

# 琉球大学学術リポジトリ

## 沖縄関係 外紙報道（在アジア、欧州等公館関係）

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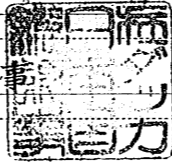
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参事官  
北米第一課長

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西川 総領



沖縄返還に関する新聞報道

当地パキスタン・オブザーバー紙は7月30日  
および8月1日付の連続2回にわたり、  
沖縄返還問題に関する同紙東京  
特派員 Jalal Ahmed の解説記事を  
掲載しているところ、同特派員はこの  
記事において、沖縄返還は日米安  
保条約の継続に伴う国防問題

要処理
首席参事官
参事官
渉外課
漁業課
航空課
科学協力
連絡調整
調査課
カナダ
局庶務



GA-4

外務省

1746

とともに日本の直面する最大の政治  
問題であるとして、佐藤首相の演説  
や知外相の訪米等を引用してその  
意義と至緯を述べるとともに、沖  
縄返還は「時」の問題ではあるが、米  
軍事基地および核兵器の存廢が  
日本国内の議論を反映して日米交  
渉の焦点となっている旨解説している。  
以上を参考までに記事全文切抜  
添付し報告する。

別紙添付

本信字送付先 パキスタン

GA-4

外務省

Pakistan Observer, Aug. 1, 1969

# Okinawa Reversion—Japan's Biggest Political Issue

by Jalal Ahmed

Our Tokyo Correspondent

ON 20th June, Japanese Prime Minister Eisaku Sato, in the Foreign Correspondents Club of Japan in Tokyo declared that the return of Okinawa to Japan from American occupation will mark not merely the end of Japan's postwar era but a turning point for Japanese people to seek a proper place for Japan in the world.

The Prime Minister described the reversion problem of Okinawa from American rule as the first issue Japan has to deal with on the threshold of the coming 1970s. The Japanese people, he said, are seeking a new national objective and originality in Japan's foreign policy. The Prime Minister added that in considering the Japan-United States Security Treaty and the consolidation of Japan's self-defence capacity in the background of Okinawa reversion, the trend of the Japanese nation toward a more independent foreign policy should not be overlooked. From Mr. Sato's latest statement on Okinawa, it can be felt the reversion issue has far-reaching significance in Japan's diplomatic and security policies in order to get a "proper" place for the country in the comity of nations.

to consolidate her economic sphere of influence.

## FIRST ROUND OF NEGOTIATION

Foreign Minister Aichi returned to Tokyo on June 7 after a series of talks in Washington with the Secretary of State Rogers and other American government leaders. They discussed the Japan-United States security problem and the Okinawa reversion issue.

Mr. Aichi's visit was mainly for the purpose of laying the groundwork for Prime Minister Sato's summit meeting with President Nixon in Washington in November. It is at these summit talks that a formal agreement will be reached on the question of Okinawa's reversion to Japan.

## REVERSION—A MATTER OF TIME

Okinawa's reversion is already a matter of time. A focal issue concerns the treatment of the American military bases in Okinawa upon the islands' return to Japanese hands. Should their status remain as it is at present? In other words, should Japan permit the United States free and unrestricted use of these bases? Or should restrictions be placed on their use as is the case with the present American bases in the Japanese

reduced to the level of the American bases in the Japanese homeland.

Mr. Rogers did not make the American government's position clear. The American government made no commitment on the matter.

It is natural that popular demands should arise in any nation for the return of its territory placed under the administration of a foreign power. However, various problems are involved even when such return is promised if that territory has great military importance. These problems can have complex elements. Such is the problem of the return of the Japanese territory of Okinawa, which has been under American administration since the San Francisco peace treaty went into force in April 1952.

The United States already has promised to return Okinawa to Japan.

