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# Okinawans Welcome GIs but Want Japanese Rule

[Samuel Jameson, chief of THE TRIBUNE'S Tokyo bureau, has just completed a detailed study of the situation in Okinawa, largest American military base in the Pacific, where contending political forces—American occupation administrators, Japanese and Okinawans, including Communists—are dealing with potentially explosive problems. This is the second of a series.]

**BY SAMUEL JAMESON**  
(Times Tribune Press Service)  
NAHA, Okinawa, April 26 — Should Okinawa be returned to Japan and the billion-dollar American military establishment there be withdrawn now, more than half of the island chain's economy would collapse.

Some would be more than 100 million dollars in spending by American servicemen and their dependents. Wiped out, would be the hundreds of shops along Kokusaidori (Inter-national street) specializing in tax-free luxury wares. The shops help to lure thousands of tourists from Japan every



Seiyo Uema (left) and Waburo Takeuchi

year to provide Okinawa with its second biggest cash earning industry.

33,000 jobs at stake

Uncountable bars, restaurants and service enterprises catering to the 75,000 Americans here would go out of business. More than 33,000 Okinawans employed by the military would lose their jobs.

The reality of the pocket-book, however, has failed to produce unified opinion among the Okinawans on reversion to Japan — which the United States, administering the former Japanese prefecture, has

(Continued on page 2, col. 5)

# Okinawans Love GIs But Want Japan Rule Thrive on U. S. Cash, Dream of Tokyo Control

(Continued from first page)

promised to grant "when tensions ease in the far east."

Teachers, whose wages as public employees would increase under Japanese administration, are among the most vociferous in demanding immediate reversion. Business men, whose enterprises would collapse without the protective walls the Ryukyuan government has built up against competition from Japan, are least eager to revert to the mainland.

In between are a whole spectrum of opinions — each varying in intensity of feeling.

"Much Better Off"

Listening to American officials in Naha would lead one to believe no one really wants reversion.

"They like Okinawans! realize they're much better off under our administration than they ever could be under the Japanese," said an official of the United States civil administration.

Gerald F. Warner, newly appointed civil administrator, mentioned in a press conference upon his return to Naha Feb. 11 that in two years as political



Gerald F. Warner

adviser to Lt. Gen. Paul W. Caraway, high commissioner, "I never discussed it [the issue of reversion], myself, with anybody."

One conclusion, however, can be drawn from talking with dozens of Okinawans from all walks of life: The people of the island chain consider themselves Japanese and want reversion.

Expect Bases to Stay

But one crucial point in their own thinking ignores the reality of their situation—they expect reversion to occur with American bases remaining after-achieved. The type of reversion is a possibility. American military officials are not willing to take the gamble such a step involves.

Even Tsumichio Asai, chairman of the opposition Socialist Masses party, admits his party is supporting immediate reversion and not actively opposing the bases on the assumption that the base problem will be "worked out" by Tokyo and Washington.

Sasaki Oto, chief executive of the Ryukyu government and chairman of the ruling Liberal Democratic party, put it clearly:

"As the Liberal Democrats think of reversion and the issue of the bases separately, reversion to us is just the return of the administrative rights."

"Problem Involved"  
Saiyo Uema, managing editor of the Japanese language Okinawa Times, said his party



(TRIBUNE Staff Photo)

Kokusaidori (International street) in Naha, Okinawa, where hundreds of shops specialize in tax-free luxury wares which help to lure thousands of tourists to island each year.

paper "approves the desire of only. Even in the future after the people for reversion, but there are various problems involved in the techniques of achieving it. Therefore, we just take every advantage to appeal for reversion."

If the Japanese on the mainland shared similarly passive opinions on missiles aimed with nuclear weapons, port calls by nuclear subs, and the free movement of American troops in and out of bases, the United States would be willing to reduce Okinawa to Japan today. The hitch is that the Japanese do not share these viewpoints.

Reversion to Japan would eliminate all these advantages considered crucial by the military to the United States defense effort in Asia.

Bases are Problem

Chances of losing the bases altogether because of domestic opposition in Japan are strong. The withdrawal of the installations probably could be put off even after reversion, their ultimate elimination is a consideration which both Americans and Okinawans must consider when thinking of reversion.

Consequently, Okinawa, virtually no raw materials, must be prepared to develop a self-sustaining economy—largely independent of income from the bases — or face economic chaos when reversion is achieved. The alternative is not a pleasant one.

"Those islands," said Waburo Takeuchi, president of the Ryukyu Chamber of Commerce, "have never had the power to exist as an independent entity."

support families and the human desire to regain their national identification, they can't make up their minds.

