

# 琉球大学学術リポジトリ

米国管理下の南西諸島状況雑件 沖縄関係 外紙報道（在米その他公館関係）(2)

メタデータ	言語: 出版者: 公開日: 2019-02-13 キーワード (Ja): キーワード (En): 作成者: - メールアドレス: 所属:
URL	<a href="http://hdl.handle.net/20.500.12000/43807">http://hdl.handle.net/20.500.12000/43807</a>

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アメリカ局長  
参事官  
北米第一課長

第112號

昭和44年2月24日

外務大臣殿

在ホノルル

吉岡總領事



沖縄基地に関する Star-Bulletin 論説  
報告

2月11日付 Honolulu Star-Bulletin 紙は「沖縄の基地」と題する論説を掲げ、沖縄問題はニクソン大統領の外交政策上もつとむ苦難にみちた課題となりあうと論評した。その要旨下記のとおり。同件記事切抜別添御参考までに報告申しあげます。

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要処理
官事務官
前
海外調査
漁業
航空
科学協力
連絡調整
調査
カナダ
庶務



GA-4

外務省

なお、同紙は2月11日より同14日まで4日間にわたり、John Roderick AP特派員の沖縄に対する特別記事(1. アメリカのディレンマ: 沖縄をどうするべきか、2. 沖縄の台風と財閥、3. 課税問題、4. イトナへの建設基地等)を連載したので、同記事切抜同封送付する。

記

ニクソン大統領は前2代の大統領が公約した沖縄の毎日返還問題を引継ぐことになった。同大統領が決断すべき厄介な問題は数億ドルに値する沖縄の基地をどのように処理するかということである。

佐藤政権は沖縄の核付返還を受けかたにみうせられ、同総理は国会において、核付沖縄基地の返還は憲法の規定に抵触するものではない旨

GA-4

外務省

を明らかにし、また、同総理の代弁者は沖縄  
基地の存在は日本の安全を維持お上に役立  
つだろうと述べている。これに并し沖縄及び日本  
本土から沖縄の核兵器とB-52戦略爆撃機  
の撤退を要求する反対の声が起つた。アサヒ  
イブニング、ニュース紙は米軍の北爆停止措  
置に徴し、B-52爆撃機が沖縄基地から即  
時撤去されるべきであると主張している。

米軍は沖縄問題につき、日本政府以上に  
以上の要求が望ましいと述べている。米軍は佐藤政権  
の長期維持を望む政策をとることが必要とされて  
いるのである。

昨秋沖縄駐在S.S. Carpenter  
米民政務長は、軍基地所在地で住民の  
基地に反対している  
問題をいかに解決するか、これを効果的に  
効果的に運営することをいふとは歴史  
的に証明されていると声明したが、James

以下に通用の長期維持を望む政策をとることが必要とされて

佐藤内閣との合意

B. Lampert 新米國空軍司令官は最近局長  
沖縄主席に并し、沖縄の米軍基地問題は  
ワシントンで決められるべき問題であると伝え  
たと報道されている。

何れにしても今やワシントンが沖縄問題の  
解決というまじしい課題に当面向して  
あり、ベトナム戦争が一旦終結した場合は、  
米軍が沖縄から撤退するべきという議論は、  
年々増大しつつある国防費の現状から抗し  
難いであろう。

付屬添付

本信字送付先： 米大 (付属者略)

# Honolulu Star-Bulletin

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Published at 605 Kapihani Boulevard / Honolulu, Hawaii

Tuesday, February 11, 1969

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## The Okinawa bases

Okinawa — the subject of four articles beginning on these pages today — promises to give the Nixon Administration one of its horniest foreign policy problems.

President Nixon has little recourse but to follow the commitments of his two predecessors and return Okinawa to Japan.

This is not the problem. The touchy questions he must resolve have to do with the billion dollars worth of U.S. military bases on Okinawa.

The Sato government seems willing to accept return of Okinawa with the U.S. bases intact, even the nuclear weapons facilities. Prime Minister Sato announced in the Diet last week that there were no constitutional problems posed by the acceptance of Okinawa with the U.S. nuclear bases still in operation there.

Such bases would help maintain the safety of the Japanese people, one of his deputies argued.

But loud voices have been raised in both Okinawa and Japan against this policy. The cry is for withdrawal of both nuclear weapons and the long-range B-52 bombers. Asahi Evening News suggests that in view of the cessation of bombing of North Vietnam the B-52s could and should be removed at once.

The U.S. needs more than an accord with the Sato government. It needs a policy it can live with for the long term, even beyond Sato.

"We have learned from history that a military base cannot be effectively operated in an area where people are hostile to its presence," it was declared last fall by Stanley S. Carpenter, who heads the American civil administration on Okinawa.

What U.S. arms are present on Okinawa is a matter that is decided in Washington, the new U.S. high commissioner, Lt. Gen. James B. Lampert, is reported to have said last week to the new Okinawa chief executive, Chobyo Yara.

Washington has a tough one on its hands in the case. The arguments for a phased withdrawal once the Vietnam War ends are compelling, particularly in the light of the statistics below.

## The fat god, Mars

Shocking figures on the escalation of the world arms race have been issued by the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

The energy and wealth diverted to weaponry instead of to the wars against poverty, hunger, ignorance and overpopulation is nothing but dismay.

If President Nixon could do nothing more than reverse this trend (his delay of the anti-ballistic missile system is a hopeful sign) he would more than earn his \$200,000 a year salary.

Some items:

- World military expenditures reached \$182 billion in 1967, up more than 50 per cent from 1962, and 1968 will certainly be higher.

- Current military expenditures are equivalent to the total annual income produced by people living in Latin America, South Asia and the Near East. They are 40 per cent greater than the worldwide expenditure on education at all levels of government three times the total of all national expenditures on public health.

- So far in this century, the world has spent \$4,000 billion on wars and military preparedness. If the current rate of increase continues this figure could double in the next 10 years. Even at present spending levels it will double in 20.
- Expenditures surged up sharply in 1966 and 1967 after two years of comparatively small changes.

- The increase in worldwide outlays for defense since 1964 is considerably larger than the increase in population, a 38 per cent rise in military expenditures compared with a 7 per cent increase in population.
- The relative rise in military expenditures from 1964 to 1967 had been more rapid than the growth of the world GNP.

- The average expenditure per soldier worldwide is \$7,800 as compared with an average of \$100 for public expenditure on education for each of the estimated one billion young people in the world's school-age population.
- Only 36 countries, out of 120, spent as much on public health programs as on military programs.

The leading military spender among all 120 nations is, of course, the United States.

东 方

HONOLULU STAR-BULLETIN  
FEB // 1969

# American dilemma: What to do about Okinawa

This is the first of four articles by John Roderick, Associated Press writer, illustrated by Max Desfor, on Okinawa, key American base off the coast of Asia.

By John Roderick

NAHA (AP)—Buildings quiver and windows rattle as the giant B-52s roar off to lay their deadly eggs in South Vietnam. The big birds dramatize an American dilemma: what to do about Okinawa.

The B-52s—big, powerful and noisy—flew in from the U.S. territory of Guam a year ago, moving them 1,200 miles closer to their Vietnam war targets.

The 75,000 American military men and civilians here thrilled to their presence as highly visible evidence of more powerful U.S. support for hard-pressed allied forces at the front.

BUT TO THE million inhabitants of the Ryukyu Islands—of which Okinawa is the center—they were a brooding and insistent reminder of the hard fact that they are men and women without a country.

For the Ryukyus Islands—once the southernmost prefecture of Japan—have been to all intents and purposes an American colony since their seizure by U.S. soldiers in the last and bitterest battle of World War II.

Placed under the administration of a high commissioner chosen from the ranks of active U.S. general officers, governed by the Department of the Army, Okinawa has been turned into a powerful complex of military bases supplying—and now actively backing—the half million U.S. fighting men in Vietnam.

LOBSTER-SHAPED, 67 miles long and from 2½ to 17 miles wide, the Ryukyus consist of the main island groups of Okinawa, Yaeyama and Miyako (Amami Oshima to the north was returned to Japan in 1953).

The importance of the American bases lies not only in their unrestricted use but in their situation: 900 miles southwest of Tokyo, 800 northeast of Hong Kong, 1,400 from Danang in South Vietnam, and—perhaps significantly for the future—a scant 600 miles from Shanghai.

The huge staging area operates without let or hindrance from anyone but the planners in the Pentagon; for 23 years the Okinawans—about 50,000 of whom find work on the bases—have quietly stood aside while the United States went about the business of war on their land.

OKINAWA'S unique position in the U.S. network of overseas bases was referred to—with a veiled reference to its nuclear stockpile—by the fifth of the U.S. high commissioners, Lt. Gen. Ferdinand T. Unger, in a farewell address Jan. 20.

