

Our Unhappy Asia Bastion

By Rafael Steinberg

Special to The Washington Post

NAHA, Okinawa—America's mightiest military base in the Far East, a billion-dollar complex of battle-primed troops and atom-armed planes and missiles, Okinawa is an island of frustration and discontent.

Ruled by an American general who makes plain his feeling that he knows better than they do what is good for them, unprotected by any constitution and unable to carry on normal commerce and travel with Japan, which all of them consider their homeland, the people of Okinawa today are convinced

that the United States has let them down.

Almost every Okinawan complaint is earnestly refuted by the American Army administrators of this base, who point to economic growth, the roads, harbors and waterworks and the settlement of many vexing land claims as examples of progress. But what cannot be denied is that Okinawans of all political faiths are convinced that they are making no real advance toward self-rule and little real advance toward greater contact with the homeland. The clamor for both is increasing.

American concessions have often

come too late, and been too small, to prevent a steady erosion of the good will necessary to the maintenance of this or any foreign base.

(For example, a bill for \$22 million, covering land and damage claims between 1945 and 1950, has been languishing in Washington unpaid for a year and a half although both the High Commissioner and the Department of the Army have approved it.)

Unilateral 'Freedom'

OKINAWA is considered vital to American military security not only because of its extensive installations and strategic location but because the Army, Air Force and Navy can freely deploy here, or to here, whatever weapons and forces they may need in any emergency without any other government's permission.

On no other plot of foreign soil does the United States exercise such authority, and this one is just 400 miles from Red China.

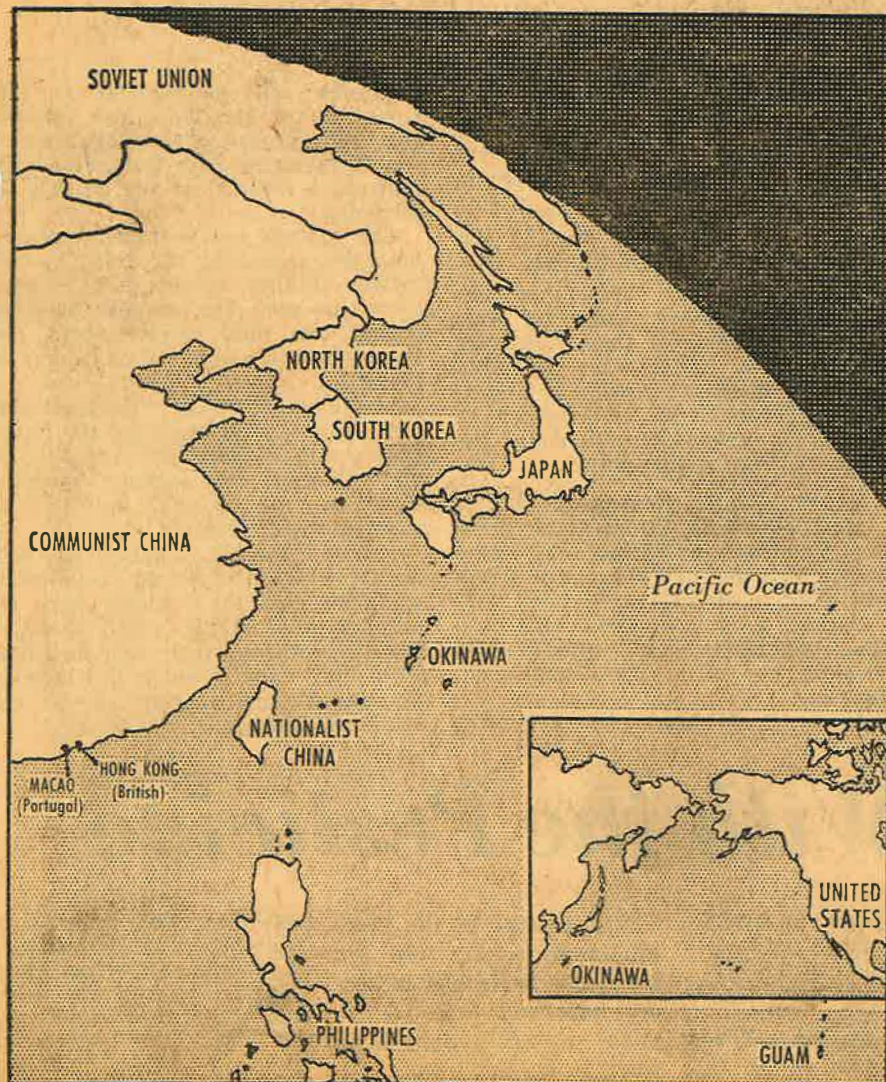
This freedom of action is something Americans may be thankful for, but its corollary, the strict, uncompromising rule over an alien people 12 years after the state of war with them ended, is something unique in American experience.

This tight administration of Okinawa and the other Ryukyu Islands is usually defended on military grounds, and it is certainly true that civilian and military areas are so closely intertwined on this narrow isle that the loss of physical control could cripple the bases.

It is also clear that the bases would lose most of their value as a "forward deterrent" to Communist aggression if Okinawa were to "revert" to Japan, as all Okinawans passionately desire. For in that case, the United States-Japan Security Treaty, and Japanese public opinion, would make it impossible to keep nuclear weapons here or to use the island as a jumping-off point for Viet-Nam and other brush-fire wars.

'So Far Behind'

BUT INTERVIEWS with scores of Okinawans and Americans here also make clear that the United States Civil Administration of the Ryukyus (USCAR) and High Commissioner Lt. Gen. Paul Caraway, who is



The Washington Post

The large map shows Okinawa's strategic position 400 miles from Red China. The inset shows the island in reference to the United States.

THIS is the first of a series of articles on Okinawa by Rafael Steinberg, who has spent most of the last 14 years in the Far East.



A 1950 Harvard graduate, Steinberg was a war correspondent in Korea in 1951-3, first with International News Service and then with Time magazine. For the next five years, he worked in Time's bureaus in New York and London.

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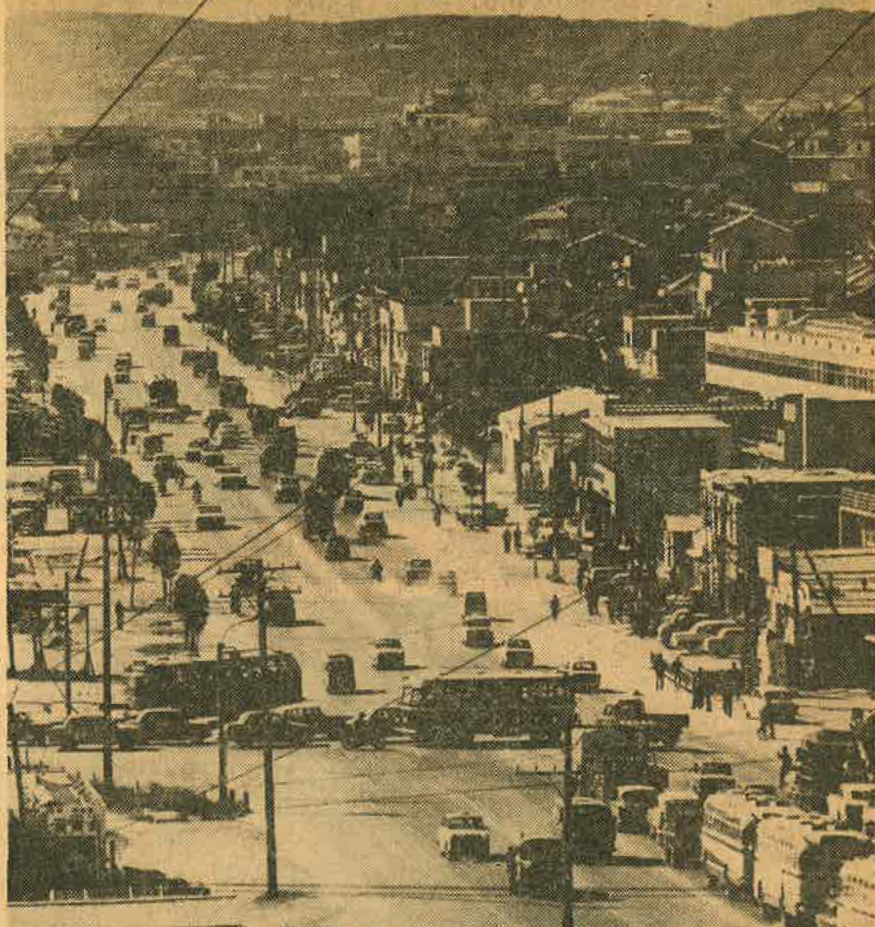
In 1959, he became Tokyo bureau chief for Newsweek magazine and remained in that post until last year, covering Japan, Korea, Okinawa and other parts of Asia. He left Newsweek to write a book and at the same time has written articles for The Washington Post, the Saturday Evening and other publications.

Steinberg lives in Tokyo with his wife Tamiko and daughters Summer and Joy. Fluent in Japanese, he appears occasionally as a panelist on Japanese TV.

retiring in August, concern themselves with hundreds of detailed issues far removed from military security, and that they and Congress have failed to give the Ryukyuan people—and there are more of them than there are Hawaiians and Alaskans combined — economic development equal to Japan's.

Even Seisaku Ota, the mild Ryukyuan government Chief Executive who is appointed by the High Commissioner and is widely regarded as an American yes-man, says that "our hearts are afflicted" because "we are so far behind the rest of Japan in such things as social welfare."

The United States, says Ota, "has failed to grant us the progress that we hoped for and expected as the result of President Kennedy's new policy for Okinawa that was proclaimed more than two years ago. We have a saying in the Orient that 'there is no better government than self-government,' and although there are a few points that



Commercial and military traffic crowds Highway No. 1 through Naha. Okinawa's major north-south artery, it was built by United States Army Engineers and is maintained with American money.

have the look of progress, there has been no real advance commensurate with our hopes."

'I Am Right'

OTHER UNSETTLING conclusions emerge from these conversations:

- Democracy in the Ryukyus is a sham, and from Ota on down the people resent it. Only one man's opinion really counts, and that is Caraway's. Akio Nagamine, Speaker of the Ryukyuan Legislature, describes him this way:

"The High Commissioner studies hard. He goes around and talks to people. This is good. But because he knows so much, he acts in a straightforward way without discussing things. He says, 'I am right, even if you are not satisfied, even if it makes you unhappy. My way is right, so do it my way.' That's how he is. Everything is decided according to his opinion."

- Although the 32,000 jobs the bases provide, armed forces construction and off-base spending by troops have brought a considerable measure of

prosperity to the islands, many Okinawans believe that they would have been better off sharing Japan's phenomenal economic growth without the base income, although they admit that any sudden shutting of the bases now would cause serious economic dislocation.

They pointed out that the Japanese government pours into other underdeveloped prefectures like Okinawa financial subsidies running two to three times the total of American economic aid.

- Travel to and from Japan is still an issue, although fewer than 100 people were actually denied entry or exit last year after being investigated by Army Intelligence.

"This is what bothers us most of all," says Chobyo Yara, president of the Okinawa Teachers Association. "After all, the United States admits that Japan has 'residual sovereignty' over the Ryukyus. Japan is not a foreign country. It's not right to have to apply for a passport."

Most Americans here have little
See OKINAWA, Page E4, Column 1

Island in Tug-of-War

THE RYUKYU ISLAND archipelago, to which Okinawa belongs, has had the historical misfortune to be plunked into the sea between two powerful and territorially ambitious neighbors, China and Japan.

The original Ryukyans had their own independent kingdom centered at Shuri, on Okinawa, the island which accounts for about half the 1850-square-mile area of the 140 pieces of the archipelago.

China first invaded the Ryukyus in the seventh century and, 700 years later, began exacting tribute from its Ryukyus fiefdom. The Ryukyans apparently didn't resist too much for a Ming Dynasty emperor bestowed upon them the title of "Land of Courtesy" for the cooperative way the islanders had accepted Chinese customs.

Then, in the 17th century, a Satsuma prince of southern Japan invaded the Ryukyus and made the islanders pay tribute to him as well as China. This

was during the Tokugawa period when the shogun rulers had imposed isolation on Japan and the Satsuma clan saw the Ryukyus as a means to maintain sub-rosa trade relations with the world outside.

Commodore Perry established a coaling station in the Ryukyus in 1853 during the trip which put an end to Japan's several centuries of isolation. Japan then followed the lead of the Satsumas and formally annexed the archipelago in 1879, introducing the Japanese language and a school system aimed at wiping out any memories of Ryukyuan culture and independence.

The Chinese, however, never formally gave up their claim to the islands and asserted them right up until 1945. That was the year when they were placed under U.S. control as a means of stripping the defeated Japanese Empire of its overseas possessions.

OKINAWA, From Page E1 sympathy for or understanding of Okinawan traditions and desires, "The Okinawans have all the autonomy they need," says one high official. Caraway adds: "They show no inclination to accept further responsibility." And another American officer complains: "All they know how to do is imitate Japan."

"The Americans don't want us to imitate Japan," says an American-trained Ryukyuan professor with a sad smile. "They just want us to be Ryukyans. But at the same time they are trying to teach us the American way of life."

"Our customs, manners, history and ways of thinking are different from America's," Speaker Nagamine points out. "If Okinawans think that 'A' is the best way of doing something, then the Americans will undoubtedly think that 'B' is best. So we cannot finish our budget in time or pass a law that we want . . . America must try to understand Okinawan ways of doing things. Even when they are doing something admirable, it must accord to the real situation."

NAGAMINE IS a member of the majority Okinawa Liberal-Democratic Party, the conservative group that supports the maintenance of the bases. But in March his party attacked the United States for falling down on its promises to the Ryukyus.

The Speaker explains the

party stand this way: "It would be unreasonable for us to demand complete autonomy now, since America has such mighty bases all over the island. We also recognize that the return of administrative rights to Japan is far in the future. Ninety per cent of the Okinawan people have no objections to the bases remaining."

"But on matters that are not connected with the safety of the bases, USCAR should leave more decisions to us. It should not be necessary for Chief Executive Ota to get USCAR permission before he signs every little bill or before he sends every single draft law to us in the Legislature."

NAGAMINE'S POINT is that the High Commissioner anyway retains two powerful safeguards that should be enough to protect vital American interests. According to the term of a presidential executive order, the HICOM can issue ordinances which have the full effect of law without reference to any Ryukyuan official. And he can veto any bill or annul any law that he thinks threatens "the interests of the United States or nationals thereof."

But Caraway, whose parents were both United States Senators from Arkansas, has artfully avoided the use of the veto. "Why can't he just use his veto

early 1962, that President Kennedy on March 19, 1962, proclaimed what was hailed in this part of the world as a "new policy" for Okinawa.

THE PRESIDENT had sent the Kaysen group here after Japanese Prime Minister Hayato Ikeda made a plea on Okinawa's behalf when he visited Washington in 1961.

The new policy included a substantial increase in economic aid authorization (Congress granted less than half of what Mr. Kennedy requested) and a statement by Mr. Kennedy that "I recognize the Ryukyus to be part of the Japanese homeland." But it also emphasized "the military imperative" for continued American administration.

Two provisions of the new policy the islanders considered vital. The first called for discussion with Japan to work out "precise arrangements" for coordinating Japanese and American aid to the Ryukyus. These discussions have been going on in Tokyo for a year and a half. Only last month was agreement finally reached to set up two committees, one in Tokyo and one here.

Caraway, who has continually given the impression that he is not anxious to see Japanese aid to the Ryukyus expanded, makes clear that he did not consider the formation of the committees urgent, and his lack of enthusiasm contributed to the delay. Another obstacle was the demand by some Japanese politicians that the committees be empowered to talk about "reversion" of the Ryukyus as well as economic aid.

THE SECOND vital provision ordered "a continuous review of governmental functions . . . to determine when and under what circumstances additional functions that need not be reserved to the United States . . . can be delegated to the government of the Ryukyu Islands."

No such delegation of function, no "expansion of autonomy," as the Ryukyuans somewhat erroneously term it, has in fact taken place in these two years, and Caraway admits this readily.

A year ago, he shocked the Okinawan public by declaring in a speech that autonomy for the Ryukyus was a "myth" because the United States must retain final authority for the time being. Meanwhile, he says, he has not been able to delegate authority because the Ryukyuans won't accept responsibility.

IN RECENT months, the HICOM has concerned himself in detail with a raft

happy

of problems far removed from base security. He has urged the consolidation of sugar mills and passed on the applications of Japanese wishing to visit the islands.

All of these actions draw sharp criticism from Okinawans. The biggest controversy he is involved in at present concerns a sweeping ordinance proclaimed April 3 which strictly regulates the sale of more than 1000 drugs and patent medicines.

Okinawans consider this an inappropriate and excessively strict application of American standards and point out that many Okinawan communities do not have doctors to write the prescriptions necessary to buy these medicines. American officials say that the misuse of sedatives, hypnotics and tranquilizers by GIs and young Ryukyuans was getting out of hand and that legislative inaction forced the HICOM to act.

Next: The Life of Riley.

Caraway a Top Strategist

LT. GEN. PAUL W. CARAWAY, retiring Aug. 1 as High Commissioner of the Ryukyu Islands, is a short, peppery officer with a reputation as an outstanding strategic planner and student of international affairs. The son of two United States Senators from Arkansas, the late Thaddeus H. and Hattie Caraway, he grew up in a political atmosphere before entering West Point in 1925.



In World War II, he served with the strategy and policy group of the War Department General Staff and later as planner for the United States forces in China under Gen. Albert C. Wedemeyer. Caraway also served with Gen. George C. Marshall's Mission to China after the war.

In 1949, he commanded a United States Infantry regiment at Trieste. After further planning duty with the Army General Staff, he took command of the Seventh Infantry Division in Korea in 1955 and later was chief of staff of United States Forces, Japan. Before taking his Okinawa post three years ago, Caraway was Army member of the Joint Strategic Survey Council under the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

While serving as High Commissioner, the 58-year-old General was also commander of the United States Army, Ryukyu Islands, and the Ninth Army Corps there.

Caraway was a Georgetown law graduate in 1933 and has taught at West Point, the NATO Defense College and the National War College. His hobbies include collecting firearms and military prints. He is married to the former Indel Roberts Little of Mobile.

America's Unhappy Bastion—II

Okinawa's Americans Enjoy Luxury Living

By Rafael Steinberg

Special to The Washington Post

NAHA, Okinawa—The tall, sunburned American leans easily against the polished bar of the Okinawa Yacht Club and sips his beer. "Our biggest problem," he says, "is not letting it be known how good we've got it."

For the American civilians who work for the military, for the officers, and for many enlisted men, life can be beautiful on Okinawa.

The island has three military golf courses, about a dozen bowling establishments, two yacht clubs. At military bathing beaches — artfully landscaped and carefully segregated into areas for officers, noncoms and enlisted men, and surrounded by high wire fences

to keep out "unauthorized personnel" (Okinawans) — American families can buy charcoal and stateside paper plates for their picnics, take showers, borrow sports equipment, play miniature golf, consume hamburgers, hot dogs and Cokes, or whisky (at 25c a shot.)

If you are in the Armed Forces, or an American working for them, you and your dependents can shop at any of the 67 PX stores on the island. At prices far below those offered by the most daring stateside discount house, you can purchase just about everything you need, or think you do.

There are mink stoles in the PX, at prices running up to \$695; there are diamonds and fancy cameras and skin-diving equipment. One stereo tape recorder, with a stateside \$599.95 price tag showing, sells for \$325. The biggest PXs carry a complete line of delicatessen products, including cocktail onions and hot pepperoni sticks. You can buy Vigoro to make your grass grow, a power lawn mower to cut it, and any of a dozen brands of American dog food for your pet.

The PX also operates 27 snack bars, 6 mobile canteens, 3 "custard cups," 9 restaurants and 15 theater refreshment stands. According to the monthly eight-page shopping guide published by the central Ryukyu Exchange office, these stands sell 105,600 hamburgers and 110,000 hot dogs a month.

The PX guide gives fashion tips too ("Beige is the most flattering of all makeup colors") and reminds readers that beauty consultants from stateside cosmetic manufacturers are always on hand to give advice at one PX or another.

If you care for liquid refreshment and clatter of slot machines, there are 50 military clubs on the island (to say nothing of the thousand or so bars and cabarets off-base), but of course they are not all open to you: 14 are for officers, 5 for civilians, 31 for enlisted men. Some of the enlisted men's clubs are for noncoms only.

At the Harborview Club (U.S. Army Civilian Open Mess), the Rotary Club meets on Tuesday.

Locally Staffed

All these facilities are of course staffed with Okinawans. Minimum wage for these employees of the U.S.: 16 cents an hour.

No other spot in Asia looks more like the United States than this mighty base. Driving north along Rte. 1 out of Naha, the broad four-lane highway sweeps and curves on land that used to be sugar field and paddy, linking the bases with a steady stream of military and civilian traffic.

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Along the roadside spills all the flotsam of highway culture: used car lots and pizza joints, TV repair shops and auto junkyards, billboards, gas stations, auto salesrooms, furniture stores, bars, plumbers and dry cleaners. There is a VFW Post, an American Legion Post, a Masonic Temple and several churches.

You can drive off the road, walk a dozen steps, and immediately borrow money, buy insurance or mutual funds, rent a house or a jukebox, book air passage, get a permanent wave, pose for your portrait, slurp a malted or have a tooth pulled.

Sometimes you can see an old Okinawan woman trudging solemnly along the shoulder of the road, ignoring the autos whizing by. Behind the car wheel, ignoring her, may be a Marine major on the way to the golf course, an Air Force fighter-pilot, a gaggle of U. S. wives enroute to a tea party—or a Special Forces sergeant in his green beret, still weary from the Viet-Nam jungles, driving slowly and thoughtfully home, from a day of heavy training, to the neat ranch-style house where a tri-cycle stands in the grass and Captain Kangaroo guffaws from the TV in the living room.

Living High on Hog

"I'm making more money than I ever did before," says the man at the Yacht Club, who came here as a GI and took his discharge here. "I've got a housing allowance, too. And that little sloop you see there, the fourth one in the line. And look at the price of liquor, look at the price of food, and maids."

Ironically, while the Americans here can buy necessities and luxuries much more cheaply than at home, and thus live higher off the hog than they ever have stateside, the Okinawans have to pay higher prices for basic commodities than they would in Japan.

One unhappy aspect of America that has turned up here along with the pizzas and the bowling balls is the race problem. On base, of course, discrimination and segregation are prohibited. But when night falls over the town of Koza, one large district of bars and shabby night clubs is patronized exclusively by Negroes, and another, slightly more tony section a half-mile away, is frequented by white servicemen.

A bar proprietor can lose his license if he discriminates against customers, but his customers do the segregating themselves. Very few Negroes or whites cross the line between Koza Four Corners (Negro) and Koza Business Center (white). Those who do usually regret it.

Recent Violence

For years, this situation was tolerated or even encouraged by the base commanders in the interests of racial peace. But recently, racial violence has

OKINAWA—From Page A1

Okinawa Low-Cost Haven to GIs



The Moon Light Cabaret, in the "white" section of Koza, Okinawa.

Photo by Steinberg

come to Okinawa, and the situation in Koza may be making it worse.

In February, a mob of Negro servicemen stormed a police box, hurling rocks at a white MP who had arrested a Negro. The crowd felt the MP had been unfair. Some weeks later, the body of a Negro was found in a reservoir at a Marine Corps camp. The cause of death was not determined and the death was listed as

accidental, but the man had died before going into the water.

A few weeks ago, in what may have been fancied retaliation for this or some other incident, a white Marine was waylaid at night just outside his barracks and beaten to death. Four Negro Marines have been charged with his murder and will stand court martial.

Said a white Marine, a

Southerner: "Something's going to happen. We're just playing it cool, now. Not saying anything, just passing 'em by. But I can tell you, there's going to be trouble."

It's usually the Marines that have these troubles, because they are the only outfit on the island without their families. The Marine VD rate is so high that it has been "classified" by the command.