Mixing emotions even further are the memories of treatment by the mainland Japanese in the past.

"No Okinawans"

Signs outside restaurants reading "No Koreans, No Okinawans" could be seen in pre-war days. Poverty was rampant in the Ryukyus, by every measure of economic endeavor. Okinawa ranked 49th a million of the 49 prefectures. Physical differences such as facial features, stature, and propensity to grow beards also led to discrimination.

Okinawans themselves admit they were treated as "country cousins" and realize that discrimination against them is unlikely to evaporate with reversion.

But most of them still want to become part of Japan again.

"Mutual Defense Necessary"

Perhaps the best description of what appeared to be the majority opinion came from managing editor Uema. After conceding that economic considerations have pacified current demands for reversion, he said: "If a certain country uses a certain area for its exclusive purposes because of a military necessity, the question is whether the people of that area will affirm the existing situation forever."

"I recognize the necessity for mutual defense. But this necessity may continue for 10 or 20 years or more, and, sometime during that period, the hope, the demand of the people to return to their origins — an instinctive demand — will come forth naturally."

In Japan, Teisun Ban, counselor of the Asian bureau of the foreign ministry, said when asked to comment on the view of American officials in Naha that economic considerations were most important to the Okinawans.

"If a child is living with his mother in poverty, he may be happy, but if he is living apart from his mother in riches, he will be sad," he said.

[NEXT: Okinawa — the military's "Regions of the Pacific"]

# U. S. Restricts Japanese Aid to Okinawans

## Fears Tokyo Aim Is Chiseling In on Administration

BY SAMUEL JAMESON  
[Sixth article in a series]  
(Chicago Tribune Press Service)

Naha, Okinawa, April 30.—The United States is pressing its allies to contribute more for economic development in every area of the world—except Okinawa. Here they are applying a brake to aid from Japan.

Until the late President Kennedy and Premier Hayato Ikeda met in Washington in June, 1961, the United States had restricted aid from Japan to its former prefecture to mere charity donations and pensions to military veterans. Assistance from Japan totaled 4.9 million dollars up to then.

William O. Harris, controller of the United States civil administration in the Ryukyu Islands, of which Okinawa is the principal island, said that Japan did not offer any formal governmental aid until 1962.

### "Japan Always Willing"

But Tetsuo Ban, counselor in the Asian bureau of the Japanese foreign office, replied: "That's not true. Japan has always been willing to give aid to Okinawa."

In the three years of aid budgeted since the Ikeda-Kennedy meeting, Japan has allocated 13.1 million dollars in economic assistance—nearly three times the amount it was permitted to give unofficially in the preceding 10 years.

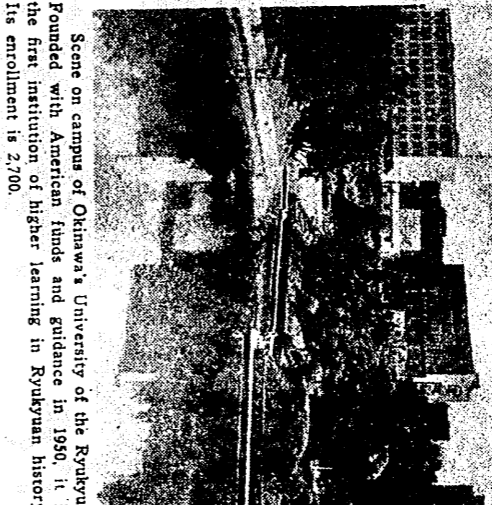
Japanese eagerness for this "reverse foreign aid" program still is greater than American willingness to accept it.

### Reject 5.7 Millions

In 1962, the United States administration in Okinawa turned down 5.7 million dollars in Japanese aid, an authoritative source in Tokyo said. In 1963, the slash American authorities in Naha proposed in the amount Japan offered was so great that Washington had to be called in to resolve the difference, another official in Tokyo said.

On April 23, the United States and Japan agreed to establish a consultative committee on aid. The agreement specified that the United States would propose the amount and types of aid it would like to receive, thus all but eliminating Japanese initiative in the aid program.

Lt. Gen. Paul W. Caraway,



Scene on campus of Okinawa University of the Ryukyu Islands, founded with American funds and guidance in 1950. It is the first institution of higher learning in Ryukyuan history. Its enrollment is 2,700.

who as high commissioner of the Ryukyu Islands has absolute authority over all problems concerning Okinawa, declined to discuss the cuts in Japanese aid.

"I suggest you check your sources in Tokyo again," he said.