## OKINAWA—A N-BASE

Okinawa is a very important military bastion in the Far East for the United States. Since it has administrative control, the United States can and is using its bases on Okinawa at will and without any restrictions, as freely as mil-

Students in the nature of physics... they can show ways in which... they can be used in the class... Reed College in Portland Ore... and according to the reso... tion of the conference they... intended to develop a new type... of chemistry course with the... in... Main Street, Water Town... A basis for University Dept... of Chemical Sciences in Science... Center, Portland, Ore... approach project (CBA). This... initiation of the chemical bond... CH

July 30, 1969  
Pakistan Observer

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The Prime Minister described the reversion problem of Okinawa from American rule as the first issue Japan has to deal with on the threshold of the coming 1970s. The Japanese people, he said, are seeking a new national objective and originality in Japan's foreign policy. The Prime Minister added that in considering the Japan-United States Security Treaty and the consolidation of Japan's self-defence capacity in the background of Okinawa reversion, the trend of the Japanese nation toward a more independent foreign policy should not be overlooked. From Mr. Sato's latest statement on Okinawa, it can be felt the reversion issue has far-reaching significance in Japan's diplomatic and security policies in order to get a "proper" place for the country in the comity of nations.

Meanwhile, on June 16th, Mr. Sato said Japan's basic defence policy is to continue the Japan-US Security Treaty and raise its defence capability in line with its increased economic strength. He said it is a natural obligation for Japan to enhance defence power to proportion to its booming economic strength which has already placed it second in GNP among Free nations.

Japan is very much eager to shed her image as a protege of US in political and military arena. But to achieve that goal, Japan feels, it must get rid of Okinawa's American occupation first and then strengthen its defence capability in order to stand in equal partnership and achieve a place in Asia where Japan's greatly expanded enhanced political and military influence can be wielded

to consolidate her economic sphere of influence.

### FIRST ROUND OF NEGOTIATION

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### REVERSION—A MATTER OF TIME

Okinawa's reversion is already a matter of time. A focal issue concerns the treatment of the American military bases in Okinawa upon the islands' return to Japanese hands. Should their status remain as it is at present? In other words, should Japan permit the United States free and unrestricted use of these bases? Or should restrictions be placed on their use as is the case with the present American bases in the Japanese homeland? This problem was not discussed concretely at the Aichi-Rogers meetings.

The Japanese people believe that the Japan-United States security treaty should apply to the bases in Okinawa when the islands are reverted to Japan. This is natural for the bases in the Japanese homeland are governed by this treaty. Thus restrictions should be placed on the use of the Okinawa bases. This would mean that nuclear weapons should be removed, and the bases should not be used as staging points for direct combat operations. Foreign Minister Aichi conveyed the Japanese desire to the Secretary of State Rogers—that the Japanese government and people wanted to see Okinawa returned as soon as possible with the American bases there

reduced to the level of the American bases in the Japanese homeland.

Mr. Rogers did not make the government's position clear. The American government made no commitment on the matter.

It is natural that popular demands should arise in any nation for the return of its territory placed under the administration of a foreign power. However, various problems are involved even when such return is promised if that territory has great military importance. These problems can have complex elements. Such is the problem of the return of the Japanese territory of Okinawa, which has been under American administration since the San Francisco peace treaty went into force in April 1952.

The United States already has promised to return Okinawa to Japan.

### OKINAWA—A N-BASE

Okinawa is a very important military bastion in the Far East for the United States. Since it has administrative control, the United States can and is using its bases on Okinawa at will and without any restrictions, as freely as military installations in America itself. The Americans equipped the Okinawa bases with nuclear weapons; they use them as combat staging points for their warships and bombers in the Vietnam war. Japan and the United States have started negotiations for the reversion of Okinawa. The focus of these negotiations will be on the handling of these bases, that is, their status, once Okinawa is reverted to Japanese East.

The United States maintains a considerable number of military bases and facilities in Japan under the security treaty between the two countries. In return, the United States is committed to protect Japan. It can use these bases to preserve the peace and security of the Far East.