"Nowhere else in Asia," he said, "does the United States have complete freedom to station, deploy and support balanced forces equipped with the full range of modern military resources. Only in Okinawa can we deploy forces to any threatened area in Asia. Only through Okinawa can we provide unrestricted logistical support



what Nixon decides will set up shock waves through the Pacific.

The first to feel its effect will be Sato's conservative government, closely allied to the U.S., but struggling with the anguished question of whether to re-arm massively—as it may have to do if the U.S. pulls out of Okinawa—or to continue to let the Americans pull the chestnuts out of the defense fire.

GENERALLY OBLIVIOUS to the high-level discussions swirling around them, the more or less permanently based American marines, soldiers, sailors, airmen and civilians on the Okinawan bases are—as in bases everywhere—nearly hermetically sealed off from the outside world.

Behind high fences, guards and police dogs they can, if they wish, live out their tours of duty without once stepping off the neatly groomed, clinically clean base areas.

Everything they wish—brought in by ship from the U.S.—exists for their work and play: offices, barracks, hospitals, post offices, laundries, bakeries, churches, post exchanges, commissaries, libraries, movies, tennis courts, golf courses, swimming pools, clubs and the ultimate necessity—morgues.

THE AMERICANS here, helped by specially trained Okinawans, work hard and long to keep open the pipeline of supplies and men—60,000 marines pour through Camp Butler in the north each month—to and from Vietnam.

But to many Okinawans, who see them in their big automobiles, smoking cigars or patronizing the expensive fun spots of Okinawa, after dark, they represent the affluence of an America which can afford to fight a distant war and still think of luxuries.

Nowhere are the contrasts more apparent than on Kokusai Doro and U.S. Highway No. 1 in Okinawa's capital city of Naha. They are as different as Japanese sashimi (raw fish) and American cheeseburgers.

BUILT AND maintained by the U.S. Highway One runs the length of Okinawa, connects with all the American bases. Four lanes in the Naha area, but narrower up country, it is the only main artery on the island and consequently the scene of frequent night-

tional Underwriters and the Central Baptist Church, among many.

There are testimonials to American generosity and sentimentality ("Shima Travel Center, child adoption, visa to U.S.A."); American improvidence ("King Pawnshop," "Automobiles financed, bought, sold"); and rough usage ("New tire and used tire sails and repairs").

ROUTE ONE dips into the huge Koza entertainment area, outside the big Kadena airbase, where sailors, Marines and GI's seek out the usual expensive solaces of drink, plant "mushumes" (prostitution flourishes on Okinawa), and brawls which sometimes pit black against white. Though they work, eat and sleep in the same military barracks, U.S. Negroes and whites gravitate to their own girls and bars, creating self-imposed segregation. Trouble starts when either side crosses the line.

There are few hotels on Route One, possibly the best, is the Tokyo Ryukyu which faces onto the turquoise-colored sea.

Its "Golden Room" offers Kobe steaks and lobsters (\$10 each is the average) and a Japanese girl troupe which dances the Charleston and Black Bottom with style.

BESIDES THE "Golden Room" there are a succession of hamburger stands (Peyton Place is a favorite of the teen set), pizza joints, steak houses and Chinese restaurants along the route. For some of them, the American teenager is a menace. Prodded perhaps by boredom, these "Army brats" pour chocolate in the sugar bowls, set fire to the paper napkins, turn up their portable radios to deafening decibels, walk out without paying the bill.

Their antics, however, are child's play compared to those of Okinawan juvenile delinquents: their thing is stealing American cars, preferably Mustangs, racing them up and down the island, then stripping them of everything removable.

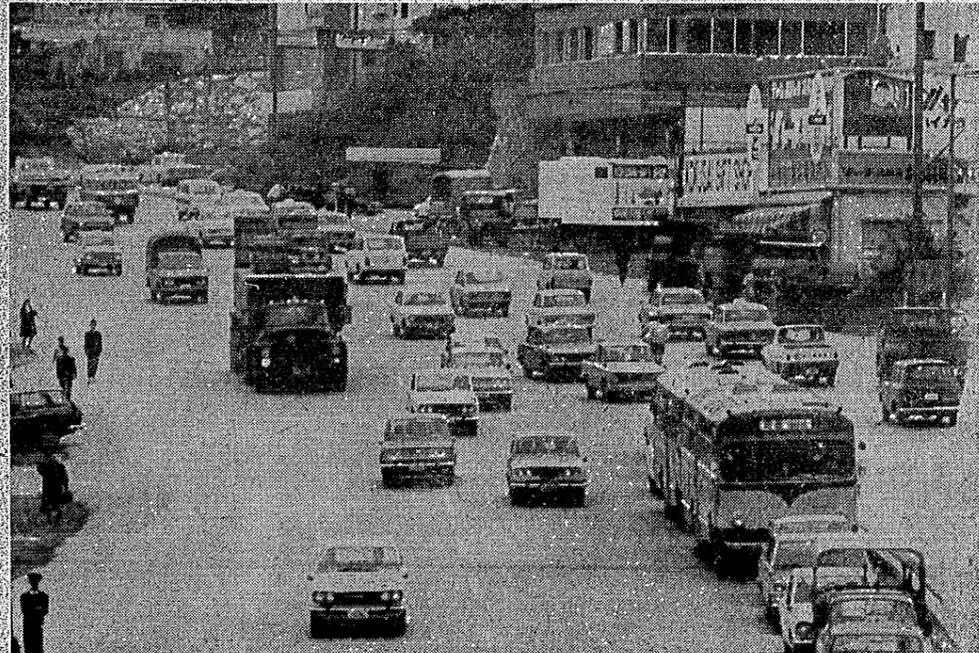
Piqued—it is said—by the conspicuous prosperity of the Americans, they break into U.S. off-base housing areas, often packing their loot into the American family car. As a result, windows in all houses are, prison-like, iron barred, savage police dogs keep a vigil outside.

OKINAWAN POLICE are too few and too ineffectual; a new private police force has been set up whose guards can be hired by the night or the hour.

Wherever one goes along Route One—or in the Ryukyus—the dollar is the medium of exchange both for the military and the Okinawans. Taxis are 15 cents a mile, buses 5 cents; there is still a five-cent telephone, even a five-cent cigar.

The dollar goes a long way in such items as Okinawan glass (rough and delightfully primitive), beer, Scotch whisky and automobiles. But other items such as vegetables and housing are high.

THE MILITARY and Army civilians are subject to U.S. taxes but American businessmen on their own pay less income tax than do the Okinawans; it is



Highway No. 1 runs the entire length of Okinawa

whose decor suggests coldness rather than warmth.

The variety of consumer goods available is small and of generally low quality with the exception of watches and cameras, most of them imported from Japan.

Strolling down the avenue it is easy to forget that the bases—a stone's throw away—exist.

But they are in the forefront of the thinking of the men at USCAR (U.S. Civil Administration, Ryukyus), who occupy uninspired green buildings off Route One; in the American military commands; in the panelled offices of new Ryukyuan chief executive Chobyo Yara and nearby in the drab offices of the Okinawa Teachers' Association (OTA).

AS OF TODAY, the United States and Japan are generally agreed that Okinawa must be given back soon. The immediate question is when and how.

The U.S. wants to maintain full freedom of operation after reversion, as well as the nuclear stockpile no one admits—but everyone privately concedes—exists on Okinawa.

An outspoken former Ryukyuan high commissioner, put the case baldly for the military in 1968. In a Center for Strategic Studies panel study, retired Lt. Gen. Paul W. Caraway said unless the United States retains free and unrestricted use of the Okinawa bases, the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty will be a net liability.

But both in Okinawa and in Japan there is a hue and cry to bring the bases under Security Treaty restrictions—the U.S. must consult Japan before moving ships, planes or men to war areas—which govern American bases now in the four main Japanese islands.

SATO HIMSELF has not spelled out his bargaining position but his foreign minister, Aichi Kiichi, suggested on

Throughout this period—roughly until the 1960s—the Okinawans quietly endured their lot, a gentle, pliant people who, the Americans admitted, gave little or no trouble.

Reversion had been the slogan of the Okinawa Teachers Association (OTA), led by Chobyo Yara, since the 1950s, but no one paid much attention.

Because of its role in the Vietnam war—which they violently opposed—Okinawa became a rallying cry for Japan's leftists, Communists and extremist students; it also touched a nationalist chord.

The B-25s, with their direct bombing links to Vietnam, have raised the reversion fever. Despite the agitation, however, conservative circles both in Naha and Tokyo regard Okinawa's return with some trepidation.

TO THE OKINAWANS loss of U.S. aid may well mean going back to being the poorest—and most neglected—of Japan's prefectures. Without an industrial system or an efficient agriculture, Okinawans live on a "base economy" one which boosted the per capita income from \$121 a year in 1953 to \$580 in 1968, has given the economy a growth rate (from an admittedly low base) of between 18 per cent and 19 per cent in the past two years.

