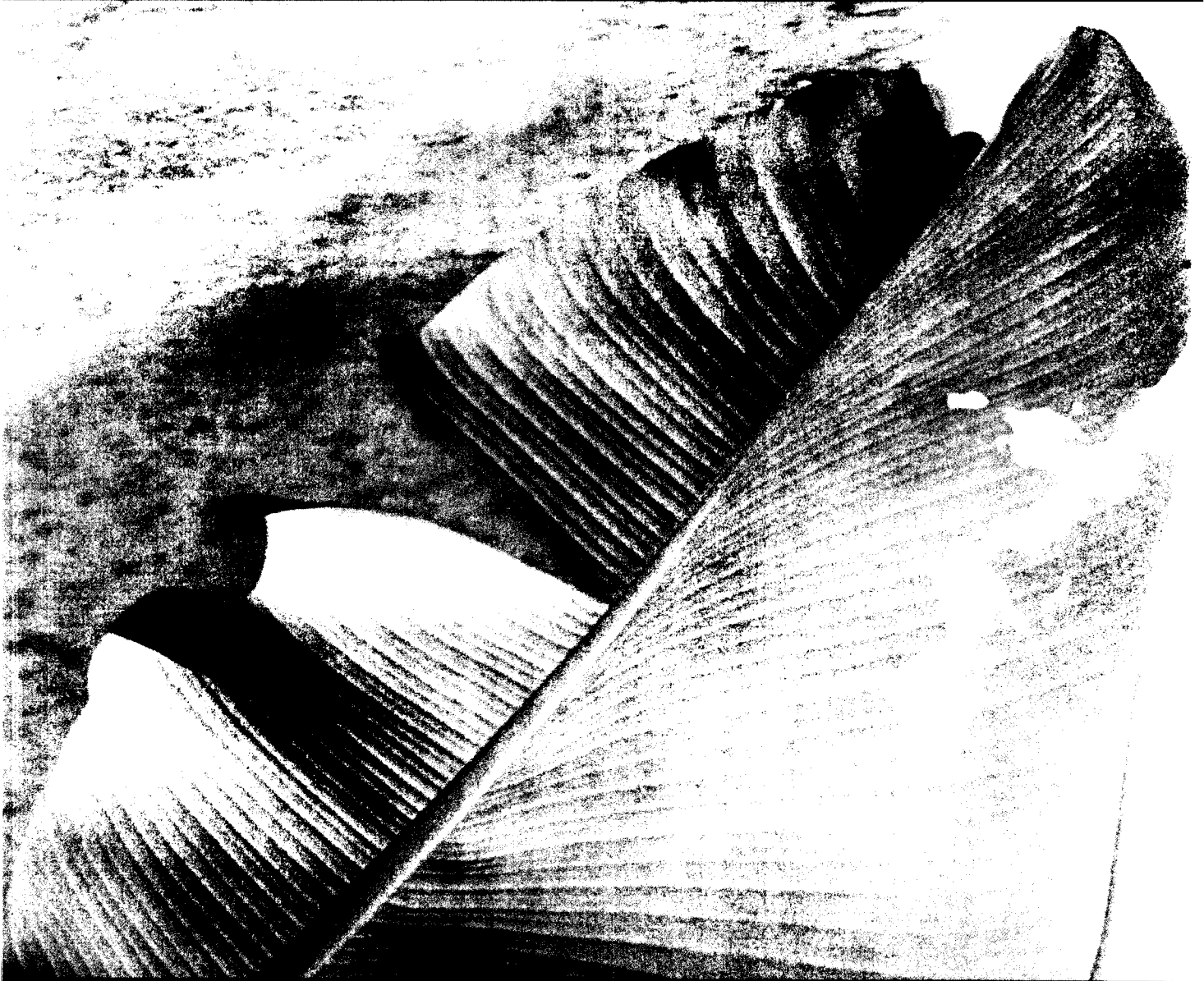


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5 January 2012



# A Master Narratives Approach to Understanding Base Politics in Okinawa



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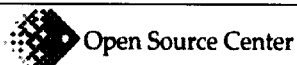
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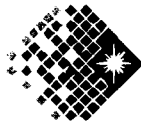


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*Analysis*

### **Japan -- A Master Narratives Approach to Understanding Base Politics in Okinawa**

*The following guide uses a "master narratives" approach to help explain Okinawan attitudes and behavior regarding the US military presence there. Master narratives are the historically grounded stories that reflect a community's identity and experiences, or explain its hopes, aspirations, and concerns. The Open Source Center (OSC) identified five such narratives for Okinawa -- some of which are more deep-seated than others, and most of which present some degree of challenge to US policymakers. An understanding of how these narratives function should help analysts put Okinawan attitudes into context and help communicators plan messaging and outreach efforts.*

In order to relate the essence of each narrative, OSC gave them descriptive names and drew first person statements that capture their content. These narrative portraits are summarized with context and implications for US interests in the table on page three and discussed in detail in this guide. The narratives -- listed in the order they appear -- are: **Victimization, Discrimination, Peaceful People, Beautiful Island, and Asia Crossroads.**

**METHODOLOGY NOTE** This guide draws upon the Master Narratives methodology recently developed by the Open Source Center<sup>a</sup> to uncover five master narratives that help explain attitudes and behavior pertaining to base issues in Okinawa. It explains the historical basis and current use of the narratives as well as their implications for US policy. Research for the guide was based on a review of primary and secondary sources -- including media treatment of basing issues, education materials, memorial sites, museums, literature, and popular entertainment.

**KEY FINDINGS** The narratives of **Victimization** and **Discrimination** present the greatest challenges for the United States when it comes to messaging and alliance management. The narratives are rooted in traumatic or degrading experiences in the past that are widely memorialized and taught on the island. Local politicians, opinion leaders, and media often frame their messages in the context of these narratives, keeping them current in the Okinawan public's view.

- The narrative of **Victimization** has a historical foundation in Okinawans' memories of WWII and the US occupation of Okinawa. Okinawans' sense of injustice and perceptions of helplessness over ongoing incidents and accidents involving US military personnel on the island contribute to a feeling that some degree of recognition of Okinawa's "burdens" in hosting US military bases should be forthcoming from Washington and Tokyo. Attempts to counter this narrative by reframing the discourse -- such as focusing on the positive "impact" of bases while not acknowledging their perceived burden -- are unlikely to resonate with Okinawans and could backfire.
- The narrative of **Discrimination** has a historical basis in past ethnic discrimination against Okinawans by mainland Japanese and differential treatment of the prefecture at the hands of the central government. It reflects perceptions that Tokyo still does not act in the interests of Okinawans and treats them as second-class citizens. Okinawans look

<sup>a</sup> For more on the methodology, see "Master Narratives Methodology Document, 23 January 2011."

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to Tokyo to address the question of why US bases must be concentrated in Okinawa rather than elsewhere. They also expect Tokyo to afford them respectful treatment and offer them measures to mitigate their base hosting. Fundamentally, the discrimination narrative is about Okinawa's complex relationship with Tokyo, and it is not likely to be countered by any direct action on the part of the United States. Indirectly, US statements would probably have an impact to the extent that they converge with Tokyo's policies and Tokyo's approach in seeking the Okinawans' understanding of basing issues.

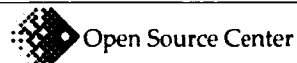
The narratives **Peaceful People**, **Beautiful Island**, and **Asia Crossroads** capture values that affect the way Okinawans perceive the US base presence and interpret messages regarding the US-Japan alliance.

- The **Peaceful People** narrative draws upon the lessons of Okinawans' World War II experiences and a cultural tradition of cherishing life. Okinawans claim a special moral authority within the broadly pacifist culture of Japan. They attribute this authority to the island's experience as the site of the only major land battle fought on Japanese soil during the war and also to long-held beliefs, such as ancestor worship and self-discipline. The peaceful people narrative manifests itself as a general anti-military attitude that is not directed specifically at the United States. US messaging that addresses the role of Okinawa-based forces in regional humanitarian and disaster relief efforts would be consistent with the general themes of the narrative. Okinawan media would most likely look for ways to criticize such a message, but the public might be less cynical about it.
- The **Beautiful Island** narrative is relatively recent but widely shared. Okinawans see their natural environment as a source of pride, and both traditional and ecotourism rely on the natural environment to attract visitors. Okinawans will probably want any new base construction projects to be undertaken with high regard for the environment. Likewise, they will want returned US base land to undergo thorough environmental remediation measures. In this respect, Okinawan support for environmental preservation presents challenges to alliance managers who seek to minimize the negative impact of the bases. US actions demonstrating a policy of good stewardship of base land, such as quick and transparent response to accidents that could be detrimental to the environment, could help in this regard. US messaging regarding such a policy would possibly be viewed skeptically unless well supported by actions and examples.
- The **Asia Crossroads** narrative has a weak historical basis in the distant past. It represents an aspiration, primarily of Okinawan leaders, to define a future vision of the prefecture as a crossroads in a dynamic, economically linked region. In this vision, US bases are implicitly presented as obstacles to a prosperous future. This narrative probably has limited resonance with the public now to the extent that it describes the origins of their distinct culture. It could gain traction among base opponents if Okinawa becomes more successful in diversifying its economy, and US bases are seen as an impediment to such efforts. As of now, however, the narrative does not directly challenge the presence or maintenance of US bases in Okinawa or affect sentiment toward bases. The United States could shape its message so that it is consistent with this narrative by pointing out that the bases in Okinawa help to keep the region safe and thereby enable enhanced regional economic and cultural exchange.



**SUMMARY OF OKINAWA'S MASTER NARRATIVES**

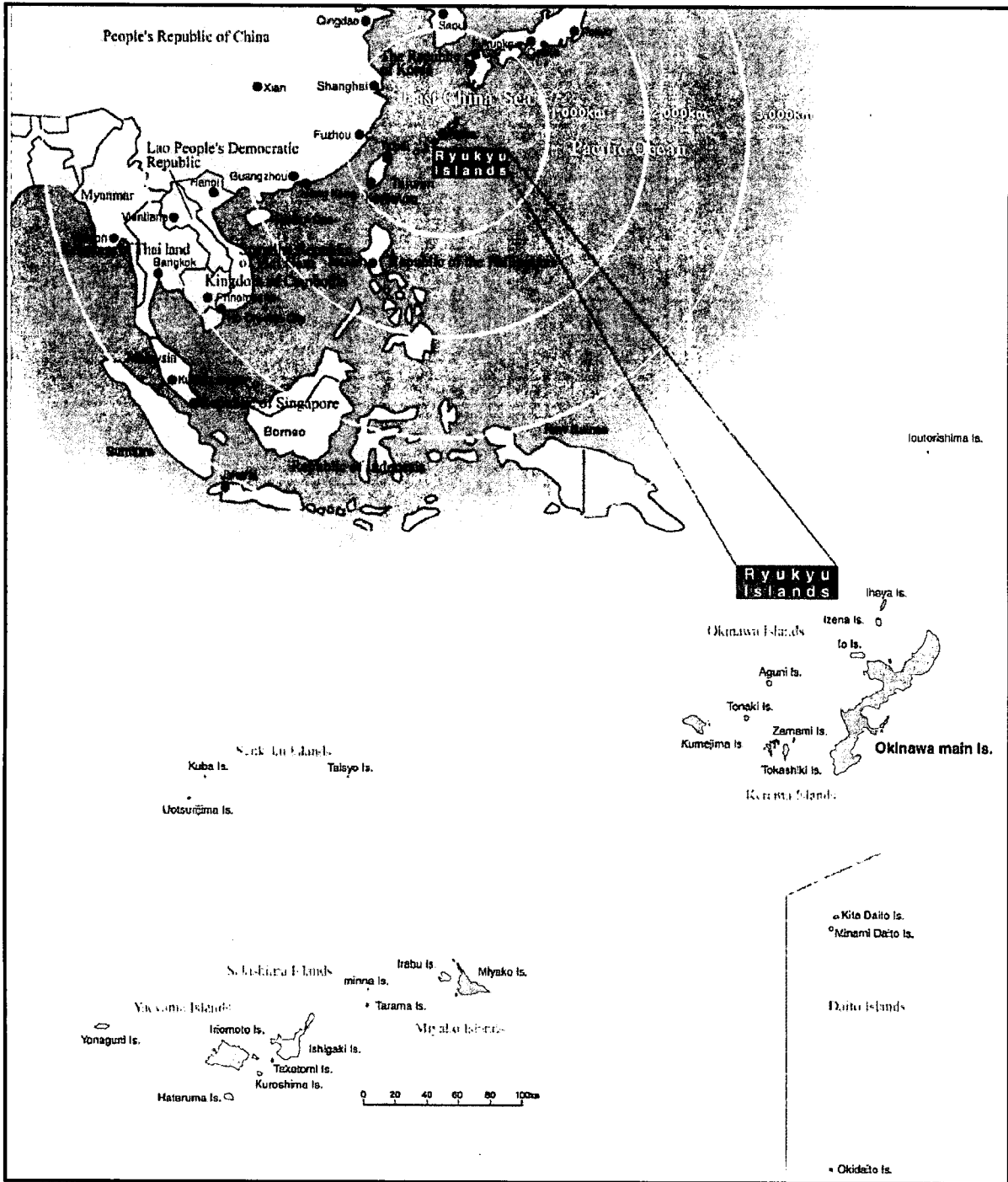
Master Narratives	Condensed Description	Context	Implications
<b>Victimization</b>	"We have been the victims of oppression, domination, and episodic violence."	This narrative directly involves the US presence in Okinawa today – in the form of noise, accidents, and crime. Okinawans do not feel like the United States adequately acknowledges the perceived negative effects of the US military presence on Okinawa. <b>Key concepts: respect, recognition</b>	Okinawans' sense of injustice and helplessness over events involving US military personnel on the island contributes to a feeling that some degree of recognition of Okinawa's "burdens" should be forthcoming from Washington and Tokyo. Focusing on the positive "impact" of bases while not acknowledging their perceived burden is unlikely to resonate with Okinawans and could backfire.
<b>Discrimination</b>	"Tokyo treats us differently than other prefectures in Japan, seeing us as second class citizens and expendable."	Okinawa's political leaders and media have shaped the discrimination narrative to implicate the United States by making their central grievance with Tokyo the "disproportionate burden" of hosting US Forces. <b>Key concepts: equality, fairness</b>	Fundamentally, the discrimination narrative is about Okinawa's complex relationship with Tokyo and, therefore, is not likely to be countered by any direct action on the part of the United States. Further, Okinawans may react with frustration to messages about the deterrence value of US forces, because that does not answer their "why us" question.
<b>Peaceful People</b>	"We embrace nonviolence and believe we have a moral obligation to be ambassadors for peace. Our culture has long valued the principles of peace and cherishing life, and our experience during WWII has further cemented these values."	Okinawans are taught in school that international conflicts are best addressed by treasuring life rather than by making war. Anti-base activists use Okinawans' strong valuation of peace to cast the US military presence as inimical to the Okinawan spirit. <b>Key concepts: pacifism, spirituality</b>	US messaging that addressed the role of Okinawa-based forces in regional humanitarian and disaster relief efforts would be consistent with the general themes of the narrative. Such messaging, however, would likely be viewed with skepticism by Okinawa's media. It is possible that the Okinawan public would be less cynical about such messaging.
<b>Beautiful Island</b>	"Okinawa is a beautiful island. We are responsible for preserving our natural environment and have an obligation to hand it down to future generations."	Okinawans express an intense pride in the natural beauty of their islands. Okinawans will want new base projects to be undertaken with high regard for the environment and returned base land to undergo thorough environmental remediation measures. <b>Key concepts: environmentalism, spirituality</b>	US actions demonstrating a policy of good stewardship of base land -- such as quick and transparent response to accidents that could be detrimental to the environment -- could help in this regard. US messaging regarding such a policy would possibly be subject to criticism unless well supported by actions and examples.
<b>Asia Crossroads</b>	"Long ago, our ancestors travelled the ocean and prospered though trade with China and Southeast Asia. We have a future as a crossroads of exchange and trade in Asia."	Influential Okinawan figures often use the narrative implicitly, but sometimes explicitly, to present the US bases as obstacles to a prosperous future for Okinawa. <b>Key concepts: prosperity, harmony</b>	Because most Okinawan leaders appear to be realistic about the prospects for quickly realizing credible alternatives to the bases, this narrative does not present a near-term challenge to the bases. The narrative might provide opportunities to highlight the role of the bases in fostering a stable environment for regional economic integration.