# Okinawa Reversion—Japan's Biggest Political Issue—II

by Jalal Ahmed

(Observer's Tokyo Correspondent)

WHEN the security treaty was revised in 1960, a vital element was added, not in the text of the treaty, but in an exchange of notes. This was the "prior consultations" provision. For example, major changes in the equipment of the American forces in Japan are subjects of "prior consultation" with the Japanese Government. A concrete case would be the bringing in of nuclear weapons to the American bases in Japan. Prior consultations are also necessary when these bases are used for staging combat operations. A very vital point in the Japanese people's interaction that they can say "no" in such prior consultations. In fact, the United States has never attempted to bring nuclear weapons into Japan. It has not used the bases in Japan for military combat operations in the strictest sense of the term. The prior consultations stipulation constitutes a sort of brake for Japan to keep a rein on the activities of the American forces in Japan.

### NO BRAKE

The prior consultations provision does not apply to the bases on Okinawa because it is under American administration. There is, thus, no brake on their use. Prior consultations with the Japanese government are required for major changes in the deployment of American forces and equipment into Japan. Let's assume that the

nuclear principles, namely that Japan will not manufacture, possess or allow nuclear arms to be brought into this country; therefore, there is no need to fear on this point. The opposition parties' fear, however, that this national policy will eventually be abandoned by the present government.

The opposition parties have another fear. This is that the United States may insist on using the bases in post-reversion Okinawa as staging point for combat operations that America would make the same insistence with regard to the bases in the Japanese homeland and that the Japanese government would not refuse such a request.

The opposition parties in Japan are bitterly criticizing the government for the foreign minister's failure to obtain a firm American pledge that the bases in Okinawa would be reduced to the Japanese homeland level upon the islands' reversion.

### AMERICAN THINKING

According to reports, the Pentagon does not want to see Okinawa's role weakened to the detriment of the United States' Far East strategic setup. The Pentagon and other Americans, therefore, are opposed to a reversion of Okinawa

of her military forces now deployed in the Pacific and Far East are essential for maintaining peace and security in the areas and that a part of the American military forces should be withdrawn, Japan should fill the "vacancy" by means of rearming herself.

This virtually means that the US wants a reward for the return of Okinawa to Japan. This policy might be interpreted as instructing Japan on her rearmament measures with the US taking Okinawa as a hostage. There would be a strong possibility that Japan would be pressed to pay the price for the return of Okinawa—that is, Japan would be asked to renege her armaments or to assume more active leadership in the collective security setup in Asia.

Okinawa forms the pivot of America's anti-Communist containment line stretching in an arc from the Aleutians, Japan, the Republic of Korea through Taiwan down to the Philippines and Southeast Asia.

The island's military value was well proven during the Korean War when the US forces made it the key base of their bombing raids against North Korea. Okinawa took on additional value following America's full scale involvement in the Vietnam war.

### BEST SPOT

MADRAS: 1st. div. 10130, 10140, 10141, 10142, 10145, 10149, 10150, 10151, 10152, 10153, 10154, 10155, 10156, 10157, 10158, 10159, 10160, 10161, 10162, 10163, 10164, 10165, 10166, 10167, 10168, 10169, 10170, 10171, 10172, 10173, 10174, 10175, 10176, 10177, 10178, 10179, 10180, 10181, 10182, 10183, 10184, 10185, 10186, 10187, 10188, 10189, 10190, 10191, 10192, 10193, 10194, 10195, 10196, 10197, 10198, 10199, 10200, 10201, 10202, 10203, 10204, 10205, 10206, 10207, 10208, 10209, 10210, 10211, 10212, 10213, 10214, 10215, 10216, 10217, 10218, 10219, 10220, 10221, 10222, 10223, 10224, 10225, 10226, 10227, 10228, 10229, 10230, 10231, 10232, 10233, 10234, 10235, 10236, 10237, 10238, 10239, 10240, 10241, 10242, 10243, 10244, 10245, 10246, 10247, 10248, 10249, 10250, 10251, 10252, 10253, 10254, 10255, 10256, 10257, 10258, 10259, 10260, 10261, 10262, 10263, 10264, 10265, 10266, 10267, 10268, 10269, 10270, 10271, 10272, 10273, 10274, 10275, 10276, 10277, 10278, 10279, 10280, 10281, 10282, 10283, 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# Okinawa Reversion—Japan's Biggest Political Issue—II

by Jalal Ahmed

(Observer's Tokyo Correspondent)