Should the U.S. decide to remove its bases entirely, the result would be economic catastrophe: the national income, of \$560 million in 1968, came largely from U.S. expenditures on Vietnam, upkeep of the bases and American spending.

From Sato's standpoint, reversion means the end of a unique bargain: at no cost to herself, Japan has received massive conventional and nuclear protection in an area close to its shore without exposing its anti-nuclear, no-war, policy to embarrassing political attack.

weeks of bargaining in Tokyo to get a \$63 million development aid commitment to put beside the U.S. contribution of \$25 million.

Yara gives an attentive ear to the teachers, particularly to 40-year-old Hiroaki Fukuchi, chief of OTA's political and economic section, called "Kuro-maku No Hito" (behind the black screen) by Okinawans.

A former high school teacher, Fukuchi thinks reversion will come within five years, is against allowing free U.S. use of the bases afterwards. He says it is time the U.S. faces the realities and names a civilian high commissioner—"who could more easily understand the Okinawan people's mentality"—in place of a general.

YARA'S SUCCESSOR as president of the teachers' association is Shinei Kyan, 55, a ruggedly handsome former physical education teacher, locally famed as a seven-dan, black belt karate expert.

He opposes the use of violence in pushing for reversion, says the association will not resort to it. So far, Okinawan demonstrations against the U.S. have been tepid, with a knot of university students the most belligerent group. An incident could change all this, however, and now Okinawans are being given some visual examples of how to riot by Japan Broadcasting Corp. (NHK) television broadcasts of Japanese university riots brought live to Naha by microwave.

Though he has many American friends, admires what he calls their "humanism," and has an American son-in-law, Kyan says the Army treats Okinawans condescendingly, usually rules in favor of its own interests rather than the welfare of the Okinawans on matters such as the noise nuisance created by the B-52s.

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NOW, AFTER more than two decades of almost absolute American rule, the facts of international politics have caught up with Okinawa, among the last of the conquered enemy lands (West Berlin and Micronesia are the others) still held by the United States after the war. (Micronesia is held under a United Nations Trusteeship.)

The clamor for Okinawa's return to Japan has reached a climax both here and in Tokyo. The new U.S. President, Richard Nixon, will be asked by Premier Eisaku Sato this fall to set a firm date for "ittaika," reunification with the motherland.

Since Okinawa is regarded by the Pentagon as the keystone not only to the Vietnam war effort but to the future U.S. security posture in Asia,

courts, golf courses, swimming pools, clubs and the ultimate necessity—morgues.

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From it radiate a few secondary roads, some of them surfaced but most of them pot-holed, badly maintained and made of dirt and gravel.

Over Number One—at 30 miles an hour—move automobiles of many countries, but chiefly lumbering outsize American models or the neat, compact makes of Japan.

THERE ARE buses (Okinawa has no railways, street cars or subways) and taxis, both cheap but sometimes not readily available. The bicycles, pedicabs and motorized tricycles of other Southeast Asia countries are nowhere to be seen.

Interspersed among the Japanese signs along Route One are the familiar hallmarks of America: All Souls Episcopal Church, United of Omaha, Deb's Supermarket, Pepsi-Cola, Coca-Cola, Tuttle Books, Williams International, Crown Distributors, American Interna-

Piqued—it is said—by the conspicuous prosperity of the Americans, they break into U.S. off-base housing areas often packing their loot into the American family car. As a result, windows in all houses are, prison-like, iron barred, savage police dogs keep a vigil outside.

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THE MILITARY and Army civilians are subject to U.S. taxes but American businessmen on their own pay less income tax than do the Okinawans; it is an incentive to investment.

If Highway One is "Little America," Kokusai Doro which runs off it is, despite its name (International Avenue), a bit of next-door Japan. The main shopping street of Naha, it resembles the Ginza of any sizable Japanese city.

It is dominated by the Yamagata and Ogoshi department stores and is crammed with small shops, many of them selling the crocodile leather, batik, and glass which are island specialties.

On Kokusai Doro hardly an English sign is visible and the American influence seems never to have been felt. An old-fashioned lot, the Okinawans have not taken, either, to the smart coffee shops and cozy "stand" bars of the mainland; they are few and far between.

THE ONLY IMPORTANT hotel nearby is the new Kowa, run by Chinese interests; a modern building

new Ryukyuan chief executive Onopyo Yara and nearby in the drab offices of the Okinawa Teachers Association (OTA).

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But both in Okinawa and in Japan there is a hue and cry to bring the bases under Security Treaty restrictions—the U.S. must consult Japan before moving ships, planes or men to war areas—which govern American bases now in the four main Japanese islands.

SATO HIMSELF has not spelled out his bargaining position but his foreign minister, Aichi Kiichi, suggested on Jan. 21 that the Americans be permitted to maintain their freedom of action—and atomic punch—for some time after the reversion. The status of the bases could be negotiated afterwards, he said.

This "solution" touched off protests among leftist Okinawans and Japanese; it is sure to be the subject of demonstrations and possible violence if it is pushed through.

No one is quite sure how Okinawan reversion became such a hot issue, one which Sato says is his chief priority for 1969. Governed by a series of often incompetent, sometimes corrupt military men from 1945 to 1949, Okinawa stayed out of the news until Typhoon Gloria laid it low and the Communists seized China.

THESE TWIN disasters prompted the Army to take a hard, new look; soon it began to grow as a permanent base, proved its worth in the Korean war which followed soon after.

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From Sato's standpoint, reversion means the end of a unique bargain: at no cost to herself, Japan has received massive conventional and nuclear protection in an area close to its shore without exposing its anti-nuclear, no-war policy to embarrassing political attack.

YARA, SURPRISE winner last November of the first election of a chief executive (earlier ones were appointed by the high commissioner), remains the main mover for reversion.

White-haired and balding, he decided to retire last year from the OTA to concentrate on his hobby of orchid raising. But he was persuaded by the three opposition parties—Socialist Masses, Socialists and Okinawa Peoples Party—to run against the favored Okinawa Liberal Democratic candidate.

He won, not so much because of the opposition backing, but because of his teacher connections: a country which clings to old communal and family ties, teachers are revered here.

AS AN OPPOSITION chief executive—the 32-member legislature is run by 18 newly elected conservatives—Yara has to fight the reluctance of Sato's conservatives to give him a political lift by granting him what he wants. Money is paramount, and it took Yara

sioner—who could more easily understand the Okinawan people's mentality—in place of a general.

YARA'S SUCCESSOR as president of the teachers' association is Shinei Kyan, 65, a ruggedly handsome former physical education teacher, locally famed as a seven-dan, black belt karate expert.

He opposes the use of violence in pushing for reversion, says the association will not resort to it. So far, Okinawan demonstrations against the U.S. have been tepid, with a knot of university students the most belligerent group. An incident could change all this; however, and now Okinawans are being given some visual examples of how to riot by Japan Broadcasting Corp. (NHK) television broadcasts of Japanese university riots brought live to Naha by microwave.

Though he has many American friends, admires what he calls their "humanism," and has an American son-in-law, Kyan says the Army treats Okinawans condescendingly, usually rules in favor of its own interests rather than the welfare of the Okinawans on matters such as the noise nuisance created by the B-52s.

THAT THE B-52s are here at all is, in the words of one well-placed American, the result of the long-time refusal of the Department of the Army and the State Department to recognize that a political problem exists on Okinawa.

Acting as though it planned to stay here 50 years, the Army sent out "barracks-room types" to rule a sensitive people, persisted in neglecting their reasonable demands for economic improvement, he says.

The B-52s are only one of a number of irritants which could have been anticipated and softened with any kind of diplomacy, he adds.

Meanwhile, the ominous-looking planes continue to ferry their deadly cargoes to and from the war front. On Jan. 17, "very big, very visible, very noisy" (in the words of another American) they formed a backdrop in the lowering sky as Ferdinand T. Unger said farewell to a troubled island few Americans had heard of before the outbreak of the Vietnam war.



Women vendors offer their wares in Okinawan fish market



Homes of U.S. service men on base resemble American suburb

# Okinawa, its typhoons and tycoons

This is the second of four articles by John Roderick, Associated Press writer, on Okinawa. The illustrations are by Pulitzer prize-winning AP photographer Max Desjar.

By John Roderick

NAHA (AP)—The rich and powerful of Okinawa are called the "shi-tenno," or four emperors. The gratitude and goodwill of plain military men from the United States put them where they are today.

A land often ravaged by typhoons, Okinawa — main island of the Ryukyu Island chain — was sent reeling in 1945 by a human storm more appalling than any created by nature. The last desperate battle of World War II, it left 250,000 Okinawans and 10,000 American corpses on the wasted land.

When the "iron typhoon" had subsided the American victor stood indecisively for four years amid the ruins, uncertain what to do with so poor a prize.