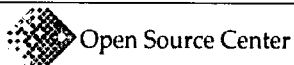
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### MAP OF OKINAWA PREFECTURE, SURROUNDING REGION



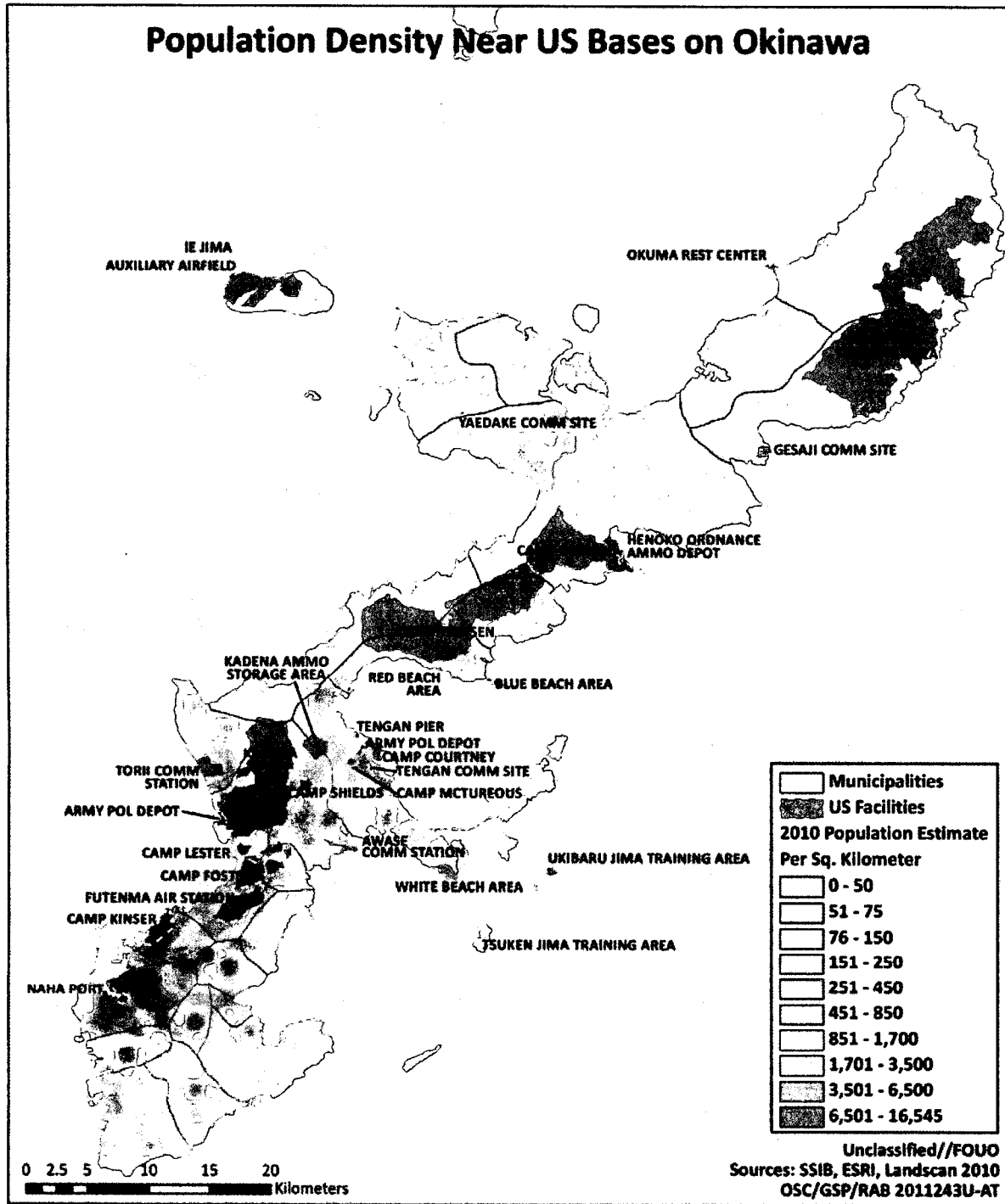
According to the Okinawa Prefecture Government, the prefecture includes 160 islands across 1,000 km of ocean east-west by 400 km north-south. <sup>1</sup>



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### POPULATION DENSITY NEAR US BASES ON OKINAWA



This OSC-created map estimates the population densities near US bases on Okinawa. Click the icon to view the map in full resolution.



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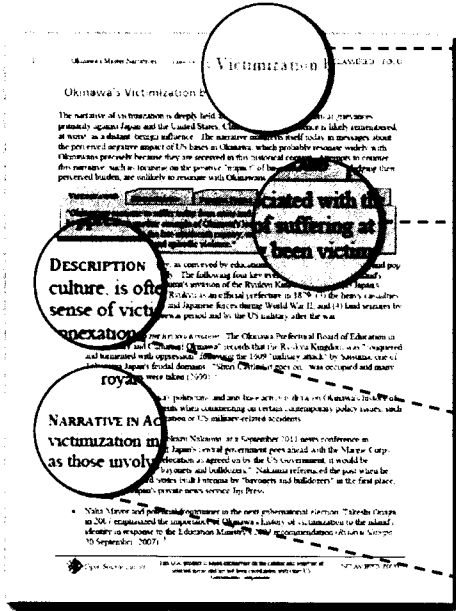
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### HOW THIS GUIDE IS ORGANIZED

This guide is organized into five narrative portraits, which appear in the following order: **Victimization, Discrimination, Peaceful People, Beautiful Island, and Asia Crossroads.**

The narrative portraits consist of the following content categories:

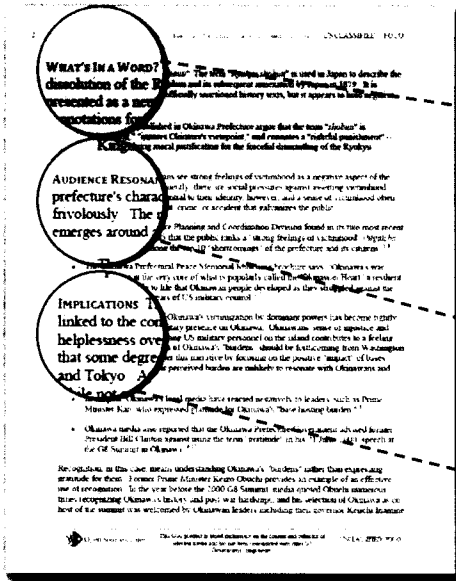


The **HEADER** helps readers keep track of their location in the guide.

The **FIRST-PERSON STATEMENT** surfaces the narrative's "characters" (its heroes, villains, or scapegoats) and articulates the general plot that drives the narrative's core story. It is written from the point of view of someone who believes in the narrative.

The **DESCRIPTION** provides background on the narrative's origins and explains how the narrative remains current today.

**NARRATIVE IN ACTION** shows how the narrative is used in a contemporary policy context by examining public statements of groups and key influencers.



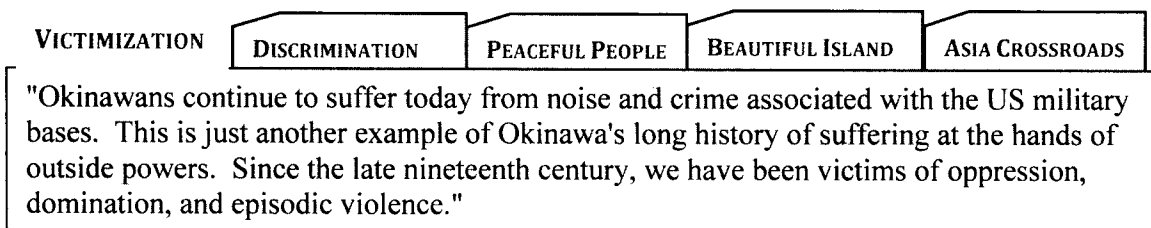
The **WHAT'S IN A WORD?** box highlights a vernacular word or phrase that is closely associated with the narrative. Master narratives often incorporate unique phrases, images, or symbols that can remind, reinforce, or even trigger behavior.

**AUDIENCE RESONANCE** discusses how deeply felt or widely held the narrative is with the Okinawan public.

**IMPLICATIONS** identifies actionable opportunities for US communicators to connect with the Okinawan public and also flags potential communication pitfalls.



The narrative of victimization is deeply held and rests on Okinawa's historical grievances primarily against Japan and the United States. The narrative manifests itself today in messages about the perceived negative impact of US bases in Okinawa. These messages probably resonate widely with Okinawans precisely because they are received in this historical context. Attempts to counter this narrative, such as by focusing on the positive "impact" of bases while not acknowledging their perceived burden, are unlikely to resonate with Okinawans and could backfire.



**DESCRIPTION** Okinawa's history, as conveyed by educational texts, memorials, literature, and pop culture, is often presented as a tragedy. Okinawans associate the following four key events with their historical victimization: (1) Satsuma's invasion of the Ryukyu Kingdom<sup>b</sup> in 1609; (2) Japan's annexation and assimilation of Ryukyu as a prefecture in 1879; (3) the heavy casualties inflicted on Okinawans by US and Japanese forces during World War II; and (4) land seizures by the Japanese military in the prewar period and by the US military after the war.

**WHAT ABOUT CHINA?** Accounts of Okinawa's history recognize the influence of China as the dominant external power during the Ryukyu Kingdom's "Golden Age of Trade" from the late 14th to the 16th century.

- **"SATSUMA INVADED THE RYUKYU KINGDOM"**  
The Okinawa Prefectural Board of Education in "The History and Culture of Okinawa" records that the Ryukyu Kingdom was "conquered and tormented with oppression" following the 1609 "military attack" by Satsuma, one of Tokugawa Japan's feudal domains. "Shuri Castle," it goes on, "was occupied and many royal belongings were taken. King Sho Nei and his retainers were taken prisoner and sent to the Edo Shogunate." The Ryukyu Kingdom, which continued its tributary state relationship with the
- Well-known Okinawa historian Kurayoshi Takara said the Ryukyu Kingdom subordinated itself to the Ming Dynasty in 1372 and developed a favored trading relationship as a tributary state to China (1993).<sup>2</sup>
- Okinawa's historical relationship with China, however, relates most strongly to the **Asia Crossroads** narrative.

<sup>b</sup> The Ryukyu Kingdom was an independent kingdom ruling most of the Ryukyu archipelago, including Okinawa, from the 15th to the 19th century. It held trading relationships with China, Korea, and Japan.



Qing Court of China, bore the "double pressure of Satsuma and China" and saw "its royal treasury bled heavily" (2000).<sup>3</sup>

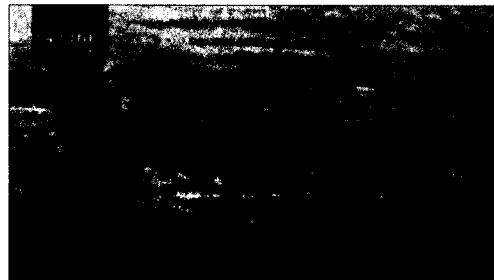
- **"JAPAN FORCED OKINAWA'S ASSIMILATION"** Okinawa's Board of Education in "The History and Culture of Okinawa" says the Japanese Meiji Government "forced" the dissolution of the Kingdom and brought "an end to the tribute system with China." The Kingdom "lost its independence" and became "part of the Japanese national system" in 1879 (2000).<sup>4</sup>

- **"US, JAPANESE FORCES SLAUGHTERED OUR PEOPLE"** The 1945 Battle of Okinawa, often referred to as the Typhoon of Steel (*tetsu no boufu*) by the media and educational texts, is central to the victimization narrative. Senior archivist at the Okinawa Prefectural Archives Kazuhiko Nakamoto contends that the high number of civilian casualties during the battle contributes to a close and enduring association between war and civilian death among Okinawans today.<sup>6</sup> The history of the battle is further complicated by stories of the Japanese military forcing Okinawans to commit group suicide.<sup>c 7 8</sup>



Minoru Kinjo's 100-meter-long sculpture, exhibited along the returned US Yomitan Airfield from 11 May to 24 June 2007, depicted scenes of Okinawa's victimization, such as Japanese troops killing civilians.<sup>5</sup>

- **"JAPANESE, US MILITARY TOOK OKINAWA'S LAND"** The public-private Okinawa Convention and Visitors Bureau described the Japanese military as "forcibly seizing" land, houses, schools, and other property for the construction of airfields and barracks beginning in the summer of 1943. "The Japanese military conscripted Okinawans from all regions into the forced labor service," it says in its tour guide reference book. The account continues in the postwar period with the US Military seizing private land in the early 1950s with "bayonets and bulldozers" and turning Okinawa into a "fortress island" or an "Okinawa within bases."<sup>10</sup> The Prefectural Board of Education's publication notes that "those who opposed were removed by armed soldiers and bulldozers."<sup>11</sup>

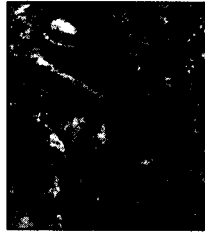


An NHK broadcast in 2010 showed US bulldozers taking land from Okinawa for bases in the early 1950s (30 December 2010).<sup>9</sup> The show commemorated the 50th anniversary of the US-Japan Security Treaty.


<sup>c</sup> Kenzaburo Oe, the 1994 Nobel laureate in literature, chronicled the role of Japan's imperial army in coercing Okinawan civilians to commit suicide rather than surrender in his 1970 book "Okinawa Notes." Two plaintiffs representing two Japanese garrison commanders sued Oe and his publisher in 2005 for libel. In April 2011, the Supreme Court turned down the plaintiffs' appeal and ruled in favor of Oe.

The victimization narrative can be found in stories about atrocities committed against the island's civilian population, in portrayals of a forced takeover of Okinawan property, and in popular accounts of Okinawa's historical subjugation by dominant powers.

- Yomitan-based sculptor Minoru Kinjo's 2007 exhibit "War and Humanity" depicted the history of Okinawa as told through a 100-meter-long relief. The exhibit prominently featured scenes from the Battle of Okinawa, such as Japanese soldiers expelling Okinawans from caves, mass suicides, and Japanese-American soldiers trying to convince civilians to surrender. It also included scenes from the postwar period, such as land seizures by "bayonets and bulldozers" at the hands of the United States.<sup>13</sup>



Americans are not always remembered as oppressors. Kinjo's 2007 exhibit also included scenes of humanity, such as US soldiers giving water to locals during the Battle of Okinawa.<sup>12</sup>
- The Tsushima Maru Memorial Museum in Naha memorializes the lives lost when a US submarine sank a Japanese evacuation ship on 22 August 1944. Of the ship's 1,788 passengers and crew, 1,418 were lost, including 775 school children. The memory of this event, said museum foundation chairman Seisho Takara in a note posted on the museum's website, should be used to "communicate the preciousness of peace and life to our children."<sup>14 d</sup>
- Japan's public broadcaster NHK cast Okinawans as victims in a special program on the 50th anniversary of the US-Japan Security Treaty in 2010. The program aired a close-up interview with Munenobu Kayo, an 86-year old resident of Henoko in Nago City. In describing the construction of Marine Corps Camp Schwab in the 1950s, he said, "The US military used force to suppress the local residents' opposition -- just like the Japanese military before it" (NHK, 5 December 2010).<sup>15</sup>



An elderly Henoko resident described the US military as "suppressing" opposition to base construction in the 1950s (NHK, 5 December 2010).
- Anthropologist and Professor of Cultural Studies at the University of Kyushu, Yoshinobu Ota, in a 1997 essay on Okinawan popular culture, said: "Many Okinawans recall their history in terms of the politically dominant with whom they have been negotiating their lives."<sup>18</sup>

*"...From China to Japan. From Japan to America. From America to Japan.*  
*Oh, how often things change in this Okinawa..."*

Excerpt from Okinawan folk legend Rinsho Kadokaru's "The Flow of Time"<sup>16</sup> originally recorded in the 1960s and rerecorded in 2000 by Takashi Hirayasu from the Okinawan pop group *Champaloose*, who added an additional line to account for Okinawa's reversion to Japan.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>d</sup> See the **Peaceful People** narrative for more on the use of tragedy as grounds for promoting peace.



*HIMEYURI PORTRAYAL BY MAINLAND, OKINAWA MEDIA SURFACE COMPETING NARRATIVES*

The subject of several film and narrative depictions, the Himeyuri -- or the Princess Lily Student Nurses -- were female student recruits during the Battle of Okinawa. In Tokyo-produced films, they are portrayed as valiant and self-sacrificing. In Okinawa, however, stories of their deaths are linked to compulsory group suicide at the hands of the Imperial Japanese Army.

- The 1952 award-winning film and mainland Japan production "Tower of Himeyuri" (*Himeyuri no To*) and its 1982 remake feature multiple scenes of student nurses and their teachers determined to "stick together until the end," portraying them as choosing of their own free will to use hand grenades to commit suicide.<sup>19 20</sup>
- Himeyuri survivor and former guide at the Himeyuri Memorial Museum, Kikuko Miyagi, in a 2007 interview with *Okinawa Times*, said: "Education at that time taught that dying for one's country was virtuous. Passing out hand grenades was the same as issuing an order to 'die rather than be captured.'" Miyagi said, "Japanese troops who passed out hand grenades bear a grave responsibility (2 September 2007)."<sup>21</sup>



Faced with the prospect of capture, two student nurses commit suicide with a hand grenade in the 1952 award-winning "Tower of Himeyuri."



A *Himeyuri* memorial on Arasaki Coast in Itoman City carries the poem: "At the island's edge, beloved students fluttering down as flowers, pray for peaceful sleep."

**NARRATIVE IN ACTION** Okinawa's politicians and anti-base activists draw on Okinawa's history of victimization in public statements when commenting on certain contemporary policy issues, such as those involving history education or US military-related accidents.

