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INDEX

173rd Army Airborne Brigade, 146
 20th Air Force, 44, 62
 24th Corps Artillery (U.S.), 38
 29th Infantry Division, 44
 313th Air Division, 62, 112
 32nd Army, 1
 3rd Marine Division, 183
 3rd Marine Expeditionary Force
 (III MEF), 174, 183
 77th Division (U.S.), 2
 9th Army, 113

A

accidents and incidents involving
 U.S. forces, 178-179, 182
 Acheson, Dean, 23, 39-41, 46, 143
 ADM, see air defense missiles
 AFWESPAC, see U.S. Army
 Forces, Western Pacific
 Aha Training Area, 182
 Aichi, Kiichi, Foreign Minister,
 157
 Ailes, Stephen, 125n49
 air defense missiles (ADM), 87
 air traffic control, 173
 aircraft noise pollution, 181, 183
 AJ, see Atkinson & Jones Con-
 struction Company
 Aka Island, 15
 Aleutians, 1n1
 Allen, W. S., 32
 Allison, John M., 46-47
 Aluminum Company of America,
 155
 Amami Islands, 5, 43, 57
 Amamikyo, creator of the Okina-
 wan people, 172
 Amemiya, Kozy K., 30n55, 81
 American Civil Liberties Union,
 83, 105-106, 120, 122n41, 143,
 see also Baldwin, Roger
 American Friends Service Commit-
 tee, 28
 American occupation, uniqueness
 of, xiv
 Amphibious Group One, 148
Ampo, see security treaty
 Angell, Ernest, 70
 animist religion, 170
 Appleman, Roy, 2n2, 13n32
 analogies to other occupied
 territories and colonial U.S., xiii-

xvi

Arakawa, Akira, 151, 172
 Arens, Mark P., 13n30, 15
 Arkin, William M., 62n73, 148n36
 Armitage, Richard, Deputy Secre-
 tary of State and Marine Corps
 heliport, 187-190
 Asato, Tsumichiyo, 88-89, 145
 Association for Education, Okina-
 nawa, 1947, 101
 Association for Okinawan Rever-
 sion, 24, 50, 56, 58-59, 92,
 110n4
 Association of Business Owners,
 161
 Association of Municipal Mayors,
 115
 Association of the Chairmen of
 Municipal Assemblies, 115
 Atkinson & Jones Construction
 Company (AJ), 29
 Atlantic Charter, viii, xvi, 17, 19
 atomic bomb of Soviet Union, 39
 atomic bombs, 3-4, 87, see also
 nuclear weapons
 automobiles dominate post-
 reversion towns, 166
 Awase Air Base, 14

B

B-52 bombers, xxxviii, 112, 146,
 crashes of, 148
 Baldwin, Roger N., ix, xx, 69-70,
 71n97, 90n55, 91-92, 100, 104-
 108, see also American Civil
 Liberties Union
 Ball, George, 121
 Bank of the Ryukyus, 59, 89, 145
 Bantz, F. A., 111
 Bar Association, Okinawa, 134
 base construction requires mass
 evacuations, 14
 baseball, as link to Japan mainland,
 90
bashofu, 170
 Bauer, K. Jack, 13n31
 Beightler, Robert S., General, 51-
 52, 54
 Bell, Otis W., Reverend, xx, 64-5,
 69n87
 Bennett, Henry Stanley, 9, 9n23,
 60

Berlin blockade, 39
 Bigart, Homer, 5
 Biggs, Barton M., 83n25
bingata, 170
 Blackbird (SR-71), 161-162
 Bolo Point, 45
 Bonin-Volcano Islands, 20, 21
 Booth, Donald P., high commis-
 sioner, 86, 89, 101, 111, 123n43,
 130
 Bordallo, B. J., xiv
 Borton, Hugh, 19
 Bowles, Chester, 120
 Bradley, Omar N., 46
 Braibanti, Ralph, 1953, 189
 Brando, Marlon, 33
 Bromley, Charles, General, 58-59,
 101, 102n8
 Buckner Bay, 14
 Buckner, Simon Bolivar, Lieuten-
 ant General, 2, 3; criticism of, 5;
 19n12
*Bulletin of the Atomic Scien-
 tists*, 148
 Burger, Vonna F., Brigadier
 General, 73, 78, 83
 Burma, 49
 Burns, James M., 2n2
 Burns, William H., 142
 Burr, William, 62n73, 87n42,
 148n36
 Butterworth, W. Walton, 38, 41,
 45, 53
 Byrnes, James F., Secretary of
 State, 20, 22

C

Cairo Declaration, 17, 19
 California Texas Oil Corporation
 (Caltex), 152
 Caltex, see California Texas Oil
 Corporation
 Campbell, Kurt, and SACO
 negotiations, 182, 188-189
 Carano, Paul, xivn10
 Caraway, Paul W., Major General,
 112, 118, 121, 124n8, 126-127-
 128, 132n67, 136
 CARE (Cooperative for American
 Remittances to Europe/ Every-
 where), 28
 Cargo, William I., 36, 53n44

Caroline Islands, 1n1, 81
 Central Texas College, 178
 Chamber of Commerce, Ryukyu, 115; and money conversion, 89-90
champururu, 170-171
 Chang Tsai, see Kiyuna, Tsugumasa
 Chatan, 60, 184
 chemical munitions, 1970 removal of, 112, 146, 157, 163
 Chiang, Kai-shek, 17, 151
 chief executive, evolution of position, 58, 78, 91, 122, 140
Chiji (Governor), 33
 China, U.S. diplomatic relations with, 158; and competition for control of Ryukyu, xxvi-xxvii
 Chinen, Choko, 134
 Cho, Isamu, suicide of, 5
 Churchill, Winston, 17, 38
 CICEF, see Commander-in-Chief, Far East
 CINCPACREP, see representative of the Commander-in-Chief in the Pacific
 CinCPOA, see Commander in Chief, Pacific Ocean Areas
 CINPAC, see Commander-in-Chief Pacific
Civil Affairs Handbook for Ryukyu, 2, 6
 Civil Liberties Union, Okinawa, 134
 civil rights under military rule, 90
 Civilian Government, 33, see also Okinawan Central Administration
 Clapp, Priscilla, 138n7
 Clinton, Bill, President, 173-174, 180-182
 coastline and topography change post-reversion, 167
Cocktail Party, xviii
 Cold War, onset of after March 1946, 38-39
 Collins, J. Lawton, 38
 colonialism, accusations of, 79
 Cominform, 38
 Commander in Chief, Pacific Ocean Areas (CinCPOA), 2, 7n18, 13
 Commander-in-Chief Far East, 41, 70
 Commander-in-Chief, Pacific (CINCPAC), 75
 Commanding General, Ryukyu Islands (RYCOM), 38, 42, 44
 commercial law, 96-97

