/11/09/prosecutors.summon.6.us.marines.accused.of.rape.html (accessed December 30, 2005). Philippine prosecutors in Olongapo City subsequently charged four U.S. Marines on December 27, 2005. Two other Marines were cleared of charges and released. Under the terms of the Visiting Forces Agreement (VFA), criminal proceedings must be completed within one year. Within the Philippines, the debate over the case focuses on the VFA itself and whether or not it fully protects Philippine sovereignty. The Olongapo City prosecutor's charges were also headline news. See Philip C. Tubeza, Armand N. Nocum, and T.J. Burgonio, "Arrest of 4 US servicemen pressed," *Inquirer*, news.inq7.net/nation/index.php?index=1&story_id=61562 (accessed December 31, 2005).
- 62 The National Historic Preservation Act requires U.S. government agencies to conduct a full public hearing before beginning any activities outside the United States that might impact the cultural and natural resources of other nations. Judge Marilyn Hall of the U.S. District Court in San Francisco rejected a request by the DOD to dismiss the lawsuit, filed by a coalition of conservation groups from Okinawa and the United States on September 25, 2003, to stop construction of the new base. See www.earthjustice.org/news/display.html?ID=684 (accessed January 11, 2006) for information on the suit (United States District Court, Northern District of California, *Okinawa Dugong, et al., Plaintiffs, v. Donald H. Rumsfeld, in his official capacity as the Secretary of Defense, et al., Defendants*. No. C 03-4350 MHP; March 1, 2005).
- 63 The incident received very little coverage in national newspapers, but a heated and extensive debate on a variety of Internet news sites erupted after amateur video of the event was broadcast online. Reports such as the following appeared: "Jeoldaero ittangeul tteonaji anggesstta" ("We will never leave this land"), *Ohmynews*, July 10, 2005, www.ohmynews.com/articleview/article_view.asp?at_code=267242 (in Korean) (accessed February 2, 2006).
- 64 "Troops may be tried for using prostitutes," Associated Press, September 22, 2004. In a hearing before the U.S. House Armed Services Committee, Pentagon officials testified that in order to enforce stricter punishment of personnel who patronize local prostitutes overseas, a revision of Article 134 of the Uniform Code of Military Justice would be required. See Theresa Squatrito, "R & R: Military Policy on Prostitution," paper presented at the American Political Science Association Annual Conference, Panel 18-5, Washington, D.C., September 4, 2005. On January 10, 2006, President Bush signed into law the Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act of 2005, which amends the U.S. military manual for courts-martial. Under the new act, any U.S. service member convicted of patronizing a prostitute can receive a dishonorable discharge, forfeiture of all pay and allowances, and one year of confinement. See Sara Woods, "DoD Personnel Face Stricter Rules on Human Trafficking," American Forces Press Service, January 11, 2006, www.pacom.mil/articles/articles2006/060111story2.shtml (accessed January 11, 2006).
- 65 Commander, U.S. Naval Forces Japan, "Navy cooperating in investigation into death of Japanese," press release #R-06-01, January 5, 2006, and "Navy takes new measures to enforce discipline, ensure proper behavior," press release #R-06-08, January 19, 2006. Both available at www.cnfj.navy.mil/PAO/NewRelease06.html (accessed February 6, 2006).
- 66 The U.S. and Japanese governments negotiated the "Guidelines Regarding Off-Base US Military Aircraft Accidents in Japan." See www.mofa.go.jp/region/n-america/us/security/guideline3.html (accessed January 11, 2006).

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Shifting Terrain

The Domestic Politics of the U.S. Military Presence in Asia

The United States has maintained military forces in the Asia Pacific region since the end of World War II and its alliances with key countries in the region continue today to be seen as critical to regional peace and stability. Academic and policy attention has focused on the shifting regional balance of power or the new sources of instability in the region, yet a parallel story has gone largely untold. Complex social and political changes in the countries that have hosted U.S. forces are changing the way governments in Japan, South Korea, and the Philippines manage the American troops stationed in their countries.

As the U.S. government seeks to transform its global military presence, and as the process of realigning America's overseas military forces proceeds, Washington must consider these new domestic influences on governments that host U.S. forces. Broad public support in these societies for a shared security agenda will be the foundation for future alliance cooperation. But Washington, Tokyo, Seoul, and Manila must give greater attention to the local impacts of U.S. forces and develop policies that mitigate the pressures on local residents. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, to be successful new initiatives for managing the presence of American forces in each of these societies will need to conform to domestic law and meet public expectations for government accountability. National governments in Asia's democracies must balance their national security goals with these new norms of democratic practice.

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