- Okinawa Governor Hirokazu Nakaima, at a September 2011 news conference in Washington, said that if Japan's central government goes ahead with the Marine Corps Air Station Futenma relocation as agreed on by the US Government, it would be tantamount to using "bayonets and bulldozers." He said that the United States built Futenma by "bayonets and bulldozers" in the first place, according to Japan's private news service Jiji Press (21 September 2011).<sup>22</sup>
- Naha Mayor Takeshi Onaga in 2007 emphasized the importance of Okinawa's history of victimization to the island's identity when the Education Ministry recommended the removal of descriptions of coerced group suicides from high school textbooks. "We must accurately pass on the true story of the Battle of Okinawa so as to convey to the next



generation the tragedy of war and preciousness of peace" (*Ryukyu Shimpo*, 30 September 2007).<sup>23</sup>

- Seiken Akamine, a Diet member from Okinawa representing the Communist Party, said after the 13 August 2004 crash of a US Marine Corps helicopter into Okinawa International University that "Okinawa's citizens have actual experience with the fear of death. If we are to learn from these lessons, Futenma Air Station must be closed" (*Okinawa Times*, 26 August 2004).<sup>24</sup>
- A prominent Yomitan anti-base activist, Shoichi Chibana, has called the central government's approach to handling US basing issues in Okinawa the "fourth Ryukyu Shobun." In a February 2011 speech, he characterized negotiations over the relocation of Marine Corps Air Station Futenma as a continuation of Okinawa's history of assimilation into and subordination to Japan. Chibana's speech was delivered in Kobe and posted to a blog maintained by the mainland Japan anti-war group Kanjitsu Sanrizuka.<sup>25</sup>

**WHAT'S IN A WORD? "RYUKYU SHOBUN"** The term "*Ryukyu shobun*" is used in Japan to describe the dissolution of the Ryukyu Kingdom and its subsequent annexation by Japan in 1879. It is presented as a neutral term in officially sanctioned history texts, but it has negative connotations for Okinawans.

- History books published in Okinawa Prefecture argue that the term "*shobun*" is "humiliating," "ignores Okinawa's viewpoint," and connotes a "rightful punishment" -- therefore implying moral justification for the forceful dismantling of the Ryukyu Kingdom.<sup>26</sup>

Viewed through the lens of the victimization narrative, accidents or other incidents involving US bases can take on greater symbolic meaning. For example, the anniversaries of significant US military-related accidents continue to receive prominent coverage in the local media and to attract the attention of local leaders.

- All four of Okinawa's local newscasts on 30 June 2011 covered a memorial ceremony at Miyamori Elementary School in Uruma City commemorating the 52nd anniversary of a fighter jet crash there in 1959. Some 500 people attended the ceremony, including the school's students and families of the victims. "No matter how many years pass, Okinawan citizens cannot forget the grievous memories of 30 June," said one local broadcaster while introducing a five-minute segment on the ceremony at the beginning of its newscast (QAB's "Station Q").<sup>27</sup>



- Okinawa Governor Hirokazu Nakaima held a news conference in August 2010 on the sixth anniversary of a US Marine helicopter crash that occurred on 13 August 2004 at Okinawa International University near Marine Corps Air Station Futenma's southern fence line in Ginowan. Nakaima called for "removing the current risks of the Futenma base as soon as possible" (Kyodo).<sup>28</sup> All four Okinawa television broadcasters led their evening news segments that day with stories about a rally at Okinawa International University attended by University President Moritake Tomikawa.<sup>29</sup>



Okinawa broadcasters showed two US helicopters flying near an annual rally at Okinawa International University commemorating the sixth anniversary of a US Marine helicopter crash there in 2004 (2010).

**AUDIENCE RESONANCE** Okinawans see strong feelings of victimhood as a negative aspect of the prefecture's character. Consequently, there are social pressures against asserting victimhood frivolously. The narrative is central to their identity, however, and a sense of victimhood often emerges around a singular event, crime, or accident that galvanizes the public.

- The Okinawa Prefecture Planning and Coordination Division found in its two most recent polls in 2009 and 2005 that the public ranks "strong feelings of victimhood" (*higaisha ishiki ga tsuyoi*) among the top 10 "shortcomings" of the prefecture and its citizens.<sup>30 31</sup>
- The brochure of the Okinawa Prefectural Peace Memorial Museum says, "Okinawa's war experience is at the very core of what is popularly called the 'Okinawan Heart,' a resilient yet strong attitude to life that Okinawan people developed as they struggled against the pressures of many years of US military control."<sup>32</sup>
- The power of this narrative is often most evident when it is publicly challenged. In 2007, the Japanese Education Ministry recommended that school text book publishers remove direct references to the Japanese military's forcing Okinawans to commit group suicide during the Battle of Okinawa. This case prompted the largest public demonstration in Okinawa since reversion in 1972 -- reportedly 110,000 people.<sup>33 e</sup>
- The 1995 rape case involving a young Okinawan schoolgirl continues to have currency in Okinawa. Media refer to it in the context of "a string of crimes and incidents involving US military personnel" and use the incident as a marker from which to judge progress since the 1996 US-Japan agreement to return the land used by MCAS Futenma.<sup>34 35</sup> At the time, the incident set off a chain of protest activities by women's groups, teachers' associations, labor unions, reformist political parties, and various grass-roots

<sup>e</sup> Education minister Kisaburo Tokai announced on 26 December 2007 that the reinstatement of history textbooks would include references to the Imperial Japanese Army driving civilians into committing mass suicide in Okinawa. Okinawan media attributed the decision to the protest rallies.



organizations across Okinawa Prefecture.<sup>36 37</sup> A prefectural mass rally on 21 October 1995 reportedly drew 85,000 people, including business leaders and conservative politicians who had seldom criticized the US military presence (*Ryukyu Shimpo, Okinawa Times*; 22 October 1995).<sup>38 39</sup>

**IMPLICATIONS** The narrative of Okinawa's victimization by dominant powers has become tightly linked to the continued US military presence on Okinawa. Okinawans' sense of injustice and helplessness over events involving US military personnel on the island contributes to a feeling that some degree of recognition of Okinawa's "burdens" should be forthcoming from Washington and Tokyo. Attempts to counter this narrative by focusing on the positive "impact" of bases while not acknowledging their perceived burden are unlikely to resonate with Okinawans and could backfire.

- In the past, Okinawa's local media have reacted negatively to leaders, such as Prime Minister Kan, who expressed gratitude for Okinawa's "base hosting burden" (*Ryukyu Shimpo*, 12 June 2010).<sup>40</sup> Okinawa media also reported that the Okinawa Prefecture Government advised former President Bill Clinton against using the term "gratitude" in his 21 July 2000 speech at the G8 Summit in Okinawa (*Ryukyu Shimpo*, 19 July 2010; *Okinawa Times*, 22 July 2000).<sup>41 42</sup>
- Okinawan cultural authorities like novelist Tatsuhiro Oshiro have argued that "Okinawans desire even belated recognition" of "Okinawa's sacrifices for the prosperity of the mainland" (*Asahi Shimbun*, 7 July 2011).<sup>43</sup>

Recognition, in this case, probably means understanding Okinawa's "burdens" rather than expressing gratitude for them. Former Prime Minister Keizo Obuchi provides an example of an effective use of recognition. In the year before the 2000 G8 Summit, media quoted Obuchi numerous times recognizing Okinawa's history and post-war hardships. His selection of Okinawa as co-host of the summit was welcomed by Okinawan leaders including the governor at the time, Keiichi Inamine.

- Obuchi told the Japanese media, "After the war, Japan lost its administrative rights over Okinawa, and Okinawa faced many hardships. During the war, Okinawa greatly sacrificed [for Japan]. Even today, Okinawa hosts bases. I am fully aware of this pain." Obuchi said that he wanted the world's leaders to "experience Okinawa's rich empathy and beautiful natural environment," as well as learn about Okinawa, which "overcame and survived many difficulties" (*Mainichi Shimbun*, 30 April 1999).<sup>44</sup>



## "Tokyo Discriminates Against Okinawa"

The discrimination narrative has a historical basis in past ethnic discrimination against Okinawans by mainland Japanese and in differential treatment of the prefecture at the hands of the central government. It reflects perceptions that Tokyo still does not act in the interests of Okinawans and treats them as second-class citizens. Okinawans look to Tokyo to address the question of why US bases must be concentrated in Okinawa rather than elsewhere. They also expect Tokyo to afford them respectful treatment and offer them measures to mitigate their base hosting. The discrimination narrative is about Okinawa's complex relationship with Tokyo and, therefore, is not likely to be countered by any direct action on the part of the United States.

VICTIMIZATION	DISCRIMINATION	PEACEFUL PEOPLE	BEAUTIFUL ISLAND	ASIA CROSSROADS
<p>"Tokyo treats us differently than other prefectures in Japan, seeing us as second-class citizens and expendable. The Japanese Government sacrificed Okinawa to save the mainland during World War II and gave the United States administrative control over Okinawa until 1972. Tokyo neglected us after reversion, causing us to lag behind other parts of Japan economically, and it continues to do so today: we are subjected to a disproportionate share of the US-Japan Alliance's harmful effects."</p>				

**DESCRIPTION** The narrative reflects aspects of ethnic discrimination and, more generally, Okinawans' perceptions that Tokyo sees Okinawa as inherently less Japanese and, therefore, expendable for the benefit of the mainland. Three historical grievances with Tokyo underpin the narrative.

- **"THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT USED OKINAWA DURING WWII TO SAVE THE MAINLAND"** People on Okinawa often describe the way the island was sacrificed by Tokyo during WWII, saying Okinawa was a *suteishi*, or sacrifice stone in the strategy game of *go*. For example, the Okinawa Convention and Visitors Bureau -- a public-private organization promoting tourism since 1996 -- produced a textbook for tourist guides that said that the Japanese military's strategy during the Battle of Okinawa was to create a "protracted struggle" that would "delay the US military's attack on the mainland."<sup>45</sup>
- **"OKINAWA WAS LEFT OUT OF POSTWAR ECONOMIC GROWTH"** The term "*hondo nami*" (parity with mainland Japan) expressed Okinawan hopes that reversion to Japan in 1972 would close economic and social gaps with mainland Japan. In the 1980s, then-researcher at Ryukyu University and future governor Masahide Ota attributed dissatisfaction with reversion to Tokyo's failure to bring economic prosperity.<sup>46</sup> Okinawan media have long investigated the gap with Tokyo in unemployment, average income, savings rates, and divorce rates, according to OSC's monitoring of press reporting over several decades.
- **"JAPAN PERMITS HIGHER CONCENTRATIONS OF US BASES IN OKINAWA"** Over time, Okinawa's central historical grievance with Tokyo has become the disproportionate share of US forces based in Okinawa. A symbol of this "burden" -- as Okinawans refer to it -- has





been the figure that about 75% of the land administered by the US military in Japan is located in Okinawa Prefecture.

The narrative remains current through history taught in the island's schools and is reinforced by popular accounts of Okinawa's history.

- An academic leader on Okinawa told the *Ryukyu Shimpo* that nationally approved texts were "often incomplete" (28 September 2010).<sup>49</sup> In his history guide for teachers, he emphasized the theme of discrimination against Okinawans for their cultural, linguistic, and ethnic differences following Okinawa's integration as a prefecture in 1879.<sup>50</sup>
- Contemporary Okinawan novelist and winner of the prestigious national Akutagawa Prize, Shun Medoruma, has described Japanese suppression of Okinawan culture and language in his war-themed novels. In "Mabuigumi" (Spirit Recalling, 1999), for example, the character Uta resists participating in a nationally mandated radio exercise program by refusing to give up Okinawa's custom of morning tea.<sup>52 53</sup>
- Okinawan textbooks, museum exhibits, and popular TV dramatizations have featured Japanese attempts to stigmatize Okinawa's language. Educators in Okinawa Prefecture used "dialect tags" (*hogen fuda*) to shame Okinawan students into using standard Japanese in schools -- an example of contempt for Okinawa's distinctive language -- in the prewar period and, at some locations, in the 1960s as well.<sup>54 55 56</sup>

**SEVENTY-FIVE PERCENT FIGURE SYMBOLIZES TOKYO'S UNFAIR TREATMENT OF OKINAWA**

Public commentary, official prefecture literature, and media often claim that 74.7% of land used exclusively by the US military in Japan is in Okinawa Prefecture.

- The Okinawa Prefecture Government, for example, prominently features the 74.7 percent figure on multiple pages in an online pamphlet concerning US military issues in Okinawa.<sup>47</sup>
- Left-leaning *Asahi Shimbun* compared an area map of Okinawa with one of mainland Japan to show 73.94% of land used by the US military is in Okinawa (12 February 2010).<sup>48</sup>



NHK dramatized the use of "dialect tags" to punish children for using the Okinawan dialect in school (18 June 2011).<sup>51</sup>

**WHAT'S IN A WORD? "UCHINANCHU"** The discrimination narrative has historic roots in stories about ethnic discrimination, but today ethnicity is a point of pride for many in Okinawa. The term "*Uchinanchu*" is a word in the local dialect that can describe someone from Okinawa or someone identifying as Okinawan. It connotes pride in Okinawa's heritage and is positively associated with the island's identity. The Worldwide Uchinanchu Festival, for example, is an occasion for Okinawa's emigrants and residents to gather on the main island and celebrate their heritage. It has been celebrated every five years since 1990.<sup>57</sup>



Logo for the 5th Worldwide Uchinanchu Festival

**NARRATIVE IN ACTION** Local leaders, academics, and anti-base organizations most often charge Tokyo of discrimination when decrying the concentration of US military bases in Okinawa.

- Governor Hirokazu Nakaima went so far as to call Okinawa's base hosting "close to being discriminatory" at a mass rally on 25 April 2010. His comment drew the attention of not only Okinawa's but also national-level media for being unusually "harsh" (*Yomiuri Shimbun*) and "surprising" (*Asahi Shimbun*).<sup>58 59 60</sup> Naha Mayor Takeshi Onaga told center-left *Asahi*: "If US bases are needed for the sake of deterrence, the whole nation should think about the issue. I think imposing bases only on Okinawa is discrimination" (13 May 2010).<sup>61</sup>
- Professors and other academics on Okinawa publicly claim that Tokyo's policy on US bases discriminates against Okinawa. Notably, Masahide Ota, former Okinawa governor and former Ryukyu University president, told a Tokyo daily newspaper, "Okinawa's citizens regard the fact that Tokyo ignores their will [on base issues] as 'Okinawa discrimination'" (*Tokyo Shimbun*, 14 May 2010).<sup>62</sup>

#### FORMER GOVERNOR OTA KEY FIGURE IN SHAPING NARRATIVE

Born in 1925, Masahide Ota is a former member of the House of Councillors where he represented the Social Democratic Party, was governor of Okinawa from 1990 to 1998, and was a professor and then Dean of Law and Literature at the University of the Ryukyus. During the Battle of Okinawa, Ota was drafted into the Japanese Imperial Army and served as a member of the Blood and Iron Student corps.



Masahide Ota, 2010

- Ota strongly opposed the presence of US forces in Okinawa, and as governor in 1995 he refused to sign a document granting the Japanese Government the right to continue leasing land for US military bases.
- In a 2003 essay, Ota detailed what he called Tokyo's "structural discrimination" against minorities, including Okinawans. Ota said that the myth of uniformity is "still maintained in Japan by excluding or ignoring differences as if they did not actually exist.... The over-concentration of military bases in Okinawa is a case in point."<sup>63</sup>

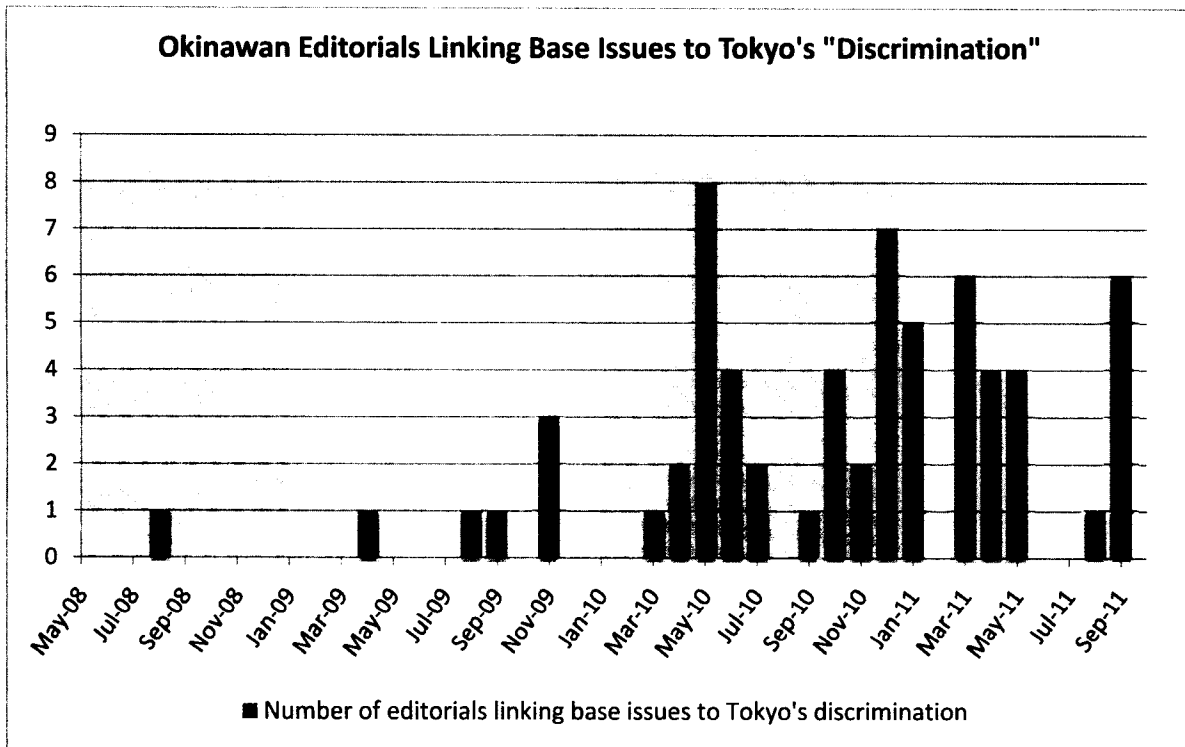
He has written many articles and more than 70 books about Okinawa, including *The Battle of Okinawa*, *Essays on Okinawa Problems*, *The Okinawan Mind (Okinawa no Kokoro)*, *Who Are the Okinawans? (Okinawajin to wa Nanika)*, *The Political Structure of Modern Okinawa (Okinawa no Seiji Kozo)*, and *The Consciousness of the Okinawan People (Okinawa no Minshu Ishiki)*, among others.<sup>64</sup>



- Futenma Noise Litigation Group Vice Chair and former head of the Okinawa Teacher's Association, Genpei Ishikawa, called the 21 June 2011 joint statement of the US-Japan Security Consultative Committee "another example of Okinawa being a sacrificed pawn (*suteishi*)" for the benefit of mainland Japan (2011).<sup>65</sup> Ishikawa's interview appeared in *Mainichi Shimbun* on 23 June, which is *Irei no Hi*, or the day to console the spirits -- Okinawa's memorial day for those who died during the Battle of Okinawa.