America's Unhappy Bastion—III

High-Handedness of U.S. Authorities Causes Friction Among Okinawans

Third of a series

By Rafael Steinberg

Special to The Washington Post

NAHA, Okinawa—When an administrator holds the power to rule by decree, can veto laws or administer them, and controls the economy and the courts, then public opinion may not seem very important.

Yet many of the problems faced by the American rulers of Okinawa, and much of the grumbling and dissatisfaction of the population, might fade away if the high commissioner paid as much attention to local desires as he does to pure efficiency, and spent as much time educating local leaders as he does in telling them how

irresponsible and incompetent they are.

The high commissioner and USCAR, the U.S. Civil Administration of the Ryukyus, are so autocratic, so convinced that they have a monopoly on common sense, that even when they are embarked on worthwhile projects, they manage to antagonize the very people who should be cooperating with them.

This, in essence, is the view of many responsible and influential Okinawan leaders, including some of those most friendly to the United States.

"Even where we are weak," says the pro-U.S. Speaker of the Ryukyuan legislature, Akio Nagamine, "they should take us by the hand and lead us,

guide us, advise us, show us why their way is better, instead of just giving orders. Sometimes, what USCAR could do today, the Ryukyuan government could do tomorrow if USCAR helped. So on things that are not so urgent they should be patient, and help us."

And an American-educated teacher adds: "It is poor tactics for the high commissioner to decide when the Ryukyu government is responsible or not. Were the American people 'responsible' when they declared their independence? The Americans should encourage us to make our own decisions, in accordance with our own customs and society, even

See OKINAWA, A18, Col. 1

5

if we make mistakes, as long as it doesn't conflict with the security of the bases."

Many Okinawans are apt to believe that if Okinawan feelings and wishes are ignored, then Okinawan interests also are being impaired. This, of course, does not necessarily follow, and Americans who see their good intentions doubted are quick to accuse the Okinawans of irresponsibility and hostility.

What results is mutual misunderstanding that doesn't seem to have changed much since Okinawan villagers decided they'd rather build a Teahouse than a pentagon-shaped school house.

The most recent glaring example is the controversy over the high commissioner's sweeping drug-control ordinance, which makes it illegal to sell narcotics, sedatives, hypnotics or tranquilizers without a prescription license from the U.S. Civil Administrator.

Shortage of Doctors

Some kind of control was clearly needed, as young servicemen and Okinawan teenagers had been misusing some drugs for cheap and dangerous binges. Most of the drugs could be purchased over the counter at any Ryukyuan drugstore, although they all require prescriptions under U.S. law.

But the Okinawans charge that the ordinance is much too extensive, "even including cold remedies and stomach powders used in daily life." They point out that many Okinawan communities have no doctors to write prescriptions, and that Japan solved a similar teen-age problem a couple of years ago with far less restrictive regulations.

American doctors, of course, retort that the Okinawans "are better off without these drugs if they are prescribing them for themselves."

Marine Murdered

But what cannot be explained on medical grounds is the way in which the ordinance was promulgated. USCAR officials claim they have been trying to get the Ryukyuan legislature to pass a law along those lines "for years." Actually, the first approach on a staff level was

not made until June of last year.

As late as February this year High Commissioner Caraway did not consider the situation urgent enough to include it in the legislative program he sent to the Ryukyu government, although he did recommend a raft of other laws, including the abolition of prostitution and a law halting traffic while school buses are unloading.

But after a U.S. Marine was murdered by another Marine during a barbiturate jag, U.S. officials decided the matter couldn't wait. In early March, a draft law was sent to the Ryukyu government executive branch, and Chief Executive Seisaku Ota was told by the American civil administrator to get it passed in a month.

The month of March failed to produce agreement between USCAR and Ryukyu views—the Okinawans wanting much less control—and so on April 3 the High Commissioner unilaterally issued the ordinance, which has all the force of law.

Ability Not Questioned

At no point had USCAR made any serious attempt to educate public opinion on the subject, or prepare the people for the edict. As a result, press and politicians immediately de-

utocracy Antagonizes Okinawans

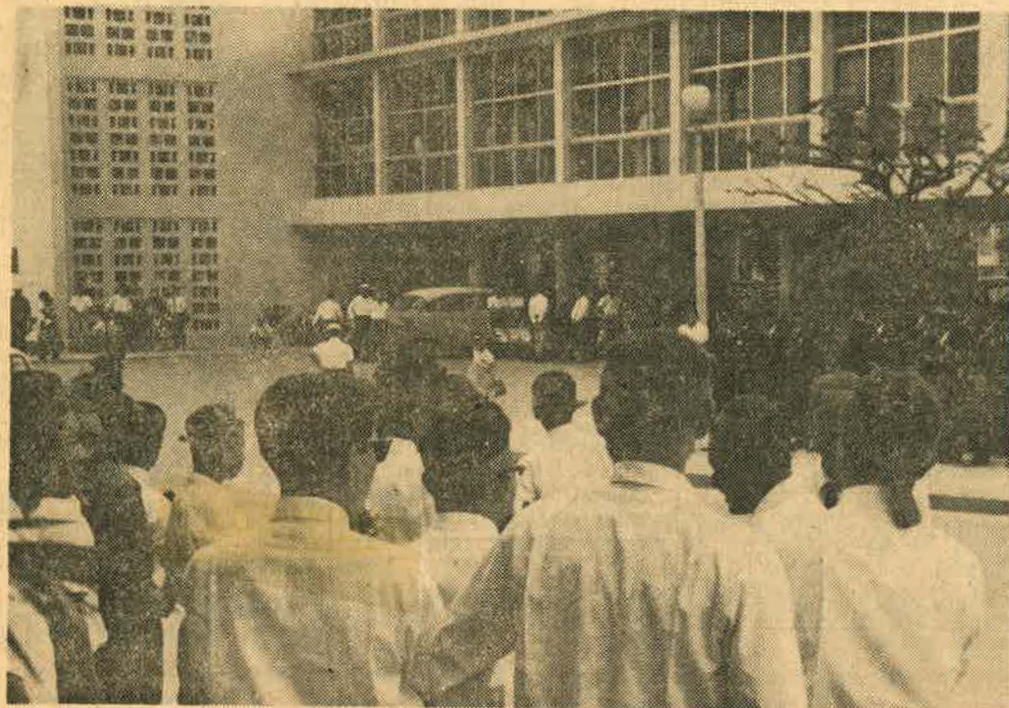


Photo by Rafael Steinberg

Okinawans demonstrate at the Civil Administration Building in a wage dispute.

nounced the High Commissioner for "arbitrary" actions, and the controversy still is raging.

Another field where High Commissioner Caraway's headlong insistence on U.S.-style efficiency and competence creates misunderstanding is in his appointment of officials.

Quite naturally, he leans toward English-speaking Okinawans. Without being aware of how the Okinawans look at it, he has appointed to positions of importance and responsibility a disproportionate number of members of the

Golden Gate Club, an organization of young Okinawans who have gone to college in the U.S.

The ability, even brilliance, of some of these men is not questioned. "But," says one Okinawan, "Caraway gives the impression he trusts the Golden Gaters more than other people. Everyone is talking about the 'Golden Gate Route' to power. This kind of elite will harm the growth of Okinawans ability to govern themselves. . . I used to be a member of the club myself . . . but I have stopped paying my dues."

One of the men considered a

High Commissioner "favorite" is a brash, boyish, boastful businessman recently appointed to an important economic post. He praises Caraway "for making us work, even if it's unpopular," and is so much more royal than the king that he tries to use English to speak to his subordinates. He brags openly about his relationship with Caraway and shouts at his countrymen that they are "incompetent." Once he told other Golden Gaters that they had a moral obligation to support all U.S. policies because the U.S. had paid for their U.S. education.

Needless to say, most Okinawans laugh when his name is mentioned.

Caraway denies favoring a special group. "I don't agree there's an elite," he says. "Any man who displays leadership, competence and skills, we would take . . . I spend more time talking to non-Golden Gate people than to members of the club."

Caraway's appointees are often the most competent people around. But Okinawans feel that they get the big jobs just because they can speak English well and can hobnob with Americans. Generally, despite their efficiency, they do not command the respect that Okinawans who have risen through more traditional routes can muster, and therefore many Okinawans look on their present prominence as some kind of cabal.

To Caraway, none of this matters. "Okinawa must modernize," he says, and he has been trying to promote modernization, the American way. Most Okinawans would rather do it the Japanese way.

NEXT: Okinawa's artificial boom.

Okinawa Economy Rosy But Picture Has Flaws

Fourth of a Series

By Rafael Steinberg

Special to The Washington Post

NAHA, Okinawa — Economic progress is immediately visible to a visitor who returns to this island after an absence of two years. There are new buildings, more cars and appliances, stylish clothes. Everything looks a little more substantial, and cleaner.

"Yes," says a Naha theater operator. "Things are a lot better than they were a couple of years ago. People seem to have more money to spend..."

Statistics confirm what is seen and heard. The Gross National Product has gone up 31 per cent and per capita income is up to \$292, a 23 per cent increase in two years,

while consumer prices have increased only about 5 per cent in the same period. The minimum wage is still only 9 cents an hour, but the general wage level is rising and the 32,000 workers on the military bases now make an average of 43 cents an hour, compared to only 26 cents hourly four years ago.

From an Okinawan viewpoint, however, there are two things wrong with this rosy view. First, for all their progress, they say they are not improving living standards as fast as Japan is. "We are being left behind," wails

See OKINAWA, 15, Col. 1

Ryukyuan Chief Executive Seisaku Ota.

Secondly, the prosperity they do have represents little more than a steady increase in United States military spending and Okinawans don't like to rely on that.

The Ryukyuan balance of trade, for example, is getting steadily worse. Last year the trade gap amounted to \$118 million. The islands had to import two-and-a-half times as much as they could export.

Most of the gap was filled by military spending: \$91 million. Direct United States aid (\$7 million), other United States assistance (about \$5 million) and aid from Japan (\$5 million) helped bring the accounts into near-balance.

U.S. Bolsters Income

Looking at it another way, Ryukyuan "national income" more than doubled between 1955 and 1963. Expenditures by United States Forces and personnel increased by more than 70 per cent in the same period, and it is obvious that the first could not have happened without the second. The money the United States military spends in Okinawa every year, for its own purposes, amounts consistently to between 35 per cent and 40 per cent of the total national income of the Ryukyu Islands.

For this, the Ryukyuans refuse to feel grateful. This very dependence on military spending worries them, for they believe not enough is being done to insure their economy against the day when the United States may cut down the bases, or stop building new facilities.

And they claim that despite the economic improvements, their living standards are still

behind comparable prefectures on the Japanese main islands, where an unprecedented boom also has been taking place over the past few years.

Ryukyuan per capita income is indeed far below the national Japanese average, though slightly higher than some of the poorer Japanese agricultural prefectures. But since Okinawa—which grows mainly sugar—must import most of its food from Japan, consumer prices in the Ryukyus are higher. According to Ryukyu officials, their over-all living standard is only about 80 per cent of that in the poorest mainland prefectures.

Poverty in Villages

American officials, who see mainly this bustling city, don't agree. But rural villages in Okinawa, with their ramshackle houses and shabby little stores, are definitely below the standards of rural Japan today. About 40 per cent of the Ryukyu Islanders still depend on agriculture for their livelihood, but agriculture accounted for only 17 per cent of the Ryukyuan national income last year.

Furthermore, Okinawan workers get only a fraction of Japan's vast, paternalistic welfare, pension and health insurance benefits.

If the Ryukyus were again to become a Japanese prefecture, as the islanders desire, they would qualify for a big slice of the subsidies and tax transfers that the Japanese government makes available to such underdeveloped areas of the country.

No one knows exactly how much this would be, but, even deducting national

OKINAWA—From Page A1

Economic Glow About Okinawa Has Some Dark Spots



This scene in Naha points up the prosperity being experienced on Okinawa now.

Photo by Rafael Steinberg

taxes, it is clear that the Ryukyus would net three or four times as much in aid from the Japanese taxpayer as they are currently getting in aid from the American taxpayer.

Until two years ago, United States economic aid to the Ryukyus never totaled more than \$5 million a year. Last year it went up to \$7 million and this fiscal year it will reach \$7.8 million.

In addition, the United States High Commissioner makes another \$5 million or

\$6 million available yearly for development projects, but as this is money which comes from the High Commissioner's investments and enterprises within the Ryukyus, it is not considered aid. Some of this, for example, is profit from the sale of gasoline in the islands.

Congress has consistently cut, sometimes by as much as one-half, the aid for the Ryukyus requested by the Department of Defense and the Administration.

One direct casualty of a

congressional cut in the current fiscal year aid total was a sewer system for Naha. Half a million dollars had been planned for sewer development in Naha and Koza, but when the aid total was cut, Naha lost out. Koza, which is closer to most United States bases and where thousands of servicemen spend their evenings, will get \$250,000 for sewers.

Many American military men here feel that since the United States won this island by conquest, Ryukyuans

should be grateful for the roads, harbors, waterworks and electric and telephone networks that the United States military has built, and even more thankful for the few million dollars of outright aid.

But the Okinawans feel that since the utilities were installed for military reasons the United States owes them all this and much more for the use of their island for so many years, especially since it is now apparent that they are not going to be permitted to become Japanese again in the foreseeable future.

"What we cannot endure," says Koichi Taira, a legislator and member of the moderate opposition Okinawa Social Masses Party, "is that we have given up, have lost, all these things which we would have as part of Japan—development of industry, a sense of nationality, freedom of travel, welfare benefits—just in order for the bases to be here, to safeguard the peace and so forth."

Furthermore, charges a political scientist at Ryukyu University, "USCAR (United States Civil Administration of the Ryukyus) wants to control the aid from Japan, to limit it to certain types of welfare. But this is money Japan wants to give to the Okinawan people. If the U.S. Congress can not give us what we need, what we would be getting from Japan if the Americans were not here, why must the Americans regulate what Japan wants to give?"

NEXT: Okinawa's unwavering political wish is to rejoin Japan.

9

America's Unhappy Bastion-V

Longing to Rejoin Japan Runs Deep in Okinawa

Last of a Series

By Rafael Steinberg

Special to The Washington Post

NAHA, Okinawa — The underlying, unwavering political fact in Okinawa today is the people's wish that they once again become part of Japan. This desire crosses party lines and often transcends economic interest. Frequent American attempts to revive Ryukyuan nationalism, to remind the islanders of their own culture and ancient language, are met with derisive smiles.

Even U.S. high commissioner Lieut. Gen. Paul W. Caraway admits sadly that the Okinawans "are more Japanese than Japan, because Japan is changing and they are not."

"My students resent any implication that they are not

nese delegates held an emotional "ocean rally" in two ships on the 27th parallel, which divides U.S. and Japanese-administered waters.

Returning from the watery rendezvous, the Okinawan delegates paraded the length of Okinawa in a cavalcade of 150 vehicles, past cheering villagers and puzzled GIs. In Naha they joined the biggest political demonstration in Okinawan history — 30,000 people—to listen to speeches denouncing "American military colonialism" and "Caraway autocracy," and to demand immediate return to the fatherland."

Then, carrying paper lanterns and Japanese flags, they paraded through the streets, chanting "fuk-ki, fuk-ki" (reversion) for hours.

Communists and professional anti-Americans, fully aware that reversion would render the U.S. bases here useless, are quick to exploit the islanders' frustrations, and to try to turn all disappointments in USCAR (United States Civil Administration of the Ryukyus) policies into resentment of the U.S. presence itself. Since it is apparent that the U.S. bases must remain here for

100% Japanese," says a dean at Ryukyu University.

This feeling is expressed every year by unanimous resolutions in the Ryukyuan parliament, calling for immediate reversion of Okinawa to Japan. This year's resolution, to the embarrassment of the U.S., was sent not only to Tokyo and Washington, as in the past, but to all the signatories of the Japanese Peace Treaty. It is this treaty which gives the U.S. its rather shaky legal claim to "exercise all and any powers of administration, legislation and jurisdiction over the Ryukyus."

And on April 28, the 12th anniversary of the Peace Treaty, Okinawans and Japa-

See OKINAWA, A26, Col. 1

OKINAWA—From Page A1

Okinawa's One Wish Is to Rejoin Japan

some time to come, sensitive Americans and pro-American Okinawans urge that everything possible be done to alleviate Okinawan grievances.

Blame Us for Their Ills

"We know America is trying in some ways to help us," said one college student, "but most of us feel that we are poor, because the U.S. is here, we are not free, because the U.S. is here, we cannot travel, or govern ourselves, because the U.S. is here."

Sometimes American businessmen, who are encouraged to invest here to help the development of the economy, succeed only in making matters worse. For the past month, for example, four strikers have been perched atop the 130-foot chimney of the American-owned Okinawa Plywood Company in a bizarre climax to a long and bitter labor dispute.

The chimney sitters say they won't come down until the company "agrees to collective bargaining," and the communist organizers who have taken over the union say the four men are "martyrs to American exploitation and American imperialism."

So ugly has the situation become that company president Fred Pierson of Seattle had to hire a squad of a dozen karate-expert pug-uglies, under the command of a well-known hoodlum, to "protect" himself and his factory after a group of workers had surrounded him and hustled him forcibly to their headquarters in order to "bargain" with him.

Although the Communists are clearly trying to make anti-American propaganda out of the dispute, and are not being reasonable, it is equally obvious that Pierson did everything that an American businessman abroad should not do.

Abolished Benefits

He set out to hire the cheapest labor (female employees of Okinawan Plywood start at 10c an hour), abolished the traditional oriental twice-yearly bonus system and seniority raises. Other officials of his company were shocked to learn he failed to keep promises to improve workers' facilities.

When the chimney strike was in its third week, some of the company's principal stockholders flew in from Seattle, held a meeting in

Naha and abruptly "accepted the resignation" of Pierson. The new president made a conciliatory statement, but the strike continues.

American officials here have long been distressed by the Okinawa Plywood situation, and many of them tried conscientiously to persuade Pierson to give the workers their due. But most Okinawans assume that American business and the American administration of the Ryukyus must be working hand in glove.

One Okinawan editor declares that "American businessmen seem to feel that they are protected by American law and so they are not so obedient to Ryukyuan law."

American lawyers, on the other hand, complain because neither American law nor the American Constitution does apply here, although the U.S. administers the islands. Some of them would like to see Okinawa turned into an outright U.S. colony, "America's Hong Kong."

There is evidence that some of the military privately go along with this view. But the State Department, which must consider U.S. relations with Japan, and the White House and official American policy are fully committed to the principle that the Ryukyus are part of Japan.

Some Suggestions

So bitter is the feud between State Department and the military over the question of Okinawa that the High Commissioner less frequently withholds important information from the U.S. Embassy in Tokyo, and embassy officials have been known to exaggerate grossly reports of the military's autocratic rule.

What could be done to lower tension and eliminate some grievances?

- Congress could appropriate a few million dollars more economic aid each year to protect the foundations of this vital and strategic billion-dollar base.

- Congress could get around to paying the \$22 million claims bill, for land expropriation, use and damage between 1945 and 1950, that was agreed on by the High Commissioner and the Department of Defense a year and a half ago and has been kicking around Washington ever since. Half of the Okinawan population would benefit.

10

- Lieut. Gen. Albert Watson II, who takes over as High Commissioner in August from Caraway, could easily use the change of command as an opportunity to let the Ryukyu legislature write their own laws.

- Instead of trying to limit and tightly control Japanese aid, USCAR could use the newly-created joint economic committees to let Japan participate freely in Okinawan economic development. There is no way this could endanger security.

- Travel restrictions could be relaxed and procedures simplified. Instead of having

the travel of all those with any "anti-American" blot on their record, only those Okinawans and Japanese who it is considered might actually commit espionage or sabotage need be halted.

These measures would not remove the desire for reversion, but they would make the American occupation much more endurable for the Okinawan people—and consequently would help assure that, for as long as they are needed, the Okinawan bases themselves will endure.



Photo by Rafael Steinberg

A native proprietor welcomes young customer to an Okinawan general store.

power straightforwardly?" asks a professor.

"If he vetoes a bill," the chief of the leading opposition party correctly points out, "he has to explain why in a letter to Washington, and this could lead to a public debate in which our views would be heard. Besides, the reasons for wielding the veto are restricted."

THERE SEEM to be no restrictions, however, on the degree to which Caraway and his aides can participate in the legislative process. All draft bills are "pre-adjusted" with USCAR before going to the Legislature and, according to standing USCAR instruction, "if a modification or objection is advanced by USCAR, the department concerned revises the draft as suggested."

And before a bill gets to the Chief Executive's desk for final signature, after being passed by the Legislature, it must be cleared again by USCAR officials.

This "pre-adjustment" system irks Okinawan political leaders more than any other aspect of American rule. Okinawan newspapers refer to it as a "wall" blocking legislative action. But it has made it possible for Gen. Caraway to spend three years as High Commissioner without once formally invoking his veto power.

"IT WOULD cause more of a furor if I vetoed a bill," the efficient and conscientious General explains. "They could pass any kind of a law knowing that the United States would not let

Ryukyu Rule Is a Rarity

BESIDES THE Ryukyu Islands, (Okinawa), there are only two other areas under the American flag in which civilians are under the administration of a military governor.

One not quite comparable case is the Panama Canal Zone, which has an Army general as governor. He reports to the Secretary of the Army and the Government-owned Panama Canal Co.

The other is the Bonin-Volcano Islands in the Western Pacific. The Commander-in-Chief, Pacific Fleet, serves as military governor. Under him is an Officer-in-Charge of U.S. Navy Facility administering 215 Japanese civilians on Chichi Jima — only populated island in the group—and an Air Force officer commanding the air base at Iwo Jima, which has no civilian population.

it go through . . . This is just a matter of practical administration."

To many Okinawans, it is also a clear violation of at least the spirit of President Kennedy's executive order. And it certainly is not a system that encourages the Ryukyuan government to assume more responsibility.

It was after a special presidential commission headed by Prof. Carl Kaysen had studied the Okinawan situation, and after Attorney General Robert Kennedy visited here and Japan in

Our Okinawa Rule 'Firm and Fair'

By Stephen Ailes

Secretary of the Army

A RECENT SERIES OF articles in The Washington Post described Okinawa as "our unhappy Asia bastion." It was said that "the people of Okinawa today are convinced that the United States has let them down."

If this account of life in Okinawa and the other Ryukyu Islands is accurate, then we have indeed let the Okinawans down. Because the Army is responsible for the administration of the Ryukyus, I offer the following as necessary to a balanced view.

First, consider why we are there at all. We did not annex Okinawa as war booty; we did not incorporate it as part of the United States; we do not expect to remain there permanently. The United States administers the islands, and stations on them great numbers of men and quantities of material, because that expensive task is absolutely vital to the defense of the free world.

"Our bases in the Ryukyu Islands," President Kennedy said, "help us assure our allies in the great arc from Japan through Southeast Asia not only of our willingness but also of our ability to come to their assistance in case of need." Strategically situated,

Secretary of Army Ailes Believes U.S. Is Meeting Its Goal of Advancing The Welfare of Ryukyuans

Okinawa also provides us with the freedom and the means to respond appropriately to aggression in the Far East.

It is the necessity to respond adequately to aggression which determines both the nature and the tenure of our stay there. Nowhere else but in Okinawa can we maintain without restriction the forces, the installations, the weapons and the communication systems we need to meet our responsibilities in Asia.

The government of Japan recognized our requirement for a great defense base in 1952, when the Peace Treaty was signed, and again when we agreed to limit the U.S. military establishment in Japan. Japan enjoys the protection afforded by our presence on Okinawa and understands that this protection will be required for some time to come. On the other hand, only last month an American note to the Japanese reaffirmed that the United States "looks forward to the day when the security interests of the free world will permit the restor-

The Alternative

ONE SHOULD RECALL that the real alternative to U.S. administration of Okinawa is Japanese government. The long-range prospect for Okinawa is not the status of an independent nation but rather of a Japanese prefecture.