Communist Party, Japanese, 24
 compensation for Okinawans killed or injured, 100
 compromise within U.S. government over reversion, 113
 Conlon Report, 108
 constitution, for Ryukyu, 76-90
 containment policy of U.S., 39
 Coox, Allan C., 13n31
 Coronet, Operation, 12
 Cosmo Oil, 166
 Council for the Promotion of the Reversion of the Okinawa Islands to the Homeland, 56, 101
 Council of Government Employees' Unions, 9
 courts, limited powers of, 78, 93-94, 133n71, 134
 Cowen, Myron M., 49n28
 Cox, Lori, 16
 Crerar, H. D. G., 25
 crimes committed by U.S. military personnel, 98-99, 156, 179-180
 Crist, William E., Brigadier General, 33n63
 crowding on Okinawa, 179n35
 Cyprus, analogy to reversion, 119

D

Daito, Island, 1
 Daniel, Mann, Johnson and Mendenhall, 154n51
 D-Day, comparison with Operation Olympic, 15
 decline in number of military employees, post-Cold War, 175
 Defense Department, 113, 114
 DeLong, C. F., xxvi
 Demaree, Bess, 56n56
 democratic election of governor and assemblymen, 9/49, 43
 Democratic Party (Okinawa), 56, 87-89
 democratization, initial steps toward, 32, 34
 depleted uranium, 178-179
 deputy governor vs. chief executive of 1952 civilian government, 54
 Development Loan Corporation, Ryukyu, 145
 diabetes, Japan's highest incidence of, post-reversion Okinawa, 169
 Diffenderfer, E. Earl, 101
 Dillon, Douglas, 114
 Dobbin, James C., xxiv
 dollar to yen conversion problem after reversion, 164
 Domestic Water Corporation,

Ryukyu, 145
 Downfall, Operation, 12
 Downs, Darley, 68
 Draper, William H., 36
 driving to right after reversion, delayed until 1977, 165n77
 Dulles, John Foster, ix, 20, 46, 48, 50, 57, 76, 84-86, 88-89, 111, 189, 143

E

Eagles, William W., Major General, 38, 41
 Economic Council of the Government of the Ryukyu, suspicious of conversion to dollar, 89
 economic subsidies by U.S., xi-xii, xviii
 education bills, veto of, 102; Department of, 101; early post-war rebuilding of, 34-35; law constraining, 100-101; Ministry of, Japan, 101; post-reversion, 169; education, higher, xii
eisa dance, 171
 Everett, Edward, xxiii
 Eisenhower, Dwight, President, 1960 visit to Okinawa, ix, xlii, 113, 114; 24-25, 57-58, 77, 84-86, 88-89, 99n75, 109, 115-116, 118,
 Eisenstein, Irving, 90
 Eldridge, Robert D., 51n36
 Electric Power Corporation, Ryukyu, 145
 electronic surveillance plane from Kadena makes emergency landing on Hainan, 174n17
 emigration from Okinawa, xxvii
 Eng, Ransom L., 10n26
 English language, early instruction in, 35; vocabulary and culture borrowed from, ix-xii, xx, 35
 Esso Standard Eastern, 152, 155, 156n56
 ethnic identity, preserved post-reversion, 169-170
 Executive Order 10713, 12/1965, amended to have the legislature elect chief executive, 140; 77, 79-80, 85, 122, 91, 131-133
 exports, 168
 extraterritorial privileges of American nationals, 78

F

Fairchild Camera and Instrument

Corporation, 155, 156
 Fearey, Robert A., 48n24, 49n27
 Federation of Agricultural Cooperative Associations (Noren), 131
 Federation of Military Land Owners' Associations, 115
 Felt, Harry D., Admiral, 110
 Fillmore, Millard, xxiii
 financial transfers post-reversion, 167
 Fisby, Captain, 33
 Fisch, Arnold G., 6n14, 7n17, 28n50, 35, 38, 44-45, 63
 Five Power Treaty of 1921-22, 1n1
 flag, Japanese, 1961, Okinawans get permission to display more widely, 101; 121, 123
 food, post-reversion, 170
 Ford, Clellan S., 6, 29n51,
 Ford, Glenn, 33
 foreign contributions to relief work, 28
 foreign travel, 91-93
 Formosa, 3
 Foster, Camp, 66
 four principles, 72
 Freimuth, E. O., 115n23
 Friedrich, Carl J., xviii
 Fujieda, Sensuke, 118
 Fujiyama, Aiichiro, Foreign Minister, 88, 109-110, 111
fukki movement, Japanese flag as symbol of, 121; 116, 58, 72, see also reversion (movement)
 Fukuda, Takeo, 165
 Fukuji, Hiroaki, 99n71-72
 Funada, Ataru, 164
 Futenma (Futema) Air Base, xxxv, 14, 45, 61, 71, 176, 181, 183-184, 187-188

G

G-8, see Group of Eight
 Gabe, Masaaki, discovers document wherein Japan promises U.S. cost compensation, 159
 Gaily, Charles K., General, 83
 GAO, see General Accounting Office
 GARIOA, see Government and Relief in Occupied Areas
 General Accounting Office (GAO), 1998, questions cost of sea-based heliport, 186, 188
 general election, first popular election of chief executive, 11/1968, 149