IN 1949, ANOTHER typhoon — from the sea — worked more havoc, did \$80 million damage; this, and the emergence of communism on the Chinese mainland, prodded the United States out of its reverie. Okinawa became a U.S. military base from which it was hoped, communism could be contained in Asia.

Uncertain where to turn — most of the island's leaders had been killed or had fled — the new American military rulers of Okinawa turned to those closest at hand, the men who had been friendliest, who were willing to cooperate and spoke enough English to be understood.

From the ranks of these formerly unknown Okinawans came the new millionaires, as the American occupation handed out contracts for construction, power, fuel, materials, transportation — the raw materials of new bases and new cities.

"THEY SHOWED flexibility," said one American, "in supporting the American base presence here."

As Okinawa staggered back to normal, the need for goods and services mounted; the emperors grew in stature until they had a finger in nearly every pie.

Today, working through organizations bearing fancy titles, their influence is everywhere, their conservative views solicited in the upper echelons of the U.S. military government.

Though they do not say so publicly — nationalism is on the rise — they regard the campaign for the return of Okinawa to Japan with some anxiety. Their stake in the U.S. presence is high; should reversion drive the bases from Okinawa, their future might be bleak.

THE FOUR tennos are Oshiro Kamaichi, Sosei Gushiken, Kotaro Kokuba and Jinshiro Miyagi.

Kamaichi's Taisenkwai (Large Fan Association) controls construction, department stores, the distribution of imported movies, fertilizer, sake, real estate, Naha port transportation, foreign trade, the Naha terminal building, and textiles.

Gushiken's holdings are less numerous: beer, soybean sauce, oil, asphalt, foreign trade and ship building are conducted under his Ryuhokwai (Ryukyus Phoenix Association).



The commercial side of the port of Naha, Okinawa's capital.

why American — and some Japanese — economists despair of creating a viable industrial base on Okinawa.

Another is the fact that Okinawa, a land of few raw materials, has a backward agriculture. The reliance of the economy on the American bases, though immediately helpful, is regarded as unhealthy for the long run.

Should the bases be removed, half of the million Ryukyans would have to emigrate to Japan or starve, some authorities say.

THE OFFICIAL picture the U.S. paints of Okinawa is, understandably, not so somber. Lt. Gen. Ferdinand Unger, the outgoing U.S. high commissioner, boasted in a farewell speech of the gross national product, which touched \$644 million in 1968, the average annual increase in GNP of 18 per cent or more in the last five years, and the per capita income of \$580, which he called second in Asia only to Japan.

But after speaking of the "prosperous people, thriving society and economy," he noted "some serious problems underlying this prosperity." The economy, he said, is heavily dependent on financial inputs from the outside: last year, direct and indirect U.S. contributions came to about \$260 million, 40 per cent of the GNP; an inadequate local industry and scarce resources produced a staggering trade deficit of \$290 million.

What's more, he added, the U.S.-sponsored government lacks the tax resources to provide the services a modern society demands.

BUT U.S.-JAPANESE-Okinawan cooperation is making "real progress" in meeting these problems, he said.

Other Americans, speaking privately, are less optimistic about what has been done and will be done.

One senior economist says the U.S. has failed in the mission entrusted it by the 1952 Japan peace treaty to give Okinawa a viable economy.

"Many proposals could have been put forward five years ago, when we didn't have political pressures," he said. "We have concentrated on the infrastructure: roads, power, water systems, pouring tremendous amounts into them, but very little into industrial expansion, or secondary industry."

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ANOTHER SENIOR American government adviser who deplores the four emperors' setup says it is a form of paternalism which chokes off competition in favor of family-type corporations, worse still, discourages the foreign investor who cannot hope to compete against their many-tentacled empires.

He adds that U.S. and Japanese investments in Okinawa have been "very poor," partly because few inducements have been offered.

Currently, the most encouraging investment has been that of American oil companies. Gulf's stake already is high. Now bidding is on for a 10-year

military contract to supply fuel oil for the power needs of the bases, as well as a three-year contract for all other oil and gas needs.

Caltex and Esso, which have plants in Japan, and Kaiser and Gulf, which do not, are bidding. The latter two have tied in with Imamine's Ryukyu Oil Corp. and Miyagi's Ryukyu Cement, possibly with a look to the future when Okinawa will be Japanese again. The Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI) in Tokyo is watching developments with a sharp eye.

THE WINNER will have to build a refinery on Okinawa, which will require roads leading to it. USCAR (U.S. Civil Administration, Ryukyus) hopes

the \$100 million investment which results will give the Okinawan economy a boost.

USCAR officials say that they have tried without success to entice Japan into sharing some of its prosperity with the Okinawans, either through a motor assembly plant, establishing a component of its steel industry here, shipbuilding or refineries. Similarly, big American firms have hesitated to invest in an area which could revert to Japanese hands tomorrow.

"Okinawan prosperity is based on the presence of American forces," said a U.S. adviser, summing it up. "If reversion comes, even tremendous amounts of aid from Japan could not maintain this same level of prosperity."



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Kokuba's Kokuwa-Kai (Peace and Serenity Association) is more extensive: construction, veneer, cement, movie theaters, sea transportation, trucking, ship building and bowling.

Miyagi's Ryutenkwai (Ryukyus Development) has sugar refining, cigarettes, cement, cattle, sake, sugar, paper bags, pineapples, textiles and entertainment.

A FIFTH emperor is in the making: Ichiro Inamine, whose growing list of companies includes the Ryukyu Petroleum Co.

The concentration of so much wealth in so few hands is one of the reasons

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HE BLAMES the four emperors for having no long-range goals, cites the sugar cane industry as an example of classic inefficiency.

"Most of the financial resources which were available for long-term development loans were tied up by the sugar industry which is subsidized by the Japanese government," he said. Some 21 million aid dollars have gone into sugar loans in the past five years, he added.

Sugar — the biggest Okinawan crop — shouldn't and couldn't exist without the big Japanese subsidy, other Americans say. This year's price is likely to be around \$20 a ton, far more than Ha-



Woman cane field worker is dwarfed by the sugar cane stalks

## Enlightened leprosy control

OKINAWA, the homeland of many thousand migrants to Hawaii, has moved well ahead of Hawaii in leprosy control.

Acting partly on the counsel of the U.S. Public Health Service Hospital

staff from Carville, La., the Ryukyu Islands, of which Okinawa is the major island, have moved to a policy of earnest case-finding and out-patient treatment with a minimum of confinement.

Similar policies for Hawaii are now being weighted by a Citizens Committee on Hansen's Disease (leprosy) appointed to make recommendations to the State Health Department.

ONE OF THE persons called to give testimony to the Hawaii committee was Dr. John R. Trautman, director of the leprosarium at Carville.

He also paid a visit to Okinawa last year to evaluate its programs.

Following are some of the observations he filed with officials in the Ryukyus after his Okinawa visit regarding the leprosy program in Okinawa:

"PROGRESS IN LEPROSY control measures has been made, especially since 1966. Emphasis has been placed on early case finding and treatment and because of these measures, the number of new cases found has increased.

"This is significant in that it follows the patterns set by other areas of the world which have embarked on more effective case finding programs, i.e., an increase in the number of new cases and a decrease in the proportion of far advanced cases.

"The anticipated result is a decrease in the number and degree of disabilities resulting from leprosy, inasmuch as the earlier leprosy is diagnosed, the milder the disease in general, and the easier the disease to manage.

"MORE EMPHASIS has been placed on outpatient care. This is an extremely important step. In 1961, legislation was passed which allows physicians in the Ryukyus to use their best judgment in managing patients

This legislation should eliminate compulsory hospitalization.

"It has been demonstrated in other areas of the world that compulsory hospitalization — isolation — of the patient with leprosy serves mainly to cause a significant number of patients to remain undiagnosed or otherwise hidden from those responsible for managing the disease.

"It has become clear to us that the treated patient is not a public health problem of any real significance; but the undiagnosed case may well be, especially to his immediate family.

"As mentioned earlier, an effective case finding program will cause a rise in the number of new cases. Eventually, however, this increase should reach a plateau and then fall. The end result should be satisfactory control of leprosy. Complete eradication of the disease in a given area cannot be promised, but certainly it can be sought.

"IT IS ESSENTIAL that programs now under way be expanded, that new programs be instituted and that there be maximum cooperation and effort on the part of all concerned. There is much to be done in the future; but the pattern which has already been set in the Ryukyus is a good one. There appears to be no need for radical changes, but modification in methods employed may be necessary, of course, as more experience is gained.

"Training and educational programs need to be further developed and expanded. This would include training of physicians and nurses, especially public health nurses, other ancillary personnel, and eventually the lay public.

There is much to be done in the area of surgical correction of disabilities already present in the patient population, but before an effective program can proceed, further development of physical therapy and occupational therapy programs will be necessary.



The American influence juxtaposed with the traditional

# Taxes bother Hawaiians on Okinawa

This is the third of four articles on Okinawa by John Roderick, Associated Press writer.