### Curb Japanese Aid

Other American officials who refused to be quoted, said that Japanese aid is restricted by a general formula of two parts American to each part Japanese.

United States aid this year is 10 million dollars; Japanese aid is slightly more than half of that, or 5.2 million.

The root of this formula, as explained by one of these officials, stems from the fear that Japan may gain a foothold in administrative matters, which are reserved to the United States; if Japanese aid becomes too big.

Ryukyuan, who know they would be receiving far more in subsidies than they now get in aid from both the United States and Japan combined if Okinawa were a prefecture of Japan, are more interested in results than reasoning.

### Okinawa Loses Out

Six prefectures in Japan (Yamanashi, Tohoku, Kochi, Saga, Kanagawa, and Ehime) considered comparable in tax resources and population to Okinawa are receiving subsidies from the Tokyo government ranging between 31 million and 49 million dollars. Okinawa is getting 15 million dollars from both Japan and the United States.

Wasaburo Taketochi, president of the Ryukyuan Chamber of Commerce, put it this way: "If the United States thinks Japanese aid is not something to be welcomed, the United States should give the aid itself."

Tsunichiro Asato, chairman of the Socialist Masses party, a political group far milder than its name would suggest, argued that the United States should look upon aid not as "this is all we can do" but rather from the standpoint of "this is what Okinawa needs."

### Asks More U. S. Aid

American officials recognize the need for greater economic assistance to bring Okinawan living standards closer to those of Japan.

Caraway argued two years ago for an increase from 6 million to 25 million dollars on the limit of American aid to Okinawa in testimony before a House military affairs subcommittee. He pointed out that invest-

ment capital was limited, educational facilities wanting, water supplies inadequate in certain areas of the island, and the city of Naha with a population of 200,000 has no sewer system.

He said that 20 million dollars in economic aid would be needed for fiscal 1964, twice as much as Congress actually granted this year.

Pat 12 Million Limit

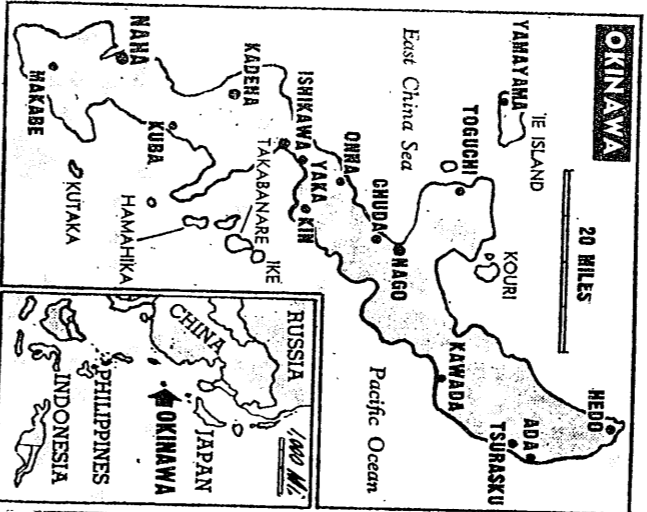
Congress, however, slashed the proposed limit to 12 million dollars and to date has refused to vote more than 8 million in economic aid. Of this year's 10 million dollars in assistance 2 millions is reserved for administrative expenses.

Asked then why Japanese aid is being held down to 5.2 million dollars, an American official said the Japanese "had many items that duplicated items we were doing ourselves, and it just wasn't feasible to mix the two programs. . . . In some respects what Japan was offering was too ambitious for the economy to absorb."

Japanese aid has been channeled generally into economic development and welfare projects, such as an \$833,000 grant this year to the central bank for agriculture, forestry, and fisheries; \$600,000 for free textbooks, harbors, and roads; and \$300,000 for treatment of Ryukyuan in hospitals in Japan.

Caraway, however, said he was willing to accept Japanese aid in conjunction with American funds for projects such as school buildings and sewers but Ban, the foreign office counselor, said such projects are the responsibility of the administering authority.

# U. S.-Okinawa Balancing Act Aues Far East



Island of Okinawa, which has been occupied by United States for 19 years, since its capture from Japanese after prolonged battle in 1945.

## Yanks Keep Rule Until Threat of War Ends

Samuel Jameson, chief of the Tribune's Tokyo bureau, has just completed a detailed study of the situation on Okinawa, largest American military base in the Pacific, where contending political forces—American occupation administrators, Japanese and Okinawans, including Communists—are dealing with potentially explosive problems. This is the first of a series.

BY SAMUEL JAMESON  
*(Chicago Tribune Press Service)*

NAHA, Okinawa, April 25—Okinawa, to the average American, is just an island out in the Pacific where the United States once fought a bloody battle.