General Oil, 167
 general strike of 11/1971, 162-163
 Gimbaru Training Area, 182
 Ginowan City, 61, 182-183
 Girard, William S., 99n75
 Glewlow, Carl, 150-151
 GNP per capita rise since reversion, 167
 GNP, post-Cold War, military share of declines, 175
 Goeku, 60
 Government of the Ryukyu Islands (GRI), 54-55
 Government and Relief in Occupied Areas (GARIOA), 28, 41
 Government of the Ryukyu Islands (GRI), 63
 Government of the Ryukyus (GRI), denounced as ineffective by High Commissioner Caraway, 128-129
 governor, 78
 Goya (Koza), 61
 Grant, Ulysses S., President, xxvi
 GRI, see Government of the Ryukyu Islands
 GRI, see Government of the Ryukyu Islands (replaces USCAR), 2/1952, 54
 Group of Eight (G-8), year 2000, meets in Nago, 187, 189
 Guadalcanal, 20
 Guam, xiv, xxv, 1n1, 44, 62, 146
 Gugeler, Russell A., 2n2
 Gulf Asian Terminals, monopoly held by, 155, see also Okinawa Terminal Company
 Gulf Oil, 155, 156, 156n56
 Gulf War Syndrome, 179
 Gushikawa, civilianization of, 73, 176

H

Hagiwara, 23n32
 Hall, Basil, xxiin3
 Halperin, Morton, 138n7
 Hamby Air Base, civilianization of, 176
 Hamilton, Robert, 177n27, 184n50
 Hanna, Willard, Colonel, 34
 Hansen, Camp, 175
 Hashimoto, Ryutaro, Prime Minister, 181-182, 185-186
 Havens, Thomas R. H., 113n15, 146-147
 Hawaii, Okinawans in, 7, 10, 27-28, 62
 Hayden, Carl, Senator, 112n12

heliport proposed for Marines, 184-185, 184n50
 Hemmendinger, Noel, 100
 Henoko, 73, 187-188
 Hensley, Stewart, 44
 Henza Island, 166
 Herter, Christian A., Secretary of State, 110
 HICOM, see high commissioner
 Higa, Shuhei, 56, 66-67, 70, 72-73, 77-79, 102
 high commissioner, 1977, title of highest U.S. administrator, replaces "governor," 77-79
 higher education and study abroad, 1949-50, 44
 Highway One, see Route 58
 Hirohito, Emperor, 1945, announces surrender, 14; his advice to U. S. on Ryukyus, 25-26
 Hiroshima, 3-4, 14, 15
 holidays, official, 35
 Holt, Thaddeus, xiii, 138
 home guards, 1
 Honest John missile, 87
 Hosaka, Hiroshi, 157n60
 Hosokawa, Morihiro, Prime Minister, 173n13
 housing, military, 177-178
 Howard, John B., 53n44
 Howell, Thomas, 156

I

Ibusuki Kanko Company, 156
 Iceberg, Operation, 2
 Idemitsu, Kosan, 166
 Ie Island, 1, 14, see also Iejima
 Iejima (Ie-jima), 65, 182-183
 Iinkai, Jikko, 172n10
 Ikeda, Hayato, 1960, becomes prime minister, 118, emphasizes reversion issue, 11; first meeting with Kennedy, 120; death of, 1964, 136
 immigration, history and promotion in Okinawa of, 80-81
 immigration, to Japan in '60s, 144-145
 imports, 168
 Inamine, Keiichi, 1998, defeats Ota to win governorship, xx, 187; on U.S. military crimes, 179
 income from bases declines post-Cold War, 175
 indefinite occupation of Okinawa decision, May 1949, 37
 independence for Okinawa movement, post-reversion, 172-173

Independence Party, Ryukyu, 1997, 172

India, opposes Japanese sovereignty over Ryukyus, 46-47, 49
inflation after reversion, 164
interagency (State-JCS) joint study, 1965, evolution of, 138-139
intermediate range ballistic missiles (IRBM), potential use from Okinawa, 86-87

Iokibe, Makoto, 19n9

IRBM, see intermediate range ballistic missiles

irredentism, Japanese, fear of, 76

Irwin, John, N., 114

Isahama, 65-66

Ishigaki, Island, 1

Ishikawa disaster, 103-104; 28, 32, 34, 73

Itatsuke, 111

Izu Islands, 20

J

James, John C., 168n3

Japan Airlines, 156

Japan, relations with U.S., Okinawa, 45ff; peace treaty, 9/50, preparations for, 45; peace treaty, signature of, 50-51; 1950s industrial growth of, 109; Japan, 1961, increased economic aid to Okinawa by, 119; 1962, provides free textbooks, 125; accepts Ryukyuan students, sends doctors, 118; financial support by for U.S. military bases, 176-177; flag of, 1967, Ryukyuan ships permitted to fly, 144; issue of whether it was a foreign country, 107; Ryukyuan liaison with, but U.S. objections to, 125-127; 1945 plans for invasion of, 12-13; Okinawa's projected role, 13; relationship to under USCAR of Okinawans, 55; role of with Ryukyus, 109, 119-135; U.S. forces in decline stationed there by 1960, 111; life under since 1972, 166; lingering discontent with, 166; Japan-U.S. relations under Kennedy, 119-124; Japan-U.S. relations under Kennedy, stumbling blocks, 124-135; Japan-U.S. Security Treaty, revised, 109-119

JCS, see Joint Chiefs of Staff

Jenkins, A. P., 5n12

Johnson, Chalmers, viii-x, 30n55,

81n18, 172n8, 179

Johnson, Lyndon, President, forces Caraway's retirement, 131; gives more weight to reversion, 136-137; 134, 140, 158,