By John Roderick

NAHA (AP) — "It's taxation without representation," said Bob Ahn, voicing a gripe which he says is felt by 2,500 Hawaiians from Subic Bay to Nome. Cummins Joy, president of the Hui o Hawaii, and Melvin Abreu, a Hawaiian businessman here, nodded their heads in agreement.

The issue which evoked the reiteration of the cry which made the Boston tea party famous was the Hawaiian State income tax; Hawaii wants Ahn, Joy and his fellow Hawaiians overseas in government jobs to pay it. They say it not only is unjust but illegal.

AHN AND JOY — Abreu arrived in the Ryukyus only recently — are typical of the many Hawaiians who have found a new life in another country while doing skilled jobs for the U.S. military. They pay their federal taxes, but consider that since they have nothing there, their legal residence — at least for tax purposes — isn't Hawaii.

Both Ahn and Joy have been here 19 years, regard it as home away from home. They argue that since they receive none of the civic benefits of Hawaiian residence they should not be forced to pay its taxes.

Yet, ask them why they don't register, as residents of some other state which doesn't impose income taxes, they reply: "We love Hawaii. Why should we?"

THERE ARE 1,000 Hawaiians in the Hui o Hawaii, an association famed for its good works and its luaus. Meeting periodically under the leadership of the white-haired, 56-year-old Joy, they

have built up U.S.-Okinawan relations on a person-to-person basis, speak Japanese fluently.

Among the community projects they undertake are facilities for crippled children, help for an old people's home, contributions for eye examinations and money to rebuild old Okinawan tombs.

"It is the only association which spreads the spirit of aloha," Ahn said.

THEIRS IS NOT the only Hawaiian association on Okinawa; another is made up of Okinawan-Hawaiians who have come back here to retire. They number some 300, are less active than Hui o Hawaii.

Perhaps the reason for this is that hui has Hawaiians of diverse origins. Ahn's father — now 90 — was from Korea; he brought over a picture bride from Seoul; eight of their children are in Hawaii, two in the Far East and two on the Mainland. They have 20 grandchildren and 10 great-grandchildren.

Joy's father went to Hawaii from Portland, Maine, as a boy, became a blacksmith, married a girl of German-Hawaiian origin. Seventeen of

their children are still living of an original 21.

Abreu's mother and father were Portuguese from Macao.

DESPITE THESE varied origins, all three — sitting in Ahn's living room overlooking the turquoise-colored sea — seemed as American as apple pie. Coffee and muffins were on the breakfast table; they lounged in the moderate Okinawan weather in aloha shirts.

Joy, a plumbing foreman for the Marines, and Ahn, 54, an executive of the U.S. civil administration's public works department, find the Ryukyans skilled, probably better as artisans and workers than elsewhere in the Far East.

WHAT IMPRESSED both Joy and Ahn was the fact that despite the poverty when they first got here 19 years ago, there was no begging. "They have pride," Ahn said.

Both have seen Okinawa grow; feel a certain amount of pride themselves in having contributed to that growth.

But about those taxes

"They waited for 10 years to give me a lump sum bill," said Ahn. "It comes to \$16,000. I haven't got the money to pay anything like that."



## Pay, says the law

By Heien L. Alton  
Star-Bulletin Writer

BOB AHN'S NAME is well known to Hawaii tax officials.

He is the leader of a "hard core" of Island residents working overseas who feel they are abused because they must pay State income taxes.

"He is one of those who refuses to pay, who claim they are not Hawaii residents," said State Tax Director Ralph Kondo.

"In a sense, this is correct because they are not residing here," he commented.

BUT THEY ARE caught on a legal stickler—the word "domicile"—in the State income tax law, he explained.

The law provides that anyone whose domicile is Hawaii—who makes Hawaii his permanent home—must pay taxes on income earned within or without the State.

"This is a technical matter and very difficult for them to understand," Kondo said. "After they have been gone 20 years, they feel they are no longer residents."

But legally interpreted, he pointed out, domicile does not require physical presence to constitute residency.

WHETHER someone is a domiciliary resident depends on intent to return, which is illustrated by many factors:

"Retaining a home or leaving possessions in Hawaii, sending children to school here, or claiming Hawaii as his residency on his passport or federal income tax form.

"In rare instances," Kondo added, "we have recognized someone as no longer a resident of Hawaii."

In these cases, he said, the persons have divested themselves of all interests here—"they have left no connecting links"—and they have taken steps to establish legal residence elsewhere.

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ment, made a strong push to collect taxes due on income earned by residents overseas.

Some had not paid State income taxes for 20 years.

So the tax agency sent teams to Japan, Okinawa, Guam and Korea to locate Islanders—most of whom are working on federal contracts—and "educate" them to their tax responsibilities.

"In many cases we have waived penalties and interest because they were unaware of their tax obligations," Kondo said.

"We have been most lenient—as long as they comply.

"Further, if the taxpayer shows that a lump sum payment is a hardship, we arrange for him to pay on an installment basis."

IN CASES where they owe several thousand dollars, he said, "we have advised them to borrow the money and pay it all because they will get a big deduction from both their State and federal taxes. . . . They will come out way ahead."

Kondo said he suspects that some of the chronic complainers want to return to Hawaii, but are holding off because of the tax threat.

And they are hoping the law will be changed to eliminate their tax liabilities.

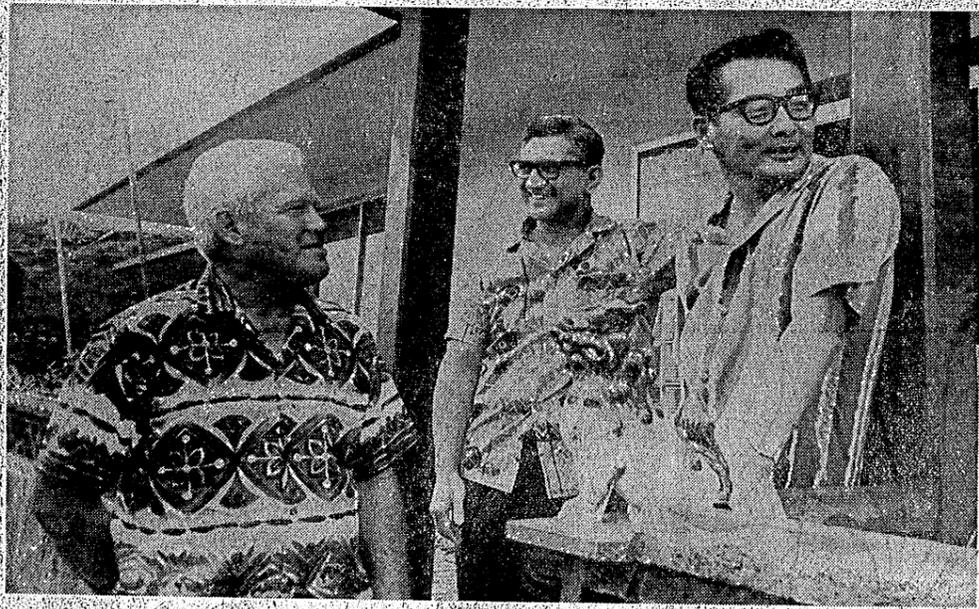
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Thus, it discriminated against Islanders employed in the other 49 states.

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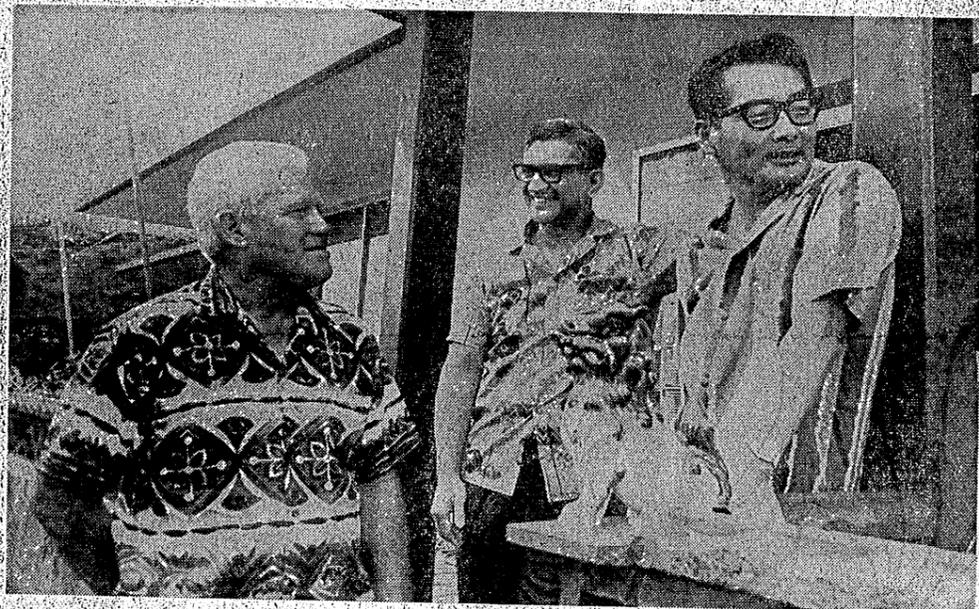
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Cummins Joy, Melvin Abreu, Bob Ahn

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**IN THE EYES** of the Tax Department, 1,660 persons employed in the South Pacific and Far East have not severed relations with Hawaii.