To the United States military, the 400-mile long Ryukyuu chain stretching from Japan to Taiwan is the "keystone of the

[Continued on page 2, col. 5]

## Okinawa: Bastion of Pacific War-Won Bastion Occupied Until Tension Eases

(Continued from first page)

Pacific"—the jumping off area for South-Viet Nam, the center for defense against any aggression by Red China, the meat and potatoes of the United States' entire military establishments in the far east.

To Japan and to the people who live on Okinawa, it is a part of the Japanese mainland which Americans have gained by conquest and occupation.

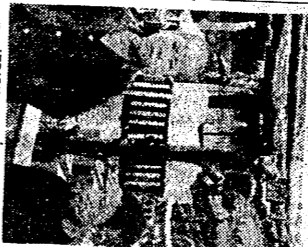
Cost 70,000 U. S. Lives  
The truth about Okinawa is all of these.

The bloody battle was a three-month invasion by Amer-



Unites (left) and Kennedy

can troops which was launched 19 years ago. Routing the Japanese army from the hills and caves of Okinawa cost 70,000 American lives.  
The Japanese paid with 100,



(Tribune staff photo)

Children pause for a moment in play outside primitive Okinawan factory which manufactures cement blocks.

000 military and 110,000 civilian lives in their fierce defense. Just two months later, in August, 1945, Japan surrendered after the United States dropped atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Okinawa fell under American occupation while Japan was placed under an allied command in 1952, the United States gained what could be interpreted as perpetual authority to rule here when Japan ceded control of the island chain in article three of the San Francisco peace treaty. Okinawa had been a Japanese prefecture—similar to an American state—until the end of the war.

### Not U. S. Property

Today the United States is sovereign in Okinawa—but at the same time recognizes that Okinawa is not American property.

Former secretary of States John Foster Dulles, who wrote article three into the peace treaty, recognized that Japan holds "residual sovereignty" in the Ryukyuu Islands the formal name for the chain of which Okinawa is the main island. President Eisenhower also recognized "residual sovereignty"—Japan's ultimate title to the islands.

The late President Kennedy went one step farther on March 19, 1962, when he stated: "I recognize the Ryukyus to be a part of the Japanese homeland."

### "Until Tensions Ease"

But thruout the 19 years of American presence in Okinawa, American leaders have consistently opposed return of administration rights to Japan "until tensions ease in the far east." Their reason is that although American bases exist in Japan, the United States' mutual security treaty with its major far eastern ally prohibits free use of the installations. Major movements of troops, weapons, or equipment can be made

only after consultations with the Japanese government. Furthermore, public sentiment in Japan, the only nation to have suffered an atomic attack, would not permit maintenance of missiles with nuclear warheads if Okinawa, where such weapons stand aimed at the belly of Red China, were to again become part of Japan.

### Forced to Remain

The United States, therefore, finds itself forced to remain ruler and guardian over a civilian population of 908,000 Okinawans.

Nowhere else in the world is the United States sovereign over a foreign people in a territory where it maintains military bases. Nowhere else has it shouldered so completely the responsibility for the welfare of an American population.

This responsibility places Washington in the hotseat of propaganda attacks from Communist countries, of resentment from Japan and to a lesser extent from the Okinawans and of demands for improvement from all sides.

### An "Okinawan Problem,"

however, does not exist today. But the potentiality for trouble is ever present.

### Okinawans O. K. Needed

Four main considerations are plain:

1. Acquiescence of the Okinawans themselves is necessary to insure smooth operation of the military establishment here.
2. Cooperation of the Japanese must be kept to prevent Okinawa from becoming a symbol of "colonialism" and to upgrade the economy here, which is almost wholly dependent upon Japan.
3. The United States must find a formula to please both the Okinawans and the Japanese—who are not united in their opinions of American administration.
4. Eventually the United States must prepare a substitute for the military advantages it possesses in Okinawa to fulfill its promise to return the island to Japan. The intention to retain the island "until tensions ease in the far east" is a desire which could be frustrated by political and emotional trends in Japan.

That the United States has succeeded to date in balancing all opposing forces on a relatively happy plane is evidence of the trust Okinawans and Japanese in general place in American promises. The challenge for the United States from here on is to live up to those promises.

(Near: Okinawa sentiment for reversion to Japan.)

# U. S. SPENDING PUTS OKINAWA IN HIGH GEAR

## Economy Rises from War Devastation

BY SAMUEL JAMESON  
Tokyo Bureau Chief  
Fifth article in a series  
(Chicago Tribune Press service)

NAHA, Okinawa, April 29 — A visitor arriving in Naha finds himself overwhelmed to ride over a smooth four-lane highway from the airport.