WHEN the security treaty was revised in 1960, a vital element was added, not in the text of the treaty, but in an exchange of notes. This was the "prior consultations" provision. For example, major changes in the equipment of the American forces in Japan are subjects of "prior consultation" with the Japanese Government. A concrete case would be the bringing in of nuclear weapons to the American bases in Japan. Prior consultations are also necessary when these bases are used for staging combat operations. A very vital point in the Japanese people's interpretation that they can say "no" in such prior consultations. In fact, the United States has never attempted to bring nuclear weapons into Japan. It has not used the bases in Japan for military combat operations in the strictest sense of the term. The prior consultations stipulation constitutes a sort of brake for Japan to keep a rein on the activities of the American forces in Japan.

## NO BRAKE

The prior consultations provision does not apply to the bases on Okinawa because it is under American administration there is, thus, no brake on their use. Prior consultations with the Japanese government are required for major changes in the deployment of American forces and equipment into Japan. Let's assume that the United States wanted to bring nuclear weapons into Japan and consulted the Japanese government on the matter. The government does not interpret this provision as giving Japan the right to always say "no" to such a request. An affirmative answer, too, is not entirely precluded. Assuming that "affirmative" answers to American requests would be more frequent in the case of the post reversion Okinawa bases, the Japanese government's interpretation is that this would not contravene the purpose of the "prior consultation" provision. The political opposition criticizes this government thinking which accepts a "flexible operation" of the security treaty Okinawa bases. South Korea

The opposition parties say that if such a "flexible" interpretation is applied frequently to the American bases in Okinawa, it would eventually be applied to the bases in the Japanese homeland. This, they say, would enable the United States to bring nuclear weapons at will into Japan. To this argument, the government points to Japan's three non-

nuclear principles, namely that Japan will not manufacture, possess or allow nuclear arms to be brought into this country; therefore, there is no need to fear on this point. The opposition parties fear, however, that this national policy will eventually be abandoned by the present government.

The opposition parties have another fear. This is that the United States may insist on using the bases in post reversion Okinawa as staging point for combat operations; that America would make the same insistence with regard to the bases in the Japanese homeland and that the Japanese government would not refuse such a request.

The opposition parties in Japan are bitterly criticizing the government for the foreign minister's failure to obtain a firm American pledge that the bases in Okinawa would be reduced to the Japanese homeland level upon the islands' reversion.

## AMERICAN THINKING

According to reports, the Pentagon does not want to see Okinawa's role weakened to the detriment of the United States' Far East strategic setup. The Pentagon and other Americans, therefore, are opposed to a reversion of Okinawa with the islands' military value to the United States reduced.

The United States feels it is committed to preserve the peace and security of the Far East, and Japan should cooperate in the American effort. In the American view, the status of the bases on Okinawa should therefore be considered in that perspective.

The Okinawa problem is closely connected with Japan's defence policy and the future course of the Japan US Security Treaty. Before his inauguration, US President Richard M. Nixon declared that Okinawa would be returned to Japan if she would assume leadership in the collective security of Asia.

There is another concept in the US: Japan should strengthen her military efforts if she demands the return of the administrative right over Okinawa. This thinking is based on the premise that the importance of Okinawa as a military bastion would not be maintained under Japanese administration. In short, the US believes that the quality and quantity

of her military forces now deployed in the Pacific and Far East are essential for maintaining peace and security in the areas and that if part of the American military forces should be withdrawn, Japan should fill the "vacancy" by means of rearming herself.

This virtually means that the US wants a reward for the return of Okinawa to Japan. This policy might be interpreted as instructing Japan on her rearmament measures with the US taking Okinawa as a hostage. There would be a strong possibility that Japan would be pressed to pay the price for the return of Okinawa—that is, Japan would be asked to renege her armaments or to assume more active leadership in the collective security setup in Asia.

Okinawa forms the pivot of America's anti-Communist containment line stretching in an arc from the Aleutians, Japan, the Republic of Korea through Taiwan down to the Philippines and Southeast Asia.