Okinawa's news media -- led by the island's two main newspapers -- draw heavily on the narrative of discrimination in making their case against the US military presence in Okinawa.

- In 2010 and 2011, Okinawa's two main newspapers have increasingly argued that Tokyo's handling of basing issues amounts to "discrimination." A deputy editor for national daily *Mainichi Shimbun* and others have attributed the increase to former Prime Minister Hatoyama's acceptance in May 2010 of the Henoko plan for MCAS Futenma (29 November 2010).<sup>66</sup>



The OSC-produced chart above shows the total number of editorials that link base issues to Tokyo's "discrimination" from May 2008 through September 2011. The spike in May of 2010 coincides with Hatoyama's endorsement of the US-Japan accord to relocate Futenma to Henoko.

There were few editorials in 2008 that discussed "discrimination" in relation to US basing issues, but OSC has noted such editorials as early as 1997. OSC has not researched editorials before 1997 for this paper because they are not readily available in electronic format.



- In an editorial critical of Foreign Minister Koichiro Gamba's 19 September meeting in New York with Secretary of State Clinton, *Okinawa Times* argued that "the excessive base-hosting burden borne indefinitely by Okinawa is nothing less than structural discrimination." The same editorial accused the Democratic Party of Japan of "using the national media to make deplorable threats that Futenma would remain unless the Henoko plan is realized" (22 September 2011).
- The evening news programs on Naha TV stations also routinely frame their coverage of US military basing issues in terms of Tokyo's neglect of Okinawa's so-called burden, according to an OSC survey of programming.<sup>67</sup> These news programs account for a major portion of Okinawa's limited local programming.

### 2011 INCIDENT OVER OFFICIAL'S REMARK ILLUSTRATES DIVIDE BETWEEN TOKYO, OKINAWA

In late 2011, a broad swath of Okinawan society reacted with visceral anger to remarks made by the director of the Okinawa Defense Bureau (ODB) Satoshi Tanaka. Tanaka likened Tokyo's legal options for forcing the Futenma relocation to a rape of the island, comments that evoked memories of the 1995 rape incident on Okinawa that led to Futenma relocation plans. On top of that, the defense minister stated that he knew little about the 1995 incident. The episode illustrates the extent to which Tokyo can be tone-deaf to the narratives and historical events that have shaped Okinawan attitudes.

- Tanaka was reported to have said, "Do you declare that you are going to commit an act before you do so?" According to reports, he used the word "*okasu*," which can mean "rape." Tanaka made the comment during a drinking session with members of the media in Naha on the evening of 28 November 2011. *Ryukyu Shimpo* broke the story on 29 November.<sup>68</sup> The defense minister sacked Tanaka shortly thereafter (Jiji, 29 November 2011).<sup>69</sup>
- DPJ policy chief Seiji Maehara criticized Defense Minister Yasuo Ichikawa on 3 December for saying that he had no knowledge of the details of the 1995 rape in Okinawa involving US service members. Maehara told reporters: "[Ichikawa] seems to be a bit too unprepared.... He should at least know about the history [of US base issues in Okinawa]; otherwise, he won't be able to address security issues and the relationship with the US military" (*Asahi Shimbun*, 5 December 2011).<sup>70</sup>
- Okinawan leaders, media, residents, and civic groups reacted harshly to the remarks, as observed in Okinawan and national media. Many said that the incident revealed a "discriminatory" mindset on the part of the central government toward Okinawans.<sup>71 72 73</sup>  
74 75 76 77

<sup>f</sup> See the 12 May 2011, OSC Analysis, "Okinawa Dailies Highlight Tokyo's Pattern of Neglect, Discrimination" (JPF20110512324001) and the 30 October 2009, OSC Media Aid, "Japan -- Local Media Play Important Role in Okinawa" (JPF20091030455001001).

**AUDIENCE RESONANCE** The narrative appears to resonate widely with the Okinawan people. Although many Okinawans closely link the narrative with base issues, others link it to disparities in wealth with mainland Japanese.

- Center-left *Asahi Shimbun* published a poll that found 85% of respondents in Okinawa agreed there was "a gap (*kakusa*) between the Japanese mainland and Okinawa." Respondents selected the following reasons for the gap: "base issues" (43%), "income" (24%), "jobs" (10%), "education" (4%), "transportation" (2%), and "other/cannot say" (2%) (20 September 2010).<sup>78</sup>
- Japan's largest circulation newspaper *Yomiuri Shimbun* assessed that Okinawa Governor Nakaima's address at a 25 April 2010 mass rally against the Henoko relocation plan for MCAS Futenma would resonate with "the people of Okinawa, who harbor bitter memories." Nakaima said that Okinawa's "excessive base-hosting burden" was "clearly unfair and close to being discriminatory" (26 April 2010).<sup>79</sup>
- Users of *Okinawa Uwasa Banashi*,<sup>8</sup> a popular Okinawa-focused online discussion forum, expressed dissatisfaction with then-Prime Minister Hatoyama for accepting the May 2010 US-Japan accord to relocate MCAS Futenma within Okinawa Prefecture despite his statements a year earlier to "at least move Futenma outside of the prefecture."<sup>80</sup> Few forum respondents explicitly mentioned "discrimination," but those that did also claimed Okinawa was being treated "unfairly" and differently than other parts of Japan.<sup>81</sup>

**IMPLICATIONS** Okinawa's political leaders and media have shaped the discrimination narrative to implicate the United States by making their central grievance with Tokyo the "disproportionate burden" of hosting US Forces. Fundamentally, however, the discrimination narrative is about Okinawa's complex relationship with Tokyo and, therefore, is not likely to be countered by any direct action on the part of the United States.

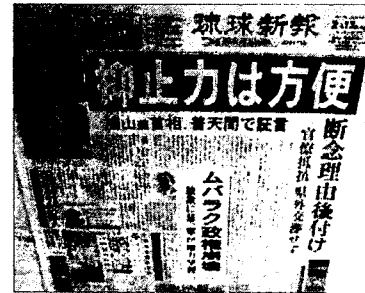
- Governor Nakaima, in a speech given in Washington on 19 September 2011, stated that the "first problem" with the US military bases in Okinawa is that "74% of the total land area used by the US military bases in Japan is concentrated in Okinawa Prefecture." He went on to criticize Tokyo for "not offering any convincing explanation to Okinawan citizens" about why Futenma must be relocated to Henoko (*Ryukyu Shimpo*, 20 September).<sup>82</sup> For Okinawans, MCAS Futenma is symbolic of this perceived disproportionate share.
- Former Okinawa governors Keiichi Inamine and Masahide Ota have long argued that the so-called "burden" of the US-Japan Security Treaty should be equally shared by the whole nation of Japan (*Ryukyu Shimpo*, 1 January 2011).<sup>83</sup>

<sup>8</sup> For more, see the 31 March 2011, OSC Media Aid, "Japan -- Online Discussion Board Provides Window to Okinawan Audience" (JPF20110331324001)



The discrimination narrative does not deny the security benefit of the alliance to the whole of Japan. However, messaging that explains the deterrence value of the US presence could have the unintended consequence of heightening Okinawans' frustrations with Tokyo. Moreover, skeptics of the deterrence argument will almost certainly continue to look for ways to undermine it, as the Okinawan media did after former Prime Minister Hatoyama publicly questioned its validity.

- Okinawa media reacted with indignation when former Prime Minister Yukio Hatoyama told *Ryukyu Shimpo* that deterrence was an "expedient" justification for US Marines' presence in Okinawa. Hatoyama's remarks were the focus of several articles, editorials, and two special three-day serial columns in Okinawa's dailies during February 2011. The widespread coverage of his remarks probably increased the Okinawan public's doubts over this justification for the military's presence.  
84 85



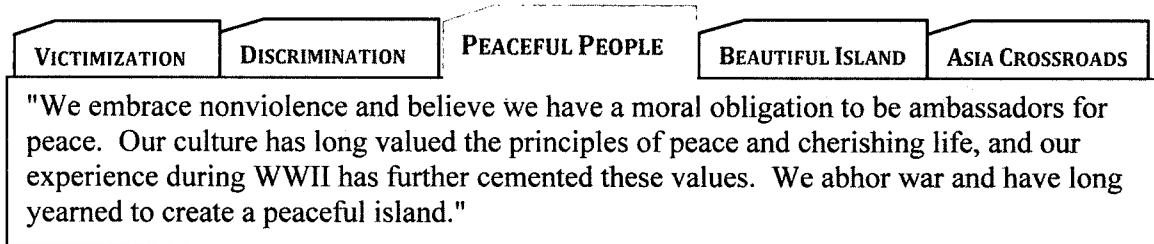
*Ryukyu Shimpo* headline reads, "Deterrence was Expedient" (13 February 2011).

- In his weekly column "Uchina Comment" for *Ryukyu Shimpo*, Masaru Sato, a former analyst for Japan's Foreign Ministry and political author, warned readers that Tokyo might use China's military buildup to "strengthen its structural discrimination against Okinawa based on the theory of deterrence" and, for example, "push for the relocation of Futenma to Henoko" (*Ryukyu Shimpo*, 9 July 2011).<sup>86</sup>



## "We Are a Peaceful People Who Cherish Life"

The peaceful people narrative has been advanced by Okinawan political leaders and civic groups. It draws upon the lessons of Okinawans' experiences during World War II and the island's cultural tradition of cherishing life. The narrative retains its currency through the peace curriculum taught in Okinawa's schools and appears to resonate widely. The Okinawan perception that militaries are antithetical to peace seems to place the US military at odds with the narrative. However, some US messages would be consistent with this narrative, such as accounts of the role of Okinawa-based forces in regional humanitarian and disaster relief efforts. Okinawan media would most likely look for ways to criticize such a message, but the public might be less cynical.



**DESCRIPTION** The narrative draws heavily upon lessons of Okinawans' experiences during WWII and, to a lesser extent, the peaceful legacy of the Ryukyu Kingdom (see also, **Asia Crossroads**). It is grounded in long-held beliefs, such as a reverence for ancestors and a belief that self-discipline and respect for life can create a peaceful and ordered society.

- **"SEEK PEACE"** The Okinawa Prefecture Peace Prize Committee says on its website for children that "We citizens of Okinawa seek peace more than anything else." The committee explains that the prefecture's pacifism is rooted in three experiences: the Ryukyu Kingdom's legacy as a "bridge to all nations" when "Okinawa fostered peaceful trade throughout Asia"; the "sad history" of the Battle of Okinawa when "200,000 lives were lost"; and the "present-day effects on everyday citizens' lives related to the large presence of US military bases."<sup>87</sup>
- **"CHERISH LIFE"** The belief that life should be cherished is prevalent in many Okinawan cultural practices, including the reverence for ancestors. Okinawans gather at their family tombs in the spring to "make merry and strengthen their ties" as part of the ancestor worship festival "*Seimei*" (pronounced "*Shiimi*" in the Okinawan dialect). Families also gather "to renew their kinship" for the three-day "*Bon*" festival in the seventh lunar month when it is believed that ancestral spirits "return to this world and commingle with the living," according to official prefecture publications.<sup>88 89</sup>
- **"CREATE HARMONY THROUGH SELF-DISCIPLINE"** Okinawan karate, one of the prefecture's successful cultural exports, is founded on a philosophy that says individuals, by practicing mental and physical self-discipline and by showing respect for life, can create



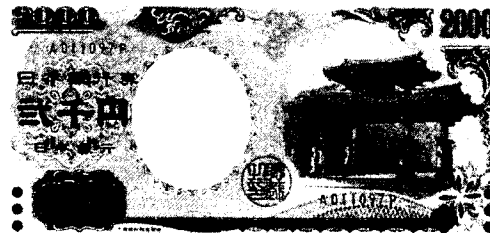
a peaceful and ordered society. In *The Essence of Karate-Do*, Okinawan karate master Shoshin Nagamine says that "peace-loving" Okinawans developed karate as "a weaponless system of self-defense" that enables practitioners to protect themselves against "physical danger from without" and "passions from within."<sup>90</sup> Similar to many other Japanese martial arts, Okinawan karate seeks to be a way of life that teaches self-development, respect, and spirituality.

- **"HAVE A CULTURE OF KINDNESS"** History textbooks published in the prefecture note that Okinawa's "culture of kindness" or "culture without weapons" was documented by European explorers visiting the islands in the 19th century.<sup>91 92</sup> The Okinawan scholar Zenchu Nakahara inferred that the absence of words connoting ruthless killing in Okinawa's folk and religious songs from the 12th through 17th centuries indicated that the people did not have killing in their consciousness.<sup>93</sup>

#### OKINAWA AS A 'LAND OF COURTESY'



This archway at Okinawa's famous Shuri Castle is called *Shurei-mon*, which is an abbreviation of "Land of Courtesy."<sup>94</sup>



Japan featured the archway on its 2000 yen note for the Kyushu-Okinawa G8 Summit in 2000 to showcase Okinawa as a welcoming island.<sup>95</sup>

Educators and contemporary entertainment in Okinawa help keep the narrative current and, in some cases, reinforce its linkage to US bases.<sup>h</sup>

- A supplemental textbook published in Okinawa says that "Okinawans have learned that international conflicts are not solved by war but by treasuring life (*nuchi du takara*)." The book is authored by Toshiaki Arashiro, former high school teacher and current visiting professor at Okinawa University, and published by the Okinawa History Education Research Association (2010).<sup>97</sup>



NHK's special on Okinawa's tradition of comedy explained in its opening, "Okinawa's gods hate war but love to laugh" (18 June 2011).<sup>96</sup>

- A 1997 guidebook for visiting Japanese school children says that "Okinawans' insistence on the removal of bases is a heart-felt cry that comes from historical experience."

<sup>h</sup> See also the 18 April 2011, OSC Analysis, "Okinawa Artists Raise Awareness of Military Basing Issues, Reinforce Pacifism" (JPF20110414324001), for more on how popular entertainment keeps the peaceful people narrative current.





Okinawans' hopes sing of the right to live in times of peace and are fused with the spirit of the Japanese constitution that renounces war."<sup>98</sup> The guidebook is authored by Okinawa International University Emeritus Professor Masaaki Aniya.

- An online comic published by the Naha-based Interface Corporation on 7 January 2011, explained that "the Okinawan spirit cherishes and protects people; it is full of strength and kindness." Interface President Takehiko Yamazato said that by making the comics available online, the firm seeks to "make learning about Okinawan history, culture, and industry more accessible" to people in Japan and throughout the world.<sup>99</sup>
- The Okinawa-produced television series "Ryujin Mabuyer" imparts cultural values to young audiences in the prefecture. According to the official website for the first nationwide movie version of the story, the heroes "embody care for others, forgiveness" and "the essence of Ryukyu Karate, which holds that 'one's fist should not strike first' and that one should not take an enemy's life" (2011).<sup>100</sup> The masked hero fantasy series has spawned a movie, multiple DVDs, tour packages, and other consumer goods (*Tokyo Shimbun*, 22 November 2011).<sup>101</sup>



The Okinawa-produced masked hero fantasy series "Ryujin Mabuyer" has been commercially successful and invokes cultural values, such as care for others.

**NARRATIVE IN ACTION** Okinawa's political leaders and civic groups frequently tie their peace rhetoric to reducing the burden of US bases in Okinawa. Various civic groups take this further and demand the removal of US bases, saying that they are antithetical to peace.

- In his 2011 declaration of peace, Okinawa Governor Nakaima said: "We have learned that nothing can replace peace. With this as a foundation, the people in Okinawa have been steadily following the path of reconstruction and progress." He continued, "We will strongly call on the Japanese and US governments to significantly alleviate our burden, relocate the dangerous Futenma Air Station out of Okinawa as early as possible, and fundamentally review the US-Japan Status of Forces Agreement (SOFA)."<sup>103</sup> Okinawa's governors have issued declarations of peace every year since 1977 to mark the prefecture's 23 June Memorial Day for the Battle of Okinawa (*Irei no Hi*).
- Ginowan Mayor Takeshi Asato, in his 2010 policy speech to the city assembly, said, "I cherish our value of treasuring life (*nuchi du takara*) and respect the peace constitution.



Okinawa unveiled "The Cornerstone of Peace" on 23 June 1995. The memorial bears the names of 240,000 war dead, including some 14,000 US military personnel.<sup>102</sup>



I will put an end to the major problem posed by the Futenma base and build Ginowan into a city full of nature and peace." <sup>104</sup>

- The Naha-based Okinawa Peace Activity Center organized a march on 15 May 2011 around MCAS Futenma with the stated purpose of "demonstrating that all Okinawan citizens are united in calling for the complete removal of any new military facility at Henoko and for removing Futenma from Okinawa and Japan." The center was established on 1 February 1993, and has a history of organizing peace marches that call for the removal of US bases. <sup>105</sup>
- The Okinawa Citizens Liaison Committee for Peace in Okinawa has the stated objective of "removing the bases from Okinawa and [working toward] world peace." According to its website, "We believe in Okinawa's declaration of peace, which respects different cultures, values, and systems; and we are opposed to using violence and military force." <sup>106</sup> The committee encompasses 33 smaller Okinawa-based groups, and, according to *Okinawa Times*, plans to send representatives to Washington in January 2012 in order to convey its opposition to the Futenma relocation plan (19 October 2011). <sup>107</sup>

Mainland Japanese groups also exploit Okinawa's peace activism, making it difficult to differentiate Okinawan and mainland activism.