Johnson, U. Alexis, ix, 112,

139n14, 140-141, 54, 145-146, 159, 165

Joint Chiefs of Staff (U.S.), 22, 25, 27, 38, 46, 53-54, 86, 111n8, 137-138,

Jungle Warfare Training Center (JWTC), 182n43

JWTC, see Jungle Warfare Training Center

K

kachaa-shii dancing, 171

Kadena Air Base, 1, 14, 15, 44, 60, 62, 74, 137, 146-147, 161-162, 173, 175-177, 178, 183, 184

Kadena Ammunition Depot, 175

Kadena City, 184

Kaiser Cement and Gypsum Corporation, 152

Kalischer, Peter, 61n70

Kamimura, Kotaro, 72

Kaneshi, Saichi, 73, 83

Katsuren castle, ruins of, 172

Katsuren Peninsula, 166

Kaysen Report, 121n38, 39; similar investigation by Japan, 123

Kaysen, Carl, 1961 survey of

Okinawan economy, 121

KC-135 tanker planes, 112

Kennan, George F., xviii18, 26n45, 36, 39

Kennedy, John F., President, new policies of, 120-124; stumbling blocks faced by, 124

Kennedy, Robert, 121-122

Kennedy, John P. and Commodore Perry, xxii

Kerama Islands, 2

Keystone of the Pacific slogan, 61

Kin Bay, 155

Kin, airstrip at, 14, 84

Kioi, Akira, 186

Kishi, Nobusuke, Prime Minister, 80, 89, 109-110, 111, 118

Kishimoto, Tateo, 187

Kissinger, Henry, appointment as Nixon's national security adviser, 158; and reversion, xx, 159

Kiyuna, Tsugumasa (Chang, Tsai). 151

Kobashigawa, Ben, 28

Kodaira, Hisao, 123

Kokusai (International) Street, xii, xxxvi

Korean War, key role for Okinawa as staging area for, 44, 61

Koza (Goya), ix, xii, 61

Koza City, xxxvii, 1970 riot in, 156-157; 73, 114

Kramb, John H., Lt. Colonel, 157n59

Kue, Camp, see Kuwae

Kume Island Air Base, 5, 74

kumiodori, theater, 171

Kuril Islands, 50

Kusuda, Minoru, 136n1

Kuwae (Kue), Camp, 60, 74, 178

Kuwae, Choko, 67-68

Kyan, Shinei, 92

Kyodo Oil, 155

L

labor relations, first strike, 30

Labor Unions Council, 134

labor unions, 1965 fear far left

could take them over, 138

labor-intensive industries subsidized since reversion, 167

Lampert, James B., Lieutenant General, 141, 151, 157n8, 161-163

land claims, 1966, settled, 142

Land Expropriation Committee seemingly bypassed, 1987, 186

land rent rates up, income down post-reversion, 175

land rents, for U.S. military use, post-reversion, 168

land, 1960s, sharp expansion of U.S. takeovers of, 112

land, agricultural, loss of since 1945, 61

land, conflict with U.S. military over rents, 63-67

land, farmers' devotion to, 67

land, four principles advocated by

farmers for confiscated, 69

land, loss of compensation for, 52

land, lost to military uses, 60

land, lump sum payments for advocated by Price Report, 71

land, meager rents for, 68

land, partial return of, 1957, 75

land, permanent rental and easement system, 74

land, pre-treaty claims for compensation, 100

land, substitution of long-term

lease over fee-simple, 86

Lane, T. A., Colonel, 61-62

language, Okinawan, 171
 law code, capital punishment, 97
 law code, opposition to, 97
 Lawrence, David, 5, 14n37, 27n48
 Leahy, William D., 22n28
 Lebra, William P., 170n6
 Legislature under GRI, 54, 55
 legislature, elected, powers of from 1957, 78
 Legislature, GRI, 115
 Lemnitzer, Lyman (Louis), General, Governor of Ryukyus, 73-74, 82, 189
 Li, Hung-chang, xxvii
 libel and slander laws, 99
 Liberal Democratic Party, Okinawa, alienated by High Commissioner Caraway, 130-131, 132; won 1960, 1962, 1965, 1966, 1968 legislative elections, 106; 79, 110n5, 118, 140, 145, 161
 license plates for autos required by revised SOFA, 183
 lifespans, post-reversion, 169
 litigation over Nago heliport site, 185-186
 long-term retention of Okinawa gradually becomes U.S. policy, 42; questioned, 45
 Lostroh, Vernon, 16

M

MacArthur, Douglas, General, 14, 18, 24, 25, 26, 38-39, 43, 44-46, 54, 100
 MacArthur, Douglas, Ambassador, 84-86, 88-89, 110-111, 114, 121n36
 Machinato Air Base, 14, 74, 163, 175,
 Macke, Richard C. Admiral, 180
 Maeda, Tetsuo, 173
 Malin, Patrick Murphy, 71n97
 Mao Tse-tung, 39
 Marcus Island, 20
 Mariana Islands, 1, 1n1, 81
 Marine Air Group-36, 183, 184
 Marine Corps Air Station (MCAS), 183
 marine exposition of 1975, 165
 Marquat, William F., Major General, 70
 Marshall Islands, 1, 1n1, 81
 Marshall, George, General, 3, 25, 46
 Marshall Plan, 38
 Marsland, John W., 19
 Martino, Robert A., 38
 Marx, Karl, 59
 Maryland, University of, 178
 Matador/Mace cruise missile, 87
 Matayoshi, Eiki, 171
 Matsuoka, Seiho, Chief Executive, 43, 132, 153
 Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University, 108
 McAllister, Jef Olivarius, 54n48, 139n14
 MCAS, see Marine Corps Air Station
 McCarthy, Joseph, Senator, 39
 McCarthy, Leighton, 18n2, 3
 McClure, Robert B., Major General, 100
 McClurkin, Robert J. G., 76
 McCullough, David, 3n7
 McCune, Shannon B., first civilian chief civil administrator, 130; 123
 McNamara, Robert A., 128
 Mears, Helen, xxn24, 72n97
 Medoruma, Shun, 171
 Meiji assimilationism, xxvii
 Meyer, Armin, 157, 161
 Michigan State University, 178
 Miki, Takeo, 139
 military bases, 1993 plans for phaseout of, 175-176
 Military Employees Labor Federation, 115, 145, 149-150
 military government, early use of Okinawan workers by, 11; 7, 33-34
 military installations map, xxx
 Military Landowners Federation, Okinawa, 68, 72, 150
 Military Port Employees Labor Union, 150
 military schools, 177
 military units remaining based in Okinawa post-Cold War, 174
Minor Islands Adjacent to Japan Proper, 23
 Minren, 87
 missile gap, 87
 Mitsubishi Oil Corporation, 166
 Mitsubishi Chemicals, 156, 156n56
 Mitsuru, Ushijima, suicide of, 5
 Miyagi Island (Miyagi-jima), 155, 166-167
 Miyagi, Etsujiro, 124n48
 Miyako, election of governor and assemblymen for, 9/49, 43; 1, 13, 18, 33, 50, 74
 money conversion from scrip to dollar, 1958, 88-90
 monorail, 166
 Moore, James E., Major General, 72-73, 78, 82-83, 85, 87-88, 103, 141
 Morihisa, Kunio, 72
 Mosher, William E., 9n23
 Motobu Peninsula, 65
 Municipal Speakers, Council of, 134
 Murayama, Tomiichi, Prime Minister, 180, 185
 Murdock, George P., 6, 32
 Murray, Charles I., Colonel, 29n53, 32
 music, contemporary popular, 171; post-reversion traditional revival, 170