The island's military value was well proven during the Korean War when the US forces made it the key base of their bombing raids against North Korea. Okinawa took on added value following America's full scale involvement in the Vietnam war.

## BEST SPOT

From a strategic standpoint, US military leaders consider Okinawa the best spot to stockpile tactical nuclear weapons. It is situated 1,100 miles south west of Tokyo, 780 miles south of Seoul, 400 miles northeast of Taipei, 920 miles northeast of Manila, 900 miles northeast of Hong Kong, and 900 miles from Shanghai and about 1,100 miles from Peking. The US has also vast military facilities in Japan. There are about 145 US military facilities. Japan also is home for the US Seventh Fleet.

Although the US Forces do not officially admit it, there are reportedly two battalions equipped with 36 Mace B's with nuclear warheads on Okinawa. Japan's fourth defence build-up programme is to get under way after 1972 when Okinawa is expected to be returned to Japan, and the F4E Phantom jets will become the mainstay of Japan's Air Force.

Then, not only the Chinese Communists but also the "pacifists", war allergy victims and "elements against the US and the conservative administration" in Japan may fiercely protest that such Defence

Force equipment will be a threat to Red China.

According to Mr. Togo Foreign Ministry Director-in-Charge of US affairs, however, the Americans are not necessarily looking at the problem from the military aspect alone. While the military considerations obviously are important, the American leaders are attaching considerable importance to domestic political considerations, too.

North Korea's shooting down of an American reconnaissance plane in the Sea of Japan on April 15 has had its impact on American evaluation of the Okinawa bases. South Korea is greatly concerned about these bases once Okinawa is returned to Japan.

The NEW YORK TIMES has said recently that the United States (Continued on page 15)

## OKINAWA REVERSION

(Continued from page 7)

States can no longer ignore the Japanese demands for the return of the administration over the Okinawa islands.

Meanwhile the American military authorities in Okinawa disclosed on June 18 that they are re-studying the status of the US military bases there after the return of the islands to Japanese rule and after peace comes to Vietnam.

However, many US military experts in Okinawa predict that Okinawa will continue to be a strategic stronghold in the Pacific.

They note that even in the post-Vietnam war days, the Kadena Air Base in central Okinawa will be vital for deterrent purpose. They also believe that Okinawa will have to play a great role as a supply base between the US mainland and Asia.

### BASIS OF OKINAWA NEGOTIATION

According to well-informed sources in Tokyo, the United States has agreed to negotiate the Okinawa return in the direction of Japan's demand that "no special agreements will be signed concerning Okinawa's military status."

Recently Prime Minister Sato declared in Parliament that his government will negotiate with US on the formula of "honjō-nami kaizunki" or "same status, no N arms", to be applied in Okinawa after its reversion.

Though the Japanese government is delighted to know such compromising US attitude as the starting point for the negotiation, the political observers believe the path to climax will still be bumpy as United States will ask "freer hand" in prior consultation provision as well as it will stick to its aim of putting "prior burden" on Japan for giving the "crying Okinawa baby" back to its mother's lap. The United States hopes that the "Okinawa baby," which is brought up by the "step father" as a mighty "atom boy", should not forget its res-

ponsibility to protect its non-communist neighbours when it goes back to live with the family of its real mother Japan.

The United States Government presumably realizes that it would not be to the best interests of Japan-United States relations to remain indifferent indefinitely to the Japanese people's concern for the reversion of Okinawa to the Japanese homeland.

Japan now standing at crossroads of history has to decide whether she will take over the role of the United States in Asia, paying a price dearer than that for the return of Okinawa or will assume her own original role, making the best use of the Japanese nation's individuality by making bolder steps in economic expansion than in the political, diplomatic and military fields.

Whatever lies in future, it is true that Foreign Minister Aichi's visit to Washington has raised general speculation among the Japanese people that formal agreement would be reached at the Sato-Nixon meeting in November for the return of administrative rights over Okinawa by 1972.

Various complex elements will have to be taken into consideration: public opinion in both Japan and the United States; changes in the Far East situation with the nearing end of Vietnam war and the opinions of third parties.

(Concluded)