- The Tokyo-based Okinawa Protest Advertising Action ran a full-page advertisement in Okinawa's two major newspapers and a national daily in May 2011. The ad called for removing US Marines from Okinawa and argued that Tokyo should use Okinawa's sympathy budget for reconstruction. It also prominently featured the Okinawan expression "life itself is a treasure" (*nuchi du takara*). <sup>108</sup>
- The same Tokyo-based group purchased a full-banner English-language advertisement on *The New York Times* website on 21 September 2011, which was probably timed to coincide with two other September events: Governor Nakaima's visit to Washington, and a Noda-Obama meeting in New York. It linked to a full-page PDF file titled, "A Message from the People of Okinawa and Japan to the People of The United States: Call For Peace Without Dependence On Military Power!" <sup>109</sup>



This OSC-annotated screen capture of *The New York Times* shows the banners purchased by the Tokyo-based group.



Okinawa's two main newspapers present themselves as leading advocates for Okinawa's pacifist ideals and use this assumed authority to oppose the US military presence on Okinawa.<sup>i</sup>

- *Ryukyu Shimpo* says on its website that one of its corporate values is "to contribute to the establishment of lasting world peace based on international good faith." Similarly, its editor's mission statement includes the goal of "contributing to the construction of a democratic society and establishment of world peace." In its opposition to the US military presence, the daily has called the presence of US facilities in Okinawa "an outrage" and "contrary to humanity" (18 September 2011).<sup>110</sup>
- *Okinawa Times*, in an article commemorating its 60th anniversary in 2008, closely associated the company's policy with pacifist ideals, such as "contributing to the establishment of world peace."<sup>111</sup> In the past, the daily has warned against any pretense of military build-up in Japan. A 2010 editorial warned that Tokyo risked "turning all of Okinawa into a military island replete with US and Self-Defense Forces," which would prompt "an endless arms race" in Asia and "increase military tension rather than stability" (19 December 2010).<sup>112</sup>

**WHAT'S IN A WORD? "NUCHI DU TAKARA"** The expression *nuchi du takara* (life itself is a treasure) from the Okinawan dialect emphasizes the preciousness of life. It is probably regarded by Okinawans as an important strength of their character.

- The last Ryukyu king, Sho Tai, used the phrase in a poem in 1879 when Japan's Meiji Government eliminated the kingdom's diplomatic rights and removed the king's title, according to history texts published in Okinawa.<sup>113 114</sup> Sho Tai's poem reads, "The time for wars is ending, and the time for peace is not far. Do not despair. Life itself is a treasure."

President Bill Clinton quoted Sho Tai's poem in his speech on 21 July 2000 at the Peace Memorial Park in Okinawa Prefecture ahead of the 2000 G8 summit. The speech got positive reviews from Okinawan leaders and media.

- Then-governor Keiichi Inamine commented that the President showed an "understanding of the Okinawan spirit and also referenced our history. It was meaningful" (*Okinawa Times*, 21 July 2000).<sup>115</sup> An article in *Ryukyu Shimpo* said that by using the expression *nuchi du takara*, President Clinton gave consideration to Okinawan people and showed that he was "well-versed" in Okinawa's history and culture (21 July 2000).<sup>116</sup>

<sup>i</sup> See also the 12 May 2011, OSC Analysis, "Okinawa Dailies Highlight Tokyo's 'Pattern of Neglect, Discrimination'" (JPF20110512324001).

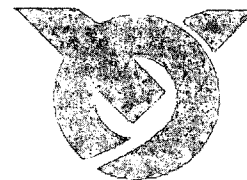


**AUDIENCE RESONANCE** The peaceful people narrative probably resonates widely among Okinawans. In polls Okinawans say that they value empathy and cooperation, which are themes reflected by the narrative. Moreover, peace slogans and rhetoric are prevalent throughout Okinawan society.

- Okinawa Prefecture's most recent prefecture-wide polls in 2009 and 2005 showed that the public rates "human empathy" and "a strong spirit of cooperation" as two of the prefecture's most important strengths.<sup>117 118</sup>
- The 15 May Peace March Committee and Okinawa Peace Activity Center organize an annual march, which commemorates Okinawa's return to Japan and seeks "a peaceful Okinawa without bases." Marchers have numbered in the low thousands, but Okinawa newspapers and television routinely focus on the event, perhaps giving it wider relevance with the population.<sup>119 120 121 122 123</sup>

Many Okinawan municipalities, including those that host US facilities, have peace declarations, sometimes in the form of ordinances.

- Ginowan, the location of US Marine Corps Air Station Futenma, says on its website, "We Ginowan residents, drawing on the painful lessons of World War II, declare that we are an anti-nuclear peaceful city seeking disarmament."<sup>125</sup>
- Nago City's peace declaration reads, "We, as the world's first nation to experience an atomic bombing, and also as Okinawan residents who experienced disastrous fighting, hereby repudiate all war and seek the abolition of nuclear weapons that threaten the survival of the human race."<sup>126</sup>
- Yomitan Village, the location of the US Army's Torii Station, says on its website, "Yomitan's residents have expressed their desire for 'nuclear-free' world peace."<sup>127</sup>



Many municipalities also incorporate peace into their official symbols. Kadena Town, host to Kadena Air Base, explains on its website, "[Our symbol] is a simple design expressing the desire for peace and union of the people..."<sup>124</sup>

Themes of peace and nonviolence are common in popular Okinawan entertainment, suggesting that they appeal to Okinawan audiences in particular.

- Okinawan pop group HY celebrates life and alludes to family members' experiences during the Battle of Okinawa in the song "Over the Times" (*Toki wo koe*). The central theme of the song draws on the Okinawan proverb "life itself is a treasure" (*nuchi du takara*), which is used to indirectly negate war and promote the value of life.<sup>128</sup> According to *YouTube* analytics, the official version of "Over the Times" has received 400,000 hits and 86 comments.<sup>129</sup>



- Rock group Mongol 800 invokes empathy towards others to prevent conflicts and emphasizes the importance of the "Ryukyu spirit," which embodies nonviolence and a love of nature, in their song "Ryukyu Love Song" (*Ryukyu Ai Ka*).<sup>130</sup> YouTube analytics found that "Ryukyu Love Song," posted by record label Highway, received over 660,000 hits and 112 comments.<sup>131</sup>

#### YOUNG PEOPLE MAY BE LESS LIKELY TO IDENTIFY WITH PACIFIST IDEALS

It is possible that fewer young people nowadays identify with pacifist ideals. Peace education advocates, for example, worry that young people increasingly lack awareness of Okinawa's history.

- Okinawa History Education Research Association president Toshiaki Arashiro, in a *Ryukyu Shimpo* article, expressed concern that "fewer young people harbor a spirit of resistance or are aware of their dependence on bases." Arashiro's association, in conjunction with the Okinawa Teacher's Union, has conducted a survey of high school students every five years since 1995 to assess their "knowledge related to peace education and Okinawan issues" (19 June 2010).<sup>132</sup>

**IMPLICATIONS** The peaceful people narrative embodies values that affect the way Okinawans perceive the US base presence and interpret messages regarding the US-Japan alliance. The narrative manifests itself as a general anti-military attitude that is not directed specifically at the United States. US messaging that addressed the role of Okinawa-based forces in regional humanitarian and disaster relief efforts would be consistent with the general themes of the narrative. Such messaging, however, would probably be viewed skeptically by Okinawa's media, although the public might be more open-minded.

- The Japanese Cabinet Office's 2011 survey of nation-wide public sentiment towards other countries found that 82 percent of Japanese report having friendly feelings toward the United States. This was the highest rating since the annual survey began in 1978 and the first such survey since the US Military's Operation Tomodachi humanitarian support to Japan following the 11 March 2011 triple disaster (5 December 2011).<sup>133 134</sup>
- Okinawa media, however, were extremely skeptical of US motivations in publicizing the military's support during Operation Tomodachi. The *Ryukyu Shimpo* said in an 18 March 2011 editorial that it "respects" people who put themselves at risk of radiation exposure but criticized the US military for "advertising" its contribution to relief efforts following the 11 March 2011 disasters.<sup>135</sup>
- Okinawa media have also portrayed some US comments on humanitarian missions as appearing to be at odds with the argument that US forces in Okinawa are necessary for deterrence. When reporting on a 9 October 2011 humanitarian assistance drill at Camp Hansen by the 31st Marine Expeditionary Unit, for instance, the *Ryukyu Shimpo* pointed out that the commanding officer said humanitarian support operations is the 31st MEU's



most important mission but that the US Government and the Government of Japan have insisted that US Marines in Okinawa are necessary for deterrence (*Ryukyu Shimpō*, 11 October 2011).<sup>136</sup>

Japan's Self-Defense Forces (SDF) uses themes such as peace, family, and community to help explain its mission to a national audience. The fact that the SDF takes this approach suggests that the Okinawan public might be receptive to such messaging.

- The SDF's official website banner explains the organization's mission using phrases such as "further contributing to world peace" and "peace is our job" (2011).<sup>137</sup>
- In 2011, the SDF produced six nationally aired commercials and 11 web-exclusive commercials, according to its website. These recruiting videos focus on humanitarian support efforts. They emphasize family and community by showing images of SDF personnel helping the elderly and children. The commercials end with the tagline: "We need your strength to protect as many people as we can."

#### JAPAN'S SDF EMPHASIZE FAMILY, COMMUNITY IN COMMERCIALS



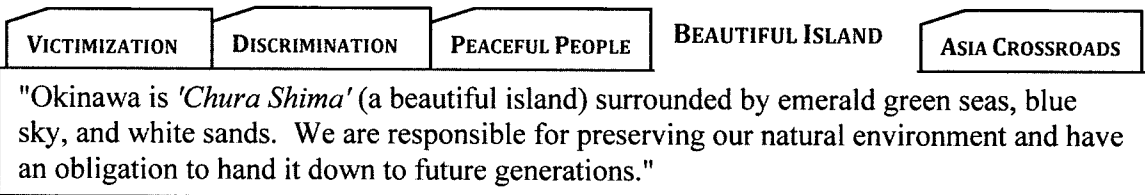
The SDF web-exclusive commercial titled "Good Father" says, "There are children as young as my son affected, so I wanted to help. I'm not just in the SDF; I'm also a father" (2011).<sup>138</sup>



In the nationally aired SDF commercial titled "Smiling Day," the narrator says, "The more smiles we encounter, the stronger we become" (2011).<sup>139</sup>

## "Okinawa Is a Beautiful Island"

The beautiful island narrative is relatively new, but it is widely shared. Okinawans see their natural environment as a source of pride. Okinawans probably expect that new base construction projects will be undertaken with high regard for the environment, and that returned US base land will undergo thorough environmental remediation measures. In this respect, Okinawan support for environmental preservation presents challenges to alliance managers.



**DESCRIPTION** This narrative was largely shaped by societal and economic pressures following Okinawa's 1972 reversion to Japan. After the reversion, local and national leaders engaged in a concerted effort to redefine Okinawa as a resort paradise rather than a place of war and tragedy. Tokyo-funded projects to develop resorts, however, caused environmental harm and spurred affected communities to varying degrees of environmental activism. In its current form, the narrative emphasizes preserving the prefecture's natural assets for ecotourism and sustainable use.

- **"OKINAWA IS A PARADISE WITH BLUE OCEANS AND SKY"** The Okinawa International Ocean Expo in 1975 was the "virtual starting point" for the prefecture's rebranding as Japan's "tropical sea resort," according to Osamu Tada in a 2004 book. Tada is a sociology professor who has authored several studies on Okinawa's culture and identity.<sup>142</sup> A report at that time by the Japanese Geotechnical Society said that the expo was integral to the "reborn Okinawa Prefecture."<sup>143</sup>
- **"OUR SURROUNDINGS ARE UNDER THREAT"** One of Okinawa's outer islands, Ishigaki, provides the starkest example of outspoken public protest against the environmental harm caused by rampant development. As an editorial in the Ishigaki-based *Yaeyama Mainichi Shimpō* put it in 2007, it is "well known in Ishigaki" that "environmentally damaging development was prevalent during the height of the economic bubble around the time of Okinawa's reversion" (4 August 2007).<sup>144</sup> Ishigaki's case is particularly noteworthy because the island was the center of national attention during local residents' decade-long opposition to an airport planned near the



Tokyo-led development projects in the 70s helped redefine Okinawa as a tropical resort. Expo 75's Aquapolis (above) was characteristic of this effort (*Mainichi*, 18 January 1976).<sup>140</sup>



Expo 75 popularized the phrase "blue ocean and sky" (Image credit: Kazumasa Nagai, 1975).<sup>141</sup>



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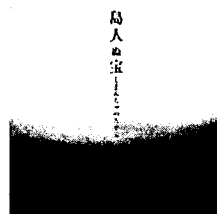
island's environmentally sensitive Shiraho district. That plan was scrapped in 1989, and the airport is now slated to open in 2012 at another location on the island. Illustrating the bond Shiraho residents have with the ocean, a 93-year-old resident said, "The first wealth is the sea. We cannot thank the sea enough, as our ancestors well knew" (Kyodo, 30 July 2007).<sup>145</sup>

- **"OUR NATURAL ENVIRONMENT IS PRECIOUS"** The Okinawa Prefecture Government's "Outline of Okinawa" explains prized aspects of Okinawa's natural environment that distinguish the prefecture from other parts of Japan. Okinawa is "Japan's only prefecture in the subtropical latitudes. It enjoys a mild climate all year round. With schools of brightly colored tropical fish, the coral reef seas support a rich profusion of life. And in the forests of northern Okinawa Island and Iriomote Island live rare animals such as the Yambaru Kuina (Okinawa Rail) and the Iriomote Wildcat, known worldwide as rare and important creatures" (2008).<sup>146</sup>

Contemporary songs by popular Okinawan musicians praise Okinawa's beauty for being something precious that should be protected.

- Okinawa folk-pop band BEGIN composed the song titled "*Shimanchu nu Takara* (Islander's Treasure)," which explains that the islands' unique nature and history are a different kind of affluence from material wealth. In 2002, NHK's Naha branch used it as the broadcaster's "image song," which commemorated the 30th anniversary of Okinawa's reversion.<sup>149</sup> BEGIN performed the song on national television as recently as 18 April 2011 on a Fuji TV variety show.<sup>150</sup>

#### POPULAR ENTERTAINMENT REINFORCES NARRATIVE



"I might not know what to do about the polluted coral or the disappearing fish, but I do know better than anyone the gradual changes of the ocean. That's an islander's treasure." --BEGIN<sup>147</sup>



Okinawa broadcaster RBC uses the song for the opening theme of a weekly TV program by the same name.<sup>148</sup>

- Okinawan singer Cocco highlights the fragile beauty of Okinawa's environment in her 2007 hit song "The Hill of Dugongs" (*Dugong no mieru oka*).<sup>151</sup><sup>152</sup> The dugong is a sea mammal whose image is commonly used by anti-base activists and conservationists to represent the potential environmental impact of the relocation of MCAS Futenma to the northern part of Okinawa. Cocco has performed the song on national television as recently as 25 March 2011 on TV Asahi's "Music Station."<sup>153</sup>





**WHAT'S IN A WORD? "CHURA"** In the Okinawan dialect, "*chura*" is an adjective meaning "beautiful." It is often used to describe the island, ocean, and people. Its prevalence in Okinawa indicates widespread familiarity with a theme of the narrative.

- OSC's survey of the comprehensive news archive *Nikkei Telecom 21* found a strong upward trend in Okinawa's major dailies' usage of the phrase "*Chura Shima*" (beautiful island). Use of the term went from 67 instances in 1997, to 298 in 2002, to 2,045 in 2010.<sup>154</sup>
- Professor Osamu Tada, in a 2011 essay, said that the 2001 NHK television drama "*Churasan*" imbued the word "*chura*" with an imaginative power.<sup>155</sup> "*Churasan*" propagated images of Okinawa all over Japan every morning for half a year. Its average viewership was 22.2% in the Kanto region, according to Japan's leading provider of TV viewing metrics.<sup>156</sup>



NHK's TV drama "*Churasan*" spread images of a warm, nostalgic Okinawa throughout Japan (image: NHK).<sup>157</sup>



Okinawa's "Chura Umi Aquarium" opened in 2002. It celebrates the beauty of the sea (image: Chura Umi website).<sup>158</sup>

**NARRATIVE IN ACTION** Okinawa's political leaders use the beautiful island narrative in a variety of policy contexts that range from environmental initiatives to the relocation of Marine Corps Air Station Futenma to Nago City's Henoko area.