If we had not exercised our proper responsibility with respect to the administration of the islands, I am certain that complaints against the U.S. administration would be far more vociferous.

The American administration on Okinawa is firm and fair, as is appropriate for an area of critical defense importance. The present High Commissioner, Lt. Gen. Paul Caraway, who retires from the Army this summer, has given the Okinawan people able and devoted service during his term. Hundreds of Ryukyans have written to me expressing their respect and appreciation of his work in the islands.

All peoples everywhere prefer to be under the political administration of the nation to which they ultimately belong. Accordingly, a strong reversionary attitude undoubtedly exists in the Ryukyus. But it is my personal conviction that there is little sentiment for reversion now if it entails the present removal of the American military establishment.

My greatest complaint against these articles concerns the injustice which has been done to the American serviceman on Okinawa. There are thousands of soldiers, airmen, marines and sailors on Okinawa, and their life, contrary to its portrayal in these accounts, is not one of luxury. Not many of us, I suspect, would choose voluntarily to live on an island thousands of miles from home.

But, more important in the larger sense, these servicemen of ours have given thousands of hours, and tens of

See OKINAWA, Page E7, Column 1

These developments have brought about substantial changes in Ryukyuan life, in great part for the better. The per capita income in Okinawa today is about \$314—among the highest in Asia.

The United States has consistently recognized the profound cultural and emotional ties between Japan and Okinawa. Japan remains by far Okinawa's greatest trading partner, travel between them is extremely heavy and Japanese cultural influence in Okinawa is predominant. Our new aid agreement with Japan provides the channel for substantial Japanese assistance to the islands.

I shall not gainsay the desire of Okinawans to broaden the range of their self-government or the propriety of this desire. I shall only say that there has been a steady increase in the range of responsibility which Okinawans have

assumed for managing their society. The government of the Ryukyu Islands, conceived in the democratic form by the United States and inaugurated in 1952, accepts and exercises increasing responsibilities for the local affairs of the islands each year. While it is true that the U.S. High Commissioner's role with respect to Ryukyu government is inconsistent with complete autonomy for the Ryukyus, I believe that he has exercised his responsibilities so as to keep the economy moving forward, to keep income taxes from being disastrously reduced, to provide electric power to the local population at reasonable rates and to correct banking abuses. I am satisfied that if Okinawa were being administered as a prefecture of Japan, the Japanese government would exercise a similar responsibility for the welfare of the Islands.

The GRI, left to its own devices, would perhaps have learned the art of government and acquired responsibility in any event. But, in this unique situation, where military and civilian interests are deeply interwoven, the costs and risks involved in such a course have seemed excessive.

ation of the islands to full Japanese sovereignty."

So much for the reasons why we have remained in Okinawa. Conditions of threat and tension in the Far East require us to be there. Recognizing that, in the words of Secretary Dulles, "residual sovereignty" over Okinawa remains in Japan, we must nevertheless exercise the effective powers of sovereignty today. This I regard as the "given" in the situation.

Beyond this, however, there lies the question of our performance in the islands. Have we carried out Congress's instructions to "improve the welfare of the inhabitants of the Ryukyu Islands and to promote their economic and cultural advancement"? Do we enjoy the reasonable acquiescence of the people of the Ryukyus in the continued administration of the Islands by the United States? I believe that the answer to both questions is "Yes."

Okinawa is not now, and has never been, self-sufficient. Before the war, the Islands by every economic standard ranked last among Japanese prefectures—considerably beneath the others. Their principal export was labor; poverty was endemic and almost universal. Today the two basic products, sugar and pineapples, could scarcely support half the population of the islands.

A Helping Hand

AS A CONSEQUENCE, Okinawa requires assistance from without to support her people. The United States—through local employment, through military expenditures, through grants-in-aid—contributes almost \$100 million to the Ryukyuan economy every year. We established a development loan corporation to provide millions for investment in housing and business. We created modern road, water and electric power systems, built thousands of classrooms, established the first university ever to be opened in the Ryukyus—with a student body of more than 2500—and put up health clinics where there were none before. We have provided training and breeding stock which has much improved Okinawa's agricultural production.

'Firm and Fair' in Okinawa

OKINAWA, From Page E1 thousands of dollars, toward improving school facilities, orphanages, community centers and the like for the Okinawans. They manifest in the clearest way our concern for the people of the Ryukus.

These activities include the teaching of English in Ryukyuan schools by some 150 volunteers, many of whom are service wives, mercy air flights in emergency medical cases and assistance by United States forces, mostly in off-duty hours, providing technical skills and using engineering equipment in small community projects running at the rate of 300 projects a year.

Let me quote from an article in an Okinawan paper by the Ryukyuan principal of a school for the deaf and blind:

"In April, 1960, the construction of a playground of our school was completed by the servicemen of the Machinato Post Engineer District. It took about 50 days for them to construct the playground by leveling more than 2000 tsubo (about 2 acres) of land near the dormitory.

"I was especially moved by the U.S. servicemen who worked hard. Sometimes

they worked in the moonlight, besmeared with mud and bathed in perspiration. The teachers and pupils of our schools were overjoyed when the playground was completed. Those who took part in the ground-leveling work of our school probably returned to the United States, but their contribution to the improvement of our school facilities will be remembered by our teachers and pupils for a long time to come."

The Washington Post articles sought to assess Ryukyuan opinion, a process which is difficult to accomplish in any land in a short period of time. There, as elsewhere, all ranges of individual opinion undoubtedly exist; some viewpoints are objective, others are colored by the particular interests or experience of the individual involved. While I cannot pose as an expert on the subject, I, too,

have talked with a fair number of Ryukyuan, some in far-away places like the Islands of Miyako, Ishigaki and Iriomote, 150 to 200 miles south of Okinawa. The Ryukyuan are hard-working, honest, forthright and friendly people. I know that the American is well received by them and I feel satisfied that the majority of the population is appreciative of the advances which have been made in the standard of living and in health and education under the present administration of the Ryukyus. And I know, too, that we shall continue our efforts "to improve the welfare of the inhabitants of the Ryukyu Islands and to promote their economic and cultural advancement."



American troops help Okinawans build a kitchen for a high school—one of hundreds of people-to-people projects in the Ryukyus.

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U.S. Army Plays Important Role Here Army Has Two Missions

The army in the Ryukyu Islands have two distinct missions — first, a civil affairs mission — headed by Gen. Caraway in his role as high commissioner and, second, a conventional military mission—headed by Caraway in his role as commanding general of USARYIS and IX Corps.

In this area the army has three principal tasks on Okinawa—two are logistical and one operational.

In the logistical field the army has the task of providing utilities and selected common items and services to all US forces on Okinawa.

The army's day-to-day logistical operation on Okinawa involves all those things which grow out of supporting an American population comparable to a large city in the U.S. It is responsible for providing electrical power for the island, operating a basic military telephone system, running a wholesale grocery business, maintaining the island highway system, operating the American school system and a major military and commercial seaport.

The island paved highway system is army constructed and maintained. The Army pays the Ryukyuans rental on the land under these roads. Maintained are 20 miles of four-lane black-top highway (Naha to Kadena) and 112 miles of two-lane black-top highway (from Camp Schwab in the north to Chinen peninsula in the south). Unpaved roads are the responsibility of Government of the Ryukyu Islands (GRI).

The army operates the island water system and delivers about 18-20 million gallons per day to all customers. The water sys-

tem presently is being expanded by about 25% to make additional water available from the integrated system for use of the local populace through the Ryukyuan Domestic Water Cooperation (RDWC). Further expansion presently is under study.

Army operated supply depots provide most common items to all U.S. Armed Forces on Okinawa.

The army quartermaster provides the food for all governmental agencies on Okinawa, operating the only military bakery and milk plant on the island. It also operates the only military laundry and dry cleaning plant.

The army maintains the only military hospital on Okinawa. This is a 250-bed hospital which is sorely taxed to provide essential medical services to the

military population. At present one barracks is being used for overflow convalescent patients. Presently, the hospital is being enlarged.

The army also operates the dependent school system for the island. Nearly 10,000 pupils, including 500 non-military pupils, are enrolled in the two primary schools, four elementary schools and the junior and senior high schools. A part of the old Mercy hospital area has been rehabilitated as a temporary measure to accommodate the rapidly increasing school population until the new high school building at Sukiran is completed.

The second logistical mission supports military operations in the Far East. Centrally and strategically located on the forward edge of the free world, Okinawa is the most important base in the Pacific. In any

emergency it could serve as a forward staging area and a logistical staging base. The units that represent each major technical service are Engineer, Signal Quartermaster, Transportation, Chemical and Ordnance.

In any combat situation these units will move rapidly in coordination with air force, naval and marine forces or the forces of our allies.

Conclusions which may be drawn concerning the Army's mission on Okinawa are:

First, the military structure of the Army has changed. The Army strength is on an upward trend, primarily in combat type units.

Second, the presence of the army and other military services on Okinawa present a strong deterrent to aggressive action by potential enemies of the Free World.

Third, the army mission here is of considerable magnitude, both logistically and tactically.

Fourth, the location of the army and other military services on Okinawa considerably enhances the economic development of the Ryukyus.

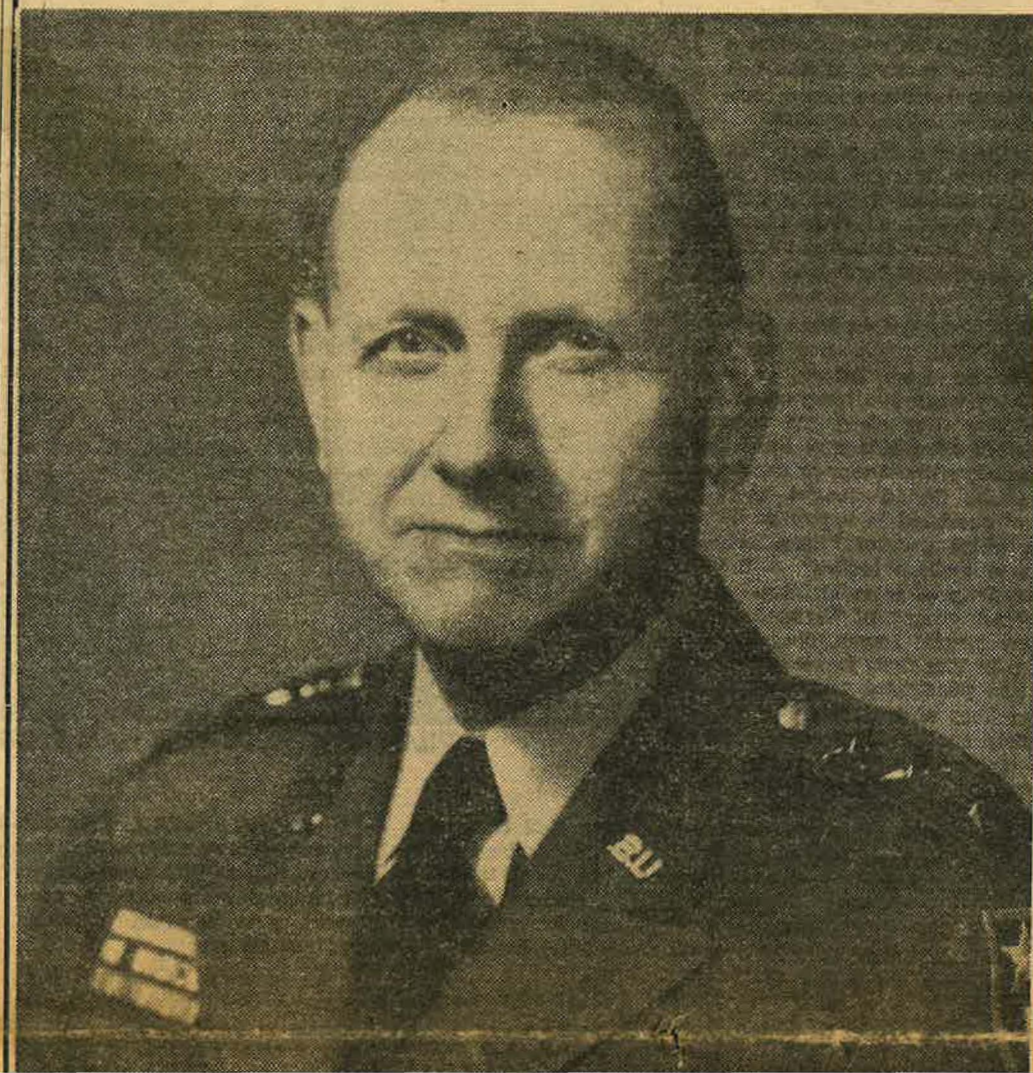
Lastly, the U.S. Government will keep the army and other U.S. Forces on Okinawa as long as military threat and tension

BRIGADE TO HOST VISITORS

Missile displays and open house tours of the 30th Brigade sites will highlight the 30th Artillery Brigade's participation in the Armed Forces festivities today. Athletic contests and picnics are also on the agenda at many of the brigade's 16 line batteries.

In southern Okinawa the 3rd and 65th Artillery will display equipment and entertain their neighbors with movies and athletic contests. Battery A 65th Artillery, at the MCAF offers tours every 20 minutes from 10 a.m. to 4 p.m., demonstrations of sentry dog trials and crew drills. Battery B located at Site Six on the Chinen Peninsula will have an open house, and will provide transportation from Yonabaru. Battery C at Yoza Dake includes a softball game with an Okinawan team from Gushikami and a picnic among the activities at Site 7. Bus transportation will be available from the neighboring villages. Battery D located on Naha Air Base at Site eight will have an open house and refreshments will be served.

Hicom's AFD Message



Army Units Active To Boost Friendship

The U.S. Army Ryukyu Islands' people-to-people program started in 1945 when American soldiers began helping the Okinawans.

many people-to-people projects on Okinawa, represents an aggressive effort on the part of Army personnel and military

ARMY

ARMY HISTORY HERE

June, 1945, marked the end of the Battle for Okinawa which claimed 12,520 American lives, 110,000 Japanese lives and an estimated 100,000 non-combatant civilian lives.

With the cessation of hostilities, military government came to the Ryukyus in the form of the PhilRyCom command. This situation remained unchanged until 9 July 1948 when Rycom was established as a separate command. On 1 September 1948 Rycom was integrated into the Far East command.

The eight and one-half years history of the Ryukyus Command was brought to a quiet end on 31 December 1956 by General Order from the Eighth United States Army, redesignating the command Headquarters, U.S. Army, Ryukyu Islands.

The history of the Ryukyu Command, which started 1 August 1948, has been one of progress and development during which a military outpost on an undeveloped rural, semi-tropical island has been converted into one of the finest modern military installations in concrete barracks, family quarters and other facilities are quite different from the typhoon and termite ravaged quonsets which housed the Ryukyus Command on its first day of operation.

Other changes and improvements include rebuilt homes, government and domestic economy of the Ryukyuans.

The U.S. Army Ryukyu Islands' people-to-people program started in 1945 when American soldiers began helping the Okinawans rebuild the society that had been almost completely destroyed during the last battle of World War II.

In 1961 a joint-service regulation on community relations was published by Commander-in-Chief Pacific representative, Ryukyu Islands, organizing the present program and giving it direction and purpose. Under this circular the island of Okinawa was divided into areas of responsibility assigned to the army, navy, air force and marine corps.

The military services organized community relations committees within their areas of responsibility, with the Army having 12, the Navy one, the air force seven and the marine corps eight. Membership on the community relations committees includes the senior service commander within each area as the chairman, the mayors of the villages, school principals and prominent government officials of the areas, including the local chiefs of police and fire departments.

These community relations committees meet once each month in the area of their responsibility. At these meetings mutual problems and projects are discussed and action is taken by the committee to accomplish the project or solve the problem.

When assistance, advice or consent is needed by USARYIS committees, a letter is sent to the community relations coordinator of USARYIS, who staffs the project with USARYIS headquarters, subordinate units, the other services and organizations.

The community relations program of USARYIS, with its

many people-to-people projects on Okinawa, represents an aggressive effort on the part of Army personnel and military units to promote friendship between Americans and Ryukyuans.

The program is designed (a) to help people who need assistance and to place the assistance in the right place at the right time, (b) to give the American serviceman an opportunity to participate during his spare time in a worthwhile and rewarding experience, (c) to develop mutual respect between Ryukyuans and Americans, and (d) to help the Ryukyuans to help themselves.

Since the program was reorganized in 1961 it has been directed toward the above mentioned aims. Between the end of World War II and 1961 it was primarily a financial assistance program. At the present we are encouraging the Ryukyuans to assume the responsibility and to carry the major load in this joint Ryukyuan-American community.

The Ryukyuan-American carnival and mercantile fair, first held in 1962, is conducted annually to raise money for community relations and people-to-people projects. Sponsored by the Ryukyuan-American recreation and welfare game booths are sponsored by Army units. During the past two years, over \$40,000 have been netted from this event.

It is apparent that the USARYIS official mission on Okinawa is a vital one, dedicated to defending the free world. An equally significant role is played by this community relations program, which generates warmth and friendship through the people-to-people program between the American and Ryukyuan people on Okinawa.

USAF Cites New Projects

Almost a quarter of a million dollars worth of improvements will be made at Ryukyuan military installations in the next six months, it was announced by Maj. Lynn J. Corp, USAF, chief of the 313th Air Division procurement office.

Project contracts call for the DeMauro Construction company to repair Kadena air base roads and transient aircraft parking apron and the C-130 aircraft service apron at Naha Air Base. Okinawa Denki will modify Kadena Air Base electrical distribution lines. The Nanyo Koken Construction company has been contracted for improvements to the runway at Ie Shima.

Corp said work has already begun on the improvements, all of which are scheduled for completion by November of this year. Of a total project allocation of \$244,899, he stated \$155,723 will be expended at Kadena, \$47,000 at Ie Shima, and \$42,166 at Naha.

Lastly, the U.S. Government will keep the army and other U.S. Forces on Okinawa as long as military threat and tension remain in the Far East.

Battery D located on Naha Air Base at Site eight will have an open house and refreshments will be served.

The 3rd Artillery has also planned a full Armed Forces Day schedule. Battery A, located on Site 13 near Chinen-son will include dances and stage plays, put on by the villagers from Chinen-son among its activities. At Yoza Dake, Site 14, Battery B will conduct tours, with bus transportation from the surrounding area available. On the off-shore island of Tokashiki, Batteries C and D will give a wrecker demonstration, show movies and field a battery softball team to compete with a local team from the village of Tokashiki.

In central and northern Okinawa the 1st and 61st Artillery will also include equipment displays and athletic events in their programs. At Site One on Bolo Point, Battery A 61st Artillery, will hold an open house and sentry dog demonstrations. Batteries C (at Ishikawa) and D (White Beach) will follow suit, providing transportation from the surrounding villages. At Camp Yaedake on the Motobu Peninsula visitors from Tuguchi will be treated to a full day of tours, movies, ping pong and pool tournaments, and volleyball and basketball games.

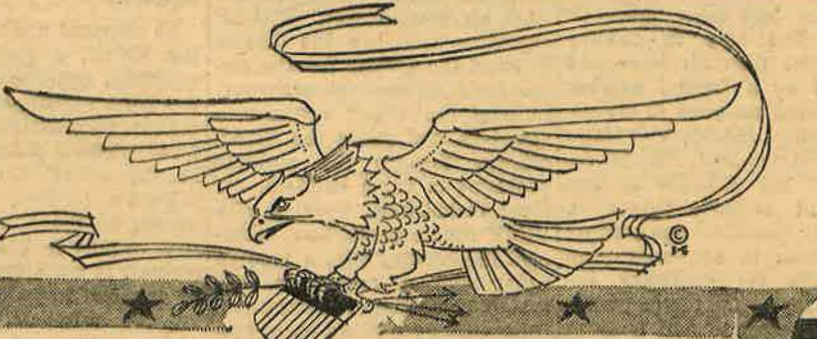
LT. GEN. PAUL W. CARAWAY
High Commissioner Ryukyu Islands

The following is the Armed Forces Day message issued by Lt. Gen. Paul W. Caraway, commanding general, USARYIS and IX Corps to all Army personnel and peoples of the Ryukyus:

"On May 16th the U.S. Army in the Ryukyu Islands will join the other members of the Armed Forces of the United States in observing Armed Forces Day.


"The Department of Defense sets aside a day each year to honor the men and women in uniform who serve the United States of America, in peace and war. These dedicated, uniformed people are the visible evidence of the United States' determination to meet

(Cont. on P-5, C-6)



**SALUTING MEN AND WOMEN
OF THE U.S. ARMED FORCES
ON ARMED FORCES DAY
MAY 16, 1964
AMERICAN LEGION**

Wayne E. Marchand Okinawa Post 28




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U.S. Air Force Pilots Aid in Viet Campaign

A sudden enemy night attack on a military outpost in the Mekong River Delta area brings a Viet Nam air force (VNAF) night flare air strike to the scene. Brilliant one-million candlepower flares, dropped by a C-47 turn the dark night into day while a B-26 light bomber or T-28 fighter bomber strikes the Viet Cong attackers with the full fury of demolition and anti-personnel frag bombs, rockets and .50 caliber machine guns. The enemy retreats and the outpost is saved.

In the south central plains T-28 or A-1H fighter bombers are scrambled by the Air Support Operations center (ASOC) to provide immediate support to the army of Viet Nam (ARVN) ground forces. These aircraft are vectored to the target area by the Tactical Air Control System (TACS) radar controllers a L-19. The strike rips apart a jungle pocket concealing a company of Viet Cong regulars.

In the far north, a large Viet Cong concentration located in terrain inaccessible to ground assault meets the fury of a four-plane T-28 dive-bombing attack. Secondary explosions blast skyward.

A military freight train, puffing on the single line track northward from Saigon, or a military truck and troop convoy churning dust along the road between Bien Hoa and Pleiku, proceeds without fear of deadly ambush. Riding "aerial shotgun" overhead is a pair of T-28s which prevent "these artists in ambush tactics" — the Viet Cong — from striking.

Small groups of Vietnamese army special forces, operating deep in Viet Cong areas groups before penetrated and without land lines of supply, are completely sustained from the sky in pinpoint paradrop missions by VNAF C-47s and USAF C-123s. At all times immediate tactical air firepower is no farther away from the ground forces than a radio call to the supporting tactical element, such as the ASOC, FAC, airborne ASOC or air coordinator.

These are but a few of the guerilla air war tactics that have evolved from the counter-insurgency in the Republic of Viet Nam (RVN) and are now



PILOTS INSTRUCT VIET NAM STUDENTS

(USAF Photo)

er/bombers, C-47 transports, L-19 liaison planes became available to the VNAF through U.S. military assistance programs to replace the obsolete equipment left over from French rule in Indo-China.

For 2nd ADVON, working in conjunction with the air force section, MAAG, the task was herculean: to build for the Viet-

tic training missions. Frequently ordnance on these sorties was expended on Viet Cong targets with post-strike mission critiques providing an excellent ground classroom.

In January 1961, the USAF, through the 2nd ADVON, established a RVN-wide tactical air control systems predicated on the proven U.S. air concept

"Train" this air force assault troop carrier fleet soon became assault activities in the theater, logging an average of more than 2,000 combat support sorties per month.

To augment the combat-strike side of training, a detachment of USAF air commandos from the USAF special warfare center at Eglin AFB, moved into

LANDS 'NAZI' P-51

Naha Pilot Recalls Memories

(Editor's Note: "I was lucky. I wouldn't want to go through it all again," remarked Maj. Jack R. Stanley of Det. 1, 315th Air Div., in summing up his combat experience in World II and the Korean War. His statement likewise expresses the hopeful aspirations of Free Men everywhere as U.S. servicemen, citizens and our allies overseas observe the 15th annual Armed Forces Day today under the slogan, "Partners for Peace.")

By CAPT. FRED MEURER

The voice from the March AFB, Calif., control tower had every reason to be excited one day in 1948 when a pair of bright green fighters swooped low over the field. As they roared by in a low-level approach, the swastikas on their sides and wings glistened in the sunlight.

"Who in the hell are you guys?" crackled the high-pitched voice over the earphones. "What kind of ships are you flying?"