It's hard to believe that Okinawa, where living standards are about half as high as they are in Japan, has such a thoroughfare.

But when you turn off the main highway, the taxi starts bouncing over washboard road, and the driver swerves back and forth to avoid the holes and ruts.

Once Poverty Stricken  
The contrast gives the visitor a good picture of what American aid has done for Okinawa. The four-lane highway was built with United States funds for military traffic. The riddled washboard road is maintained by local authorities.

Before the war, the Ryukyuan Island chain was a poverty-stricken agricultural prefecture of Japan, with no water or sewage disposal systems, no electricity, and practically no roads or motor vehicles. Only 75 commercial enterprises employing more than five workers each existed.

Today only 40 per cent of the population of 908,000 is engaged in farming. Although the islands still lack a sewer system, electricity and television are common on the main island of Okinawa.

### U. S. Aids Growth

The economy registered a 17.2 per cent growth rate last year. Per capita income reached \$292, and manufacturing income rose by more than 3 million dollars to 23.2 million dollars.

About half of this economic spurt in a region almost void of natural resources can be attributed to the billion-dollar military establishment the United States has constructed and to the presence of more than 73,000 American servicemen and their dependents.

Of the 265 million dollar national income in fiscal 1963, the United States contributed 116.6 million dollars thru official and individual spending and economic assistance — or 45.8 per cent of Okinawa's total income.

The economic awakening of Okinawa is remarkable in the light of the devastation of the three month World War II battle in 1945.

### Lags Behind Japan

But Okinawan prosperity, for which the United States assumed full responsibility by taking over the islands as a military base under the San Francisco peace treaty, still lags far behind Japan.

The American officials here insist any comparison to Japan is unfair because of the vast difference in economic potential of the two areas.

The Okinawans, who are Japanese, know that reversion to the motherland, if coupled with elimination of the bases, would bring economic disaster. But they also realize that under the Japanese system of subsidies to underdeveloped prefectures, they would gain benefits which are denied them under American administration.

### Social Welfare Slow

The late President Kennedy recognized the need to raise living standards in Okinawa to the level of those in Japan in a joint statement issued with Premier Hayato Ikeda after their talks in Washington in June, 1961.

Advances in the field of social security — which Lt. Gen. Paul W. Caraway, high commissioner, called "disappointing" in an address to the Ryukyuan legislature in February — have lagged most noticeably.

The island did not have unemployment insurance until 1960; workmen's compensation benefits were not established until 1962, and present relief payments to the poor are so meager that one missionary in Okinawa said he didn't know how a family on relief could live.

The Ryukyuan legislature has passed bills four times to establish a medical insurance system, but the moves were thwarted by votes each time. A new bill, which this time has won the approval of American authorities, is expected to be passed by the legislature soon.

### Charity for Poor

Only 40 per cent of the population will receive medical benefits, but W. D. Stout, director of the civil administration's labor department, pointed out that those hardest hit by illness-salaried workers whose savings can be wiped out by a

single misfortune — will be covered. Poor persons who are self-employed will be able to obtain medical treatment thru charity, he said.

Stout said that the lack of doctors and hospitals a few years ago would have made a medical insurance system impractical.

Only one doctor is available for every 2,579 Ryukyuan, compared with one to 598 in Japan. One dentist is available to every 8,730 persons in Okinawa, one to every 2,785 in Japan.

The United States has succeeded where the Japanese failed in wiping out malaria, but the incidence of tuberculosis is so high that 400 patients are being sent to Japan for treatment under the Japanese aid program.

Education also lags drastically behind Japan. Only 50 per cent of junior high school graduates go on to high school in Okinawa, compared with 67 per cent in Japan.

Poverty, which forces many students to enter the labor force after they complete the nine years of compulsory education, and the lack of school facilities account for the discrepancy. High schools can accommodate only 65 per cent of the 17,888 Okinawan students seeking admission this year.

With few teachers left after the war, many Okinawans were rushed thru two-month cram courses and sent into the schools to teach. More than 1,800 of them are still in the school system, and only 37 per cent of the teachers have college degrees, according to Charles W. Dangren, chief of the civil administration's education division.

The effect on the quality of education shows up in the Japanese government's academic achievement tests which are administered in Okinawan schools. Over a six-year period, Okinawa placed last after all 48 Japanese prefectures in all except 10 of 39 classifications. Since 1958, however, all new teachers must hold a college degree, a requirement Japan has not yet instituted.