- Okinawa Governor Hirokazu Nakaima established the "Okinawa All Island Greening Project" in June of 2008. The charter, signed by Nakaima as the project's chairman, says that "green space is disappearing... This project takes a 100-year outlook on greening activities. We will prepare for natural disasters by creating windbreaks and tide barriers as well as green our roads, city parks, public buildings, and houses. We will create a lush, verdant, beautiful island."<sup>159</sup>
- Nago Mayor Susumu Inamine, during his 2010 election bid for the position, campaigned on a platform opposed to the relocation of Futenma to Nago City's Henoko area. According to a video clip uploaded to *YouTube* by the Asahi News Network on 22 January 2010, Inamine, when announcing his candidacy, said, "I will not allow the construction of a new base on Henoko's beautiful Oura Bay."<sup>160</sup>

Okinawan activists opposed to development projects or US basing facilities frequently link their cause to larger environmental concerns -- as opposed to more localized ones such as noise pollution. In so doing, the activists have broadened their cause by appealing to national environmentalist organizations.



- A Nago citizen's group used the slogan, "Protect Oura Bay!" to protest Japanese Foreign Minister Gemba's visit to Nago City Hall on 19 October 2011, and Defense Minister Ichikawa's visit to Camp Schwab on 17 October 2011, according to photographs posted to the website of the Japan-based civic group RIMPEACE.<sup>161 162</sup> The Nago citizen's group, composed of members from the 10 communities north of Futami near Camp Schwab, says its mission is to "protect the natural beauty of Yanbaru (Northern Okinawa) and a way of life," according to its official website.<sup>163</sup>
- The Nago Municipal Council of Peace and Democracy Against Offshore Helicopter Base Construction, which operates a sit-in tent at Henoko from 0800 until 1600 daily, uses the slogan "No Base! Save the Dugong" in a banner hung on Camp Schwab's fence (23 July 2011).<sup>164</sup>
- The Japanese chapters of international environmentalist organizations appear to support Okinawan activists' environmental concerns. For example, the World Wide Fund For Nature Japan lists "encouraging [residents] to be actively involved in conservation" as one of its objectives related to the preservation of Ishigaki's Shiraho coral reef.<sup>165</sup> Greenpeace Japan made "preservation of the dugong's habitat" its central argument against Futenma's relocation to Henoko in a 2009 statement.<sup>166</sup>



The so-called "tent village" standing protest near Camp Schwab distributes, among other materials, stickers with the slogan, "Protect life. No new base in Henoko." It bears the image of a dugong.

Okinawa media do not appear to make the beautiful island narrative central to their arguments against the US military presence. They do, however, pay close attention to and frequently report on specific environmental incidents related to US bases or suspected US military activities.

- OSC surveyed the editorials of *Ryukyu Shimpo* and *Okinawa Times* for one year ending in November 2011. Of the 82 editorials that discussed "nature," 15 made claims about the US military's perceived negative environmental impacts. For example, a *Ryukyu Shimpo* editorial from 27 April 2011 -- in the form of an open letter to visiting Senators Carl Levin and Jim Webb -- described the location of the planned Futenma Relocation Facility as a "precious sea" inhabited by dugongs.<sup>167</sup>
- Okinawa's two main newspapers pay close attention to and frequently report on suspected base pollution. *Ryukyu Shimpo* has called for revising the US-Japan Status of Forces Agreement to make the United States responsible for environmental cleanup. Under Article 4 of the current SOFA, the United States is not obliged to restore returned areas to the condition received (30 May 2011).<sup>168 169</sup> *Okinawa Times* urged US and Japanese Governments to probe into the suspected past storage and disposal of "highly toxic herbicides" like Agent Orange at US facilities in order to "dispel public unease" (16 August 2011).<sup>170</sup>



- Similarly, Okinawa's local television broadcasters pay attention to suspected pollution related to US military activities. Fuji TV-affiliated Okinawa Television reported that locals were opposed to the relocation of live-firing training to Ito-Torishima Island because of "fears over the destruction of the natural environment" (26 July 2011).<sup>171</sup> The TV Asahi-affiliated Ryukyu Asahi Broadcasting Corporation, as part of its long-running series "Examination: Unchanging Base Situation," featured allegations that during the Vietnam War, Agent Orange was stored at Camp Schwab, and aired clips of Nago City residents who expressed concerns over health issues (9 November 2011).<sup>172 173</sup>

Okinawa media also present the island's natural environment as a draw for tourism and thus an asset for economic development.

- *Ryukyu Shimpo* has asserted on multiple occasions that Okinawa's mainstay industry is tourism that "makes good use of [Okinawa's] beautiful and subtropical nature" (15 May 2011, 8 January 2011).<sup>174 175</sup> The *Okinawa Times* praised Governor Nakaima's envisioned "Okinawa version of Green New Deal" for "making good use of Okinawa's precious nature" (1 December 2010).<sup>176</sup>

#### TOUR COMPANIES USE 'BEAUTIFUL ISLAND' TO SELL TOURS, PUT POSITIVE SPIN ON US BASES

Mainland Japanese airlines operate tour packages to Okinawa and borrow heavily from the beautiful island narrative to advertise their tour packages.

- All Nippon Airways (ANA) advertised its Okinawa vacation package with the slogan, "Blue skies and ocean! Take ANA to 'Okinawa' -- the eternal summer paradise" (ANA website, 2011).<sup>177</sup>
- Yuji Arakaki, professor of tourism industry at the Faculty of International Studies at Meio University in Okinawa, said in a 2009 essay that Japan's airlines have contributed to "Okinawa's enduring image as Japan's tropical resort island."<sup>178</sup>

Travel guides about Okinawa that are published by Tokyo-based publishers often portray the US presence as a draw for tourists.

- Japan Airlines' electronic guidebook to Okinawa describes the island's central region as "an exciting area where many US bases and foreigners can be observed."<sup>179</sup>
- A Tokyo publisher's 2010 *Walking Guide to Okinawa* describes the areas around US bases as an appealing combination of "old Okinawa" and "American retro town."<sup>180</sup>



Shobunsha's "Walking Guide to Okinawa" (2010)<sup>181</sup>



**AUDIENCE RESONANCE** In surveys Okinawans say that they highly value their natural environment, which suggests that the narrative resonates widely.

- The Okinawa Prefecture Government polled Okinawans from six age groups living in the prefecture's five regions and found that 88% said that the "abundant natural environment (including the blue oceans and unique creatures)" is one of the most important "merits of Okinawa" that should be protected (2009).<sup>182</sup>
- The Prefecture held an essay contest for high school students in 2009 in which students were asked to describe their "image of Okinawa in 20 years." According to the prefectural government's analysis of the responses, slightly more than 55% of students included "natural environment," "landscape and scenery," "animals," or "environmentally sustainable society" as important elements for Okinawa's future.<sup>183</sup>
- Discussion on a popular Okinawa-based online message board also provides anecdotal evidence of the resonance of this narrative. Many users of *Okinawa Uwasa Banashi* said they oppose land reclamation projects because they would threaten Okinawa's natural environment and increase flood vulnerability in a tsunami.<sup>184 185</sup>

**IMPLICATIONS** Okinawan support for preserving the environment presents challenges to alliance managers.

- Okinawans probably will want new base construction projects to be undertaken with high regard for the environment. Likewise, they will want returned US base land to undergo thorough environmental remediation measures -- an issue likely to grow in relevance as the United States returns more land to Japan as part of US efforts to consolidate its forces on Okinawa.
- US actions demonstrating a policy of good stewardship of base land, such as quick and transparent responses to accidents that could be detrimental to the environment, could help assuage the public's concern.
- Any messaging about a policy of good stewardship, however, would possibly be viewed skeptically by the general Okinawan public and would almost certainly be met with suspicion on the part of Okinawa's news media. Only a few minority groups, like the Ornithological Society of Japan, have argued that US military land has helped preserve wildlife habitat by preventing Japanese development.<sup>186</sup>

Okinawa may pressure Tokyo to expand environmental guarantees for base land -- including revision of SOFA provisions on environmental remediation.

- The 24 November 2011 bilateral agreement to amend the implementation of SOFA, which allows Japan jurisdiction over some accidents involving civilian staff at US



military bases, spurred Okinawa's governor and local media editorialists to reiterate their desires for "drastic" revision of SOFA.<sup>j</sup>

- In February 2011, Governor Nakaima visited Tokyo and requested that then-Prime Minister Naoto Kan make efforts to "improve the environment" of base land planned for return. *Asahi Shimbun* called this a "vital issue" for Okinawa, which regards returned land as "key to its economic development." The daily explained that Okinawa has been seeking SOFA revisions (21 August 2011).<sup>187</sup>

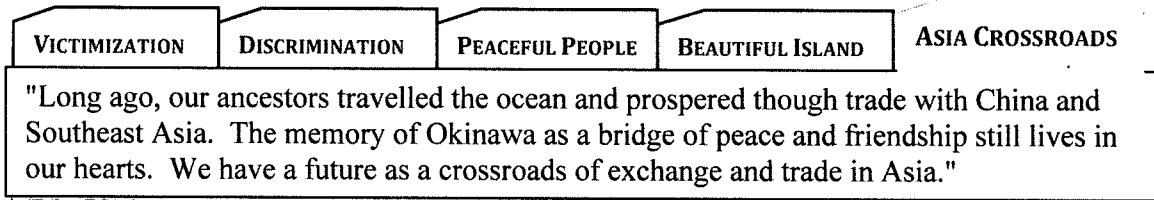
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<sup>j</sup> For more, see the 1 December 2011, OSC Report, "Japan -- After SOFA Accord, Widespread Okinawa Demand for 'Drastic' Revisions" (JPP20111201215001).



## "Okinawa Can Again Become a Crossroads of Asia"

The Asia crossroads narrative has been advanced by Okinawan political leaders to envision a future identity for Okinawa that is not centered on the US bases and Tokyo's economic compensation for their presence. The narrative is loosely inspired by historical accounts that portray the Ryukyu Kingdom as a geographic crossroads for Asian trade and cultural exchange. The narrative resonates with Okinawans to the extent that it describes the origins of their distinct culture, but it is probably not deeply felt like the victimization or discrimination narratives. The narrative overlaps with aspects of the US message about the alliance, which presents positive opportunities for the United States.



**DESCRIPTION** The inspiration for the narrative comes from historical accounts of the Ryukyu Kingdom's golden age of trade. In the narrative, Okinawa will prosper economically and culturally by acting as a bridge to the world and by playing a stabilizing role in the region.

- "BRIDGE TO THE WORLD"** In 1458, Ryukyu King Sho Taikyu ordered the casting of the "Bell Bridging All Countries."<sup>188</sup> The bell's inscription, which is displayed in the present-day Okinawa governor's reception room, describes how the Ryukyu Kingdom took advantage of its geographic location: "Our Ryukyu is located in a superb location in the South Sea. We have learned advanced Korean culture and built indispensable relations with China and amicable ties with Japan. Our country is like Horai Island [a legendary land where immortals live] amid the countries in East Asia. Through trade, we played the role of a bridge between countries."<sup>189</sup>
- "REGIONAL HARMONY, PROSPERITY"** Okinawan historian Kurayoshi Takara described the Ryukyu Kingdom's trade network as the "Silk Road of the Ocean" that tied China, Japan, Korea, and Southeast Asia together in peaceful relations.<sup>190</sup> Such connections between Okinawa's trade and regional peace are a common feature of historical accounts produced in Okinawa.<sup>191 192</sup>
- "UNIQUE COMPOSITE OF INFLUENCES"** A brochure produced by the

**BELL EXEMPLIFIES IMAGE**



A replica of the "Bell Bridging All Countries" hangs at Shuri Castle.

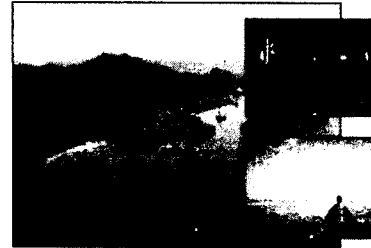


The folding screen in the Okinawa governor's reception room carries the bell's inscription (OSC-annotated images from *Okinawa Prefecture and Ryukyu Shimpo*).

Okinawa Convention and Visitors Bureau to introduce the prefecture to non-Okinawans says, "International influences melded with local traditions and inspiration [to produce] a unique and brilliant culture -- a rich harvest of a long history."<sup>193</sup>

This narrative draws on historical images that are well known among Okinawans and the broader Japanese public. This familiarity is due, in part, to public broadcaster NHK, which has portrayed idealized versions of the Ryukyu Kingdom's golden age in widely televised dramas popular in mainland Japan.

- An NHK drama that aired in 2011, "The Tempest," takes place at a time when the Ryukyu Kingdom is attempting to balance the regional influences of China and Japan in the 19th Century. The program's opening explains, "The independent Ryukyu Kingdom existed in the space between two great powers: admitted as a kingdom under the authority of the Chinese emperor but at the same time subject to the control of Japan's Satsuma domain."<sup>194</sup>
- Chief editor of the Okinawa-published art magazine *EDGE* explained in an online column for *Yomiuri Shimbun* that NHK's 1993 drama "The Winds of Ryukyu" -- along with other popularizations of Okinawan culture in Japan in the 1990s -- contributed to a mainland image of Okinawa as "a foreign country that speaks Japanese" and as an "Asia without the need for a passport."<sup>195 196</sup>



NHK's 2011 drama "The Tempest" portrays a Ryukyu Kingdom embroiled in political intrigue.



NHK's 1993 drama "Winds of Ryukyu" is credited with helping to popularize exotic aspects of Okinawan culture with a Japanese audience.

**NARRATIVE IN ACTION** Since at least the late 1990s, the Okinawa Prefecture Government has cast its future vision for the island as a logical extension of the Ryukyu Kingdom's legacy as an economic and cultural crossroads of Asia. The idea of making Okinawa a regional trade hub emerged soon after reversion in the 1970s.

- In 2010, the Nakaima administration issued its "Okinawa 21st Century Vision." It highlighted Okinawa's crossroads history as a source of inspiration: "Okinawa, as a one-time maritime nation known as the 'Ryukyu Kingdom,' conducted exchanges with distant places like Japan, Korea, China, and Southeast Asia, propagating culture and creating new value [for the region]" (31 March 2010).<sup>197</sup>
- In the late 1990s, the Ota administration released its "Blueprint for Creating a Cosmopolitan City." It similarly



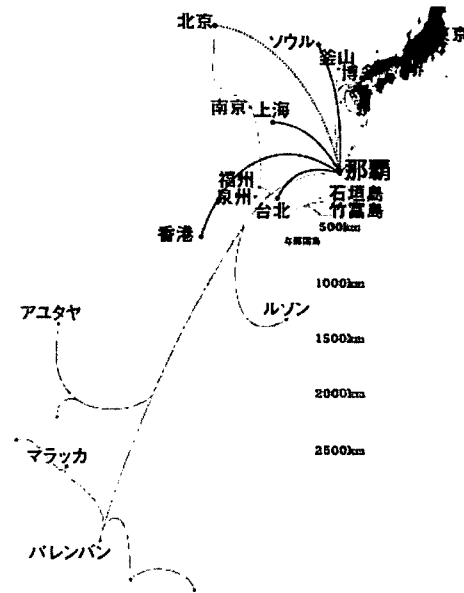
Okinawa Prefecture's "21st Century Vision" claims inspiration from the past.



recalled Okinawa's past: "In the Ryukyu Kingdom era, Okinawa was an important trading hub of Asia, actively trading with Southeast and East Asian countries. Okinawa has a richer and longer history of international exchange than any other part of Japan (1996)."  
198

Okinawa's media, as well as left-leaning national media, use the crossroads narrative as a model for cooperative and mutually beneficial international relations based on economic trade.

- *Okinawa Times*, in an editorial criticizing the Kan administration's handling of the 7 September 2010 incident in which a Chinese fishing vessel rammed a Japanese Coast Guard vessel, argued that Tokyo should "utilize Okinawa's history as a bridge between nations to improve Sino-Japanese relations" and use dialogue to resolve the territorial dispute over the Senkaku islands (26 September 2010).<sup>200</sup>
- The *Asahi Globe*, a bimonthly Internet magazine owned by the national daily *Asahi Shimbun*, ran an extensive four-part feature on "moving to a base-free economy" in 2010 that drew heavily from the crossroads narrative. "Many people in Okinawa feel pride in drawing concentric circles around Okinawa because it recalls, in their minds, the Ryukyu Kingdom's era of trading and helps them remember their forefathers who went abroad with great ambition" (20 September 2010).<sup>201</sup>



This map from the *Asahi Globe* feature compares Okinawa's historic trade routes with current and planned international flights from Naha airport.<sup>199</sup>

**AUDIENCE RESONANCE** The crossroads narrative probably resonates with Okinawans to the extent that it describes the origins of their distinct culture, but it does not appear to present a compelling alternative vision for the future of the island.

- Okinawa Prefecture's most recent polls in 2009 and 2005 showed that the public rates "Okinawa's distinct culture" as one of the prefecture's most important strengths.<sup>202 203</sup>
- The Prefecture conducted a survey in 2009 that asked Okinawans to describe their vision for the future. Slightly more than 9% of respondents said that "international exchange," "international collaboration and contributions," "various exchanges," and "transportation" were important issues in the future. About 44% said "safety and security" (*anzen/anshin*) and "community issues -- such as, healthcare, child-rearing, disaster prevention, and US military bases" -- would be important.<sup>204</sup>



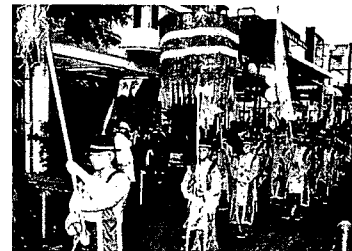


Younger Okinawans seem to value a hybrid identity -- one that combines the values of the Ryukyu legacy with current-day life. Indeed, they likely will reject the narrative's heavy emphasis on the past as the only source of Okinawa's present-day cultural uniqueness.