N

Nagamine, Akio, 130
 Nagasaki, 4, 14, 15
 Nago, litigation over as heliport site, 184-186; 188
 Naha, 1945 devastation of, xxxiii
 Naha Air and Naval Auxiliary, 175; Air Base, 1, 44, 176; 2, 14, 35, 60, 64, 74; Naval Air Facility, 175, 182; Port Facility, 137, 175, 181; post-reversion, 166
 Nakagusuku Bay, see Buckner Bay
 Nakagusuku castle ruins, 172
 Nakayoshi, Ryoko, mayor of Shuri, 24; 57
 Nakijin castle, ruins of, 172
 Nansei Islands, 3
 Nansei Sekiyu, 155, 156n56, 167-168
 napalm flame thrower, 3; bombs, 5
 Napoleon, xxii
 National Convention of Okinawan People's Leagues, 24
 national income, 1970s, 55-60% from military, 151, see also GNP
 National Security Council (NSC), May 1949 turning point, decision to occupy Ryukyus indefinitely, 37, 39; 113
 National Security Decision Memorandum (NSDM) 13, 158-159
 National Semiconductor Corporation, 156
 NATO, see North Atlantic Treaty Organization
 Nelson, C. W., Colonel, 70
 Newman, Marshall T., 10n26
 nerve gas, x

Nike Ajax/Hercules, 74, 87
 Nimitz, Chester W., Admiral,
 1945, takes Guam, xiv; suspends
 Japanese sovereignty over Ryu-
 kyus, 18; 2, 7, 19, 21, 27, 97
 Nippon Cement Company, 156
 Nishime, Junji, loses first popular
 election for chief executive, 140;
 145
 Nishimura, Kumao, 54n46
 Nisseki Ryoyu Engineering and
 Construction, 166
 Nixon Doctrine, reduces military
 on Okinawa, 150, 158
 Nixon, Richard, ix, xvii, 58, 158,
 160, 163
 Noguni, Sokan, 35
 noise pollution law suits, 183
 Nold, George J., Brigadier General,
 38
 Noren, see Federation of Agricul-
 tural Cooperative Associations
 Norris, Robert S., 62n73, 87n42,
 148n36
 North Atlantic Treaty Organization
 (NATO), 39
 Northern Training Area, 175, 182
 Norvell, F. C., Colonel, 38
 novelists, contemporary, 171
 Noyes, Charles P., 20n18
 NSC, see National Security
 Council
 NSDM 13, see National Security
 Decision Memorandum
 nuclear weapons storage of, 145,
 148; removal of, 163, 165; 62,
 112, 158, 160
 Nye, Joseph, helps prepare Armit-
 age Report, 190; Nye Report, xx

O

O'Flaherty, Edward W., 88
 OBASCOM, see U.S. Army
 Okinawa Base Command
obon festival, 171
 Obuchi, Keizo, Prime Minister,
 1999, 187
 OCA, see Okinawan Central
 Administration
 Odo, Saburo, 153n48
 Ogden, David D., Major General,
 Deputy Governor, encourages
 immigration, 81; 58, 61, 66, 70,
 102, 124n47
 Ohama, Nobumoto, 139
 Ohira, Masayoshi, 1962, Foreign
 Minister, 125
 oil, 1967 boom, arouses suspicion
 of American ploy to exploit
 Okinawa, 152; welcomed by
 USCAR, 153; finally draws in
 Japanese oil firms, 153; and
 Japanese protectionism, 153;
 Oka, Takashi, 68n85
 Okinawans supposedly not Japa-
 nese; belief's effect on U.S.
 policymakers, 39n76
 Okinawa Committee of the Foreign
 Missions, 28
 Okinawa, Mitsubishi Development
 of, 155
 Okinawa Sekiyu Seisei, 156n56,
 see also Sekiyu Seisei
 Okinawa Terminal Company (Gulf
 Asian Terminals), 166
 Okinawa Times, 2n3
 Okinawa, 1945, administrative
 separation of from Japan, 18
 Okinawa, 1945, logical bulwark to
 protect Japanese mainland, 1
 Okinawa, Battle of, 1945, 1-16;
 civilian victims of, 4; nominal
 end of, 5; damage to economy
 from, 5-6; post-battle emergency
 relief measures, 6-10; fiftieth
 anniversary of, 180
 Okinawan Central Administration
 (Civilian Government, OCA),
 33, 35
 Oklahoma, University of, 178
 Okuma Recreation Area, 178
 Oliver, Douglas L., 45, 38
 Olympic, Operation, 12, 15
omoiyori (sympathy) budget, see
 Japan, financial support by of
 U.S. military bases
 Ondrick, John G., 123
 one-mile rule, 61
 OPEC, see Organization of Petro-
 leum Exporting Countries
 OPP, see People's Party (Okinawa)
 Ordinance No. 116, CA, 149
 Ordinance No. 165, on education,
 1957, 102, 103
 Ordinance No. 23, 1945, 98
 Ordinance No. 63, 149
 Ordinance No. 66 (on education),
 1952, 101
 Organization of Petroleum Export-
 ing Countries (OPEC), price
 controls of, 155
 Orwat, Norman, 138
 Oshiro, Masayasu, 3n8
 Oshiro, Tatsuhiro, xviii
 Ota, Masahide, unexpectedly
 backs down on U.S. land expro-
 priation issue, 186; defeated in
 bid for third term as governor,
 187; on U.S. military crimes,
 179, 180-181; turns down ma-
 rine heliport site, 185; see also
 Teachers' Association, Okinawa
 Ota, Seisaku, welcomes President
 Eisenhower, 114115; 3n8, 4n10,
 17n1, 18n3, 122, 124n48,
 129n58, 130, 131n63, 172,
 176n22
 Oyama, Chojo, 65, 172, 172n8