Their total tax bill, based on assessments from 1965 to 1968, comes to more than \$2.5 million.

George Freitas, head of the Income Assessment and Audit Division, said \$319,885 has been collected and others are making monthly payments.

"We are not through with this," he said. "We know there are more people there. We feel there are approximately 2,000 civilian employees working overseas who are residents of Hawaii."

**BUT THE MAJORITY** are filing income tax forms and wiping out their tax obligations voluntarily, he said.

"I just received a check for over \$4,000 the other day."

There is only a "hard core" of residents remaining overseas who have refused to pay their tax bills, he said.

"The State has filed blanket liens against some of these people."

**IT WAS NOT** until 1964 that the State

made a strong push to collect taxes due on income earned by residents overseas.

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Thus, it discriminated against Islanders employed in the other 49 states.

Moreover, the Tax Department recommended the veto on the basis that anyone who is a resident of the State should pay his fair share of the taxes, Kondo said.

He pointed to the argument used by Ahn in protesting the tax requirement: "It's taxation without representation."

"In fact," Kondo said, "they do get benefits because they have the right to vote by absentee ballots and they are the first to make use of the services of our congressional delegates as constituents."

**BUT, HE EMPHASIZED,** "Our income tax law is not based on benefits received, but ability to pay."

"A low-income family with 10 children would be paying more than a bachelor who is a millionaire if it were otherwise."

He said, "The Governor takes the position that every citizen should pay his equal share of taxes."

"And we have recommended to the Governor and the Legislature that we do not exempt the income earned by residents overseas."

# Okinawa: Jump-off point for Vietnam

This is the last of four articles on Okinawa by Associated Press writer John Roderick.

By John Roderick

CAMP HANSEN, Okinawa (AP) — The garish signs reflect the nostalgia and the past of the U.S. Marines: "China Garden," "Club Tokyo Rose," "Pizza Pie."

They decorate the modest building fronts of Kih, a frontier-style Okinawan town at the main gate of this big Marine center, processing center for 60,000 "dog-faces" moving to and from the Vietnam battle areas each month.

Down the street another sign speaks of their off-duty moments: "Club China Night," "Takusan Young Nesan." Freely translated from the Japanese it means: "Lots of young 'elder sisters.'"

INSIDE CAMP HANSEN young Marines still wet behind the ears mingle with tough old sergeants moving — with the help of computers — through the center.

In one of the offices a poster proclaims: "This vacation visit beautiful Vietnam. By Far Eastern Airways." The illustration shows bearded Marines charging into battle.

Inside an enormous hangar, 76,500 Marine duffle bags and hand bags, some upright, some slouching like their human owners, attest to the forward movement of America's fighting men. Left here for stakekeeping by those enroute to Vietnam, they contain the green and khaki uniforms they will not need "down south" (jungarees and jungle uniforms are de rigueur there) and the numerous unclassifiable minutes of everyday life.

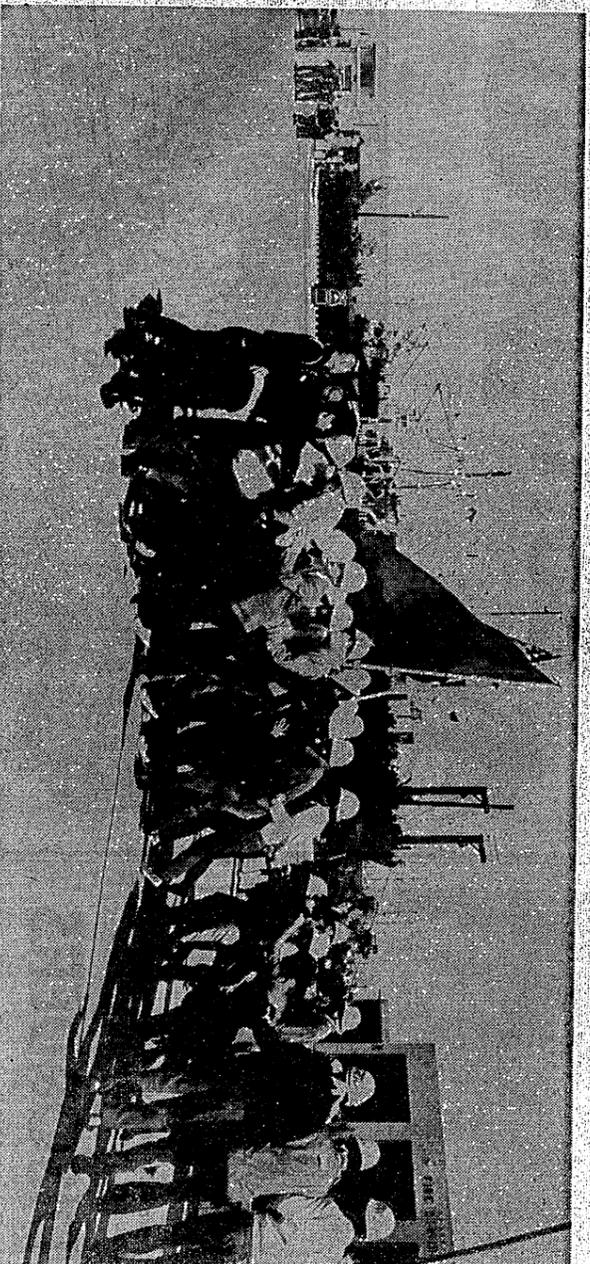
They are picked up on the way back to Uncle Sugar, some find their way to hospital wards here and in America, others make a lonely journey, inert, lifeless, to the homes of what military bureaucracy inadequately describes as "the next of kin."

THE MARINE operation is one facet of the military activity in support of the Vietnam front engaged in on Okinawa by the United States, some as highly visible as the B-52s roaring off from the Air Force's Kadena Air Base, others as silent as the tiny transistors being placed in electronics equipment at the 2nd Logistical Command.

Together, the men, materiel, and bases represent a multi-billion dollar U.S. investment in a one-time Japanese prefecture whose reversion has become one of the hottest Asian problems President Richard Nixon will be called on to grapple with.

While politicians and diplomats debate the question — with assists from demonstrating leftists — in Tokyo, Washington and Naha, the Army, Air Force, Navy and Marines go about their jobs here without a hitch. Until the United States gives it back to Japan, Okinawa will continue to be — as it has been since 1945 — the most valuable U.S. jumping-off point for American fighting men in Asia. It has that status because it is run for and by the Army Department free of the annoyance of its subject population's veto.

THE U.S. ARMY forces in the Ryukyus — of which Okinawa is the biggest island — are under the command



University of the Ryukyus students demonstrate at the military port of Naha protesting arrival of a unit of cadets of the Japanese Maritime Defense Force.

of Lt. Gen. James Lampert, the new high commissioner who is the administrator of the Ryukyus chain as well.

Under Lampert's military hat come the 30th Artillery Brigade, which operates Hawk and Nike-Hercules missile bases in the islands; the 2nd Logistical Command, which repairs the mountain of radio, radar, teletype, telephone and radio-relay electronic equipment in use in Vietnam as well as similar equipment employed here; the U.S. Army Medical Center whose Camp Kine hospital is the largest and most modern medical facility in the Western Pacific; the 1st Special Forces Group of Green Berets; the 7th Psychological Operations Group, described as grinding out (among other things) propaganda aimed at the Vietnam enemy; and Fort Buckner, which embraces all the land leased or rented by the Army in the Ryukyus.

The 31st Air Division — headed by outspoken Maj. Gen. Jerry D. Page — is the main Air Force unit and 5,260-acre Kadena Air Base, its biggest installation. One plane lands or takes off once every three minutes on its parallel 9,000-foot and 12,000-foot runways. Some — like the F-105 Thunderjets and F-102 Delta Daggers of the Tactical Fighter and Interceptor Wings are on patrol duty; others, like the B-52s, are headed for the action in Vietnam.

THE NAVY, a smaller group, has a less spectacular job than the other services: it meets the needs of Seventh Fleet units pulling into Okinawan ports, operates target drones and conducts antisubmarine operations. Though there are some 50,000 U.S. military men on Okinawa, relations with the Okinawans are described as generally satisfactory; there are the usual off-duty bravos and occasional crimes, but not any more than those occurring in military areas elsewhere. Relations in many cases are friendly; in some they blossom into love.