- Japanese anthropologist and professor at Kyushu University Yoshinobu Ota, who has conducted extensive research on indigenous cultural-political movements, contends that young Okinawans reject mass media images of Okinawa that only refer to the legacy of the Ryukyu Kingdom. Instead, they relate to a "hybrid identity" that incorporates elements of current-day life as depicted in Japanese mass media with their experiences gained from living around US military bases.<sup>205</sup>
- According to a series of polls from 2005-2007 funded by the Foreign Ministry, respondents aged 18-25 identified most strongly as "Okinawan but Japanese," whereas the general population identified most strongly as "Okinawan" (*Okinawa-jin*).<sup>206</sup>

The crossroads narrative tends to glorify a period when China was dominant in Asia. A depiction of such a romanticized past, however, probably does not translate into a present day cultural affinity toward China.

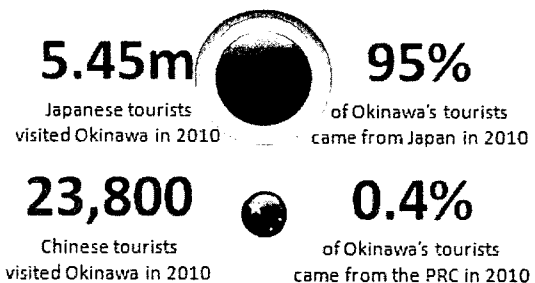
- Whatever affinity they have for China, Okinawans see their own culture as distinct from Chinese influences. Okinawa Prefecture's survey data suggest that people strongly value a "distinct" (*dokutoku*) Okinawan culture and history.<sup>208 209</sup>
- A 2007 telephone poll found that fewer than 2% of Okinawan respondents said they would support a Chinese team in a hypothetical sports match, whereas almost 94% said they would support Japan.<sup>210</sup>



An Okinawan group re-enacts *Edo-nobori* in 2011 at a festival in Okinawa City (*Okinawa Times*, 24 July 2011).<sup>207</sup> *Edo-nobori* were envoys sent by the Ryukyu Kingdom to mainland Japan; they were elaborate displays that exaggerated the kingdom's cultural similarity with China.

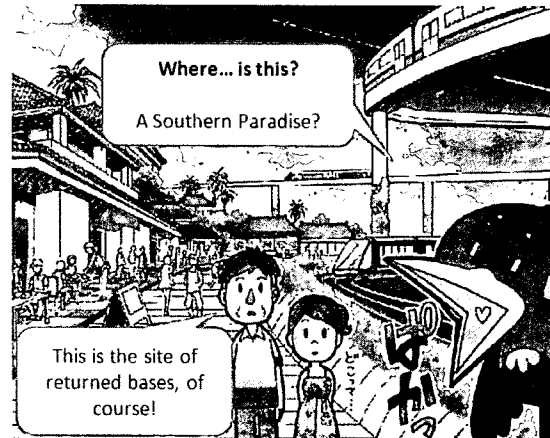
In the long term, it is possible that Okinawans could come to have a greater affinity for China, depending on their experience with the growing number of Chinese tourists.

- According to numbers obtained from the Okinawa Prefecture Tourism Policy Division, there were 23,800 tourists from mainland China who visited Okinawa in 2010; this represents a 14% increase over 2009. Though trending upward, the overall share of PRC tourists to Okinawa remains a small percentage of both foreign tourists (8%) and overall tourists (0.4%).<sup>211</sup>



**IMPLICATIONS** Influential figures who use the crossroads narrative often implicitly, but sometimes explicitly, present the US bases as obstacles to a prosperous future. At the same time, most appear to be realistic about the prospects for finding a credible alternative to the bases, suggesting that the narrative does not present a near-term challenge to the political sustainability of the base presence. Conversely, the narrative might provide opportunities to highlight the role of the bases in fostering a stable environment for regional economic integration.

- The Okinawa Prefecture Government removed language from its March 2010 version of the "21st Century Vision" that explicitly called for a peaceful Okinawa without bases ("*kichi no nai*" Okinawa).<sup>212</sup> The most recent version from April 2011 called for achieving a peaceful Okinawa by "aiming to consolidate and reduce US military bases, solving the various issues caused by the bases, and smoothly promoting the appropriate use of former sites."<sup>213</sup> This change suggests that pragmatic elements within the prefectural government seek to preserve the economic quid pro quo with Tokyo over US bases.



A pane from a comic available from the Okinawa Prefecture Government online with OSC-translated text (2010)

- The Okinawa Prefecture Government has been unable to articulate a concrete funding source for a vision of Okinawa without bases -- a point highlighted by Okinawa's media. For example, in an editorial skeptical of the prefectural government's "21st Century Vision," *Okinawa Times* predicted that it would be "vital to secure the necessary budget from Tokyo in order to realize the vision" but noted that currently that budget "comes from the high subsidies founded on the concentration of US bases here" (30 September 2009).<sup>214</sup>

Some of the narrative's themes overlap with the US message on the alliance, providing opportunities for the United States.

- By emphasizing Okinawa's role in a more internationally engaged Japan, for example, the United States would be reinforcing the notion that Okinawa acts as a bridge to the world. In the words of the Okinawa Prefecture Government's "Outline of Okinawa," Okinawans pride themselves on their "600-year history of international exchange" as a "crossroads of Asia."<sup>215</sup>
- Okinawans might be receptive to the message that US forces in Okinawa provide security and stability if they saw a connection with Okinawa's goals of economic integration with and outreach to the rest of Asia.



## Sources & Endnotes

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<sup>2</sup> [Book | 高良倉吉 (Kurayoshi TAKARA) | 琉球王国 (Ryukyu Kingdom) | | 20 January 1993 | | | ]

<sup>3</sup> [Book | Okinawa Prefectural Board of Education | The History and Culture of Okinawa | | 31 March 2000 | | | ]

<sup>4</sup> [Book | Okinawa Prefectural Board of Education | The History and Culture of Okinawa | | 31 March 2000 | | | ]

<sup>5</sup> [Blog | | かつぼたつ沖縄 [Katsubotatsu Okinawa] | | 24 June 2007 | | <http://katubotatu.ti-da.net/e1579031.html> | Accessed on 2 August 2011 | ]

<sup>6</sup> [Newspaper | Torii U.S. Army Garrison Japan Weekly Newspaper | Ministry of Foreign Affairs Okinawa Cultural Awareness Seminar | | 4 February 2011 | | <http://www.scribd.com/doc/71088570/Torii-U-S-Army-Garrison-Japan-weekly-newspaper-Feb-4-2010-edition> | Accessed on 05 January 2012 | Mr. Nakamoto calculated 94,000 Okinawan civilians and 28,000 local Okinawan soldiers among the battle's 200,000 casualties.]

<sup>7</sup> [Book | 大江健三郎 [Kenzaburo OE] | 沖縄ノート [Okinawa Notes] | | 21 September 1970 | | | ]

<sup>8</sup> [OSC | | OSC ID: JPP20110422147001 | 22 April 2011 | | Kyodo: Japan Court Finalizes Judgment in Favor of Novelist Oe in World War II Suit | | (U) | (U) | Tokyo Kyodo World Service in English -- English service of Japan's largest domestic and international news agency, owned by nonprofit cooperative of 63 newspaper companies and NHK]

<sup>9</sup> [Television | NHK | シリーズ 日米安保 50 年 第 2 回 沖縄 “平和” の代償 [US-Japan Security Treaty 50-Years, Series Part 2: Okinawa, Price of "Peace"] | | 15 December 2010 | | | ]

<sup>10</sup> [Book | ISBN978-4-903972-015 | うちなー観光教本 [Uchina Sightseeing Textbook] | | 31 March 2008 | | <http://www.ocvb.or.jp/> | Accessed on 17 June 2011 | The Okinawa Convention and Visitors Bureau (OCVB) was formed in April 1996. According to its official website, OCVB is "the single only public-private integrated parent organization in Okinawa for promoting tourism throughout the prefecture." Its mission is "to re-establish a strong and efficient system of tourism promotion in Okinawa by unifying and integrating the tourism and convention fields."]

<sup>11</sup> [Book | Okinawa Prefectural Board of Education | The History and Culture of Okinawa | | 31 March 2000 | | | ]

<sup>12</sup> [Blog | | かつぼたつ沖縄 [Katsubotatsu Okinawa] | | 24 June 2007 | | <http://katubotatu.ti-da.net/e1579031.html> | Accessed on 2 August 2011 | ]

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<sup>14</sup> [Internet Site | | 対馬丸記念館 [Tsushima Memorial Museum] | | n/a | |

<http://www.tsushimamaru.or.jp/jp/kinenkan/kinenkan1.html> | Accessed on 12 July 2011 | ]

<sup>15</sup> [Television | NHK | シリーズ 日米安保 50 年 第 2 回 沖縄 “平和” の代償 [US-Japan Security Treaty 50-Years, Series Part 2: Okinawa, Price of "Peace"] | | 15 December 2010 | | | ]

<sup>16</sup> [Song | 嘉手苺林昌 [Rinsho KADEKARU] | 時代の流れ [Jidai no nagare -- the flow of time] | | 1960 | | | ] Folk song first recorded by Kadekaru Rinsho in the early 1960s.]

<sup>17</sup> [Song | 平安 隆 [Takashi HIRAYASU] | 時代の流れ [The Flow of Time] | | 20 September 2000 | | | ]

<sup>18</sup> [Book | Yoshinobu Ota | Appropriating Media, Resisting Power: Representations of Hybrid Identities in Okinawan Popular Culture | | 1 January 1997 | | | Chapter from, "Between resistance and revolution: cultural politics and social protest," edited by Richard Gabriel Fox and Orin Starn, published by Publisher Rutgers University Press, 1997. ISBN 0813524164, 9780813524160.]

<sup>19</sup> [Film | | ひめゆりの塔 (1953 年の映画) [Himeyuri-no Tou, 1953 version] | | 1953 | | | ]



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- <sup>20</sup> [Film | ひめゆりの塔 (1982年の映画) [Himeyuri-no Tou, 1982 version] | | 12 June 1982 | | | ]
- <sup>21</sup> [Newspaper | 沖縄タイムス 朝刊 [Okinawa Times Morning Edition] | 「集団自決」検定撤回 9・29 県民大会 宜野湾海浜公園 ] / [ 教科書改ざん ただす ] ( 10 ) / 第1部体験者 / 宮城喜久子さん ( 78 ) 元ひめゆり学徒隊 / 軍の手榴弾、学友奪った ["Group Suicide" Okinawan 29 September protest rally to withdrawal the Approval Statement / Querying tampered textbooks / Part one: survivors / Kikuko Miyagi (78) Himeyuri survivor / School friend received grenade from Japanese military ] | 2 September 2007 | 21 | | | 「集団自決」検定撤回 9・29 県民大会 宜野湾海浜公園 ] / [ 教科書改ざん ただす ] ( 10 ) / 第1部体験者 / 宮城喜久子さん ( 78 ) 元ひめゆり学徒隊 / 軍の手榴弾、学友奪った]
- <sup>22</sup> [OSC | | OSC ID: JPP20110921969067 | 21 September 2011 | | Jiji: Okinawa's Nakaima Opposes Futenma Relocation by "bayonets And Bulldozers" | | (U) | (U) | Tokyo Jiji Press in English -- English-language news service of Jiji Press, Ltd., a private press agency]
- <sup>23</sup> [Newspaper | 琉球新報朝刊 [Ryukyu Shimpo Morning Edition] | < 9・29 検定撤回 県民大会 > 県民大会への市町村長コメント [Comments from Municipal Leaders on the Okinawan Protest Rally of September 29 To Reverse [Education Ministry's] Textbook Examination] | 30 September 2007 | | | ]
- <sup>24</sup> [Newspaper | 沖縄タイムス 朝刊 [Okinawa Times Morning Edition] | 形式的対応に終始 / 首相・知事会談 / 政府受け止め未知数 / 進展迫られる首相 [Preoccupied with Formal Response/Many Unknowns Over How Government Will Take It/ Prime Minister Forced by Developments] | 26 August 2004 | 3 | | ]
- <sup>25</sup> [Blog | | 三里塚決戦勝利関西実行委員会 (関実・三里塚) [Kansai Implementation Committee for a Victory in the Decisive Battle in Sanrizuka (Kanjitsu Sanrizuka)] | 今の沖縄 第4の琉球処分 (知花昌一さん講演 その1) [Okinawa Today, Fourth Ryukyu Shobun (Speech by Shoichi CHIBANA)] | 15 February 2011 | | | Accessed on 7 June 2011 | Kansai Implementation Committee for a Victory in the Decisive Battle in Sanrizuka is a group that was formed in 1977 to support anti-Narita International Airport activities and are putting up a "joint struggle" with the Farmers' League Against Narita Airport to prevent Japan from "going on a path toward a war."]
- <sup>26</sup> [Book | | 沖縄歴史教育研究会 [Okinawa History Education Research Association] | 沖縄から見える歴史風景 [Scenes of History from Okinawa] | | 29 September 2010 | | | ]
- <sup>27</sup> [OSC | | OSC ID: JPP20110630004001 | 30 June 2011 | | Japan: Okinawa Local TV Evening News 30 Jun 11 | | (U) | (U) | ]
- <sup>28</sup> [OSC | | OSC ID: JPP20100813969035 | 13 August 2010 | | Kyodo: Lead: Gov. Nakaima Renews Call for Removing U.S. Base Risk on Crash Anniv. | | (U) | (U) | Tokyo Kyodo World Service in English -- English service of Japan's largest domestic and international news agency, owned by nonprofit cooperative of 63 newspaper companies and NHK]
- <sup>29</sup> [OSC | | OSC ID: JPP20100813017002 | 13 August 2010 | | Japan: Okinawa Local TV Evening News 13 Aug 10 | | (U) | (U) | ]
- <sup>30</sup> [Online Publication | 沖縄県庁企画部企画調整課 [Okinawa Prefecture Planning and Coordination Division] | 第7回県民選好度調査報告書 [7th Report on Prefecture Citizen's Preferences] | | 1 October 2009 | | <http://www3.pref.okinawa.lg.jp/site/view/contview.jsp?cateid=29&id=22038&page=1> | Accessed on 15 June 2011 | The division's 2009 poll, conducted roughly every five years, found that respondents ranked "not taking things seriously," "having a narrow outlook," and "having too many relationships" as the top three "shortcomings." "Feelings of victimhood" ranked ninth in 2009 and eighth in 2005.]
- <sup>31</sup> [Online Publication | 沖縄県庁企画部企画調整課 [Okinawa Prefecture Planning and Coordination Division] | 第6回県民選好度調査 [6th Report on Prefecture Citizen's Preferences] | | 1 October 2005 | | <http://www3.pref.okinawa.lg.jp/site/view/contview.jsp?cateid=29&id=22038&page=1> | Accessed on 15 June 2011 | ]



- <sup>32</sup> [Brochure | | 沖縄県平和祈念資料館 平和の心を世界へ [Okinawa Prefectural Peace Memorial Museum: Conveying our hearts of peace to the world] | | 1 April 2000 | | | ]
- <sup>33</sup> [Online Publication | Aniya Masaaki, The Okinawa Times, and Asahi Shimbun | The Asia Pacific Journal Japan Focus | Compulsory Mass Suicide, the Battle of Okinawa, and Japan's Textbook Controversy | 6 January 2008 | | <http://www.japanfocus.org/-Aniya-Masaaki/2629> | Accessed on 8 June 2011 | ]
- <sup>34</sup> [OSC | | OSC ID: JPP20080324023001 | 24 March 2008 | | Japan: Okinawa Editorials 24 Mar on Rally Against Crimes Involving US Soldiers | | (U) | (U) | ]
- <sup>35</sup> [OSC | | OSC ID: JPP20100528969045 | 28 May 2010 | | Kyodo: Overview of Futenma Base Relocation Issue | | (U) | (U) | Tokyo Kyodo World Service in English -- English service of Japan's largest domestic and international news agency, owned by nonprofit cooperative of 63 newspaper companies and NHK | ]
- <sup>36</sup> [Book | Masamichi S. Inoue | Okinawa and the US Military: Identity Making in the Age of Globalization | ISBN 10: 0-231-13890-3 | 2007 | | | ]
- <sup>37</sup> [Book | Chalmers Johnson | Okinawa: Cold War Island | The 1995 rape incident and the rekindling of Okinawan protest against the American bases | 1999 | | | ISBN: 9780967364209 | ]
- <sup>38</sup> [OSC | | OSC ID: FTS19951022000287 | 22 October 1995 | | Local Paper Reviews Mass Rally | | (U) | (U) | ]
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- <sup>41</sup> [Newspaper | | 琉球新報 [Ryukyu Shimpō] | 「感謝」で県と対立 クリントン米大統領「平和の礎」演説 Confrontation Between the Okinawa Prefecture Government [and the US Government] Over [the Possible Use of the Word] "Gratitude" in US President Clinton's Speech at the "Cornerstone of Peace" [in the Peace Memorial Park] | 19 July 2010 | | | ]
- <sup>42</sup> [Newspaper | | 沖縄タイムス [Okinawa Times] | 社説 クリントン大統領演説 / 平和の礎の精神とは何か [Editorial: President Clinton's Speech -- What Is the Spirits of the Cornerstone of Peace?] | 22 July 2000 | | | ]
- <sup>43</sup> [Newspaper | 朝日新聞 朝刊 [Asahi Shimbun Morning Edition] | (インタビュー) いま沖縄から考える 「普天間よ」を出版した作家・大城立裕さん [Thinking from Okinawa, Interview with Author Tatsuhiro Oshiro Published "Futenma Yo"] | 7 July 2011 | 15 | | Prime Minister Naoto Kan, at a 4 June 2010 press conference at the DPJ's main office, said he had been reading Oshiro's novel "Ryukyu Shobun" because "It is particularly important for me to deepen my understanding of Okinawa's history." He referenced the same novel again when he visited Okinawa and met with Governor Nakaima December 2010.]
- <sup>44</sup> [Newspaper | 毎日新聞 夕刊 [Mainichi Shimbun Evening Edition] | 沖縄の苦勞に配慮 - - 2000年サミット開催で、小渕首相が心情 [Aware of Okinawa's struggle -- Prime Minister Obuchi expresses his feelings about decision to open 2000 Summit] | | 30 April 1999 | 3 | | ]
- <sup>45</sup> [Book | ISBN978-4-903972-015 | うちなー観光教本 [Uchina Sightseeing Textbook] | | 31 March 2008 | | <http://www.ocvb.or.jp/> | Accessed on 17 June 2011 | The Okinawa Convention and Visitors Bureau (OCVB) was formed in April 1996. According to its official website, OCVB is "the single only public-private integrated parent organization in Okinawa for promoting tourism throughout the prefecture." Its mission is "to re-establish a strong and efficient system of tourism promotion in Okinawa by unifying and integrating the tourism and convention fields." | ]
- <sup>46</sup> [Research paper | 大田昌秀 [Masahide OTA] | 復帰後における沖縄住民の意識の変容 [Changes in public awareness after the return of Okinawa] | | 1 March 1984 | 11-13 | | In 1966, the Todai Okinawa poll found 88.4% of Okinawans preferred a complete reversion or gradual reversion to Japan. Ota compares this with a poll conducted by Ryukyu University with a grant from the Ministry of Education in 1982, which found 57.9% of respondents who either said reversion was "very good" or "somewhat good." | ]