P

Parsons, J. Graham, 113
 Patrick, John, 33
 Patterson, Porter, 24
 PCB releases, 178
 peace treaty with Japan, prepara-
 tions for, 37; final version, 1952,
 does not alienate Okinawa, 52
 penal code, 91
 People's Party (Okinawa), 34, 43,
 49, 55, 59, 70, 73, 83, 87, 96,
 105, 114-115, 140, 145,
 Perry, Mathew C., Commodore
 xxii-xxv 1, 5
 Persons, B., 116
 Pescadores Islands, 1n1
 Philippines, 1n1
 Philippines-Ryukyus Command
 (PHILRYCOM), 27
 PHILRYCOM, see Philippines-
 Ryukyus Command
 Pierce, Franklin, President, xxiii-
 xxiv
 poison gas, xlii
 pollution, abatement of, 180
Popular Culture, The, 59
 popular election of chief executive,
 1959, still rejected by U.S., 106
 Post Exchange (PX), 115
 post-1945 slow recovery, 27
 post-battle, 1945, emergency relief
 measures, 6-10
 postponement indefinitely of return
 to Japanese sovereignty, 50-51
 post-reversion, changes, 166-172,
 see also coastline and topogra-
 phy, standard of living, transfers,
 labor-intensity, tourism, terti-
 ary sector
 post-war beginnings of local self-
 government, 31-32, 34
 postwar Okinawa, May 1949
 turning point, 37
 Potsdam Declaration, 18, 52
 pottery, traditional, 171
 Prefectural Assembly, 33

Price Act, 123
 Price Act, oscillating expenditures under, 72, 76-77, 88, 117 123, 145
 Price, Melvin, Congressman, 116
 Price, Melvin, Congressman, Price Report, 70-71
 prostitution, laws on, 96
 prostitution, rendered nominally illegal by reversion, 164-165
 Provisional Government Assembly, 34
 Puerto Rico, xv-xvi
 PX, see Post Exchange
 Pyle, Ernie, 35, 65

R

rape, early instance of of rape of school girl and measures against by military government, 12
 rationing, post-war, 29
 red scare in U.S., 39
 refugees, postwar, xxxiv-xxxv
 Reid, David, Reverend, 91
 Reischauer, Edwin O., Ambassador, 79, 120-121, 123, 124n48, 125, 132, 145,
 Reitman, Alan, 69n87
 repatriation of civilians sent abroad during the war, 31-32
 representative of the Commander-in-Chief in the Pacific (CINCPACREP), 78
 Republican Party (Ryukyuan), 49
 residual sovereignty and occupying power administering Ryukyus for Japan, 47-49; in Japanese peace treaty, 51n36; doctrine of, 53n45, 54; retention in joint communiqué but deletion of references to in Executive Order 10713, 111
 reversion (movement), 54, 55, 56, 160, 162; agreement on reached, 7/1971, 160; reversion agreement, civil case clauses, 160; popular sentiment less than half favorable, 162; reversion becomes compatible 1965 with extensive bases, 139, 140, see also *fukku, sokoku fukku*
 Reversion Council, Okinawa Prefecture, 115, 134, 161-162, 164
 reversion takes place, but with bases intact, 157; reversion, from 1965, no longer linked to common fear of communism, 141;

compensation to U.S. for, 159-160; May 15, 1972 ceremonial, 163-164; preservation of bases by, 163
 reversionism, 1957, disagreement between State and Defense Departments on, 84
 Richardson, Elliot L., 159
 Rio, Pact of, 39
 riot, 1970 against U.S., 156
 Robertson, Walter S., 79, 82
 Roderick, George R., 117
 Rogers, William, ix, xvii-xviii, 160, 165
 Roll-Up, Operation, 45
 Roosevelt, Franklin D., President, 17-18
 Route 58, 166
 Rusk, Dean, 46, 53, 49n30, 53, 128, 139
 RYCOM, see Commanding General, Ryukyu Islands
 RYCOM, see Ryukyu Command
 Ryukyus, Bank of the, 53n47, 81-82
 Ryukyu Command (RYCOM), 27, 60
 Ryukyu Islands, Roosevelt's attempt to give them to China, 17-19
 Ryukyu *shobun*, 164n76
 Ryukyuan Reconstruction Finance Fund, 44
 Ryukyus Command (RYCOM), 27
 Ryukyus not directly mentioned in 1960 revised security treaty, 110