The "guys" were two Air National Guard pilots, one of whom was Maj. Jack R. Stanley, now the executive officer of Det. 1, 315th Air Div., at Naha. The aircraft were P-51 Mustangs, aerial heroes of WW II which had ended just three years before.

The green paint, yellow noses — and those swastikas — was only temporary make-up for the P-51s. The ANG pilots had been flying them in front of movie cameras during filming of "Thunderbolts," the story of American P-47s during the war.

"Those guys (in the control tower) were pretty shook up," recalled the major with a laugh. He explained that he and his fellow P-51 pilot had dropped in on March for a few practice approaches while en route back to their base after a day in front of the cameras.

The movie company had employed 10 of the ANG P-51s and had done them up in Luftwaffe colors for the movie. As part of the picture's plot, Major Stanley and nine other "German" pilots attacked American P-47s and engaged the Thunderbolts in mock dogfights.

He later viewed the finished product and said that "the realism was very good." The controllers in the March AFB tower back in 1948 would attest to that.

His participation in the filming "sort of brought back the old-day war memories," and Major Stanley has a vast store of them. He flew 35 combat missions in B-17s over Europe during WW II and 45 more at the controls of B-29s over Korea.

Major Stanley also participated in the steady 24-hour raid at night. The Germans really threw up a big fighter screen for that one."

Over Europe, he said, aircrews had four elements working against them. They were (1) the close formations they were forced to fly, (2) bad weather, (3) flak and (4) enemy fighters. Another one might have been the inexperience of American pilots.

"I was lucky. I had a year of instructing behind me. Some of the men went into combat with only 40 hours of flying time. We lost a lot of pilots."

Major Stanley carries an old newspaper clipping in his wallet which tells of the death of Brig. Gen. Frederick W. Castle — after whom Castle AFB, Calif., is named today — on Christmas Eve in 1944 over Belgium.

The major was scheduled to fly with the general that day, but at the last moment "they substituted a lieutenant who had two fewer missions than I did because they wanted to keep things as even as possible."

General Castle's B-17 was hit by German fighters and he died in the resultant crash after ordering all the crewmembers to bail out first. The general was posthumously awarded the Medal of Honor for his actions. The lieutenant who had been substituted for Major Stanley also died in the disaster.

MCAF HOSTS PUBLIC

With all of the ground work out of the way, officials here for the gigantic Armed Forces Day open house planned for Futenma have announced things are ready for today.

The static displays for this year's celebration have all been readied and now it's only a matter of time until they are put into place for the big event. At precisely 10 a.m. the gates of the marine corps air facility will open to the public and it is estimated that several thou-

After all those narrow escapes, how did the crewmen feel about going out on mission after mission?

"You were always apprehensive, but not really scared. You had to shut your mind off. When you got back, it was just another mission chalked off," Major Stanley answered.

Does a man have any misgivings after having dropped tons of bombs on cities below?

"No, not really," the major replied quickly, "because we could never see where our bombs dropped. We were briefed to hit industrial targets and we hoped our bombs hit them and did not take any unnecessary lives."

Over Korea some seven years later, Major Stanley flew reconnaissance missions in B-29s, taking pictures of targets after they were hit by bombs. They also photographed Russian

shipping off the Korean coast.

On those outings, he said, the B-29s flew solo with no fighter protection, and while he can remember some B-29s being shot down by MIGs, he said he never had any encounters with the speedy communist jets.

He said the flak over Korea, however, was just as eerie as the bursts over Europe, "but you get used to it."

He described flak as "red explosions near your aircraft at night and black explosions in the day."

Major Stanley, a political science graduate of the University of California at Berkeley, came to Naha recently from the 509th Bomb Wing at Pease AFB, N.H., where he flew KC-97s and B-47s earlier. The 509th is the unit whose aircraft dropped the two atomic bombs on Japan to end WWII.

—DISPLAYS SLATED—

Naha Open House

A six-hour open house at Naha air base on Armed Forces Day today will open with a flyover by 20 U.S. Air Force aircraft and close when the parachutes of Army paratroopers blossom over the runway.

The open house at Naha is scheduled from 10 a.m. to 4 p.m.

Flights of four each F-102s, F-105s, T-33s and C-130s are scheduled to pass over Naha at 10:30 a.m. on the first appearance on a flyover over Okinawa from the south to the north. The aircraft will pass over major installations and cities.

After that, the schedule of events at Naha includes:

10:45 to 11:30—Concert by the 558th USAF Band.
11:30 to 12—Sentry dog performance in the yard of the Air Defense Control Center.

12 to 12:30—Parachute jumps by U.S. Air Force personnel.

1 to 1:30—Sentry dog performance.

1 to 3—Baseball game between the 313th Air Division Hawks and Kubasaki high school.

2:30 to 3—Sentry dog performance.

2:30 to 4—Women's Softball game between the Naha Eaglettes and Machinato.

3 to 3:45—Visit by the Island Jesters.

3:15 to 3:45—Paradrops by Army paratroopers.

In addition to the scheduled activities, Naha has planned a variety of static displays ranging from supersonic aircraft to air rescue and survival equipment.

All events are scheduled to take place on or over the flightline area south of base operations unless otherwise designated.

guerrilla air war tactics that have evolved from the counter-insurgency in the Republic of Viet Nam (RVN) and are now being employed by the VNAF in the fight against the communist insurgent Viet Cong. They are environmental adaptations of battle proven USAF air concepts and JCS-approved theater combat air tasks of close air support, interdiction, combat airlift and aerial resupply, tactical reconnaissance, etc. In the short period of its participation in the hostilities the VNAF has accounted for about one-third of all Viet Cong casualties.

The current level of VNAF professionalism in COIN-air in RVN was developed almost from scratch by USAF advisers and instructors assigned to the country immediately after the U.S. government announced stepped-up aid to the RVN in the fall of 1961.

Prior to 1961 the Republic of Viet Nam had been "going it alone." The only in-country training for their air force was provided by a limited number of personnel assigned to the air force section, MAAG, Viet Nam.

In November 1961, PACAF established 2nd ADVON at Tan Son Nhut airfield, Saigon, a USAF air command and support organization in Southeast Asia responsible for providing the VNAF support for tactical combat air operations and training in the use of military air equipment and the employment of guerilla air tactics and techniques.

During the first year of its existence, 2nd ADVON, commanded by then Brig. Gen. Rollen H. Anthis, rapidly expanded as combat requirements dictated rapid growth of the VNAF; and as tactical air weapons, especially the T-28 and A-1H fight-

For 2nd ADVON, working in conjunction with the air force section, MAAG, the task was herculean: to build for the Vietnamese a hard-hitting, modern, efficient and professional tactical air force in minimum time.

This meant first building a base structure for modern combat air operations throughout the Republic, including hard base airfield in strategic locations, POL, maintenance, engineering and flight facilities, a system of rapid, modern communications throughout the theater, housing and messing facilities and a host of other critical needed support requirements.

Concurrently air force flying advisers and instructors, assigned to the air force section, MAAG, with duty in VNAF tactical organizations, set about to train Viet Nam pilots in their "new-equipment" and teach the many air skills required in tactical air/ground war. PACAF experts moved into the theater to erect the system for the employment of tactical airpower, to help the VNAF organize a structure and guide the VNAF officers through the multiple problems of rapid build-up. Air force technicians, working with VNAF counterparts, soon blanketed the country with a modern radar and a communications system (including troop scatter). Others set up a photo races system, including a processing center and photo interpretation system for target identification.

Orderly, but rapidly, the VNAF, under USAF tutelage, began reshaping and acquiring the know-how and skills necessary for the conduct of their own air war.

USAF instructors and advisers assigned to VNAF units flew with Viet Nam pilots on realis-

established a RVN-wide tactical air control systems predicated on the proven U.S. air concept of centralized control of air resources and decentralized execution of operations. The focal point of this system, the Joint Air Operations Center (JAOC), was located at Tan Son Nhut. This system, which spider-webbed from the JAOC, connected with the air support operation centers which were co-located geographically with the corps tactical zone headquarters. The TACS is further extended from the ASOCs by the assignment of Air Liaison Officers (ALO) and FACs at division headquarters and below. It provided the air commander central control of VNAF air forces at all bases, and direct tie in with army units in the field. It allowed quick-reaction capability in response to ground force requests for air support.

To augment a pilot shortage in the VNAF, a group of highly qualified, experienced USAF pilots from various air force commands were assigned to the air force section, MAAG with duty in the VNAF 43rd Transport Group (C-47s). This group, known as the "Dirty Thirties" flew co-pilot in VNAF transport aircraft to train Viet Nam pilots in day and night combat airlift support missions, night flare strike sorties and psychological warfare missions. Individually these air force flyers averaged 600 to 800 combat hours and over 200 combat support missions during a tour of duty.

In addition, tactical airpower in RVN was augmented by regular USAF assault transport squadrons flying the rugged twin-engine C-123 "Providers." Originally known as "Mule

side of training, a detachment of USAF air commandos from the USAF special warfare center at Eglin AFB, moved into the country with their COIN air equipment to instruct the Viet Nam pilots in the highly skilled day and night close air support and interdiction tasks with T-28 fighter bombers and B-26 light bombers; and to teach VNAF crews specialized combat support missions with the C-47 "Gooney Birds," and small single-engine liaison type aircraft.

In an effort to provide the best possible accelerated training, the USAF and PACAF assigned to Southeast Asia highly qualified personnel, a practice from the very outset which gave rise to the slogan "the best go west." For example, the air force sent its top qualified jet pilots as FACs and ALOs, with duty to army of Viet Nam ground forces located in the swamps, jungles and rugged forested mountain areas. These men, many of whom were "century series" jet jockeys with 2,000 to 3,000 hours in U.S. jet fighters, were responsible for training VNAF personnel in the skills of directing air strikes from forward positions on the ground, or from low-flying L-19 liaison aircraft. They lived and worked with ARVN ground forces in the field. Some had fought the MIG-15 in Sabre-jets during the Korean War. Others were aces in WW II, test pilots in the post-war era, or tactical jet instructors in USAF training schools. And if the equipment they were flying in RVN as advisers and instructors.

MORNING STAR
US ARMED FORCES DAY
SECTION FOUR
May 16, 1964 Page 2

of them. He flew 35 combat missions in B-17s over Europe during WW II and 45 more at the controls of B-29s over Korea.

Speaking of his days as a lead B-17 pilot over Europe, he said the U.S. bomber formations "would meet German fighters every time we went out." The F-109 Messerschmitt "looked very much like the American P-51 and you had to make certain of their identification before your gunners could open up on them."

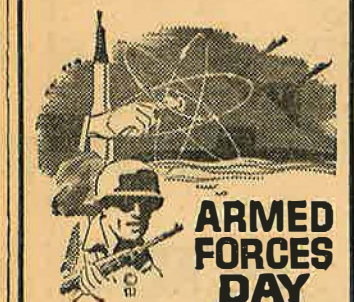
Chances of his gunners knocking down a Messerschmitt, however, "were pretty slim. There was a lot of inexperience among our gunners because the only real experience they got was when we were actually attacked. In those days, our gunners average about 19 years of age."

The German fighters claimed their toll over the slow-moving American bombers. On a major offensive against the Merseburg oil refineries in which the U.S. used about 2,000 bombers, the Germans destroyed around 200 U.S. fighters, about 150 bombers and lost some 450 fighters themselves, Major Stanley recalls.

Participating in that attack, his B-17 suffered only "some flak damage." On a mission over Hamburg, Germany, however, two of his engines were shot out "and we had our doubts about making it back to our base."

They did, but on that mission, the B-17 group just ahead of Major Stanley's lost about 15 aircraft and the group immediately behind them lost 10, he said.

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precisely 10 a.m. the gates of the marine corps air facility will open to the public and it is estimated that several thousand visitors will pass through before they close at 4 p.m. in what officials call the largest celebration to be held at Futenma to date.

Inclimate weather has darkened the hopes and expectations of this gala event but project officers are still hopeful for a break from the weatherman. Thus far no clear weather has been forecast for the weekend.

The big event will be highlighted by a Helo-Borne Assault by the 3rd Marine Division, a band concert, para-drop and displays of Marine Corps aircraft and equipment. A fire-fighting demonstration by the station crash crew is also scheduled along with numerous other interesting events. An invitation has been extended by the Commanding Officer of MCAF to inhabitants of local and surrounding communities to attend this mammoth festival and enjoy the day as guests of the U.S. Marine Corps on this armed forces day of 1964.



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ARMED FORCES DAY



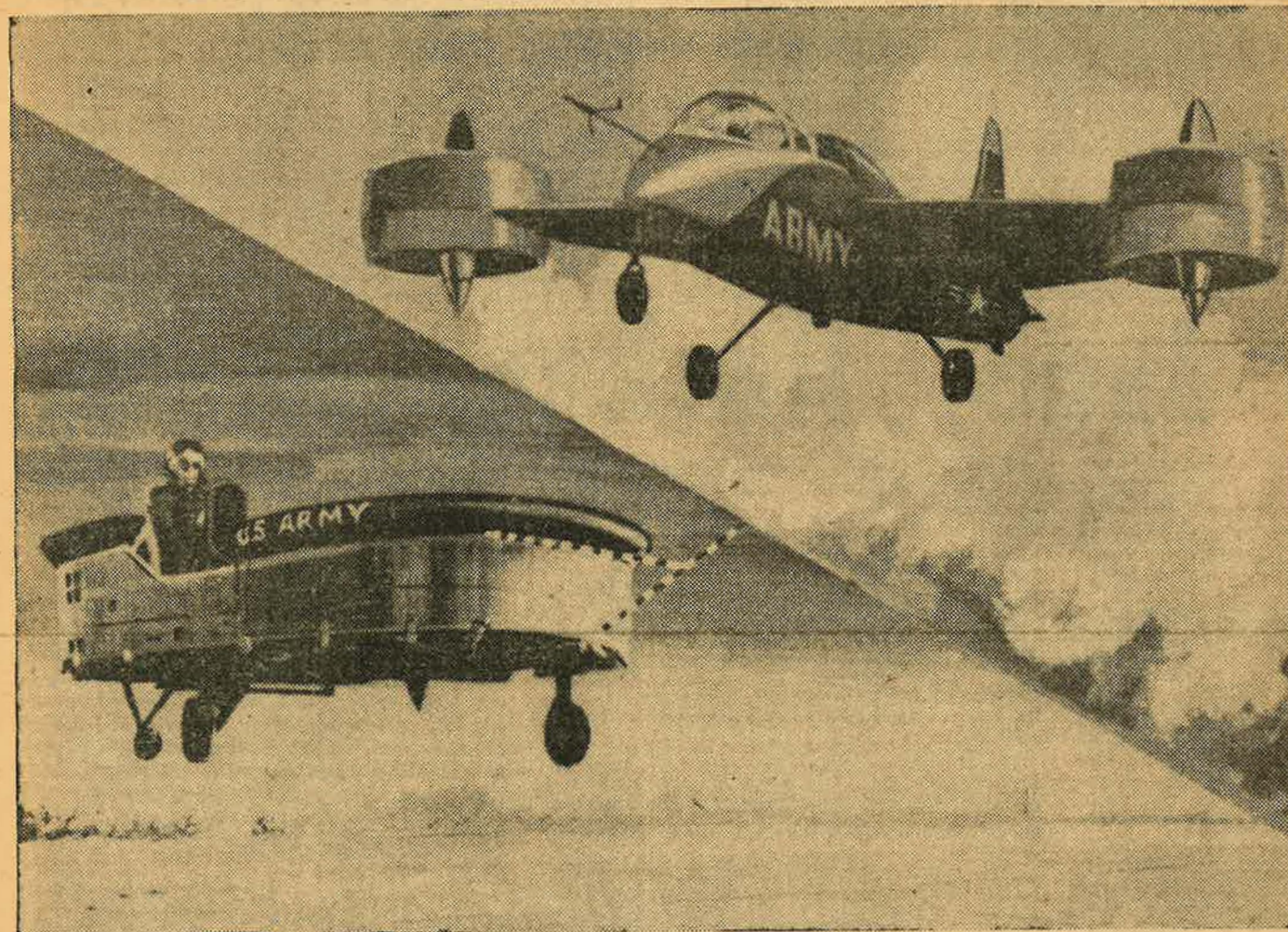
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Army Research Moves Forward Materiel Command

Hub of Army Supply System



When the reorganization of the army brought the army materiel command and its seven sub-commands into existence in late 1962, the resulting world-wide realignments in the Army supply system indicated a need for bringing USARYIS' supply system into a compatible alignment. Five of the army materiel command's new sub-commands were assigned National inventory control functions for army managed commodities and USARPAC reorganized into a pattern that generally followed the same basic commodity breakouts of the army materiel command. Needless to say, the organization within USARYIS must be compatible with USARPAC and the DA Supply system to be responsive to supply management techniques and funding and reporting considerations.

Under the new organization, which became effective Oct. 1, 1963, all supplies in USARYIS (except medical and transportation marine craft) come through a structure aligned with the current Department of the Army and USARPAC concept of inventory control point and depot operations. This new organization was named the U.S. Army Supply Services Command, Ryukyu Islands.

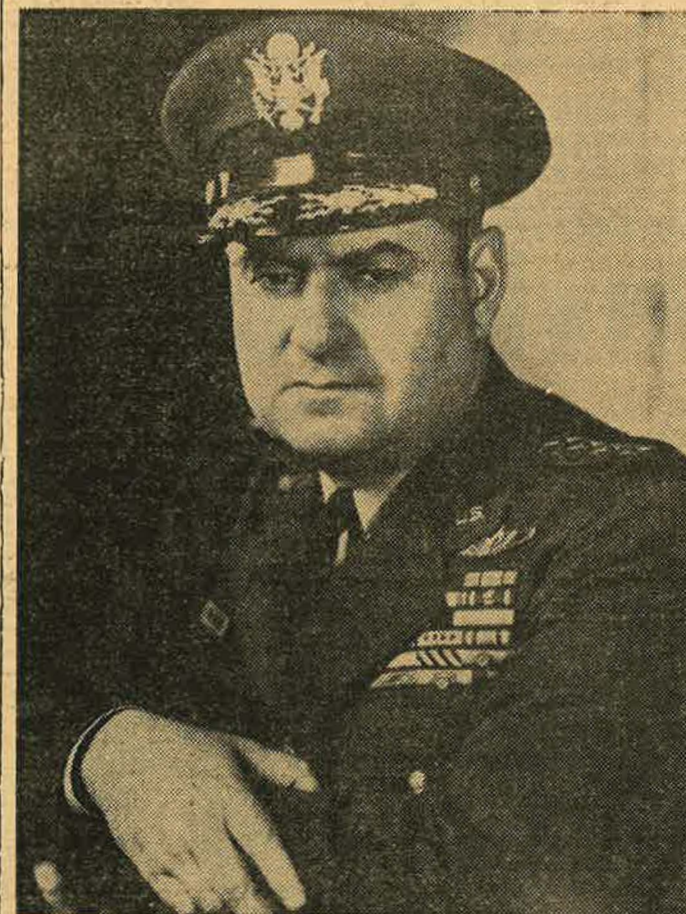
The headquarters staff includes the commander and his comptroller, plans and operations officer, administrative officer, as well as a support battalion charged with administra-

tion and training of military personnel of the command.

The supply management division ties together all the stock control and related functions formerly performed in six of the technical services groups. The four major branches of this new division manage their class I, II and IV commodities in the same general manner that is used at higher echelons. Mobility branch now is responsible for items that were formerly engineer, transportation corps and chemical corps; Missiles and weapons branch manages former ordnance items electronics branch deals with all the supplies that used to be known as Signal Corps supplies; and the general branch is responsible for what was formerly considered quartermaster items. Where "logistics transfers" formerly meant numerous gyrations between the technical service groups for funding, reporting, and stockage purposes, the transfers can now be made without much ado all within one division of the supply services command.

The storage division is responsible for the physical receipt, storage, in-storage maintenance and issue of Class I, II and IV supplies regardless of the commodity type or its former "tech service" parentage. Obviously a great duplication of effort has been eliminated by having one storage operation do the job that was formerly performed in each of the technical service groups.

GEN. LEMAY'S AFD MESSAGE



"Armed Forces day re-emphasizes the grave responsibilities that have been entrusted to our Armed Services. Today, the free world depends upon the military strength of the United States to maintain peace. Our nation is placing great reliance on aerospace power as a primary deterrent to war.

"The Air Force is deeply aware of its responsibilities and will continue to strive for ever-increasing effectiveness.

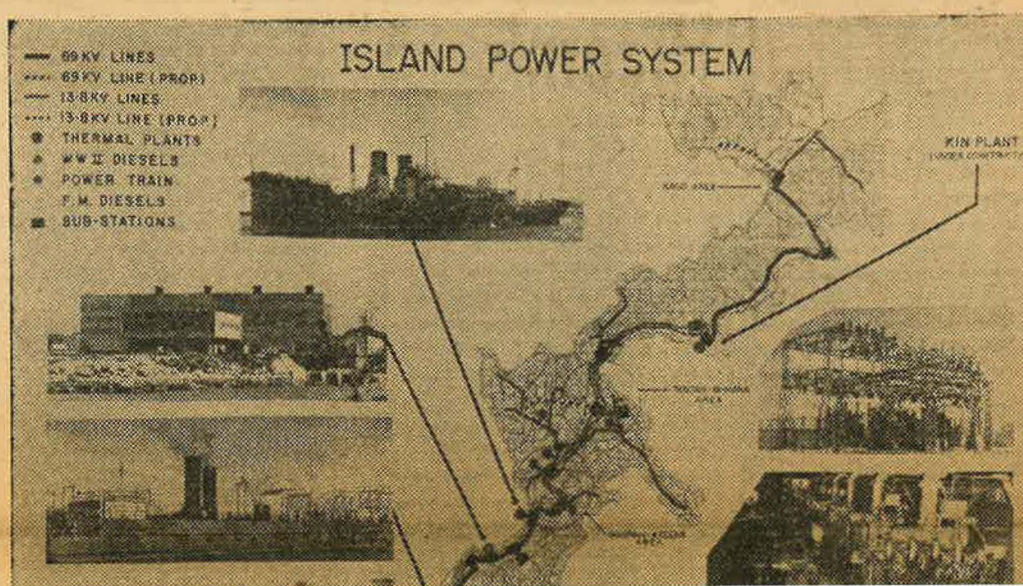
"We are happy to join our sister services in celebration of this 15th Armed Forces day, confident that in our combined strength we will be able to deter aggression or to successfully meet any future challenge."

Gen. Curtis E. LeMay
Chief of Staff, USAF

Army Engineer Group Keeps Utilities on Island Humming

The U.S. Army Engineer group on Okinawa performs the basic engineer mission for the U.S. Army Ryukyu islands. The commanding officer for the group serves as the Staff Engineer, USARYIS, and is concerned with planning the engineer activities on the island.

The USARYIS Engineer operates the island's water system, supervises the operation of the island's power (electrical) system, supervises and performs maintenance of the island's highway system, procures stocks and issues engineer supplies to military organizations and per-



U.S. Air Force--

(Cont. from P-2)

bat squadrons, efficiently organized, professionally manned, adequately equipped and competently employed. Top U.S. authorities are quick to praise the VNAF as a hard-hitting, first-class tactical air force, well founded in the skills of tactical air/ground war.

Operationally speaking the VNAF has achieved a high peak in rapid-on-target reaction time with flexibility and versatility in tactical deployment of their air weapons. Centralized air operations through a TACS and a JAOC marks it uniquely different from its predecessor, The French air force in Indo-China, which was tied completely to ground forces. Parcelled out to

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maintenance of the island's highway system, procures stocks and issues engineer supplies to military organizations and performs engineer maintenance on building and grounds with US-ARYIS.

The post engineer performs as an operating agency of the USARYIS Engineer and is

HOSPITAL HOLDS OPEN HOUSE

U.S. Army Hospital, Ryukyu Islands will hold an Armed Forces Day open house today, May 16, from 10 a.m. to 4 p.m. The theme "Partners for Peace" will show how American and Okinawan agencies join together to fight the battle against disease.