### Food Costs More

American authorities point to the minimal 9 per cent rise in the cost of living since 1955, but prices of foodstuffs are higher in Okinawa than in Tokyo, Japan's most expensive city. An egg costs 7 cents in Okinawa, 4 cents in Tokyo; an apple 19 cents, compared with 7 cents; a head of cauliflower 14 cents, compared with 11 cents.

Taxes, which have become the hottest political issue in Okinawa, are much higher for low wage earners than in Japan. A worker with a wife and three children earning \$100 a month pays \$8.95 in Okinawan taxes, while the same man in Japan is exempt from taxes. A bachelor earning \$50 a month in Okinawa pays \$4.41 in taxes; in Japan he pays \$1.02.

Stout, the labor director, sees no major unemployment problem as long as the increase in gross national product does not fall below 7 per cent. Of the present 27,000 unemployed — about 1 per cent of the population — all except 3,000 are incapable of gainful work because of disabilities, Stout said.

Distribution of income also points to a weakness in the economy. The 40 per cent of the population engaged in agriculture, forestry, and fishing earns only 13 per cent of the income, according to Col. Edward J. Dehne, director of the civil administration's social welfare department.

The trend toward wage crop

— sugar cane — agriculture based upon the Japanese market continues to grow. Last year sugar products accounted for 66 per cent of the islands' income from exports.

Caraway, in his economic message, called the Okinawan "sugar industry" largely non-competitive in the world market, remaining a high cost, single market product. Much of the trouble, however, has been created by the Okinawans.

### Plan Power Plant

The Ryukyuan government, which a few years ago gave permission to two firms to establish rival sugar refineries in Nishihara, is now trying to effect a merger. Retries on Yagayama Island with the most modern equipment face the same problem. One of them expected only 45 days of refining operations this year.

A new 14.7 million dollar

power plant at Kin on Okinawa, water supplies, and no doctors greatly to the economy of Yagayama Island, but residents objected to fulfill the present copiers evacuate patients to have to rely upon boats as their main means of transportation because of a lack of roads. MANY United States applicants expected to contribute plans to Japanese aid.

A sewer system for the capital city of Naha with a population of more than 200,000 has been put off repeatedly because of Congress' refusal to grant the aid American authorities here requested.

Many of the other islands have no electricity, sewers, or

# U.S. GENERAL

## HAS FINAL SAY OVER OKINAWA

### Uses Powers Fairly, Critics Admit

Samuel Jameson, chief of The Tribune's Tokyo bureau, has just completed a detailed study of the situation in Okinawa, largest American military base in the Pacific, where contending political forces—American occupation administrators, Japanese and Okinawans, including Communists—are dealing with potentially explosive problems. This is the fourth of a series.

BY SAMUEL JAMESON

(Chicago Tribune Press Service)

Naha, Okinawa, April 28 — Lt. Gen. Paul W. Caraway rules over 908,000 Okinawans and to them his word is law.

Caraway, 56, whose father and mother served as United States senators from Arkansas, possesses absolute legislative and administrative power over Okinawans as high commissioner. He has the power to reprieve and pardon criminals or commute their sentences.

In addition he is commander of all United States military operations in the Ryukyu Islands.

That he has used his overwhelming powers over the Okinawans wisely and with dis-



Lt. Gen. Paul W. Caraway

cretion is attested to by even his severest critics, who never condemn him without a word of praise first.

Admits He Works Hard

Even a member of the highly critical Japanese press corps here said of him: "The man who is really concerned about the welfare of the Okinawa people is not Satsaku Ota, chief executive of the Ryukyu government, but Gen. Caraway, who works late into the night while Ryukyu government officials go home at 4 in the afternoon."

Caraway, who will be replaced as high commissioner Aug. 1 by Lt. Gen. Albert Watson II, has consistently come to bat for aid to the Okinawans before Congress.

The general, who holds a law degree from Georgetown university, cites Okinawa statistics off hand with accuracy; constantly tours the islands inspecting development projects, talking to villagers; and, according to an aide, devotes more of his 16 working hours a day to Ryukyuan matters than to his military duties.

His Decision Final

With post-war service in China, Korea, and Japan, Caraway has broad experience in the far east, the security of which is intimately connected with the military bastion he supervises.

Altho Japan is recognized as the "residual sovereign" of the former Japanese prefecture, the high commissioner's decisions are final, barring an appeal to Washington.

He can veto the appointment of the chief executive of the Ryukyuan government and remove him or any other public official from office at any time.

### Rules Over Ota's

Caraway also has the power to create laws himself and to veto or annul any law enacted by the Okinawan legislature. For security reasons, he can assume authority over all matters in the island chain.