S

SAC, see Strategic Air Command
 SACO, see Special Action Committee on Facilities and Areas in Okinawa
 Sakhalin, 50
 Sakima, Binsho, 151
 Sakini, 33
 Salet, Eugene A., Colonel, 106-107
 SALT, see Strategic Arms Limitation Talks
 Samoa, xxv
 Sanchez, Pedro C., xiv
sanshin, 35, 170, 171
 Sarantakes, 82n19, 88n47, 124n48
 Sato, Eisaku, 1964, becomes prime minister, visits Washington, Okinawa, xxxvii, 132, 136, 139; 1968, accepts continued storage of nuclear weapons until he changes position in 1969, 158;

160; 161, 162; and 1970 riots, 157; 145-146, 149n38, 163-164
 Satsuma, xxiii
 savings, household, post-reversion, 169
 SBF, see sea-based facility
 SCAP, see Supreme Commander, Allied Powers
 Schaller, Michael, 19, 19n11, 26n44, 99n75
 Schnabel, James F., 45
 Schwab, Camp, 2000 G-8 meeting, 189; 184, 187
 scrap metal exports, 45
 SDF, see Self-Defense Force
 sea-based facility (SBF), 184-188
 Seabees, 14
 Seabald, William J. J., ix, 25-26, 45, 48n23, 53n45
 Seefa-utaki, 172
 Seidman, Harold, 77
 Sekiyu Seisei, 156n56, 166, 168
 Self-Defense Force (SDF), 111
 Senaga, Hiroshi, 91n57, 131; Japanese reaction to his removal as Naha mayor, 81-83, 85; 43, 55, 59, 73, 141, 145, 91n57, 92-93, 97
 Senaha Communications Station, 182
 Senda, Hitoshi, 136n1
senka, 29-31
 Senkaku Islands, 1972, Republic of China claims to, 151-152
 Seventh Fleet, 112
 shaman (*yuta*), 170
 Shang, Hiung-hiun, xxvn3
 Sharp, Grant, Admiral, 113
 Sheetz, Joseph R., 38-39, 41
 Shigemitsu, Mamoru, 77
shiisa, see stone lion
 Shikina-en, royal garden, 172
 Shikiya, Koshin, 32-33
 Shimabukuro, 9
 Shimoda, Takezo, 139, 158
 Shuri Castle ruins become first university, 1950, 44
 Shuri Castle, 5-6, 127, 166, 168, 171-172,
 Shuri, museum, 127
 Siena, James V., 138, 141
 Simes, Stephen H., 134
 Simmons, H[ariman], N., 126
 Smith, H. Alexander, Senator, 49
 Smith, Hedrick, 159
 Sneider, Richard, 138
 Sneider, Vern J., 33
 Sobe Communication Site, 182
 social security programs, 145; post-

reversion, 169
 Socialist Masses Party, 43, 49, 52, 55-56, 59,
 Socialist Party (Okinawa), 49, 55, 88
 Socialist Party, Japan, 125n50, 133
 SOFA, see Status of Forces Agreement
sokoku fukki (administrative reversion to the motherland), 24, 43
 Sono, Ayako, 4n11
 Sonohiyan-utaki stone gate and royal mausoleum, 172
 Sovereignty in the State of Imperialism, 143n25
 Sparkman, John, Senator, 117-118
 Special Action Committee on Facilities and Areas in Okinawa (SACO), 181-184, 188-190
 Speiser, Lawrence, 120
 SR-71, see Blackbird
 standard of living rise post-reversion, 167
 State Department, 113
 State Department, 1956, prepared to yield administration to Defense, 77
 State-Defense Department discord, 83-90
 State-War-Navy Coordinating Committee (SWNCC), 20, 21, 22
 Status of Forces Agreement (SOFA), 179-183
 Stearley Heights, 15
 Steeves, John M., 60, 67n82
 Steinberg, Rafael, 131, 133
 Stevens, John, 2n2
 Stevenson, Adlai E., 128
 stone lion (*shiisaa*, or *shiishi*), 170-171
 Strategic Air Command, 62,
 Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT), 158
 suicide attacks, U.S. fear of during Battle of Okinawa, 3
 Supreme Commander, Allied Powers (SCAP), 18, 41
 Suzuki, Kantaro, Prime Minister, 14
 SWNCC, see State-War-Navy Coordinating Committee

T

Tachikawa, 111
 Taft, Robert A., Senator, 57
 Taira, Koji, 172n8

Taira, Tatsuo, 43, 52n41, 83
 Taiwan, 20
 Takagi, Yasaka, 23n32
 Takase, Tamotsu, 158n62
 Takenaka, Tsutomu, 172n8
 Tamamori, Terunobu, 168n3
 Tanikawa, Kenichi, xixn21
 Tarawa, 20
 Teachers' Association, Okinawa, formation of, 56; 92, 97, 101, 102-103, 115, 134, 145
Teahouse of the August Moon, The, 33
 Tengan, Choko, 59
 Tenth Area Army, 3
 Tenth Army (U.S.), 4, 7, 11
 Terasaki, Hidenori, 25-26
 tertiary sector post-reversion, 168
 theft, postwar, 29-31
 Third Marine Corps, 112, 146, 148
 Thoma, Jugo, Chief Executive, 110n5; 1957, passes educational bills, 103; and 1950 independence movement, 151; 83, 87-89
 Thurston, C. G., 6n13, 8
 Tigner, James L., 81
 Tobaru, 60
 Togo, Fumihiko, 139, 158
 Toguchi, 65
 Toho Oil, 156
 Tokonami, Tokuji, 127n54
 Tokuda, Kyuichi, 24
 Tomihara, Moriyasu, 89
 Torishima air range, 74
 tourism since reversion, 168
 Trade Association, Okinawa, 115
 trade unions, 94
 transfer, 1964, of many functions to GRI, 132-133
 travel liberalization, 117; travel restrictions increased in 1960s, 107, 127; post-1960, gradually eased, 142-144
 Troy State University, 178
 Truman Doctrine, 38
 Truman, Harry S., viii, xvii, 18, 20-23, 25, 36-37, 44
 Trumble, Robert, 62n74
 trusteeship, 195-46 attempts at, 20-23; trusteeship, ultimately deemed inappropriate for Okinawa, 52-54
 Truxa, William J., Colonel, 157n58