A CASE IN POINT is that of Staff

Sgt. Paul W. Dale, a pleasant, boyish airman from Sylacauga, Ala. A serviceman's serviceman, he enlisted at the age of 14, served nearly two years before the Air Force found out he had come in below the legal limit. Honorably discharged, he re-enlisted two months later, now is a 14-year veteran.

On Okinawa he met a pretty Okinawan girl, married her 8½ years ago; they have two children, Leroy 7 and Mitch 3. He likes Okinawa — and his wife Yoshiko — so much, he plans to get discharged here in July, become an editor on the English-language Morning Star.

THE MARINES operate chiefly in the central and north regions of Okinawa, with a plant valued at \$183,500,000, a semi-permanent housekeeping force of 16,000 (550 dependents) and 4,000 Ryukyuan employees.

The transient area here is run by Lt. Col. David Hytrek of Carlsbad, Calif., a relaxed man whose previous tour of duty was in Iceland. Brought to Hansen via Kadena Air Base, the Marines first tie into a room where their records are checked. Those who are under age haven't finished their training; are an only son, have a brother in Vietnam or otherwise aren't ready for the battle zones are taken aside. If it's training, they are given refreshers. If they're too young or exempted from war duty they are assigned to bases here.

THOSE GOING through the transient center — nearly 600,000 since the Vietnam war began — are reminded that there sometimes isn't honor even among Marines; a "tip for tired travelers" warns that "thieves, extortionists and gangsters" are at work; sometimes clean out an entire squad room of their wallets while they sleep. The center urges the marines to take out travelers checks, maintain an American Express office for this purpose. Generally, Hytrek said, it takes from

48 to 72 hours to put a marine through the center, ready — at least administratively, and certainly physically — to go into action the hour he touches foot in Vietnam.

AMONG THOSE headed for the front each month are marines who have extended their tours (3,000 in December) and get 30-day leave bonuses back home. A number of these, identifiable by their spotted jungle uniforms, clanked aboard buses with a shouted "We're going back," enroute to new battles.

Officers get more individual processing, need not report in groups. One of those going through here was Lt. John Garretson of Seattle, Wash., whose father is Brig. Gen. Frank Garretson, a deputy division commander already in Vietnam.

An A-6 jet fighter pilot, he said, "I'm glad to have the chance to go. I like to see how things are, not rely on second-hand reports."

AT HANSEN, also, is the Ordnance Maintenance Battalion of the Third Force Service Regiment under Lt. Col. Louis I. Pean of Philadelphia, a big man once in public relations who now sees that Marine gear — from M 48 tanks to optical equipment — gets repaired, reconditioned and shipped back to the front.

simulate Vietnam battle conditions. At one of the non-jungle areas near Hansen, Capt. Steven D. Lear of Baton Rouge, La., a training officer worked with a company of Marine armor men from Ft. Seward Air Base, giving them a week's course in grenade throwing, weapons familiarization, offensive and defensive tactics, mapping and compass maneuvers and military courtesy. There was little courtesy in another phase, the "torture chambers," where marines were penned up in boxes, submitted to realistic "enemy" interrogations to prepare them for possible capture.

IN THE grenade-throwing part of the training, marines stood in small concrete shelters while an instructor shouted: "Prepare to pull, pull the pin, prepare to throw, throw!" Everyone around ducked as the M62-A grenade sailed through the air to land in a field below, exploding with a roar. "All clear," the instructor bawled as the dust rose.

During the practice, one of the grenades proved to be a dud. After a wait of two minutes, two bomb disposal experts cautiously approached it; one reached down gingerly and removed the firing pin as the watching marines exhaled their breath softly.

The practice continued, this time with phosphorous grenades which sent white plumes of smoke into the air. "If one of those lands on your skin, you can't get it off," said one marine. "It just burns through to the bone."

LEAR, A JADUTY Phantom pilot with 13 months Vietnam service (390 sorties, 150 over North Vietnam), chose to run out his remaining time on Okinawa because the Marine bases back home hold little charm for him. When he gets out, he plans to "go around the world the long way as long as my credit cards hold out."

What does he feel about Vietnam? "I don't think we should be there," he said slowly. "But that doesn't mean I won't go. I have to do my duty."

アメリカ局長

参事 〇

北米第一課長

第129號

昭和44年3月30日

外務大臣殿

在ホノルル

吉岡 總領事



沖繩問題に対する Advertiser

論調報告

2月25日付 Honolulu Advertiser 紙は沖繩問題に対し「日本への取引」と題し、要旨下記のとおり論評したので、関係記事抜粋を添付し、御参考までに報告する。

記

2月中旬日本を訪問した米國議員団員の訪

要処理
首席事務官
庶務
渉外調査
海空
航空
科学協力
連絡調整
調査
カナダ
局庶務



GA-4

外務省

Lee Metcalf 及び Edmond Muskie 両上院議員は、日本の政治家への参議院において、日本が核東の安全保障についての責任を回避するならば、米國はその防衛線をサイパンまで後退せざるべきであると述べていることは、甚だしい引かれものである。そのような事態は起るとはならない。Metcalf 議員は求められているに止まらずに、言うことは我々は今や怯むべきであると述べているが、同議員の言が沖繩に於ける米國の施政との関連において存在するものは適切であつて言うべきであらう。他方 Muskie 議員は、沖繩の対日返還についての時期は、本年中に決定されるべきであると述べている。米國の沖繩基地は、沖繩の対日返還問題と密接な関連を有するものであるが、現

GA-4

外務省

状においしは 沖縄が如何なる形で日本に返還  
 されるにせよ、返還後においしは 沖縄の米軍基地  
 は若干の核兵器付まで米軍が保持する可能性  
 は強いものとみられる。しかしながらこの問題は  
 アジアにおける日本の将来における役割の割  
 合においしは決まらねばならない。

日本は東洋 国防負担の軽減を維持し、ナ  
 ヲナリズムを先：在わねい程迄に米軍の保護に頼  
 り、共産圏諸国との有利な取引を遂げ、米理想  
 的な歩みを保つてきたことは否めねい。それは  
 今も同様。米軍では日本は非共産圏のアジア  
 諸国の発展と安全保障のため、その義務を遂  
 行すべしとする(或る方面では日本がアジアの主要  
 軍力となるべし。また、他方では日本がアジアに  
 おける政治的指導性を持た、かつ、主要な経済援

助国となることを期待して) 声が高まっている。  
 何れにせよ、日本では自民党以外の政党は、日本が  
 アジア地域の対米責任を負うことと密に熱心にな  
 りようとするが、Metcalf 議員の発言は日本人  
 に対し或る種の衝撃を及ぼすことはおぼし  
 からう。しかしながら、米国人にとり本質的な問  
 題は、日本が上置に沖縄の基地を保有する目的  
 について考慮するゆえ、率直に高遠な意図を  
 つてはならぬと云うことである。我々は米國  
 市民として、友人であり、かつ、同類である日本  
 のアジア諸民族に対する関心はあつても知れ  
 ないが、しかしアジアにおける一連の米軍基地は  
 つまづめれば、米國の保全と云ふ見地から  
 考へらるべきである。また、これらの基地を  
 部が必要であるか否かは、第二次戦争終結後

の問題として検討されるべき問題であり、結局  
的には半導体サイパンに後退するとしても、その  
決定は半導体の国益を考慮の上で決められる  
べきである。

しかしながら半導体のサイパンへの引揚げが行な  
われるとしても、これが日本の村お奇酷な腹い  
せとして行なわれることを希望しない。重要なる  
は Muskie 議員が述べているとおり、太平洋における二  
大勢力たる半導体も日本も、政策としての狭い孤立  
主義に陥る程の事柄はないと云うことである。ま  
た、日半両国の相互関係は両国の安全保障の  
みならず、他国からの影響を受けるおそれ  
おかないことである。半導体は日本政府のみで  
なく、日本の企業とも交渉すべき時期に  
至っており、難かしい取引、忍耐の上で我々の国益

と及ぶ。従って異なる見解についての理解等  
については、均等に方針前を必要とする。

別紙添付

本信字送付先: 半大(附属略)

## Dealing With Japan <sup>4/25</sup><sub>ad.</sub>

There is a certain emotional attractiveness in the statement of two U.S. senators that the U.S. should pull its defenses back to Saipan if Japan refuses to share responsibility for Far Eastern security. But it is not quite the way it should proceed.

Senator Lee Metcalf of Montana, one of those who spoke after a week of meeting with Japanese politicians, is right when he says:

"We should all have learned by now that it's no good staying where you're not wanted." He pointed to the French pullout from NATO, and vice versa, as an example.

**METCALF HAS** a point, especially if made in relation to U.S. administration over Okinawa. It was one of his colleagues, Senator Edmund Muskie, who recently said the timing of the U.S. return of Okinawa to Japanese rule must be determined this year.