The high commissioner is charged by a 1957 directive signed by former President Eisenhower with promoting democracy and preserving basic liberties of the Okinawans. Should the Okinawans feel their rights have been deprived, their only recourse is to appeal courts over which the high commissioner has ultimate authority.

In addition, Caraway runs a 68 million dollar financial empire with water, oil, and electrically state monopolies, a development to a corporation and the controlling share in the Bank of the Ryukyus. He also administers 10 million dollars in American aid, and has the final say on the use of 22 million dollars in Ryukyuan tax money thru control over the local governmental budget.

Consult on Bills

In actual practice, Caraway has exercised his power to the greatest extent in the legislative field. He hasn't vetoed any legislation but few Ryukyuan laws are enacted without obtaining American consent in advance.

The high commissioner's American civil administration

has a department to match nearly every administrative and legislative body of the Ryukyuan government. Consultations on proposed bills are carried on thru the corresponding American and Ryukyuan departments "down to the finest details," according to Akio Nagamine, speaker of the Ryukyuan legislature.

When consultations don't produce accord, Caraway sends memorandums informing the lawmakers of his displeasure.

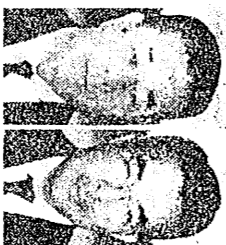
He says Okinawans "can have as much power as they are willing to accept the responsibility for." He maintains that Ryukyuan legislators can do whatever they wish with his memorandums.

Orders Veto of Raise

One case in which Caraway differed with the Okinawans, the high commissioner, in effect, ordered the chief executive of the Ryukyus to veto a law last summer.

The Okinawa postal and Communications Workers union negotiated a 10 per cent pay increase. Caraway, however, had previously issued on May 16 a memorandum specifying that pay raises for government workers should be limited to 4 1/2 per cent.

When the legislature went ahead and passed a budget including the 10 per cent pay raise for the postal workers.



Akio Nagamine (left) and Satsaku Ota.

Caraway sent a letter to Satsaku Ota, chief executive, on Aug. 16, which said in part:

"The high commissioner is confident that after the necessary study and upon mature consideration, the chief executive will take the action which is necessary and proper in view of the real need for expanding service to the people by the postoffice."

### Action Rouses Anger

Ota subsequently vetoed the pay raise provision of the budget.

The action stirred the anger of many Okinawans and provided fuel for anti-American elements in Japan. Actually, the Okinawa legislature had eliminated plans for a new Naha postoffice in order to accommodate the wage increase.

In a speech a year ago, Caraway said that complete self-government for the Ryukyus is a myth and will remain so unless Ryukyus determine of their own free will that they wish once again to become an independent nation-state, and

earn the right to it by mature action.

The general cited several examples in which the Ryukyuan government had shirked responsibility, one of which involved Okinawan banks.

Make Unsecured Loans

For many years the banks of the Ryukyuan Islands were permitted to operate with almost complete license," he said. "As only one example of the malpractice in this area, directors were permitted to make unsecured loans to commercial corporations which they headed," he said.

Okinawans themselves agree that the administrative and political ability of their government is inferior, but maintain that until they are given power to act on their own ability for self-government will not improve.

"It's like telling a child, 'You can't get into water until you know how to swim,'" said Masahiko Kudo, chairman of the economic research institute, University of the Ryukyus. During Caraway's term, as

commissioner, the United States civil administration has issued 15 laws of its own. Since 1945, deducting the number of ordinances which have been rescinded, 200 laws have been created by American authorities.

"We issue no ordinance unless the interests of the United States demand we act before the government of the Ryukyus does," an official of the judicial department said.

President Kennedy, in his statement on Okinawa two years ago, ordered a continuous review of administrative controls to eliminate ones "not essential to the maintenance of the security of the United States military installations." Caraway says such a review is being carried on continuously. (Next: Economic progress and wealth in Okinawa.)

# U. S. Assembles a Mighty Wallop in Ryukyu Islands

## Serve as Heart of Operations in Far East

Samuel Jameson, chief of THE TRIBUNE's Tokyo bureau, has just completed a detailed study of the situation in Okinawa, largest American military base in the Pacific, where contending political forces—American occupation administrators, Japanese and Okinawans, including Communists—are dealing with potentially explosive problems. This is the third of a series.

BY SAMUEL JAMESON  
(Chicago Tribune Press Service)

Naha, Okinawa, April 27—Okinawa is the heart of all American military operations in the far east.