U

U. S. Army Forces, Western Pacific (AFWESPAC), 27
 U.S. Army Okinawa Base Com-

mand (OBASCOM), 27
 U.S. Army, Ryukyu Islands (USARYIS), 78, 113
 U.S. Army, Ryukyu Islands (USARYSIS), 75
 U.S. Army, Ryukyu Islands, 149
 U.S. bases remain irritant post Cold War, 173-180
 U.S. bases' land use shrinkage by 1999, 175
 U.S. Civil Administration of the Ryukyu Islands (USCAR), 62-63
 U-2 incident, 114
 Uchida, Tome, 8-9
 Uehara, Kosuke, 145, 149n37, 172, unemployment, post-reversion, 169
 UNESCO, see United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization
 Unger, F. T., high commissioner, xix, 153
 United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), 172
 University of the Ryukyus, 72-73
 Unno, Shinkichi, 69n87
 Uruma, 81
 USARYIS, see U.S. Army, Ryukyu Islands
 USARYSIS, see U.S. Army, Ryukyu Islands
 USCAR ((United States Civil Administration), civilian role of military administration under new 1949 attempt at civil government, 51; 42-43, 51, 54-55, 58-59
 Ushijima, Mitsuru, 1
 Usui, Soichi, 133

V

Vickery, Raymond E., 41
 Vieques, xv-svi
 Vietnam War and Okinawa, xxxvi, 113, 146-147; reaction against in Okinawa, 147; resources for in Okinawa, 146
 Voice of America, 161, 162
 Voorhees, Tracy S., formally announces 4/3/50 indefinite stay of U.S. forces in Okinawa, 43-44; 28, 38

W

wages, 107
 Wakaizumi, Kei, 140, 140n16, 160
 war or sweet potatoes slogan, 149

Warner, Gerald, replaces McCune,
131, 102n79
Watanabe, Akio, xivn9
Watkins, James T., Lieutenant
Commander, 33
Watson, Albert, General, 131-134,
140n16, 144-145, 147
Watson, Bruce W., xiv
Whiting, John W. M., 6
William M. Arkin, 87n42
Williams, William L. S., 47n18
Wurfel, David, xivn9

Y

Yaemama, popular election of
governor and assemblymen,
9/49, 43; 5, 15, 18, 33
Yahara, Hiromichi, 3n5
Yanaguni, as smuggling center, 31
Yara, Chobyoy, 1968, wins first
popular election for chief execu-
tive, 140; xli, 58-59, 92, 117,
161-165
Yomitan Air Base, see Yontan
Yonabaru naval airstrip, 71
Yonabaru, 14, 75
Yontan (Yomitan) Air Base, 14,
61, 181-184
Yoshida, Shigeru, 1947, Prime
Minister, 23, 48, 50-51
Yoshiwara, Koichiro, 172n8
yuta, see shaman

Z

Zakimi castle ruins, 172
Zamami Island, 29
Zampa air strip, 14
Zukeran, Camp, 66, 178

FROM THE PREFACE by Chalmers Johnson

"Kensei Yoshida's *Democracy Betrayed: The U.S. Occupation of Okinawa* is easily the best history, analysis, and commentary we have on the United States's domination from 1945 to 1972 over the unlucky people of Okinawa. It is written from an Okinawan perspective. Yoshida is of course aware that when the United States's formal dominion over Okinawa ended in 1972 and it condoned a *pro forma* "reversion" of Okinawa to Japanese sovereignty, the semicolonial conditions he describes did not end. In fact, they continued and persist to the present day in an often exacerbated form. For the past fifty-six years, and with no end in sight, the American military has dominated the territory and 1.3 million people of the islands in total disregard of the values and wishes of the Okinawans themselves.

"As Yoshida observes, the Americans, like the Japanese before them and the samurai of Satsuma even before imperial Japan annexed the Ryukyus, seem to value the territory of Okinawa and the comfortable living arrangements they have built for themselves there much more highly than the people whom they have displaced and whom they pretend to defend. In this study, Yoshida stresses the period 1945 to 1972, during which American imperial rule was explicit and responsibility for the welfare of the Okinawans rested squarely with the Pentagon rather than the period after 1972, when the realities of the currently thirty-eight American military bases were camouflaged behind a façade of Japanese administration. His book is indispensable reading for those interested in Okinawa today, a place where revolt against American domination and Japanese betrayal is endemic and which, when it explodes, is likely to unravel the entire fabric of American military enclaves in East Asia much as the breaching of the Berlin Wall in 1989 began the unraveling of the Soviet empire in Eastern Europe.

"One of Yoshida's most important achievements is his careful documentation of how well American leaders knew from the beginning that in imposing military colonialism on the Okinawans they were violating the United Nations Charter, their own proclaimed objectives in fighting World War II, and virtually all of the political ideals and values they have espoused as a nation. He quotes numerous high-ranking American officials that they perfectly well understood that in keeping Okinawa for twenty years after the 1952 Peace Treaty with Japan (and giving it up only under intense Okinawan and Japanese pressure), they were making a mockery of the pledge in the Atlantic Charter of August 1941 that the U.S. sought 'no aggrandizement, territorial or other' in World War II. Even as President Harry Truman in December 1945 was proclaiming as 'fundamentals' of American foreign policy that 'We seek no territorial expansion or selfish advantage' and 'believe in the eventual return of sovereign rights and self-government to all peoples who have been deprived of them by force,' the military establishment of which he was the putative commander-in-chief was making a hypocrite of him in Okinawa.

"During the height of the Cold War, the Pentagon turned Okinawa into its own private fortress and safehouse for clandestine activities, providing the Communists with material for anti-American propaganda at least as valid as American denunciations of the Berlin Wall. As Yoshida shows, some American officials recognized this and acknowledged the contradiction. ..."