Everything from insects, reptiles and mammals to the latest surgical techniques will be on display. Sections within the hospital will feature various items of equipment and charts to illustrate the function of their section. All signs, narrations accompanying displays and demonstration will be in both English and Japanese.

Among displays from various sections will be: from the Red Cross, several items of leather works by patients, samples of recreation equipment designed for patient's use; operating room equipment with different types of instruments and one operating table completely set-up for a mock operation will be shown by surgery; veterinary service will display food inspection items, egg candling demonstrations and various specimens found in this type of work; a dental field chest to include chair, drills, cabinet and accessory equipment will be shown by the dental clinic; featured in the laboratory will be many pictures showing sections within the lab; equipment on display will include chemistry equipment, blood bank set-up and parasite specimens.

Bus transportation from Sukiran and Kadena will be provided.

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ENGINEERS PROVIDE POWER, WATER
(U.S. Army Photo)

charged with the repair and utilities responsibilities. A large sub-post is located in the Machinato Service Area in support of that area's military complex, the Machinato/Naha Housing Area, Camp Boone, and the Naha port and troop area. Off-post detachments are located at the Army Hospital, Camp Kue, Okuma rest center, Henoko

Ordnance Depot, Yaetake Signal Station, Tokashiki Island, Camp Kubasaki and detachments in Miyako and Yaeyama islands of the southern Ryukyus.

As the operating arm of the USARYIS engineer, the post engineer is responsible for the maintenance, repair, alterations, modification, additions, restora-

tion and minor construction of buildings, structures, roads, grounds, and other engineer items for Army installations. In addition, he is responsible for the provision of miscellaneous engineer services to include entomology services, packing and crating, refuse collection and disposal, street cleaning and custodial services.

SINCE 1945

Hospital Serves Needs

The first hospital unit on Okinawa was the 69th field hospital which landed on Apr. 3, 1945. Until it was established casualties were evacuated to hospital ships lying off the beaches. Each of these hospital ships could care for 200 patients and perform emergency surgery. By the 16th of April, Army and Marine hospitals ashore had a capacity of 1,800 beds. At this time there were approximately 65,000 casualties.

After the cessation of hostilities the various field hospitals moved from their initial sites to the Mercy area located between Oyama and Ojana on the western coast of Okinawa. Here in 1950 the various medical units were consolidated and the Ryukyu Army Hospital activated.

This designation was later changed to U.S. Army Hospital, Ryukyu Islands. On 22 June 1955, construction of the present hospital building began and it was completed and dedicated in April 1958.

The main hospital initially had a normal bed capacity of approximately 200. By placing beds closer together and converting diet kitchens to bed space, the hospital has an operating capacity of more than 300 beds in the main hospital. Completion of the new wing will add over 120 beds to the normal capacity of the main hospital or over 150 beds to operating capacity.

Today the hospital is fully accredited by the joint commission on accreditation of hospitals. All principal medical specialties are represented and hospital care approximates that of a general hospital since Okinawa is partially isolated and there is no nearby general hospital for professional back-up support.

The medical mission of the U.S. Army hospital, Ryukyu Islands, is accomplished by operation of a Preventive Medicine Service and Veterinary Service, hospitalization and specialty clinic services for military personnel of all Armed Forces in the area, their dependents, and authorized government employees and their dependents.

functions and tasks of tactical airpower in COIN and became the air component of the unified U.S. military assistance command, Viet Nam (MACV). It was responsible for assisting the VNAF in air operations in the RVN and for all U.S. air matters in Thailand. Organizationally a sub-unit of 13th air force in the Philippines, 2nd air division came under the operational control of the commander, MACV.

By October 1962 and within one year after U.S. military assistance began pouring into the RVN, more than 3,000 air force officers and enlisted men were working side by side as instructors and advisers to VNAF counterparts in vigorous air support and training activities. The "school setting" was actual combat, the task, deadly serious. The RVN, dominating the sea and air approaches to all of Southeast Asia, the Malaya Archipelago, Indonesia and the Indian Ocean area was a primary target of militant Oriental Communism. And the "action in Viet Nam," called by various people COIN, little war, brush-fire war, civil men with some 10 tactical com-

ent from its predecessor, The French air force in Indo-China, which was tied completely to ground forces. Parcelled out to ground force unit commanders throughout Indo-China The French air force was dismembered and defeated piece by piece by Indo-China's coalition nationalistic armies.

From 50 combat strike sorties flown in April 1962, the VNAF rose to a monthly average of 400 in January 1963. By May 1963 it was tallying 500 to 1,000 operational sortie curve still rising. Present level of total operational sorties runs well over 3,000 per month as of summer 1963. Even so, the VNAF's full potential, at present strength, and its variable employment in combat, has not been called into utilization by RVN and ARVN leaders.

A protegee of the USAF, the VNAF has grown in the image of air force tactical air doctrines, concepts and combat techniques. A determined quick to learn and to apply, the VNAF has emerged, in less than two years, a decisive element in the joint RVN military structure. In the short span of its existence, it is credited with a daily attrition of enemy manpower and materiel resources that is significantly altering the military balance in RVN and the course of the war.

MORNING STAR
US ARMED FORCES DAY
SECTION FOUR
May 16, 1964 Page 7

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Lots of Dustys

CHICAGO (NEA) — For longer than most people can remember, any baseball player with the last name Rhoades (or Rhodes) has been nicknamed "Dusty." It started with a pitcher named Robert Bruce Rhoades, who appeared in the Chicago Cubs' opener in 1902. A Chicago sportswriter christened him Dusty, for obvious reasons. And thus it is that every player with that last name — or one sounding like it — has been given the same nickname.

Morning Star Sports

BILL MORRIS

Sports Editor

MAY 16, 1964

SECTION FOUR

PAGE 8

Sees Ball Better

LOS ANGELES (NEA) — Lee Thomas, 28-year old outfielder of the Los Angeles fielder of the Los Angeles Angels has a definite reason for believing he can return to his 1961-62 batting form. "Now I'm seeing the ball from the time it leaves the pitcher's hand," says the 6-2, 190-pound southpaw hitter. "Last year it seemed as though I couldn't pick it up until it was almost on me. That's probably why I hit so many balls to left field. I was swinging late."

Invitation to Olympics: Judo, Hockey, Soccer

Judo

AMONG the many Olympic events, Judo alone was born and developed in Japan, and has since spread throughout the world.

Japan's long-cherished desire was realized when Judo was included for the first time among Olympic events in the forthcoming Tokyo Games. It provides Japan, the land of Judo's birth, an opportunity to show its strength and to have the world re-evaluate the real worth of Judo.

Only about 80 years have passed since the term "Judo" came into current use but its history can be traced back to ancient times. In the "Kojiki" (Record of Ancient Matters), a mythological legend is chronicled that "an adversary was defeated in competition with the bare hands and without the use of weapons."

Tradition has it that in the year 23 B.C., Nomi-no-Sukune kicked to death Taima-no-Kehaya in a duel "without weapons." This Nomi-no-Sukune is considered to be the founder of Sumo and Judo. In contrast to the manner in which Sumo made its main development along professional and exhibitionistic lines, Judokas take pride in the fact that Judo developed as a rational form of sports.

The forerunner of Judo was "Jujitsu" which was devised from the practical necessity of hand-to-hand fighting on the battlefield. In the year 1523, toward the end of the Ashikaga Period, what was called the Takeuchi School of Jujitsu was established, this being the oldest of its kind.

In the Tokugawa Period, many systematic schools of Jujitsu appeared with greater emphasis put on spiritual training instead of the technical aspects alone. Jujitsu spread throughout the country and many Dojo (exercise halls) were opened.

It was Jigoro Kano who, in 1882, combined and unified the various existing schools to originate Kodokan Judo. This was the beginning of Judo as it is today.

"Judo is a way to employ mental and physical strength most effectively. By training in both attack and defense, both the mind and the spirit are disciplined in order to attain the ultimate objectives of perfecting the individual so that he may best serve society."

This is the basic principle of Judo which has become recognized as a logical physical science and an outstanding method of spiritual training. Starting with the Gakushuin (Peers' School) in

The European Judo Federation was formed in 1934. The International Judo Federation was established in 1951 which Japan joined in the following year, 1952. Risei Kano, president of the Japan Judo Federation, was recommended as the president of the International Judo Federation which has 49 member nations.

A Judo team, headed by President Kano of the Kodokan, went to France in 1951 at the invitation of European Judo. After the European Championships, the then Japan champion, Toshiro Daigo, 6-Dan, met and defeated Europe's "Best 10" to demonstrate the strength of Japanese Judo.

The time was to come, however, when Japan's "peaceful dream" as a "Judo Kingdom" was destined to be rudely shattered.

The First World Championships were held in 1956 and the Second Championships in 1958, both times at Tokyo. In the First, Japan won first and second places and, in the second, monopolized the first three places.

But when the Third World Championships were held in Paris in 1961, Japan's Akio Kaminaga, 5-Dan, Takeshi Koga, 4-Dan, and Koji Sone, 6-

In the neighboring Republic of Korea, there are several outstanding Judokas. Rogers of Canada, who has trained at the Kodokan as in the case of Geesink, will also be a Judoka to watch.

Judokas of France, West Germany and Italy were among those visiting Japan last autumn but it is generally believed that Soviet Russia will pose the greatest threat in the forthcoming Olympics.

Soviet Russia is a country that quickly becomes strong in whatever it undertakes. Last year, in its second participation in a Judo tournament, Soviet Russia showed a phenomenal advance by capturing the team victory in the European Championships.

Because the Sambo, which is popular in Soviet Russia as a traditional form of competition, combines elements of both Judo and wrestling, it may have been fairly simple for Soviet athletes to turn to Judo. When Soviet athletes visited Japan in spring last year, they gave considerable difficulty to Japanese Judokas with their swift "Sambo Judo."

Soviet Russia did not send Judokas to last autumn's Tokyo International Sports Week and is concentrating on the Tokyo Olympic Games. In November last year the Soviet Championships were held. At the present time, strong Judokas of Europe and Japan have been invited to Moscow for a series of tournaments which will determine the selection of the Soviet Judo team to the Olympics.

For the four Japanese Judokas who have gone to Moscow—Isao Inokuma, Masahiro Tone, Isao Okano and Yui Nakatani—this will provide an excellent opportunity to gain experience in international Judo matches. Their showings will be an important barometer for what lies ahead in the Tokyo Games.

Breaking out of its former shell, the Japan Judo Federation is desirous of following up the dispatch of a Judo team to Moscow by sending Judokas to other countries of Europe. A "forward looking" attitude has been adopted by overcoming the opposition and reluctance that existed among some officials regarding the visits of Japanese Judokas abroad.

In the Olympics, there will be no matches between Japanese Judokas. It will be a competition of Japanese Judokas with foreign Judokas.

Thus, Japanese Judokas "who are strong against foreign Judokas" need to be selected. The nation's hope is, of course, for Japan to win

Field hockey has been an Olympic event from the Fourth Olympic Games at London (1908). Japanese hockey teams were sent to the 10th Games at Los Angeles (placing second among three participating teams) and the 11th Games at Berlin (placing sixth among 11 teams). In the postwar period, a Japanese hockey team took part in the 17th Games at Rome (placing 14th among 16 teams).

One of the spectacular contests of the forthcoming Tokyo Olympic Games will be the confrontation between the hockey teams of Pakistan and India.

At the Rome Olympics, India was defeated by Pakistan, 1-0. India's dream of a seventh consecutive Olympic victory was thus shattered as it fell from the throne that it had occupied for 30 years.

The teams to represent the two countries in hockey at the Tokyo Olympics are training intensively at two localities separated from each other only by about 60 to 70 kilometers across the border. The Pakistani team is training mainly at Lahore and the Indian team at Jullunder. Both feel that "national prestige is at stake." Both are determined to win.

While the two countries are expected to engage in a battle royal, attention is being given also to "dark horses" that are aiming for the Gold Medal. The hockey teams of Germany and the Netherlands have gained in strength. Japan's activity is also being watched.

Instead of merely trying to emulate the technical excellence of the Indian hockey players without considering the Japanese athletes' physique and temperament, emphasis is now being put on the fullest utilization of the "mobility" that is born out of Japanese agility. The idea is "to confront one opponent with two, and two opponents with three." This will not be an easy strategy to maintain for 70 minutes of strenuous play but a stage has been reached, it is said, in which it is possible to halt the furious onslaught for which foreign players are noted.

This fostering of both spirit and technique has brought Japan a step closer to the two hockey giants — Pakistan and India — as shown at last autumn's international tournament at Lyons, France (Japan won 4 and lost 3 to place fifth among 12 participating countries) and the Tokyo International Sports Week (Japan was able to win once from Germany).

Japan lost to Pakistan 10-0 at the Rome Olympics but narrowed this to 5-0 two years ago and to 2-0 at Lyons last year. Similarly, in the case of India, Japan lost 10-0 but narrowed this to 7-0

Soccer is being played at present in 124 countries of the world (the number affiliated with the international federation having its headquarters in Zurich). In the majority of these countries, soccer is a national sport. Among the few countries where soccer is not widely played by amateurs are the United States, the Philippines, and Japan.

In England there are 7,000 professional soccer players. During one season some 50 million spectators pay to see the matches of the soccer league. By comparison, there are about 800 professional baseball players in Japan and approximately 9,100,000 spectators see the official pro baseball games during an official season. Since the population of England is about one-half that of Japan, the intense popularity of soccer in the British Isles can be realized.

The popularity of soccer, however, is even greater in South America. When the finals of the world championship tournament was held at Rio de Janeiro in 1958, the attendance was 215,000 people, setting the highest record for a single sport event. The gate receipts for the world championship tournament in Chile in 1960 totaled about ¥1,800 million, also the highest recorded figure of its kind in the world. The bidding price for a star player of Brazil's noted Santos club is said to have been ¥800 million.

All this concerns professional soccer. Mention has been made of these facts only because of the often quoted saying that a country with strong professional players naturally has strong amateurs as well. In the case of soccer, this saying does not necessarily hold true.

Then there is the case of such countries as Soviet Russia, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and Hungary where players are given training by the state. When the Soviet Russian soccer team won its first victory at the Melbourne Olympics, a new expression, "state amateurism," was born.

In Asia, where athletes often play the game barefooted, soccer has had a long history as a people's sport. In the postwar period, soccer has come to play a role in the enhancement of national prestige and has spread among the military. This has led to the birth of "military amateurs" in such countries as the Republic of Korea, India, Burma, Viet Nam and Indonesia.

Olympic Hockey Winners

4th Games	England
7th Games	England
9th Games	India

Judo World Championships

First (May 3, 1956—Tokyo):

1. Shokichi Natsui, Japan
2. Yoshihiko Yoshimatsu, Japan
3. Anton Geesink, Netherlands

Second (November 30, 1958—Tokyo):

1. Koji Sone, Japan
2. Akio Kaminaga, Japan
3. Kinjiyoshi Yamasuke, Japan
(Participated in by 39 Judokas of 18 countries)

Third (December 3, 1961—Paris):

1. Anton Geesink, Netherlands
2. Koji Sone, Japan
3. Kim Jang Dal, Republic of Korea
(Participated in by 57 Judokas of 25 countries)

Dan (champion of the 1958 meet) were all defeated by Anton Geesink of Netherlands.

Geesink had placed third in the First World Championship and remained within the "Best 8" in the Second Championships. Having visited

This is the basic principle of Judo which has become recognized as a logical physical science and an outstanding method of spiritual training. Starting with the Gakushuin (Peers' School) in 1883, Judo was rapidly adopted as a part of school education—by the Naval Academy in 1887, Keio University in 1889, and others in rapid succession.

In 1911 Judo, together with Kendo, was included as a part of the school curriculum. In 1931 Judo became a required subject in the high school curriculum.

It also spread rapidly abroad, starting with the year 1889 when Jigoro Kano went to Europe on his first inspection trip abroad. It is recorded that the first foreign student was a British Army captain who "enrolled" in 1893.

The foreigners, who had until then known only boxing and wrestling which favor those with strength and big physiques, were amazed to see a small man, measuring only up to their shoulders, throw a much larger man with ease. It is no wonder that they were greatly intrigued by this "magic of the Orient" as some called it.

As more Japanese Judokas went abroad, Judo spread in European and American countries. President Theodore Roosevelt of the United States, and President Raymond Poincare and Gaston Doumergue of France were among those who asked for instruction. Judo became popular as a form of recreation and a means of self-defense.

feated by Anton Geesink of Netherlands.

Geesink had placed third in the First World Championship and remained within the "Best 8" in the Second Championships. Having visited Japan several times to train at the Kodokan, he was considered a "dangerous opponent but no one thought that he would make such a sensational showing.

The shock among those concerned was indeed great. Japan could no longer remain complacent. It became necessary to take a new look at foreign Judokas. The pill swallowed was bitter but it was good medicine for Japan.

After Japan's first selection of 49 Olympic candidates was made at the end of April two years ago, the field has been gradually narrowed down. In the fifth-stage selection in November last year, the number was reduced to 12. The sixth selection will take place at the end of March and early in July the final candidates, three for each weight classification, will be decided. From out of these, one will represent Japan in each weight classification, a total of four. Upon looking over the list of candidates at the present time, we find that each one has both strong and weak points—there is no "absolute" trump card.

At the end of last year, world champion Geesink, whose status as an amateur has since become a problem, came to Japan at the invitation of Tenri. Among Japan's Olympic candidates who trained with him at Tenri, the only one able to meet Geesink on even terms was Masayoshi Murai, 4-Dan.

While on a visit of Soviet Russia in summer last year, Murai defeated the Soviet hope, Anzor Kiknadze, and seems to have gained confidence in meeting hefty Judokas.

Thus, Japanese Judokas "who are strong against foreign Judokas" need to be selected. The nation's hope is, of course, for Japan to win Gold Medals in all four weight classifications.

Judo in Tokyo Olympics

Matches will be carried out in four weight divisions (one classification per day) as follows:
October 20—Lightweight, up to 68 kilograms.
October 21—Middleweight, up to 80 kilograms.
October 22—Heavyweight, more than 80 kilograms.

October 23—Unlimited.

Although the number of matches will depend on the number of participants, 16 Judokas will be chosen in the preliminaries. They will compete in a tournament to determine the winners.

The time of the matches is 6 minutes in the preliminary league, 8 minutes for the first and second rounds of the tournament, 10 minutes for the semi-finals, and 15 minutes for the finals.

Hockey

THE word "hockey" is said to be derived from "hoquet" (the French word for a shepherd's stick).

Among the archaeological relics excavated at Athens in 1922 were reliefs showing athletes of ancient days enjoying a hockey game.

pics brought this to 5-0 two years ago and to 2-0 at Lyons last year. Similarly, in the case of India, Japan lost 10-0 but narrowed this to 7-0 two years ago and to 4-0 last year.

Japanese hockey players are visiting leaving later this month for Pakistan and India where they will play a series of about 20 games.

Coach Ichikawa remarked, "Until a few years ago, Japanese players idolized India as a 'hockey deity.' In parallel with their technical improvement, however, they have become able to escape from this heavy psychological pressure. The final selection of the members of Japan's Olympic hockey team is scheduled in July. I am certain that a good team can be chosen and that it will make a good showing in the Tokyo Olympic Games.

Soccer

IN nearly all sports, in addition to the natural action of "running," the hands are actively used. Soccer is unique in that prominence is given to the legs instead of the hands.

The true "flavor" of soccer lies in the emphasis given to the legs which are the strongest and yet clumsiest part of the human body. If "5" is given as the reflex speed for the nerves of the hands, the corresponding number for the legs would be only 1.

In the midst of the development of sports that depend to a great extent on the skill of the hands, the worldwide popularity of soccer, "a sport of the feet," may be an indication of the "strong attachment for primitive times" that exists in the hearts and minds of men.

4th Games	England
7th Games	England
9th Games	India
10th Games	India
11th Games	India
14th Games	India
15th Games	India
16th Games	India
17th Games	Pakistan

(Note:—Hockey was not a competitive event in the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 5th and 8th Olympic Games. The 12th and 13th Olympic Games were canceled due to WW II.)

Olympic Soccer Winners

3rd Games	Canada
4th Games	England
5th Games	England
7th Games	Belgium
8th Games	Uruguay
9th Games	Uruguay
11th Games	Italy
14th Games	Hungary
15th Games	Hungary
16th Games	Soviet Russia
17th Games	Yugoslavia

(Note:—Soccer was not a competitive sport in the 1st, 2nd and 10th Olympic Games. The 6th, 12th and 13th Games were canceled due to war.)

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U.S. Army in Ryukyus Has Twofold Mission

The U.S. Army in the Ryukyu Islands has two distinct missions — first, a Civil Affairs mission — headed by General Caraway in his role as High Commissioner and, second, a conventional military mission — headed by General Caraway in his role as Commanding General of USARYIS and IX Corps.

In this area the U.S. Army has three principal tasks on Okinawa — two are logistical and one operational.

In the logistical field the army has the task of providing utilities and selected common items and services to all U.S. forces on Okinawa.

The Army's day-to-day logistical operation on Okinawa involves all those things which grow out of supporting an American population comparable to a large city in the United States. It is responsible for providing electrical power for the island, operating a basic military telephone system, running a wholesale grocery business, maintaining the island highway system, operating the American school system and a major military and commercial seaport.

The island paved highway system is army constructed and maintained. The army pays the Ryukyuans rental on the land under these roads. Maintained are 20 miles of four lane black-top highway (Naha to Kadena) and 112 miles of two lane black-top highway (from Camp Schwab in the north to Chinen peninsula in the south). Unpaved roads are the responsibility of Government of the Ryukyu Islands (GRI).

The army operates the connecting lines of the island military telephone system. Each military service operates its own telephone exchange on base.

Additionally, the army operates Okinawa terminals of a global communication system. Army's StarCom Receiver and Transmitter serve all military agencies on Okinawa except the air force which has its own global communications system.

The army operates the island military petroleum, oil and lubricant system. Off-loading docks are at Chimu-Wan, White Beach and Naha with various petroleum tank farms scattered throughout the island. The army provides about 1/2 million gallons of POL per day to the U.S. forces.

The army is responsible for the electric power systems on Okinawa, operating the integrated power system under contract with Gilbert Pacific Company.

The army has three major plants for generating power: the Machinato Steam Plant, the Impedance Power Barge at Naha Port, and the Jacona Power Barge in Sukiran Basin. The Machinato Steam Plant was funded with GARIOA funds and is scheduled to become the property of the Government of the Ryukyu Islands at some future date. In January 1965 the Kin Power Plant will be added to the sources.

There is a total connected capacity of 118,000 KW.

In 1961 demand for power increased 15%. A similar increase is expected this year. Until the Kin Power Plant is operational the island will be short of power. Power consumers have been requested to curtail power consumption.

The army operates the island water system and delivers about 18-20 million gallons per day to all customers. The water



LT. GEN. PAUL W. CARAWAY

High Commissioner Must Be Soldier-Diplomat

system presently is being expanded by about 25% to make additional water available from the integrated system for use of the local populace through the Ryukyuan Domestic Water Corporation (RDWC). Further expansion presently is under study.

Army operated supply depots provide most common items to all U.S. Armed Forces on Okinawa.

The army quartermaster provides the food for all governmental agencies on Okinawa, operating the only military bakery and milk plant on the island. It also operates the only military laundry and dry cleaning plant.

The army maintains the only military hospital on Okinawa. This is a 250-bed hospital which is sorely taxed to provide essential medical services to the military population. At present one barracks is being used for overflow convalescent patients. Presently, the hospital is being enlarged.

The army also operates the dependent school system for the island. Nearly 10,000 pupils, including 500 non-military pupils, are enrolled in the two primary schools, four elementary schools and the junior and senior high schools. A part of the old military hospital area has been rehabilitated as a temporary measure to accommodate the rapidly increasing school

population until the new high school building at Sukiran is completed.