The 400-mile-long Ryukyu Island chain, which stretches from Japan towards Formosa, provides the United States with a staging ground for operations against communist guerrillas in South Viet Nam and against any aggressive move by Red China.

The 72 islands of the chain, of which Okinawa is the principal island, would provide a natural base for a naval blockade of most of mainland China's ports. The air bases could send supersonic F-105 attack fighters carrying nuclear weapons to blast major military targets.

### Missiles Stand Ready

Nike-Hercules, Nike-Hawk, and Mace-B missiles, poised at the belly of the Asian continent from Okinawa launching pads, would be ready to deliver a devastating retaliatory blow if necessary—not only to Red China but to North Viet Nam and North Korea.

The United States—with a division of marines, an air division, the army in the Ryukyus, and a naval forces operation—holds Okinawa by virtue of the San Francisco peace treaty with Japan. An estimated 75,000 Americans, including dependents, are stationed on Okinawa.

Altho Japan ceded all rights to its former prefecture, the United States has promised to return the island chain "when tensions ease in the far east." Military men here are determined that American control of the islands shall not terminate before the communist threat in Asia is eliminated.

exists a communist threat to free world interests in Asia."

Army Lt. Gen. Paul W. Caraway, high commissioner of the Ryukyus and in charge of military operations on Okinawa, put it this way:

"I think Okinawa is very important to United States security and to the security of the western Pacific and far east, and that includes Japan. I think [our presence here] is a necessity. I don't consider that anything we're doing out here is a convenience."

The effort made by the military to convince all Americans who visit or are stationed here of the island's strategic importance is evident on every level—even down to automobile license plates which bear the

phrase, "Okinawa—Keystone of the Pacific."

No Permission Needed

The advantages the United States has in its bases here are found nowhere else. Forces can move in and out at will. Missiles with nuclear warheads can be emplaced without consulting foreign governments.

Return of the islands to Japan would obviously eliminate these advantages because of strong Japanese opposition to nuclear weapons and the requirement in the American security treaty for prior consultation with Japan in case of major troop movements.

Just from the standpoint of Viet Nam, the islands' importance is clear.

Army paratroopers go thru a

jungle training school on Iriomote Island once a year. The 3d marine division operates a 12-week anti-guerrilla warfare course throught the year in a 20,000-acre forest on northern Okinawa. A special forces group, the cream of the army, rotates its men back and forth from South Viet Nam.

Serves as Supply Base

More than 7,000 troops put the finishing touches on earlier guerrilla warfare training in these schools every year.

The army's logistical role in supporting military operations throught the far east also is a vital phase of Okinawan operations. Altho increased air mobility has enabled the United States to move troops great distances in a short period, a

storage area for equipment and weapons still remains an important factor in the ability to mount an operation.

Air force planes landed and took off 288,243 times in fiscal 1963 from Kadena and Naha air bases. Altho the operations were far fewer than the 430,130 registered at Chicago's O'Hare airport in the same period, stacks of aircraft are constantly piled up from 3,300 to 33,000 feet waiting to land at the airfields here.

Planes Ready in Crisis

Air traffic is so thick that pilots frequently find it difficult to get in practice time, according to Lt. Col. M. G. Garner, 313th air division information officer.

During the September-Decem-

ber, 1958, Formosa straits crisis stood ready to act had the Chinese Communists invaded

Quemoy and Matsu Islands. Two other squadrons were dispatched to Formosa itself.

The key attack fighter in Okinawa's air offensive posture, the F-105 Thunderchief, has a range of "beyond 1,500 miles," is capable of speeds of "more than 1,400 miles per hour," can carry 13,000 pounds of bombs, and fire 6,000 rounds a minute from its M-61 Vulcan cannon.

Battalion at Sea

A sizeable force of F-105s stands on constant 15-minute alert status, with others capable of following quickly. Three

squadrons of C-130 turbo-prop transports provide mobility for any mass movement of troops.

Marine mobility is enhanced by a "floating battalion" constantly at sea, ready to be deployed instantly. The normal capability of the marines to mass an invasion force was demonstrated in March when 11,000 marines were sent from Okinawa to Formosa for an amphibious exercise.

In addition, naval harbors at Buckner bay and Naha port service ships of the powerful 7th fleet which provides the major deterrent to communist aggression against Formosa.

(NEXT: The American presence in Okinawa—ruling 900,000 Japanese.)

### Guam Nearest Base

In an official statement, the 313th air division here says:

"Were we to lose Okinawa because of political or military [loss in battle] considerations, the nearest air base possessing comparable facilities is Anderson air base on Guam, 1,200 miles to the east.

"We believe we should never relinquish the advantages we and the free world have from our being here as long as there