The U.S. Okinawa bases are a closely related matter, but it does seem likely at this point they will be kept after any reversion, possibly even with some nuclear capability.

**ALL THIS** comes within the larger context of Japan's future role in Asia.

There is no doubt that Japan has had it very good indeed, and many there would like to keep the best of all possible worlds — an economy relatively free of defense burdens, U.S. protection that doesn't infringe on Japanese nationalism, and the option to explore more profitable dealings with the Communist world.

That's fair enough for Japan. But as Senator Metcalf's statement indicated there are also a growing number of Americans who feel Japan should carry more of the burden in non-Communist Asia's advancement and security.

Some put this in strictly military terms, meaning Japan must become

a major armed power. Others stress political leadership and major economic aid with a lesser military role.

In any case, Japan does not seem especially enthusiastic, although leaders of the ruling Democratic Liberal Party do, in contrast to other politicians, acknowledge an obligation to the area.

**STATEMENTS SUCH** as Senator Metcalf's do have a certain shock value for the Japanese.

An essential point for Americans, however, is not to be too lofty in thinking about our purposes in having bases in Okinawa and Japan.

As a people, we may have a concern for the people of Japan and the rest of Asia as friends and fellow humans; certainly we should want to help them.

But in the final analysis that string of Asian bases is for the protection of the United States.

Whether we need them all is a question that may get increasingly relevant after Vietnam. Eventually, we may pull back to Saipan, and the determining factor then as now will be our national interest.

**BUT IT'S HOPED** we will never do so in any bitter reaction against Japan. The essential point is one made by Senator Muskie:

Neither the U.S. nor Japan — the two major powers in the Pacific — can afford narrow isolationism as a policy. There will be an alliance and the mutual relationship will affect each other's security — and that of other nations.

As we are elsewhere, we are in for a period of negotiations, not only with the Japanese government but also with Japanese public opinion. We will need equal parts of hard bargaining, patience and understanding of their different viewpoint as opposed to our national interest.

Z A 25 B F

Honolulu Advert.



米國が自由諸國と協調し、西太平洋の安全  
保障に必要な役割を果たし、これを継続  
の上とするならば、沖縄の基地を命令の  
間保持の必要が、これは自明の理であ  
らう。

沖縄返還の基地権の問題をめぐり熱  
情な感情的な空気が流れているにせよ、  
この問題は、日米相互の長期的な安全  
保障という基本的理念に基づき解決  
されることを強く期待したい。

付屬添付

# Gen. Haines Says U.S. Can't Give Up Okinawa Bases Now

To maintain Pacific security the United States must keep its Okinawa military bases "for the foreseeable future," Gen. Ralph E. Haines Jr., Pacific Army commander, said yesterday. "During the last few months, as you know, pressure for the reversion of the

Ryukyus to Japanese sovereignty has heightened," Haines told a Honolulu Rotary Club luncheon at the Royal Hawaiian hotel. "Return of the islands to Japan has already been agreed to in principle by the governments concerned, despite their increased strateg-

ic importance due to intensification of the Communist threat in Asia. "As a major logistics base, Okinawa is today fundamental to the support of our operations in Vietnam and an essential element of our overall security posture in the Pacific.

"I would urge all to examine closely a map of the Western Pacific area and Okinawa's position with respect to the Asian continent. "I am convinced that if our nation is to continue to play a significant role in the security of the Western Pacific, in concert with our free

world allies, we will require retention of substantial base rights on Okinawa for the foreseeable future. "Despite the highly-charged emotional atmosphere surrounding the reversion and base rights issues, I would hope that these problems could be resolved

in good faith on the basis of long-term mutual security interests of the United States and Japan." Haines' stand on Okinawa's importance in over-all Pacific area military security was included in a broad review of the Army's role in this part of the world.

Just returned from his third swing around his command since assuming it last August, he offered this review on Vietnam: "We have won the big war." North Vietnam's attempts at a country-wide offense will fizzle and will turn to headline-seeking hit-and-

run strikes. South Vietnam's ARVN troops can more than match their North Vietnamese or Viet-Cong equals. "Pacification efforts are succeeding, spreading through the village and hamlet levels and reaching more people with greater confidence in the program.

7月27日  
 参事官  
 北米課 課長  
 昭和47年3月28日 第192号

秘密標記(赤色)

外務大臣 殿

在 在ノルル  
 高良 總領事

- 要処理
- 官定事務官
- 総務
- 渉外調査
- 漁業
- 航空
- 科学協力
- 連絡調整
- 調査
- 局庶務

47.4.3

(件名) 比開付  
 沖縄返還訓練記事

引用公・電信  
 日付・番号

去る3月10日付の当地 HONOLULU STAR-BULLETIN  
 紙は返還当地の大学生主催の「現在の  
 の日米関係」に際し、この紙に「現在  
 の日米関係」の編集者として

付属添付  付属空便(行)  付属空便(DP)  付属船便(貨)  付属船便(郵)

本信送付先: 大 外  
 本信写送付先: 米 大  
 省内写配布希望先:

4071

字  
 沖  
 印  
 4/4  
 送

氏に来るべき沖縄の返還は沖縄の位  
 民を解放するものではなく、米軍から  
 日本へ軍国主義の所を教えるための  
 ものである。現状では沖縄住民は大多  
 数現職を抱えている。日本の沖縄  
 には行った気別扱は依然として残って  
 いる。米軍の結束はむしろ軍部内の  
 返還するに反対する日本の総領事。米  
 軍基地と訓練に二つの面がある。  
 と述べている。この二つは、  
 日本当局からして新聞の扱  
 付は異なる  
 別紙添付  
 本信送付先 米大

Honolulu Star-Bulletin, Friday, Mar. 10, 1972

## Japanese Discrimination Against Okinawa Feared

Reversion to Japan next month will not "liberate" the Okinawan people, the progressive editor of a Tokyo magazine told University of Hawaii students.

Ichio Muto, editor of Shukan Ampo, said one form of imperialism will be replaced by another.

The change will make Okinawa "the keystone of Japanese and American military imperialism," he said.

MUTO WAS invited to Honolulu by the Associated Students of the University for a three-day symposium on current United States-Japan

relations. Also invited was Howard Zinn, a professor and author at Boston University.

Muto said, "There is great disillusionment among Okinawans over what is happening."

Japanese discrimination toward Okinawans remains unchanged, he said.

SINCE JAPAN'S military will take over some U.S. bases, he said, it is a case of Japanese imperialism spreading out to take advantage of "a weakened American imperialism in the Far East."

七  
四

秘密標記(赤色)

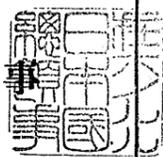
アメリカ局長  
参事官  
北米第一課長

米保題  
情外要  
米大臣

第 220 号  
昭和 47 年 4 月 12 日

米保題  
米大臣

確ホノルル  
高良 總領事



- 総務
- 渉外調査
- 漁業
- 航空
- 科学協力
- 経済調整
- 調査
- カナダ
- 回廊務



(件名) 沖縄返還とハワイ

引用公・電信  
日付・番号

従来当地の英字紙 (HONOLULU STAR-BULLETIN 及 HONOLULU ADVERTISER) は沖縄返還問題には比較的報道が少なく、同地の方々が米兵器撤去を望む、之がミクロネシア

付属添付  付属空便(行)  付属空便(DP)  付属船便(貨)  付属船便(郵)

本信送付先: 下 込  
本信写送付先: 米 大  
省内写配布希望先:

GA-3-1

4170 在外公館

ワシントン島に搬送されることと後へ不協  
を表明し、沖縄は韓国、台湾と絡んで  
米国の西太平洋に於ける守備線である  
として沖縄の反基地スト等と非難する  
記事のあらわな程度であり、去る4  
月2日付の当地 HONOLULU STAR-BULLETIN 紙は  
の社説「WORTHY OF RECOGNITION」と題し別件  
の如く本返還は広く国民全般の認識  
を有するべきであり、ハワイ州議会において  
も同様の積極策を採るべき、沖縄返還祝  
典に参画すべきであると論じている  
同件参考なり

副紙添付  
本信写送付先 米大

GA-4

外務省

## Worthy of Recognition

In an observance that ought to be national—but won't be—two Hawaii societies plan a special mid-May dinner to mark the return of Okinawa from the U.S. to Japan.

"Nichibei Shinzen" or U.S.-Japanese goodwill will be the theme of the May 14 dinner at Hawaiian Village sponsored by the United Japanese Society and the United Okinawa Society. Because of the International Dateline the actual reversion ceremonies, scheduled May 15, will be taking place about the same time in Okinawa.

The return of Okinawa is important both as a goodwill gesture to Japan and as a turning of our back on colonialist ideas for Okinawa.

It deserves more nationwide recognition than it is likely to get. Hawaii's members of Congress might try to stimulate some, and Hawaii perhaps should be represented at the Okinawa ceremonies.