The second logistical mission supports military operations in the Far East. Centrally and strategically located on the forward edge of the free world, Okinawa is the most important base in the Pacific. In any emergency it could serve as a forward staging area and a logistical supply base. The army is prepared to expand its logistical base for defense against attack. The 30th Artillery Brigade (Air Defense) with its missile units will assist the air force in air defense.

The structure of the army in the Ryukyus has changed in recent years. The strength of combat troops on Okinawa has increased materially while the strength of logistical supporting troops has shown a minimum increase.

IX Corps Headquarters became a separate command under USARYIS on July 15, 1961. General Caraway, as USARYIS Commanding General and HICOM, also commands IX Corps. Corps Headquarters provides general and special staffs for planning an executing military missions.

IX Corps commands the deployable army units on Okinawa; units ready to move on short notice to any trouble spot in the Far East. These units include an Airborne Infantry Brigade, a Special Forces Group, a Logistical Command (support units now deployed to Thailand), a Broadcasting and Visual Activities unit, a Utility Tactical Transport Helicopter Company (now deployed to the Republic of Viet Nam), and the 999th Signal Company.

The 173rd Airborne Brigade (Separate) consists of approximately 3,000 paratroopers capable of moving quickly to any area in the Western Pacific under actual or potential invasion.

The Special Forces Group develops, organizes and controls guerilla forces in support of military operations. In the cold war it advises and assists our allies in combating terrorist activities.

The Logistical Command is a deployable field unit providing logistical support to combat units in the Western Pacific area. Subordinate units representing each major technical service re-Engineer, Signal Quartermaster, Transportation, Chemical and Ordnance.

In any combat situation these units will move rapidly in coordination with Air Force, Naval and Marine forces or the forces of our allies.

Conclusions which may be drawn concerning the army's mission on Okinawa are:

First, the military structure of the army has changed. The army strength is on an upward trend, primarily in combat type units.

Second, the presence of the army and other military services on Okinawa present a strong deterrent to aggressive action by potential enemies of the Free World.

Third, the army mission here is of considerable magnitude, both logistically and tactically.

Fourth, the location of the army and other military services on Okinawa considerably enhances the economic development of the Ryukyus.

Lastly, the United States Government will keep the army and other U.S. forces on Okinawa as long as military threat and tension remain in the Far East.

Local Officer - - -

(Cont. from P-2)

cannons carried by the P-70."

Two-seated fighter aircraft flown by the air force and the Air National Guard still adhere to the same principal, now utilizing RIO's, or radar intercept officers.

Asked to compare his first airborne radar intercept with the ones he now flies in the one-

People - - -

(Cont. from P-3)

enough. The word "gook" is still used by too many intolerant people and more than one marine looks "down on" those he may be called to fight alongside in the future.

We cannot quit now. As one naval officer recently said, "We have just begun to fight on this particular global front!"

The success of this program may ultimately decide whether the world will travel the road to an enduring peace.

As Mark Twain said, "We can secure other people's approval, if we do right and try hard."

man F-102 "Delta Dagger" at Naha, Grant replied:

"The search function of the radar was basically the same, but that is as far as the system went on the P-70. We now incorporate automatic tracking with the search function whereby the radar sends inputs into the fire control computer which automatically guides the F-102 into position to launch its armament."

He added that the system "is now so much more sophisticated in all areas and, of course, has much greater target acquisition ranges."

Major Grant, who has spent the last 12 years with Air Defense Command-type units, has logged over 3,200 hours in fighter aircraft. He is a native of Tell City, Ind.

MORNING STAR

US ARMED FORCES DAY

SECTION TWO

May 16, 1964

Page 7

CONGRATULATIONS TO ALL MILITARY PERSONNEL OF
THE UNITED STATES ARMED FORCES

YOUR PORTRAIT IS ALWAYS THE PERFECT GIFT

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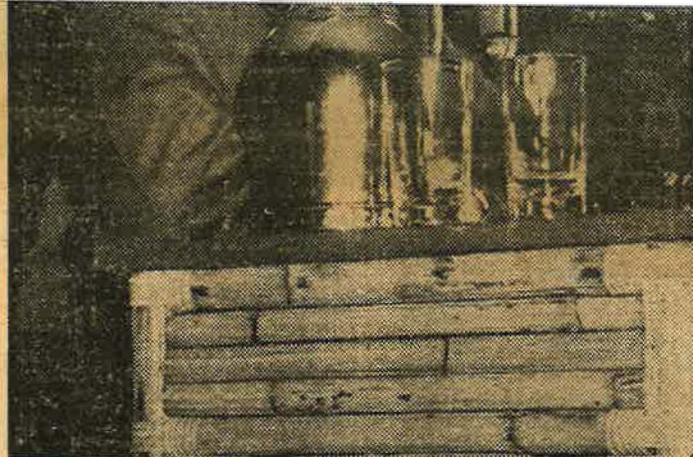
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the Ryukyus has changed in recent years. The strength of combat troops on Okinawa has increased materially while the strength of logistical supporting troops has shown a minimum increase.

IX Corps Headquarters became a separate command under USARYIS on July 15, 1961. General Caraway, as USARYIS Commanding General and HICOM, also commands IX Corps. Corps Headquarters provides general and special staffs for planning an executing military missions.

IX Corps commands the deployable army units on Okinawa; units ready to move on short notice to any trouble spot in the Far East. These units include an Airborne Infantry Brigade, a Special Forces Group, a Logistical Command (support units now deployed to Thailand), a Broadcasting and Visual Activities unit, a Utility Tactical Transport Helicopter Company (now deployed to the Republic of Viet Nam), and the 999th Signal Company.

The 173rd Airborne Brigade (Separate) consists of approximately 3,000 paratroopers capable of moving quickly to any area in the Western Pacific under actual or potential invasion.

The Special Forces Group develops, organizes and controls guerilla forces in support of military operations. In the cold war it advises and assists our allies in combating terrorist activities.

The Logistical Command is a deployable field unit providing logistical support to combat units in the Western Pacific area. Subordinate units representing each major technical service re-Engineer, Signal Quartermaster, Transportation, Chemical and Ordnance.

In any combat situation these units will move rapidly in coordination with Air Force, Naval and Marine forces or the forces of our allies.

Conclusions which may be drawn concerning the army's mission on Okinawa are:

First, the military structure of the army has changed. The army strength is on an upward trend, primarily in combat type units.

Second, the presence of the army and other military services on Okinawa present a strong deterrent to aggressive action by potential enemies of the Free World.

Third, the army mission here is of considerable magnitude, both logistically and tactically.

Fourth, the location of the army and other military services on Okinawa considerably enhances the economic development of the Ryukyus.

Lastly, the United States Government will keep the army and other U.S. Forces on Okinawa as long as military threat and tension remain in the Far East.

Local Officer - - -

(Cont. from P-2)

cannons carried by the P-70." Two-seated fighter aircraft flown by the air force and the Air National Guard still adhere to the same principal, now utilizing RIO's, or radar intercept officers.

Asked to compare his first airborne radar intercept with the ones he now flies in the one-

People - - -

(Cont. from P-3)

enough. The word "gook" is still used by too many intolerant people and more than one marine looks "down on" those he may be called to fight alongside in the future.

We cannot quit now. As one naval officer recently said, "We have just begun to fight on this particular global front!"

The success of this program may ultimately decide whether the world will travel the road to an enduring peace.

As Mark Twain said, "We can secure other people's approval, if we do right and try hard."

man F-102 "Delta Dagger" at Naha, Grant replied:

"The search function of the radar was basically the same, but that is as far as the system went on the P-70. We now incorporate automatic tracking with the search function whereby the radar sends inputs into the fire control computer which automatically guides the F-102 into position to launch its armament."

He added that the system "is now so much more sophisticated in all areas and, of course, has much greater target acquisition ranges."

Major Grant, who has spent the last 12 years with Air Defense Command-type units, has logged over 3,200 hours in fighter aircraft. He is a native of Tell City, Ind.

MORNING STAR

US ARMED FORCES DAY

SECTION TWO

May 16, 1964

Page 7

CONGRATULATIONS TO ALL MILITARY PERSONNEL OF THE UNITED STATES ARMED FORCES

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Okinawa Merchants Become Affluent By Dispensing Wine, Women, Song

Jerry Klutz is touring the Pacific to report on activities of Federal employees there. Here is another of his stories from Okinawa.

By Jerry Klutz

KOZA, Okinawa — Wine, women and song are the broad basis of private enterprise of this slender island which harbors much of America's war-ready might in the Pacific.

The 5400 eating and drinking places comprise the biggest and most profitable business on Okinawa which has 700,000 inhabitants and very few national resources and assets.

This second largest city, located near military bases, has blocks of them and each is decked out in bright gaudy lights.

Pawn shops also rank high in the economic scheme of things. It's made easy for either a U.S. civilian or serviceman to pawn any valuable, from his watch to his car, to get cash to spend at the nearest bar.

The Ryukyans may not be long removed from their centuries-old rice paddies and sweet potato patches but it did not take them long to learn that a quick buck could be made by catering to American military personnel, many of them teen-agers 10,000 miles from home.

The military forces at the direction of Lt. Gen. Paul W. Caraway, the ranking military officer who doubles as high commissioner, have taken



Klutz

strong steps to either clean up the notorious areas or to make them off limits to American personnel.

Col. Leslie A. Arnold, the provost marshal who has handled military police forces for years throughout Asia, says flatly that Okinawa today is no worse off, and in fact is much better, than other areas where there are large troop concentrations.

He points to the record which shows that very few serious crimes are committed and that the venereal disease rate is quite low. He also explained that the American troops were reasonably well-behaved and that their personal conduct is not a major problem.

Everyone I talked with agreed that much had been done in recent months to control the multitude of prostitutes and bars and that many places here and in Naha had gone respectable.

Under new standards made effective last Aug. 1, Americans are restricted to those eating and drinking places which display an "A" or approved sign. Only 527 of the 5400 such places on Okinawa have met the standards and are displaying the coveted "A" signs.

These signs are issued in the name of the high commissioner by the Disciplinary Control Board which is composed of representatives of each military service, a legal officer, a surgeon and the provost marshal.

On the staff of the provost marshal are 20 sanitary inspectors who check each approved place at least once a month. An undercover vice team also makes daily investigations to determine if tax-free liquor is being sold at the bars, if hostesses are in fact prostitutes.

Any violations can result in withdrawal of the "A" sign and without that sign few of

the 527 could remain in business. So the operators themselves police their own establishments.

Businesses that get the "A" signs also must agree to serve any American regardless of his race, color, religion, etc.

But this city still has what is referred to as its "white Koza" and "black Koza" sections which are saturated with bars, B-girls and pawnshops. Segregation is no longer enforced as it was several years ago. It is now voluntary on the part of Americans who feel more comfortable in one section or the other.

The "black" section is said to have more and better tailor shops and many whites patronize them. The "white" section has more souvenir shops which are attracting Negroes.

Service for a white in the black section may be a little slow but he can get it. The same general rule applies to the Negro who patronizes a business in the white section. The "A" sign will be lifted if

See DIARY, C6, Col. 1

racial discrimination is proved.

Military officers hope and feel confident that the day is past when white and Negro troops fought one another over invasions into their particular sections.

Koza's white and black sections have been investigated by a dozen teams from Washington, including the Defense Department and the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity. In general, they have cleared the military of charges that it enforces segregation here while generally approving the manner in which the delicate problem has been handled.

In an island where the minimum wage is 9 cents an hour, sex is cheap.

Prostitution is supposed to be illegal on Okinawa but it is condoned as a way of life. The military hopes the next session of the legislature will enact tighter laws to control both prostitution and venereal disease.

But many Americans don't realize that the Ryukyans and many other races in this part of the world have different moral standards than they hold. It is no small matter to get them to see things the way we do.

POLITICAL SUBDIVISIONS OF THE RYŪKYŪ-RETTŌ

Not definitive, subdivisions are as used in this report

- Ryūkyū-rettō under U.S. Civil Administration
(Except: Amami-Ō-shima returned to Japanese
sovereignty December 1953)
- Administrative guntō (Note: Yaeyama-guntō here
includes Senkaku-guntō)

Approximate scale
60 0 60 MILES

Base adapted from AMS 5301.

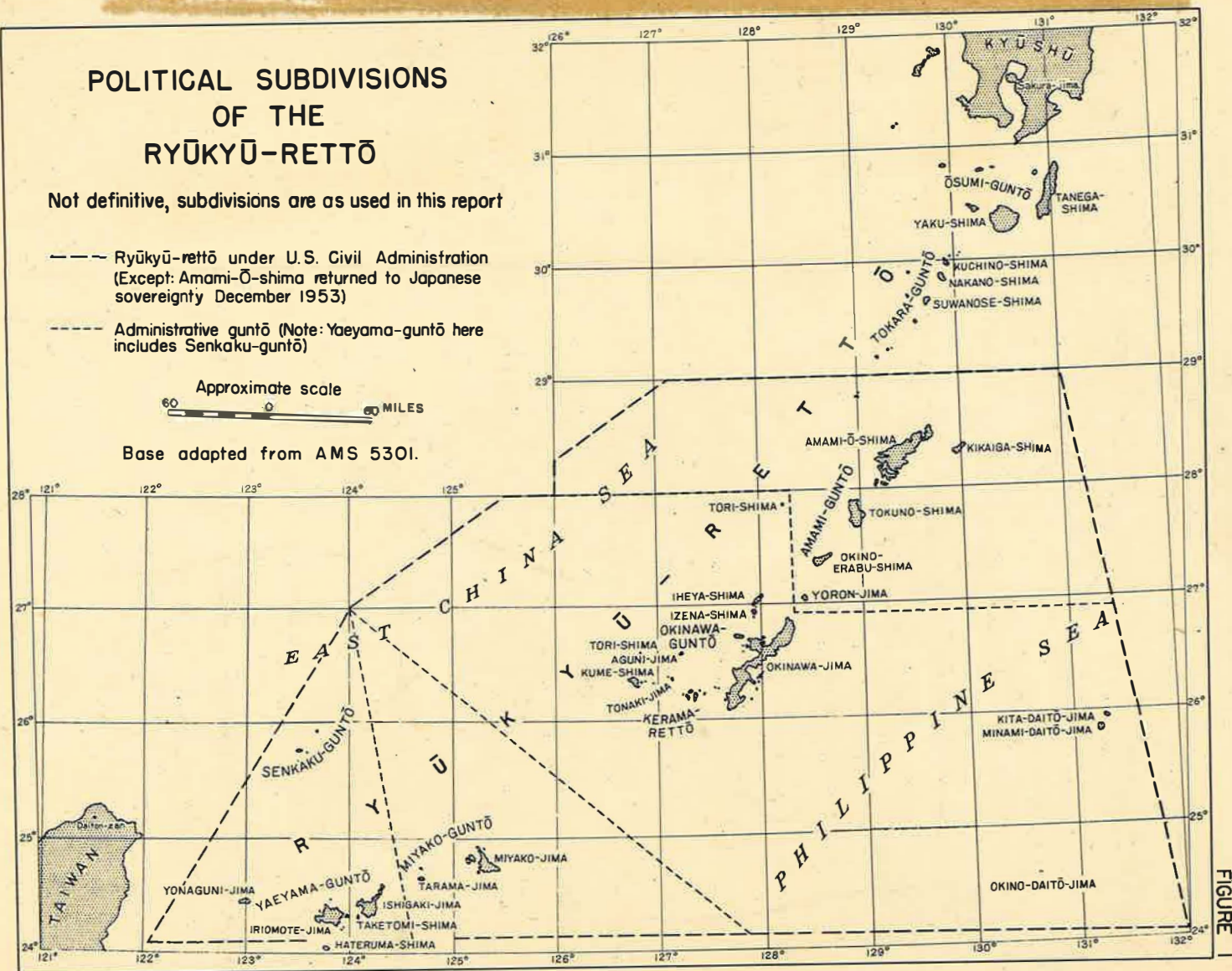


FIGURE 1

APPRAISAL
OF
KENNEDY'S NEW POLICIES AND FUTURE PROBLEMS

20 MARCH 1964

OKINAWA LIBERAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Appraisal of Kennedy's New Policies and Future Problems

1. Today marks the beginning of the third year since the so-called Kennedy new policies were announced.

At the time these new policies were announced, there was a bitter confrontation of views as to whether the new policies should be considered as an advancement of the politics in Okinawa or whether they should be considered as maintaining the status quo. Whichever it may be, however, it cannot be denied that the new policies established a mark in the political history of Okinawa.

Thus, today, after a lapse of two full years since the new policies were put into effect, it is not only significant but it is also a responsibility which must be performed by our Liberal Democratic Party to look back and straightforwardly evaluate the new policies and at the same time plan and determine what the problems in Okinawa politics will be in the future.

2. As is generally known, the policies of late President Kennedy were determined on the basis of high ideals which were grasped from a broad field of youthful vision and vivid reality.

The problems of Okinawa may not be considered to be very important when compared with other political issues of the world, however, from the standpoint of clearly providing a clarification to the obscure position of Okinawa existing prior to the new policies and establishing a basic policy for the politics of Okinawa, the new policies can be highly regarded.

Needless to say, this is where the Government of the United States, the administering authority, officially manifested that it recognizes Okinawa to be a part of the Japanese homeland and that Okinawa should be restored to full Japanese sovereignty while giving due consideration to the security interests of the free world. Prior to the announcement of the new policies, the political and legal status of Okinawa was defined by the provisions of Article III of the Treaty of Peace which provided that Japan merely maintains residual sovereignty over Okinawa.

It has been a matter of many academic discussions, both politically and legally, as to what residual sovereignty actually does mean and what was its substance from the standpoint of international law. However, in the end, it was the popular view that it means that the final privilege to dispose of Okinawa as a territory rests with Japan.

On the other hand, even if Japan has the final privilege to dispose of the territory, it is established in the provisions of Article III of the Treaty of Peace that the Japanese Government will concur in any proposal of the United States to the United Nations concerning the administration of Okinawa.

Thus, it cannot be denied that the position of Okinawa is heteronomous and unstable. The fact that such an ambiguous position of Okinawa has been decisively clarified by the new policies, to the effect that it is a part of the Japanese homeland and should be restored to full Japanese sovereignty, must be evaluated on the basis that the new policies have become the spiritual prop and stay of our people of Okinawa. Secondly, the new policies have made clear the responsibility of the Government of the United States as the administering authority and have established the basic political position of discharging more effectively its responsibilities by "taking a number of specific actions to minimize the stresses that will accompany the anticipated eventual restoration to the Japanese administration."

This establishes the basic principles in the politics of Okinawa and suggests that all programs which follow the new policies should be determined in concert with the new policies.

The positive manifestation of this is the action stated in Item 6 of the new policies. In this manner, the new policies constitute the establishment of basic ideals for the politics of Okinawa and the ultimate objectives of the Government of the United States as the administering authority.

This implies that the politics of Okinawa have definitely made an advancement as well as manifesting a responsibility that Japan, the United States and the Ryukyu Islands should cooperate together toward the sound realization of said ideals and objectives.

Therefore, the political, economic and social problems in Okinawa will not be allowed to be solved if they contradict the ideals and objectives of the new policies.

3. As indicated above, the new policies state plainly the ultimate objectives in the politics of Okinawa. On the other hand, however, the new policies have already maintained within themselves an important factor of bringing realization for said objectives under control by providing a thesis for the positive methods and actions for realizing the objectives.

It is particularly an undeniable fact that in the actual politics of Okinawa a remarkable endeavor toward achieving said objectives has been shown.

The following is our analysis and our view of the new policies.

a. The manifestation of delegating administrative functions to the Government of the Ryukyu Islands in the new policies (See Item 5 of the specific actions) in relation to the expansion of autonomy which is the strong desire of the inhabitants of Okinawa merely provides that "a continuous review will be carried out." It fails to make clear the extent of the administrative functions, when and how such functions will be delegated. On these points, it can be stated that the new policies contain an inconsistency in their thesis regarding the method of reaching the ultimate objectives despite

the fact that the new policies also advanced said objectives. Furthermore, the new policies have, in connection with the expansion of autonomy and based on the basic principles of the democratic form of government of a modern era which are to reflect the will of the people in government, proposed a revision of various systems such as the appointment of the Chief Executive on the basis of a nomination by the legislative body and the establishment of a procedure of reconsideration in the Legislature. However, an improvement of the system to this extent can hardly satisfy the people who have looked forward to the new policies with great hope and expectation. That is to say, there is an extreme disparity between the ideals and the objectives in the new policies which normally should be highly valued. Moreover, the failure of the new policies to restrict the actual powers of the High Commissioner are open to the criticism of being inconsistent and one which curbs the expansion of autonomy. Actually, the intention of the High Commissioner has been exposed as being direct and predominant. The pre-adjustment of legislative bills and budget implementation lack sound coordination between the Government and the Civil Administration and has greatly delayed administrative processing of business. As such, it has given the people an impression that, so far as the expansion of autonomy is concerned, the process of self-governing, the climax of which was the so-called myth theory as stated by the High Commissioner, has retrogressed rather than advanced.

b. Next, the establishment of a civilian official, who shall be the Civil Administrator, which had been anticipated by the inhabitants of Okinawa to possibly correct the absolute priority upon military requirements in the United States administration of Okinawa was actually a great disappointment. This signifies that the procedure as prescribed in the Executive Order, as amended, is basically defective. Specifically speaking, Section 4 (b) of said Order provides that the Civil Administrator shall be a civilian official, and yet, with regard to his authority which is vital to his position, it is merely prescribed that he shall "have such powers and perform such duties as may be assigned to him by the High Commissioner" and failed to clarify any specific authority for the Civil Administrator. Needless to say, the coloration of military government can also be thinned out, depending on how this provision is applied, however, in the actual administration of Okinawa, there has been no delegation of authority and the Civil Administrator, in the true sense of the word, has become no more than an organ for processing administrative affairs to the High Commissioner. There is a problem in this very point. It reveals that the ideals of the new policies are paid off in installments.

c. The plan to eliminate control against private freedoms of the inhabitants of Okinawa as prescribed in Item 6 of the new policies, for instance, the rescission of Ordinance No. 145 which pertains to the basic rights of laborers should probably be greatly appreciated from the standpoint of fostering sound labor organizations.

However, with respect to the freedom of travel, freedom of publication and the jurisdiction of the courts, there is absolutely nothing to admit that these have been improved from what they had been prior to

the new policies. In order that the ideals "(Okinawa - TN) is a part of the Japanese homeland" and "(the inhabitants of Okinawa - TN) are Japanese nationals" as stated in the new policies can be thoroughly fulfilled under the true colors of truth and reality, the ideals must be truly reflected in the political and economic problems which must be dealt with between the people of the homeland and the inhabitants of Okinawa. Therefore, the participation in state affairs which is one of the basic rights of the people of Okinawa should be properly recognized. Since the participation of the inhabitants of Okinawa in the affairs of the state will not obstruct the maintenance of security at all, we would rather hope that, for the purpose of relaxing the tensions in the Far East, both the Governments of Japan and the United States will exert efforts for its early realization, not only for the purpose of disseminating the true picture of Okinawa to the Japanese people as a whole, but also for the purpose of preventing (Okinawa - TN) from becoming a tool for political struggle through misunderstanding and ideology.

d. Concerning the arrangement for the cooperative relationship between Japan and the United States to promote the increase in the welfare and well-being of the inhabitants of Okinawa (See Item 4) and other new programs (See Item 2), the positive plans are not yet fully ascertained since the announcement of the new policies. The Japan-United States Consultative Committee and the Japan-United States-Ryukyus Technical Committee, which will probably become the organs to carry on a continuous review of these problems are, to say the least, yet to be formed. This is indeed very regrettable.

In the field of medical administration, excellent results have been steadily achieved by the dispatch of Japanese doctors and other programs but with respect to the social security program, it is a fact that there actually has been no progress. The establishment of a basic program in this field must be promoted immediately and at the earliest possible opportunity in accordance with the ideals of the new policies from the standpoint of unification with the social security system of the homeland. Looking at it from the limited land and population and also from the viewpoint of the sound development of the social security program which will be accompanied by the decrease of danger with the implementation of the program, the unification of the program between Okinawa and the homeland is an inevitable necessity.

e. It is regrettable that the initial request for \$25 million in assistance as referred to in Item 1 of the new policies has been disapproved and was reduced to \$12 million. However, increase in assistance to twice the amount of \$6 million which was the ceiling on assistance prior to the new policies was an improvement. The present financial need of Okinawa, however, can hardly be met by this figure.

This is plainly manifested in the compilation of the Fiscal Year budget of 1965. We would like to point out at this time that the United States assistance to Okinawa is exactly that, assistance, and not a favor.

It should be the responsibility (of the United States - TN), as the administering authority, to render the appropriation. Consequently, not only the United States but Japan as well should also increase positive aid in accord with the objectives of the new policy and thereby promote greater social and economic welfare for the inhabitants of Okinawa.

With respect to Item 3 of the new policies, it must be particularly noted that it is steadily put into effect by the surplus agricultural products program.

4. As aforementioned, we have rendered a rough evaluation of the present situation as seen since the new policies were announced. We have also pointed out the ideals and objectives of the new policies, the causes that prevent the realization of these ideals and objectives and in what form these ideals and objectives are actually manifested today.

The new policies have established ideals and objectives on the basis of a justifiable understanding that Okinawa is a part of the Japanese homeland, that the inhabitants of Okinawa will be eventually restored to Japanese sovereignty as Japanese nationals and that the programs must be duly accomplished and the authority must be expanded in preparation for eventual restoration. However, it can be stated that these objectives have not necessarily progressed in a satisfactory manner, and that in some areas, there can be seen the phenomenon of retrogression as well. It goes without saying that politics are a technique of selecting possibilities. Thus, we are determined to seriously study this problem of seeking what can be done to fulfill and achieve the ideals and objectives which have been set forth in the new policies.

This is because, by so doing, we are convinced that we will be able to provide a recompense to the late President Kennedy for his interest and earnestness toward the betterment of the politics of Okinawa.

Therefore, we hold the objectives manifested in the new policies to be reliable and request the early realization of the following:

a. Particulars pertaining to administrative management:

(1) We request the abolition of pre-adjustment of bills. It is requested that the High Commissioner limit his views on each program to the advice and guidance in his annual message regarding basic administrative policy given at the first part of the year in his position as the administering authority, and forward the message to the Chief Executive and the Legislature.

With regard to particulars which are deeply connected with the military base of the United States Forces and other particulars relating to the national program of the United States such as diplomatic problems, etc., the need for coordination can be considered, but it is requested that even in such cases, due consideration will be made to carry out the adjustment process rapidly and orderly.

(2) We request that favorable action be taken so that the Executive and Legislative Branches of the Government will be able to carry out effective liaison with the Civil Administration.

We request that the duties and powers of the High Commissioner will be delegated to the Civil Administrator and the respective directors of the Civil Administration, and that a responsible system will be established to give advice and guidance to the Government of the Ryukyu Islands.

(3) We request that a wide scope of the administrative powers be delegated.

(a) We request that the nomination system be abolished and the public election system for the Chief Executive be approved.

(b) We request that the ordinances pertaining to financial and economic controls be abolished, the enactment of pertinent laws be entrusted to the Government of the Ryukyu Islands, and the administrative functions be entrusted to the Government of the Ryukyu Islands to administer independently.

(c) We request that the custody of the former assets of Okinawa Prefecture be transferred to the Government of the Ryukyu Islands, and aside from those portions of Japanese Government assets which are used by the United States Forces, the management of Japanese Government assets be delegated to the Government of the Ryukyu Islands.

(d) We request that the public corporations such as the Ryukyu Development Loan Corporation, Ryukyu Electric Power Corporation, Ryukyu Domestic Water Corporation, and others which are directly connected with the interests of the inhabitants be transferred to the Government of the Ryukyu Islands.

(e) We request that the complete operation of entry and exit control procedures between Japan and the Ryukyu Islands be delegated to the Government of the Ryukyu Islands.

b. Particulars for the improvement of Japan-Ryukyus relationship.

(1) We request that technical and financial aid from Japan be greatly increased, at least to the level comparable to that granted to prefectures in Japan.

(2) We request that representatives of the inhabitants of the Ryukyu Islands be permitted to participate in the National Diet of Japan.

(3) We request that due consideration be made to carry out a social security program which is unified with the program in Japan.

c. Particulars for the improvement of the United States-Ryukyus relationship.

(1) We request that the Price Act be revised so that the ceiling for the assistance to the Ryukyu Islands will be increased to \$25 million.

(2) We request that preferential treatment be given to Ryukyuan products exported to the United States.

(3) We request that the Ryukyu Islands be given first priority in the emigration of immigrants to the United States.

REVIEW OF OKINAWA PROBLEMS

BY

TOKUJI TOKONAMI

DECEMBER 1963

REVIEW OF OKINAWA PROBLEMS

By Tokuji Tokonami

A Transition in the Status of "Okinawa"

When we discuss the problems of Okinawa, it is necessary to take a look at the progress which has led to the present situation of Okinawa. It could be said that the many problems involving Okinawa today originated during the latter part of World War II, at the time when Okinawa was sacrificed for the sake of the so-called decisive battle for the homeland. The loss sustained at the time the Allied Forces occupied Okinawa in April 1945 was estimated to be approximately 189,000 including 92,000 Japanese Army war dead and 97,000 civilian casualties. When this is compared with the total population of Okinawa at that time of 650,000 people, one can say that the sacrifice was far greater than the loss sustained from the atomic bombings. In addition, the Okinawa problems of today originated from the military occupation which followed immediately afterwards and the separation of Okinawa from the Japanese homeland after having been placed in a special position under the Treaty of Peace.

At the beginning of the military occupation, the United States Forces held control of Okinawa from the standpoint of security, and as such, the military had priority in everything and the administrative policy was to raise the living standard of the people up to the pre-war level within the limits of that priority. The third stage in the change for Okinawa was the establishment of a new position under the Treaty of Peace. Specifically speaking, it was the establishment of Okinawa and the Ogasawara Islands under a trusteeship system with the United States as sole administering authority in accordance with the provisions of Article III of said Treaty, and to concur in any proposal made by the United States to the United Nations. The Treaty prescribed that pending the making of such a proposal and affirmative action thereon, the United States will have the right to exercise all and any powers of administration, legislation and jurisdiction over the territory and inhabitants of these islands, including their territorial waters. The United States came to possess "the administrative powers" which are currently in force, while it was prescribed that Japan would maintain the so-called "residual sovereignty" over these islands as was stated by Secretary of State Dulles.

However, as a result of subsequent developments, it has been made clear that since the trusteeship by the United Nations is virtually impossible, and since even the United States is not looking forward to such a trusteeship, the present condition will be a continuing one until the islands are restored to Japan under the provisions of the Treaty of Peace. Thus, the purpose of the United States

has been to continue to promote the economic and cultural advancement of the inhabitants within the scope of the military imperative even after the ratification of the Treaty of Peace. This may be considered as a continued occupation administration.

The fourth stage in the change was the joint communique announced in June 1957 on the basis of the conference between Prime Minister Kishi and President Eisenhower of the United States. That is to say, the communique stated: "The Prime Minister emphasized the strong desire of the Japanese people for the return of administrative control over the Ryukyu and Bonin Islands to Japan. The President reaffirmed the United States position that Japan possesses residual sovereignty over these islands...The President stated that the United States will continue its policy of improving the welfare and well-being of the inhabitants of the Islands and of promoting their economic and cultural advancement."

Based on this policy, the administration of Okinawa, which had given preference to the military in the past, had taken another advanced step and positive aid, the object of which is the improvement of the welfare and well-being of the people and the development of the economy, was added to the United States administration over Okinawa. As a result, the administration of the islands greatly improved, and simultaneously the aid from our homeland was also radically increased to the tune of approximately J¥ 400,000,000 which has steadily increased each year since. With this increase of aid as a turning point, Japan began to labor actively for the development of Okinawa from her standpoint as the "mother country."

The next stage in the change was the era of the Ikeda-Kennedy joint communique of June 1961. It was stated in this communique that "The President and the Prime Minister have exchanged views on matters relating to the Ryukyu and Bonin Islands, which are under United States administration but in which Japan retains residual sovereignty. The President affirmed that the United States would make further efforts to enhance the welfare and well-being of the inhabitants of the Ryukyus and welcomed Japanese cooperation in these efforts; the Prime Minister affirmed that Japan would continue to cooperate with the United States to this end." Since then, it was generally proclaimed that the era of promoting the development of Okinawa through Japan-United States cooperation -- the so-called new era of Okinawa -- had arrived and a new situation was unfolded by the relaxation of the restrictions for raising the national flag of Japan, the improvement of labor laws and the recognition of Japanese cooperation in the fields of education and economy. The amount of aid for Okinawa from our homeland reached J¥ 1,000,000,000 in the following year.

The next stage of progress is the period following the announcement of the new policies for Okinawa by President Kennedy in March 1962. It has been reported that the Kennedy statement was based on the Kaysen Study Group which the President had dispatched to Okinawa the previous year and the report of Attorney General Kennedy who subsequently toured the Far East, but the very substance of his statement is found in the fact that he "recognizes the Ryukyus to be a part of the Japanese homeland and looks forward to the day when the security interests of the free world will permit their restoration to full Japanese sovereignty. In the

meantime, we face a situation which must be met in a spirit of forbearance and mutual understanding by all concerned," and that he "has directed that a number of specific actions be taken to give expression to this spirit by the United States, to discharge more effectively the responsibilities toward the people of the Ryukyus, and to minimize the stresses that will accompany the anticipated eventual restoration of the Ryukyu Islands to Japanese administration." In other words, it has been officially manifested that the United States recognizes Okinawa to be a part of the Japanese homeland and its restoration to Japan will be approved if the security of the world permits it, but until then, every possible assistance to Okinawa will be provided, efforts will be rendered to improve and develop the livelihood of the local inhabitants and the levels comparable to that obtained in the homeland will be reached in preparation for the eventual restoration.

As a result, a review was started to determine what additional functions of the administering authority can be delegated to the Executive Branch, restrictions on the freedom of the inhabitants were relaxed, the appointment system of the Chief Executive was revised, the veto power of the High Commissioner was restricted and a Civil Administrator, who is a civilian, has been appointed. At the same time, a five-year livelihood program, with the development of Okinawa as its objective, was prepared into a plan. The actual situation since then, however, was not necessarily favorable as far as the actions on the part of the United States was concerned, and particularly the atmosphere of the United States Congress in its deliberation of the budget for Okinawan aid revealed signs where the expeditious enforcement of the Kennedy statement may be difficult. Specifically speaking, it was indicated at first that the assistance of six million dollars would be raised to the extent of twenty-five million dollars under the new policy but the result was that the proposal was reduced to twelve million dollars in the course of legislative deliberations in the House of Representatives and the Senate and the actual expenditure was held to the limit of seven million dollars. This was a deep disappointment not only for the people of Okinawa but also for us in the homeland.

Factually speaking, the announcement of Kennedy's new policies was thoroughly welcomed by the people of Okinawa both in and out of the government and great expectations were placed upon the administrative program for Okinawa thereafter. Meanwhile, the demand for the return of the administering authority to Japan was continued more vigorously than ever and the legislative body not only resolved each year for the return of the administering authority but in its 1963 Session, also passed a resolution for participation in the Japanese Diet. The National Diet of the homeland also passed and adopted a resolution for the return of the administering authority of Okinawa at five different sessions.

Through the developments mentioned above, the problems of Okinawa have slowly but steadily proceeded along the road to improvement. However, one can hardly overlook the fact that in the course of budget execution or in the enforcement of the aid program, it does not always follow that the progress has been amicable and steady. It is expected that in order to effectively carry out the Okinawa assistance program through cooperation between Japan and the United States, both countries will come to an agreement for the establishment of a Consultative

Committee in Tokyo and a Japan-United States-Ryukyu Technical Committee in Okinawa, and these committees will be organized in the very near future.

Furthermore, the amount of aid to Okinawa from our country has reached the neighborhood of approximately two billion yen for fiscal year 1963, but generally speaking, the actual conditions of Okinawa still present a wide gap when compared with those in the homeland. If Okinawa was one of the prefectures of Japan, Okinawa would be bound to properly receive approximately a 20 to 30 billion yen subsidy in distribution taxes and other grants-in-aid, and in order to raise the living standards of Okinawa to that comparable to Japan, there must be a far greater amount of assistance from Japan. However, the ratio of the burden at the present is three to one in favor of the United States. The cooperation of Japan and the United States with respect to the administrative funds for Okinawa should not stick to the ratio of the burden between the two countries but rather should stick to the increase of aid with all possible haste until Okinawa at least will reach the level of the Japanese homeland. The administrative survey which was conducted in 1962 will provide influential data for such an increase. It is hoped that the five-year livelihood development program will be established immediately, improvement of the welfare and well-being of the people and the advancement of economy will be planned and both Japan and the United States will exert efforts toward that end.

On the question of the reversion of Okinawa, it is, as mentioned earlier, a very strong desire of the entire people of Okinawa and whatever theoretical difference there may be in the method, reversion itself is the final objective. As far as we are concerned, we must endeavor toward the relaxation of tensions in the Far East as soon as possible and seek the realization of reversion, and meanwhile continue to exert efforts to improve the welfare and well-being of the people of Okinawa as much as possible, concentrate toward economic development and raise the standard of living to that comparable to the homeland.

On the other hand, the United States will continue to maintain Okinawa because of the strategic bases of the United States Forces, and therefore it may be argued that the removal of the United States strategic bases in Okinawa becomes the prerequisite for reversion. However, it is clear from present conditions in the international situation that when the removal of the bases is established as a condition for any reversion, it will all the more delay reversion. Our feeling is to cooperate with the maintenance of the military bases and to seek the expeditious return of the administering authority. And if an early reversion will be difficult, it is also our feeling that until such time as reversion will be possible, efforts will be exerted to expand the autonomy of the people as well as to delegate to Japan, even if only in part, those from among the administrative powers which will not effect the military.

Furthermore, the view for the participation of representatives from Okinawa in the National Diet of our homeland has also been a strong and cherished desire of the people of Okinawa. This was manifested recently in a resolution by the Legislature. Such an example is similar to that undertaken in Germany prior to the reversion of Alsace Lorraine. What can be considered at this point at least

is to include Okinawa in the districting as provided for in the annexed table to the existing Public Officials Election Law without conducting an actual election. Another convenient method is to have a representative of Okinawa attend the sessions of the National Diet as a witness without changing the present system. Still another method would be to study the possibility of a system to amend the existing National Diet Law for the selection of delegates without voting rights to attend the Diet sessions. However, whatever it may be, any expression of views in the National Diet by a representative from Okinawa and the establishment of any system by the homeland government to accept such an expression of views must be made on the basis of an understanding reached through discussions between Japan and the United States.

Reversion to the fatherland itself is naturally desired as an ultimate objective. However, in view of the necessity of the military base, the return of administering authority is considered difficult. As a current problem, it is necessary to make an effort to improve the welfare and well-being of the people and to promote economic advancement before anything else. Even in reality, there is considerable difference in many aspects of life between the people in the homeland and Okinawa. For instance, although it is natural that the laws of Japan, including the Constitution, are not applicable to Okinawa because our country does not maintain the administering authority, there are some laws in Japan such as those pertaining to customs duty in which an exception is established to treat (Ryukyuan products -- TN) as domestic goods, but there actually are many items which are treated as foreign products. Moreover, I believe that even the United States has many problems which should be solved and improved, such as the problem of increasing the administrative self-governing functions at the earliest possible opportunity because it is a basic issue and has been fervently desired by the inhabitants of Okinawa for a long time, and because of the need to further improve the living standards and economy of the inhabitants in their capacity as Japanese nationals to a level comparable to that in the homeland.

Okinawa and the Problem of Security

When the problems of Okinawa including the reversion issue are discussed, the issue of security can hardly be overlooked. The United States Forces have a sizable area for a military base in Okinawa. In fact, it is said that it is not a military base which is situated in Okinawa but that Okinawa itself is located within the military base. The total land area of Okinawa is approximately 590,000 acres of which the military base has 40,000 acres. Percentage-wise, the military base has 13% of the land on the main island of Okinawa which constitutes 10% of all the land of Okinawa. The density of population in Okinawa is extremely high and the population per square kilometer is 335 persons which is also the highest in the world when compared with the 244 persons in the Japanese homeland and 331 persons in Holland. Since the military base of the United States Forces is extensive in a place which is over-populated, many complications and difficult problems arise.

At the time when the United States Forces initially occupied Okinawa, the United States Forces first landed on the west coast of the central part of the main island and advanced to the south as they attacked the Japanese Army. The

battles produced many victims among soldiers and civilians who were either killed in action or committed suicide and there are more than 200 monuments to these victims in the southern part of Okinawa such as the Himeyuri Memorial. The Japanese Army was finally cornered and annihilated on the shores of Mabuni, the southern tip of the island, and when the war was over, the inhabitants moved back into the areas which had been the battleground and began to establish urban districts around the military installations of the United States Forces. Thus, the living conditions of the public in general were thrown into confusion from the central to the southern districts, and this also gave rise to other problems.

The present military strength of the United States Forces in Okinawa is Army IX Corps which is assigned to defend the island while the Second Airborne Battle Group is stationed there as a special unit. This unit is prepared to move out to Indo-China and other areas in time of need. There is also an air defense unit against aggression from a foreign country. Okinawa is also equipped with the Nike-Hercules, a ground to air defense weapon, as well as the Mace-B Missile for ground to ground fighting which was installed recently. There is also the Air Force, namely the 313th Air Division. This Air Force can intercept enemy invasions as well as provide reconnaissance for defensive purposes and it is believed that it also has long-range bombers. Bombers capable of carrying nuclear warheads include the F102A, F100D and F105D.

The Navy has a strong naval base for the Seventh Fleet to which the 3rd Marine Division and the Naval Air Facilities are attached. Each of these units play an important role in Southeast Asia.

Furthermore, the United States Forces naturally maintain an extensive supply unit; repair shops, etc. to support these military units, and it goes without saying that it is the essential military base of Asia. Considering its radius of operation, it may even extend to the Littoral (Maritime) Provinces of Siberia to the north, Communist China to the west and even as far as Indo-China to the south. Furthermore, there are military bases at Guam, Wake and Hawaii to support any connection with the United States mainland.

It must be duly considered at this point that the military base of the United States Forces in Okinawa is greatly different from the military bases of the United States Forces in the Japanese homeland. As far as the equipment, the character and the scope of the military bases in Okinawa and in the homeland are concerned, and even in the relationship with the inhabitants, there is a difference in the ability to have nuclear armament, and the authority of the military over the inhabitants is also different when compared with that in the homeland. In the case of the military bases in the homeland, they are administered and operated under the provisions of the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security and the United States troops stationed in Japan maintain relationships with the inhabitants under the Treaty as amended recently on the same level as the other United States Forces stationed in various European countries under the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. However, the military authority in Okinawa, when compared with the relationship between the military bases and the inhabitants in the homeland, is stronger to an extent that there is no comparison because the military switched to the present administrative structure without interruption

from the days of the occupation administration. There is no doubt that the situation has seen some improvement each year, but there still remains quite a gap when compared with the relationship between the military bases and the inhabitants in the homeland.

To begin with, it has been the policy of the United States military bases in the homeland to expect that the defensive power of the United States, such as the military base in Okinawa will lend support to the military bases in the homeland and protect the security of Japan and the peace of the Far East. The remarkable characteristics of the military base in Okinawa, however, differ from that of the homeland, in that not only does it support the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between Japan and the United States but it also gives support to the mutual defense pacts concluded between the United States and Korea, between the United States and the Philippines and between the United States and Formosa. Furthermore, it could also be considered as having an indirect influence on SEATO and ANZAS, thereby maintaining an extraordinary set up as compared with the military bases in the homeland under the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security.

The portion pertaining to Okinawa in the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security is duly recorded in the Agreed Minutes in which it is stated that "I would like to emphasize the strong concern of the Government and people of Japan for the safety of the people of these islands since Japan possesses residual sovereignty over these islands. If an armed attack occurs or is threatened against these islands, the two countries will of course consult together closely under Article IV of the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security. In an event of an armed attack, it is the intention of the Government of Japan to explore with the United States measures which it might be able to take for the welfare of the islanders." In other words, Japan is to provide due consideration as "the mother country" toward the welfare of the inhabitants of Okinawa in time of emergency. The provisions of the Treaty do not give any further manifestation, but it is clear that Okinawa has an important bearing upon the safety of our country which is a problem to be fully looked into.

In recent years, the military forces of the United States in the homeland have been decreasing but it is believed that they have been moved to Okinawa. In other words, as the effectiveness of the Japanese homeland as a military base lessens, the importance of the military base in Okinawa will increase that much more. Simultaneously, if the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security will be rescinded in the future, it will probably necessitate that the United States further strengthen the military base in Okinawa. Moreover, it must not be forgotten that as the military base issue in the homeland grows more intense and the conditions which make the maintenance of the military base difficult increase, there will also be a phenomena in which the relative importance of the military base in Okinawa will be that much greater. This will also have some connection with the expansion of the Self-Defense Forces of Japan. That is, if the strength of the Japanese Self-Defense Forces becomes stronger, it may mean that the reinforcement of the military base in Okinawa will be relaxed. On the other hand, the question of how much the strength of the Japanese Self-Defense Forces can be

expanded and what relation it will have with the equipment of the military base in Okinawa will probably become two delicate issues.

With respect to the strength of the Self-Defense Forces, the "Tanaka Statement" became the center of discussions at one time. The concept that "If Japan rearms itself, would it not make possible the return of Okinawa also?" is certainly one that has been considered by a group of people. Mr. Tanaka made a statement which seems to carry the same concept but he was afraid that there would be misunderstanding and immediately withdrew it before the Budget Committee. I think it is wrong to believe that unless (Japan - TN) is rearmed, Okinawa will not be returned to us. I believe that the problem of reversion, amendment to the Constitution and rearmament should be considered on the basis of being substantially different from each other.

On the other hand, I do not deny that the problem of amending the Constitution is related to the strength of the Japanese Self-Defense Forces and the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security. An interpretation of the provisions of the generally known Article 9 of the Constitution is that (Japan - TN) may maintain a force to defend itself. It is also clear, however, that an amendment to the Constitution for the sole purpose of rearmament will not be made. I believe that this is proper. On the basis of this assumption, here lies the justification why the connection between the strength of the Self-Defense Forces and the problems of the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security and the Constitution should be considered and why the problems of Okinawa should also be considered.

As for the connection between the Japanese Self-Defense Forces and Okinawa, the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security does not cover the matter of having the Self-Defense Forces directly participate in the military activities in Okinawa. In reality, however, if one observes the characteristic features of the military base of the United States Forces in Okinawa, its equipment, etc., it is hardly conceivable, no matter what extent of a defense it may be, that the Self-Defense Forces will go to Okinawa and take part in the activities of the United States Forces in the military base. There is a limit to the strength of Japanese Self-Defense Forces.

Okinawa at least has the capacity to maintain a military base for nuclear weapons. Furthermore, without such a capacity, it will not be able to cope with the tensions in the Far East or demonstrate its worth in what might be called a restraint against war. When we look at the military bases of the United States Forces in the Far East today, it may be considered that the importance of military bases relatively close to the continent has been reduced respectively. The importance of military bases in our Japanese homeland also seems to have been reduced, but the military base in Okinawa continues to be important from the standpoint of the development of modern arms and even from the strategic viewpoint. Even if the importance of the military bases in Japan is reduced, we must not forget that Okinawa continues to demonstrate a strong military power for the security of peace in Asia.

The military base of the United States Forces in Okinawa is regarded as an essential factor for peace and co-existence on the premise that there is a confrontation between East and West, and the United States will continue to possess (Okinawa - TN) until tensions in the Far East are relaxed. However, no one can predict as to how long this tension will continue. The Soviet Union is advocating peace and co-existence, but under the present condition where Communist China continues to oppose this, it is assumed that tensions will probably continue for quite a long time. Will the United States maintain the present policy and continue to control Okinawa for such a long period? We doubt it very much. Thus, the conclusion will be that unless the military base and the administering authority are separated, it may be difficult to maintain the military base in Okinawa in the future. I believe that Japan will be able to extend amicable and effective cooperation toward the maintenance of the military base by the United States Forces only when they (the military base and the administering authority - TN) are separated.

The United States stated after the ratification of the Treaty of Peace that it has no territorial ambitions toward Okinawa.

If there is no territorial ambition, will it not be essential to continue the maintenance of the military base with the cooperation of Japan? In a place such as Okinawa where there is a close relationship between the military base and the living conditions of the inhabitants, it will be difficult for the military base to fully accomplish its mission without the cooperation of the local inhabitants and if the military base will have priority over the living conditions of the inhabitants, the life of the inhabitants will be miserable. For instance, if a labor union should strike, it will even reduce the operations of the military base. If the movement for reversion flourishes and the anti-American feeling rises, it will naturally cause friction in the maintenance of the military base.

The United States maintains many military bases throughout the world today. However, in a place where there is a population of nearly a million people, and in particular, where there is the same kind of culture and living environment as that of the Japanese, I do not think that there is any other instance where the administering authority is held by the United States and only a limited right of self-government is granted to the local inhabitants, is there? When it is contemplated that even a country which is considered to be considerably undeveloped has a voice as an independent nation in the United Nations, I cannot but doubt that the present status of Okinawa, though there has been some improvement, will be able to continue very long under present conditions. On this point, I believe that the United States should exert greater effort and Japan should render due study and consideration.

Actually, when one looks at the policy of the United States for Okinawa, the feeling will be that the United States is too tight-fisted and stingy. The amount of money put into Okinawa by the United States is extremely small. If (Okinawa - TN) is reverted to Japan, expenditures several times greater will be subsidized. I think the United States should increase its amount of assistance several times over from the standpoint of being the administering authority.

Moreover, there is the Civil Administration, the head of which is the High Commissioner held concurrently by a lieutenant general, the Commanding General of the Army, and the scope of administrative, legislative and judicial powers of the Government of the Ryukyu Islands which is a sort of a subcontractor to the Civil Administration is extremely limited. When one considers that nearly all of the judicial and other rights are of military preference, the relationship between the people and the United States Forces is handled more in the form of an occupation administration rather than under the privileges of inhabitants of the homeland based on the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security mentioned earlier. There was a court case in Okinawa recently where the case became an issue because the military personnel involved in a hit and run case, which was regarded as being practically willfully committed or gross negligence, was acquitted from all charges. Instances such as this, where the inhabitants have to pocket humiliation are not uncommon. I strongly hope that autonomy will be expanded for the people. This is the only key toward a sound and amicable administration by the United States Forces. The immediate objective is to see that Japan and the United States will endeavor toward the establishment of a five-year welfare improvement program as mentioned above and thereby attain living standards in Okinawa similar to that in the Japanese homeland at the earliest possible opportunity.

The Future of Okinawa

Now let us consider the problem of whether or not the separation of the military base and the administering authority will be possible from the standpoint of international law, domestic law and from a technical viewpoint. In doing so, it goes without saying that it is necessary for the homeland inhabitants to cooperate with the maintenance of a military base and at the same time for the local inhabitants to establish a system to cooperate with the homeland inhabitants. Unfortunately, such a system has not been established.

In the homeland, both the Socialist Party and the Communist Party are simultaneously shouting for the return of Okinawa to the fatherland. On the other hand, however, these elements are also advocating opposition to the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security and to military bases. These movements are being carried on with ties with the political parties in Okinawa and are instigating opposition movements in Okinawa. I do not think that this type of movement will contribute toward the realization of the reversion. Instead, we fear that these may result in the postponement of reversion.

There is another point of issue here, and that is, from the standpoint of legality, whether or not Okinawa should be treated similarly with the homeland if Okinawa is reverted in its present condition. It is clear that as it is the application of the Agreed Minutes to Okinawa under the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security will not be sufficient. Looking at the military base on Okinawa from the standpoint of its importance, the extent of the necessity of maintaining its secrecy is naturally also quite high. There is no law in Japan for safeguarding military secrecy but in the case of the present situation of Okinawa, this matter can hardly be overlooked. For instance, entry and departure from

Okinawa requires the approval of the United States authorities and it is extremely troublesome. Thus, the relaxation of travel restrictions are frequently sought. On the other hand, however, a precaution against travel will keep guard on the activities of persons who visit Okinawa. If the restrictions are relaxed, anyone can visit the islands to do what he pleases which will menace the safety of Okinawa. Such an outlook must be considered. Therefore, I personally feel that some restrictions on travel are inevitable but I do oppose time consuming troublesome procedures. I believe that this travel issue should also be considered in connection with the security of Okinawa.

With regard to the method of handling Okinawa when the administering authority and the military base are separated, it is my feeling that Okinawa should first be established as a special administrative zone. I cannot agree to the concept of applying the laws of the homeland to Okinawa just as they are applied in the homeland. On the assumption that (Okinawa - TN) can be administered separately and a set up established which will provide for the protection of Okinawa as a military base the separation of the military base and the administering authority can be finally realized and reversion accomplished. I am sure that there will naturally be objections to this opinion. There may also be a constitutional argument as to whether it is right or wrong to draw a distinction when (Okinawa - TN) is also Japanese territory just as that of the homeland under the Constitution. However, if a special treaty regarding Okinawa is concluded between Japan and the United States considering in effect that it is necessary for treaties concluded by Japan under established laws of nations will be faithfully observed in accordance with the provisions of Paragraph 2 of Article 98 of the Constitution. I believe that the first thing to do is to ask for the return of Okinawa on the basis of said provision and as a means to bring about eventual restoration, and then establish Okinawa as a special administrative zone. In doing so, our country will also be able to cooperate in the maintenance of the military base and assure the living conditions of the inhabitants in the same manner as those in the homeland.

The Socialist Party and the Communist Party in the homeland are verbally advocating reversion of Okinawa but any movement to hasten reversion on the pretext of the anti-Security set up implies a grave contradiction as aforementioned. Their reversion movements have also changed from previous ones. In the past, they have been demanding the return of Okinawa and at the same time, the withdrawal of the United States military base, as well as shouting "Yankee, go home," but in the summer of 1963, they displayed the slogan for immediate reversion along with the slogan of anti-atomic bomb bases just as displayed in the slogans of the Japan Association for the Prevention of Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs. It means that they are opposed to the military base because it is a military base for atomic and hydrogen bombs and they fail to say yes or no regarding the military base itself. I cannot understand what their intent is in changing the method of their reversion campaign in this way. However, at this time when the nuclearization of the Communist China has become a matter of time, their true intent in opposing nuclear armament of Okinawa is a problem which should be given due consideration and study.

Another matter which we should think about as Japanese is the theory of unifying Okinawa with the homeland. Those who talk about security, defense of Japan, and peace in the Far East are apt to maintain the concept that Okinawa is necessary and the United States military base in Okinawa is inevitable for this purpose. In other words, there are some people who are even of opinion that the maintenance of the administering authority over Okinawa by the United States is inevitable and that peace in Asia will be secured through the sacrifice of Okinawa. Such talk and behavior may be understood from the American viewpoint in Okinawa but it will certainly be absolutely unacceptable to the inhabitants there. This is as good as being told that Okinawa alone is to be sacrificed for the peace of Asia and the safety of Japan. They paid dearly during the decisive battle for the homeland and now after their separation from their mother country, if they are also being told to bear the hardships within the military base today as well as in the future, the only thing that will be gained is the strong resistance of the people of Okinawa and nothing else. Due caution should be rendered.

Furthermore, there are some people who seem to approve of some discrimination between the Japanese and the inhabitants of Okinawa, but as one who looks toward the unification of Japan and Okinawa, I cannot approve of it. This discriminating attitude is sometimes found among the Americans in Okinawa toward the Okinawans, and while it may not be as strong as the white and black issue on the mainland of the United States, there have been signs where a clear distinction has been made in the treatment between Japanese and Okinawans. In short, there is an example during the occupation days when the treatment of the Americans was the best, then came the Filipinos and other foreign nationals. The Japanese from the homeland came in third in the treatment while the inhabitants of Okinawa were last. Even now, there are three kinds of basic wages; i.e., the salary of Americans, that of the Japanese from the homeland and the basic pay of the local Okinawans. If we are to express our views on this matter, we believe that the Okinawans and those from the homeland are both Japanese and the only difference for which some differential in the wages is inevitable is where the family of the person salaried maintains its residence -- in Okinawa or in the homeland. Even in the case of the problem of reversion, it is viewed as a problem of Japan as a whole which includes Okinawa -- that is, from the standpoint of Japanese whether he lives in Okinawa or in the homeland -- but this does not seem to be fully understood by the Americans.

I am fully convinced, however, that with regard to the problems of Okinawa, there should be far more active diplomacy by the people between Japan and the United States. At the same time, it is also necessary to promote an understanding between the National Diet of Japan and the Congress of the United States. During the deliberations for the revision of the Price Act in 1962 and recently when the bill for the assistance to Okinawa for Fiscal Year 1963 was deliberated, the arguments of the Congressmen of both the upper and lower houses of the United States were heard, but they were mostly arguments supporting the position of the United States and among them there seemed to be a lack of recognition of the actual situation of Okinawa. There has been considerable progress in the understanding shown in the discussions of government leaders such as the Kishi-Eisenhower meeting and the Ikeda-Kennedy conference. However, I feel that

government to government negotiations alone have not fully manifested the true national desire regarding these problems of Okinawa. Not only is it necessary to be expressed through diplomatic channels, but discussions between the politicians of both countries and diplomacy by the people of all walks of life is also necessary. This, I believe, is the big problem that has yet to be solved through the diplomatic channels of Japan and the United States.

In conclusion, there is the territorial problem of the northern area which should not be overlooked in connection with the problems of Okinawa. We seek the return of Okinawa and at the same time, we strongly seek the restoration of the northern territories. The Socialist Party is extremely reserved when the northern territories are involved and it was only in 1962 that the Diet finally came around to resolve for the restoration of the northern territories in both Houses of the Diet, and I believe that even the United States would not be satisfied if the issues of Okinawa and the Ogasawara Islands are solely questioned and not that of the northern territories. Harbonai and Shikotan Islands are originally a part of Hokkaido while Kunashiri and Etorofu Islands have always been an indigenous part of our territory. These islands are being unlawfully occupied by the Soviet Union even today and Japanese are not even allowed to visit or reside in these islands. Moreover, there have been frequent outbreaks of dispute such as the capture of Japanese fishing vessels or the salmon and sea-trout fishing rights. There are more than 900,000 people living in Okinawa and while there is a basic difference where the people are constantly involved in problems which are directly connected with their livelihood, the problems of the north as far as its territorial characteristics are concerned, is an issue prior to the conclusion of any treaty, while Okinawa is a problem based on a Treaty. Thus, I am of the opinion that the northern issue should be solved qualitatively before the southern issue. It seems to me that our interests and efforts toward the northern area are somewhat superficial when compared with those toward the southern area. As a part of our nation's territorial problem, I hope that public opinion will be regimentated and a strong diplomatic discussion on the northern issue will also be commenced hereafter along with the problems of Okinawa and the Ogasawara Islands.

New Republic
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Why We're Returning Okinawa to Japan

by Alex Campbell

Okinawa

US military forces on Okinawa, the "Keystone of the Pacific," lost their credibility 18 months ago when North Korea captured the US spy ship *Pueblo*. What are they doing here, these 55,000 soldiers, airmen, sailors and Marines, if in a crunch they were helpless to save the *Pueblo* from ignominious seizure? Our 19,000 airmen, 8,000 sailors and 3,200 Marines in Japan cannot be dispatched on a combat mission until the Japanese government has been consulted, under the 1960 terms of the US-Japan Mutual Security Treaty. But Americans on Okinawa are under no such restriction. The Air Force on Okinawa says indignantly that its planes are always in the air, and could have gone to the *Pueblo's* rescue, but Washington issued no call for action. That negative decision perhaps was reached because, by the time Washington heard the *Pueblo* was in trouble, the spy ship was already in a North Korean port. In any event Okinawa's credibility gap was here to stay. Washington will in consequence yield to demands for Okinawa's reversion to Japan, possibly by 1972, when B-52 bombers will no longer be taking off from Okinawa to blast targets in South Vietnam. Everything is now in train for what the Okinawans call *ittai-ka*, or "one-ness" with Japan. Last week the Japanese foreign minister, Mr. Kiichi Aichi, met President Nixon and Secretary of State Rogers in Washington. US-Japan talks in Tokyo in July or August, ostensibly about trade, will provide opportunity for further discussion. Finally, Japanese Prime Minister Eisaku Sato hopes to clinch the matter with Mr. Nixon in Washington in November. Sato expects to leave the White House with a firm date for the return of Okinawa to Japan. The air and naval bases will stay a while, but will operate under the restrictions that apply to the American bases in Japan. The United States is expected to defer to Japanese wishes and remove nuclear weapons from Okinawa. It has never been publicly admitted that there are any, but there is a tactical missile unit as well as an Air Force strategic wing at Kadena air base.

None of this sits well with the US military on Okinawa. Their view is the island is too valuable to be given up. First, there is its strategic locality: a round 1,000 miles from either Manila or Tokyo, less than a round 500 miles from either Taipei or Shanghai. American military bases in Taiwan are too close to the Asian mainland; Guam, 2,500 miles deeper in the Pacific than Okinawa, is too far. Then there's the expense of

a move. It would cost at least \$2 billion to create a substitute Okinawa, for instance, on the South Korean island of Cheju which has been offered. Even so, any replacement would be inadequate, for where else could the US find a trained labor force of 59,000 skilled men thoroughly used to working on an American base? Lastly, the military argue that as things are now, the US has untrammelled use of Okinawa. The island can be employed for either conventional or nuclear war. In a nuclear war Okinawa itself would be very vulnerable, so the military are obviously thinking in terms not of a nuclear exchange, but of nuclear weapons on Okinawa deterring a conventional attack anywhere in the wide region that Okinawa shields. They argue that an enemy who feared his aggression would provoke even small "tactical" nuclear retaliation from Okinawa would think twice. Remove the nuclear capability from Okinawa, and that deterrence is lost.

These ingenious arguments were blown to shreds by the *Pueblo* affair. Not a single plane left Okinawa to go to the spy ship's aid, and the knowledge that there are nuclear weapons on Okinawa did not deter the North Koreans. Nevertheless the US military in Okinawa still go on patiently repeating that when the island reverts to Japan, a nuclear advantage will be lost. The well-known aversion of the Japanese people to nuclear weapons ensures that Japan will not tolerate them on the island once it is back under the Japanese flag. And Okinawa's usefulness for conventional war will also be diminished, even if the American air and naval bases are allowed to remain. For Japan will henceforth have to be consulted about combat use of the bases, and a Japanese prime minister who gave his okay to an American combat mission — like unleashing B-52's on Asians — would probably be committing political *hara-kiri*.

What this argument of the US military boils down to is that it is easier for the United States to defend Japan if the US is unhampered by the wishes of the Japanese people. Easier perhaps, but wholly impractical. The only choice for the United States is not to cling stubbornly to Okinawa, but to reach agreement with the 100 million Japanese, who are now the world's third industrial power. This choice has been made; the US is irrevocably committed to Okinawa's reverting to Japan.

Okinawa is the largest and most populated of the Ryukyu island chain that stretches 40 miles east of Taiwan toward southern Japan. The islands were annexed by Japan in 1872, and in the ensuing 73 years the islanders complained that they were treated by Tokyo as poor relations. Their grievances didn't prevent the Okinawans passionately identifying themselves with Japan and behaving as first-rate patriots. In the spring of 1945, one Okinawan in eight died trying to prevent the Americans from occupying the island and hauling down the Japanese flag.

But Okinawa has now been under American orders for a quarter of a century, half as long as the US ruled the Philippines. The Okinawans have never ceased regarding themselves as Japanese or ceased demanding that their island to be returned under the Japanese roof. Nevertheless, enormous changes have meantime occurred in their way of life. They no longer are simple farmers and fisherfolk, eking out a meager uncertain livelihood on a tropical Pacific island that is frequently swept by typhoons. Their standard of living has risen to the point that there are now more automobiles to population than in Japan. Eight years ago, Highway One, a four-lane road built by the US on the island's east coast, was monopolized by military traffic. Highway One is now one long civilian traffic jam. The price of land has risen so high that the only way to uncork the bottleneck may be to build a new highway out on the coral shore. Ten years ago, Okinawa's per capita income per year was \$145; today it is \$580 and there have been few price increases apart from land. For the past five years, Okinawa's real rate of economic growth has been 13 percent annually. Okinawan companies run by Okinawans make big money, and reinvest up to 20 percent of their profits. The 59,000 Okinawans who work on the US bases draw \$35.5 million in annual pay. American spending, and US and Japanese economic assistance, pour more funds into the economy. The island's imports vastly exceed its exports, \$379 million to \$89 million. US spending at a rate of about \$220 million a year almost plugs the hole. The remainder of the gap is more than wiped out by \$39 million in US economic aid, and also \$63 million in Japanese aid (Japan last year offered \$40 million, the Okinawans at once demanded \$80 million).

The American plan has been to encourage as much home rule as will not interfere with base operations. The government of the Ryukyu islands consists of a directly elected chief executive, Mr. Chobyu Yara who won last November, and a 32-man legislature; 31 are members of 4 political parties, and there is one Independent. The Liberal Democratic Party has 18 seats, the Socialist Masses Party 8, the (Communist) Okinawa People's Party 3, and the Japan Socialist Party 2. So the 18 Liberal Democrats confront 10 Socialists and three Communists. But all parties want reversion to Japan, and Mr. Yara won chiefly on that issue. The Ryukyu government still has some leading strings. The United States Civil Administrator, Stanley S. Carpenter, has a whole civil administration of his own, nine departments including Labor, Public Works and Health, Education, and Welfare; but he and they say their function is to tender advice and technical assistance to the Ryukyu government and its 13,000 Okinawan employees. The US High Commissioner, Lt-Gen. James B. Lampert, a West Pointer and engineer who is an expert on nuclear weapons and

logistics, has power to overrule the chief executive and the legislature. But it is a long time since that veto was used and it will be a surprise if it is exercised again.

This suggests all will be plain sailing for *ittai-ka*. The real problems, however, may surface after reversion. And they may have little to do with US bases. Once the Okinawans are back under the Japanese roof, old grievances against Japan may reassert themselves. Reversion, after an interval of jubilation, may be followed by growing Okinawan demands for home rule; at least for a far greater degree of autonomy than Tokyo normally accords an ordinary Japanese prefecture. The island's new class of businessmen are likely to demand (and to need) protection against Japanese competition if they are to survive. Okinawa, after 25 years of American rule and large doses of the American way of life, won't resemble any other Japanese prefecture. This is likely to prove ticklish for the Japanese authorities. In spite of all the pumped-up enthusiasm in Tokyo about Okinawans as soul brothers, few Japanese really regard Okinawans as Japanese or as equals. And if the Okinawans demand and get better than average treatment, how are other prefectures going to feel?

Japanese who concede in private that much of the fuss about the return of Okinawa has been the work of Japanese and Okinawan politicians seeking an issue, also admit that the show caught the public fancy, and the issue is now real. The cynics however note with dry amusement that a similar bid to regain four northern islands that the Russians occupy has fallen flat. Nobody cares much about Habomei, Shikotan, Etorofu and Kunashiri, partly because nobody seriously expects the Russians to hand the islands back, without demanding some impossible *quid pro quo*. Interest in Okinawa has been kept alive by the publicity attending the US bases, visits of American nuclear submarines, and air crashes. The Russians do not publicize the Kuriles. The clamor for Okinawa is at least in part a product of American success in developing the island.

Meanwhile, the Japanese are pampering the Okinawans whom they wish to welcome home. The Okinawans have learned to like Californian rice, and to despise the Japanese rice that Tokyo humbly offers as part of its economic assistance to the island. Japan buys from Okinawa, at high prices, sugar and pineapples that could certainly be got cheaper elsewhere. Okinawans buy gasoline at half the price that is charged in Japan. When the Japanese get the island back, the pampering may have to continue and even be intensified. Looking forward to the day when the American bases are removed, far-sighted Japanese are urging that big *zaibatsu* Japanese firms begin now to put steel mills and other major plants on the island, in order to provide employment for Okinawans. This

no doubt would help de-pollute Japan's own smog-filled atmosphere; but is it an economic proposition? The big Japanese companies themselves seem somewhat dubious about its practicality. There appears little prospect that American bases on Okinawa will in due course be replaced by Japanese military bases. The Okinawan sentiment against militarism is if anything even stronger than the antiwar sentiment in Japan itself. The Okinawan Socialists are politically stronger than the Japanese Socialists. And an Okinawan Socialist expressed outright horror at the very idea that the Japanese "Self Defense Forces" might one day replace American airmen and Marines on Okinawa. "Why, they would never be allowed to land!" he exclaimed. "They would be met at the port by antiwar demonstrators crying 'Go back!'" Evidently a lot has changed since the Okinawans bravely fought in defense of Japanese imperialism.

In order to retain Japan's goodwill, the US has to return the Ryukyus. Since that has already been decided – the US has always recognized that Japan possesses "residual sovereignty" over Okinawa – the transfer ought to take place as soon as is reasonably possible. If it can be done before 1972 so much the better; it should not be delayed a moment longer. A firm date for the islands' return ought to be announced before the end of this year, otherwise the US-Japan Mutual Security Treaty is going to run into very rough

weather in 1970, when the Japanese Socialists are certain to demand the termination of the treaty. Above all, the inevitable removal of nuclear weapons from Okinawa ought not to mean merely that they will be planted somewhere else in the vicinity. There is already talk in Washington of the weapons being removed to "other sites in the Pacific area." What other sites? The islands of Micronesia, which formerly belonged to Japan and for 22 years have been administered by the United States as trustee for the United Nations? That would not only be a mockery of the trust but, by the arguments of the American military themselves, would be useless because of the great distances involved. The US already has a missile base at Kwajalein and this is permitted under the terms of the UN trusteeship, but to proceed from this to using the Western Pacific islands as bases for offensive missiles (to "deter Peking") would be a long step in the wrong direction. It would provoke new tension, with Japan as well as China. And it would be militarily worthless – why seek out remote islands as new "keystones of the Pacific" when the US has all those submarines with nuclear missiles on board? The true keystone of peace in the Pacific is a solid US-Japan partnership which won't be achieved, is far likelier to be wrecked, by returning Okinawa to Tokyo "clean" of nuclear weapons – and then perversely planting the missiles elsewhere in the area.

The Rise of Harry Dent

by John Osborne

Whatever it was that happened at the White House and changed his life and the lives of several other people in late April, Harry Dent says, it happened while he was abroad and he didn't have a thing to do with it. All that Harry admits to knowing about it is what other people, including the President, told him when Harry got back from a trip to Europe and Asia with Secretary of Commerce Maurice Stans. Harry isn't saying what they told him, except that from then on he was to be recognized and respected by everybody at the White House and by everybody concerned with the affairs of the party as the President's personally chosen and empowered "political coordinator."

The news was slow in getting out, presumably be-

cause neither the President nor Harry Dent nor anyone else at the White House was anxious to have it known. When it did leak out, it was of more than passing interest because of Harry's background. He is known in Washington and throughout the sub-world of national politics as Senator Strom Thurmond's man. Aged 39, a lawyer, a native of South Carolina and still a deacon and trustee of the Kathwood Baptist Church in Columbia, the state capital and his family home, he worked for Senator Thurmond from January 1, 1955, until his appointment to the incoming White House staff was announced last December. It was one of the first Nixon appointments, it occurred after Senator Thurmond conferred with the President-elect in New