- <sup>47</sup> [Online Publication | | 沖縄の米軍基地のすがた [US Military Issues in Okinawa] | | 2004 | |  
www3.pref.okinawa.jp/site/contents/attach/.../pamphlet(Japan).pdf | Accessed on 1 February 2011 | ]
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受け入れ容認はゼロ 朝日新聞社アンケート [Asahi Shimbun survey of governors finds 15 support "decreasing  
the burden on Okinawa" but zero accepted receiving US bases] | | 12 February 2010 | | | ]
- <sup>49</sup> [Newspaper | | 琉球新報朝刊 [Ryukyu Shimpō Morning Edition] | 新城さん ( 高校教諭 ) がガイド本 / 教科  
書の沖縄史 この1冊で補完 / 「教科書検定意見の撤回求める県民大会」あす3年 [High School Teacher  
Toshiaki Arashiro's guide book / Complementing Okinawa history in school text books / Three years from the  
citizen's rally to repeal the official textbook certification] | 28 September 2010 | 30 | | ]
- <sup>50</sup> [Book | | 沖縄歴史教育研究会 [Okinawa History Education Research Association] | 沖縄から見える歴史風景  
[Scenes of History from Okinawa] | | 29 September 2010 | | | ]
- <sup>51</sup> [Television | NHK | 笑う沖縄百年の物語 [The Story of a Century of Laughter in Okinawa] | | 18 June 2011 | | |  
| The show interviewed Tamaki Mitsuru -- well known in Okinawa as a singer in the Okinawa pop group Rinken  
Band and now as a producer for a comic theater troupe. He described his "unforgettable memory" growing up in the  
60s when, like the prewar period, some schools began enforcing a strict policy against using the local dialect at  
school and reinstated the use of "dialect tags." ]
- <sup>52</sup> [Book | Davinder L. Bhowmik | Fractious Memories in Medoruma Shun's Tales of War | Imag(in)ing the war in  
Japan: representing and responding to trauma in postwar literature and film | 2010 | | | ]
- <sup>53</sup> [Book | 目取真 俊 [Shun MEDORUMA] | 魂込め(まぶいぐみ) [Mabuigumi] | | July 1999 | | | ]
- <sup>54</sup> [Museum Exhibit | | 喜宝院蒐集館 [Kihoin Shushukan] | | n/a | | http://www004.upp.so-net.ne.jp/kihoin/ |  
Accessed on 30 June 2011 | Kihoin consists of a temple and folk art museum and is located on Taketomi Island near  
Ishigaki in southern Okinawa Prefecture. Photos of Kihoin's "dialect tag" exhibit appear in Okinawa published texts  
and guidebooks.]
- <sup>55</sup> [Book | ISBN978-4-903972-015 | うちなー観光教本 [Uchina Sightseeing Textbook] | | 31 March 2008 | |  
http://www.ocvb.or.jp/ | Accessed on 17 June 2011 | This text, produced by the Okinawa Convention and Visitors  
Bureau -- "the only public-private integrated parent organization in Okinawa for promoting tourism throughout the  
prefecture" -- detailed philosopher and founder of Tokyo's Folk Craft Museum Soetsu Yanagi's visit to Okinawa in  
the 1930s. Yanagi criticized "standard Japanese [language] enforcement campaign" whereby Okinawa's school  
children were punished for using local expressions and made to wear a "dialect tag" (hougen fuda), saying that it  
"went too far." The Okinawa Convention and Visitors Bureau credits Yanagi's visit with helping to trigger a  
national "reflection" (hansei) over "mainland Japan's contempt for Okinawa" (2008).]
- <sup>56</sup> [Television | NHK | 笑う沖縄百年の物語 [The Story of a Century of Laughter in Okinawa] | | 18 June 2011 | | |  
| The show interviewed Tamaki Mitsuru -- well known in Okinawa as a singer in the Okinawa pop group Rinken  
Band and now as a producer for a comic theater troupe. He described his "unforgettable memory" growing up in the  
60s when, like the prewar period, some schools began enforcing a strict policy against using the local dialect at  
school and reinstated the use of "dialect tags." ]
- <sup>57</sup> [Internet Site | | 世界のウチナーンチュ大会 実行委員会 [Worldwide Uchinanchu Festival Executive  
Committee] | 世界のウチナーンチュ大会 [Worldwide Uchinanchu Festival] | | n/a | |  
http://www.wuf5th.com/index.php/ja/introduction | Accessed on 14 October 2011 | According to the official website  
of the 5th festival's organizing committee, the last festival in 2006 saw 4,937 participants from overseas (3 regions  
and 21 countries). "They celebrated and nurtured their Uchinanchu identity through their meetings, friendship, and  
shared heritage." The fifth festival took place 12-16 October 2011.]
- <sup>58</sup> [Newspaper | | 東京読売新聞 朝刊 [Tokyo Yomiuri Shimbun Morning Edition] | | [ スキャナー ] 「政府対  
沖縄」 決定的に 全市町村代表が大会出席 首相に反発 [Scanner: All of Okinawa's Mayors, Village Heads  
Participate in Mass Rally, Decisively Express Their Opposition to the Prime Minister] | 4 April 2010 | 3 | | ]



- <sup>59</sup> [Newspaper | 朝日新聞 朝刊 [Asahi Shimbun, Morning Edition] | (記者有論) 菅新首相と沖縄 「頭越し決着」なら同じ過ち 木村司 [The new Prime Minister Naoto Kan, Okinawa if 'settled over his head' is the same mistakes" by Shinji Kimura | 16 June 2010 | 17 | | | ]
- <sup>60</sup> [OSC | | OSC ID: JPP20100425023001 | 25 April 2010 | | Japan: NHK Reports on Okinawa Mass Rally Against Futenma Relocation in Prefecture | | (U) | (U) | Tokyo NHK General Television in Japanese -- main channel of Japan's public broadcast network Nippon Hoso Kyokai (NHK)]
- <sup>61</sup> [Newspaper | 朝日新聞 痛み受け止めぬ本土にがっかり 普天間県外移設を求める沖縄 [Asahi Shimbun: Disappointed in a mainland unable to perceive the pain: Okinawa seeking Futenma's relocation outside of the prefecture] | | 13 May 2010 | | | | ]
- <sup>62</sup> [Newspaper | 東京新聞朝刊 [Tokyo Shimbun Morning Edition] | こちら特報部 菅内閣発足へ 『沖縄』 鬼門は消えず (上) アセスやり直し検討も ばらまき振興策 『もう通用せぬ』 [Special news department: start of the Kan administration, "Okinawa" unlucky star won't disappear, considering redoing access, pork-barrel spending "can no longer be used" | 8 June 2010 | 28 | | | ]
- <sup>63</sup> [Essay | Masahide OTA | Beyond Hondo: Devolution and Okinawa | | 2003 | | | | ]
- <sup>64</sup> [Internet Site | 大田平和総合研究所 [Ota Peace Reserch Institute] | | n/a | | http://www.opri.jp/ | Accessed on 30 June 2011 | Ota Peace Research Institute was formed in January 1, 1999, and its president is Masahide Ota. The pacifist organization is strongly anti-war and critical of the US presence in Okinawa.]
- <sup>65</sup> [Internet Site | 毎日新聞社 [Mainichi Shimbun Online] | 沖縄：語り部「66年前のように捨て石にされかねない」 [Okinawa: the words "could be the sacrificed stone as 66 years ago"] | 23 June 2011 | | http://mainichi.jp/select/wadai/news/20110623k0000e040083000c.html | Accessed on 27 June 2011 | ]
- <sup>66</sup> [Newspaper | 毎日新聞 西部朝刊 [Mainichi Shimbun Saibu Morning Edition] | 選挙：沖縄県知事選 仲井真氏再選 対政府の図式、鮮明に = 報道部副部長・三森輝久 [Elections: News section deputy chief Teruhisa Mimori explains re-elected Okinawa Gov. Nakaima's government scheme] | | 29 November 2010 | 24 | | | ]
- <sup>67</sup> OSC assessment of local versus national programming on Okinawa's commercial broadcasters during the week of 1 May 2011. For example, local programming averaged three hours per day for OTV, two hours for RBC, and two hours 15-minutes for QAB, according to OSC's calculation based on program schedules published in Ryukyu Shimpo (7 May 2011).]
- <sup>68</sup> [Newspaper | Ryukyu Shimpo | 「犯す前に言うか」田中防衛局長 辺野古評価書提出めぐり [Okinawa defense official said, "Would you say 'I will commit a crime' beforehand?" regarding the submission of the Henoko environmental impact report] | | 29 November 2011 | | | | ]
- <sup>69</sup> [OSC | | OSC ID: JPP20111129969107 | 29 November 2011 | | Jiji: (update) Okinawa Defense Chief Sacked for Gaffe Over Base Plan | | (U) | (U) | Tokyo Jiji Press in English -- English-language news service of Jiji Press, Ltd., a private press agency]
- <sup>70</sup> [OSC | | OSC ID: JPP20111204011001 | 5 December 2011 | | Japan: State MATT JMA -- Morning Edition 5 Dec 11 | | (U//FOUO) | (U//FOUO) | All of Japan's Saturday evening papers reported that DPJ policy chief Maehara criticized Defense Minister Ichikawa on Saturday, 3 December 2011.]
- <sup>71</sup> [Newspaper | Okinawa Times | Okinawa Times | 防衛局長発言： 県議会で知事「極めて遺憾」 (The ODB Chief's Remarks: The Governor Calls Them "Extremely Regrettable" at the Prefectural Assembly) | 2 December 2011 | | | | Okinawa Governor Nakaima called the remarks "insulting and hurtful to the Okinawan people and disdainful of women."]
- <sup>72</sup> [Newspaper | Okinawa Times | Okinawa Times | 世論沸騰 政府に痛撃 (Public Opinion Is in a Ferment; A Severe Blow to the Government) | 30 November 2011 | | | | The mayors of Naha and Nago called the remarks emblematic of Tokyo's discrimination against Okinawa (Okinawa Times, 30 November 2011).]
- <sup>73</sup> [Newspaper | Ryukyu Shimpo | Ryukyu Shimpo | 社説 防衛局長更迭 沖縄は凌辱の対象か/露呈した政府の差別意識 (Editorial: The Dismissal of the ODB Chief: Is Okinawa Subject to Sexual Assaults? / [The Remarks] Expose the Government's Sense of Discriminating [Okinawa]) | 30 November 2011 | | | | Ryukyu Shimpo said that

bureaucrats concerned with base policies have a "discriminatory mentality" toward Okinawa, which leads them to assuming policies that force bases on Okinawa regardless of local opinion (30 November 2011).]

<sup>74</sup> [Newspaper | Ryukyu Shimpō | Ryukyu Shimpō | 「県民と女性侮辱」 県内初、那覇市議会が抗議決議 ("Contempt of the Okinawan People and Women": The Naha City Assembly Becomes the First To Adopt a Protest Resolution) | 2 December 2011 | | | The Naha City Assembly unanimously adopted a resolution on 1 December, which said that the remarks "indicate the government's and bureaucrats' true intention to continue forcing bases on Okinawa" and said they "expose [Tokyo's] contempt and discrimination of Okinawa" (Ryukyu Shimpō, 2 December 2011).]

<sup>75</sup> [Newspaper | Okinawa Times | Okinawa Times | 社説 [沖縄防衛局長更迭] 「許せない」二重の侮蔑 (Editorial: "The Dismissal of the ODB Chief" -- "Inadmissible" Double Contempt) | 30 November 2011 | | | Okinawa Times said that the remarks show that the "structural discrimination" against Okinawa is a "deeply embedded" mindset among bureaucrats and institutionalizes Tokyo's "offering up" of Okinawa to Washington (30 November 2011).]

<sup>76</sup> [OSC | | OSC ID: JPP20111130969055 | 30 November 2011 | 30 November 2011 | Asahi: Okinawa Furious Over Defense Official's Rape Remark | | (U) | (U) | The co-chair of the group Okinawa Women Act Against Military Violence said, "This is what central government officials think as opposed to what they say. It reveals the quintessence of the relationship between Yamato (mainland Japan) and Okinawa" (Asahi, 30 November 2011).]

<sup>77</sup> [Online Publication | Mainichi Shimbun | Nikkei Telecom 21 | 田中・沖縄防衛局長：不適切発言で更迭 「これが国の本音」 沖縄県民、怒りとあきらめ (ODB Chief Tanaka Is Dismissed for the Inappropriate Remarks: "This Is How the Government Really Looks at US" -- Rage and Resignation Among Okinawan People) | 30 November 2011 | | http://t21.nikkei.co.jp/ | Accessed on 30 November 2011 | A member of an Okinawa folk song group said: "When I hear a remark like the one made [by Tanaka], I feel sad, thinking that 'yamatonchu' (people of the mainland) are different from 'uchinanchu' (people of Okinawa)" (Mainichi Shimbun, 30 November 2011).]

<sup>78</sup> [Internet Site | THE 朝日新聞 GLOBE [The Asahi Shimbun Globe] | データでみる沖縄 [Okinawa: looking at the data] | 20 September 2010 | | http://globe.asahi.com/feature/100920/memo/03.html | Accessed on 10 May 2011 | The Asahi Shimbun conducted the poll in May 2010 and received 746 valid responses. The polling method was not specified.]

<sup>79</sup> [Newspaper | 東京読売新聞 朝刊 [Yomiuri Shimbun, Tokyo Morning Edition] | [ スキャナー ] 「政府対沖縄」 決定的に 全市町村代表が大会出席 首相に反発 [Scanner: "Central Government Versus Okinawa," all municipal leaders attend mass rally, oppose prime minister] | | 26 April 2010 | | | ]

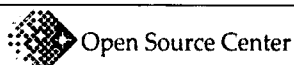
<sup>80</sup> [OSC | | OSC ID: JPP20090522023001 | 22 May 2009 | | Japan: Okinawa Local TV Evening News 22 May 09 | | (U) | (U) | ]

<sup>81</sup> [Internet Site | | 【基地】残念 [Bases: regrettable] | | 28 May 2010 | | http://098u.com/wp/2010/05/28183 | Accessed on 19 June 2011 | ]

<sup>82</sup> [Newspaper | | 琉球新報 朝刊 [Ryukyu Shimpō Morning Edition] | 沖縄クエスチョン 仲井真知事講演要旨 [The summary of Governor Nakaima's speech at the Okinawa Question [symposium]] | 20 September 2011 | | | ]

<sup>83</sup> [Newspaper | | 琉球新報新年号 [Ryukyu Shimpō New Year Edition] | 「普天間」の行方探る 「辺野古」の根拠薄く / 仲井真知事 「県外」公約 / 実現へ正念場 全国発信需要 [Searching for developments of "Futenma" / Little grounds for "Henoko" / Governor Nakaima makes a public pledge of relocation "out of the prefecture" / The crucial stage for realizing [the pledge] / It is important to send a nationwide message] | 1 January 2011 | | | ]

<sup>84</sup> [OSC | | OSC ID: JPP20110213043001 | 13 February 2011 | | Japan: Plan To Move Futenma MCAS Off Okinawa Made Without Clear Outlook: Hatoyama | | (U) | (U) | Hatoyama called deterrence an "expedient" excuse for justifying the presence of the US Marines in Okinawa during a 13 February 2011 interview with three media outlets.]



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- <sup>85</sup> [OSC | | OSC ID: FEA20110215014487 | 14 February 2011 | | Japan: Local Dailies Criticize Former PM Hatoyama's Remarks on Futenma | | (U) | (U) | ]
- <sup>86</sup> [Newspaper | | 琉球新報 朝刊 [Ryukyu Shimpo Morning Edition] | 佐藤優のウチナー評論 中国空母就航の影響 [Masaru Sato's Essay on Uchina / Impacts of placing a Chinese aircraft carrier in service] | 9 July 2011 | | ]
- <sup>87</sup> [Internet Site | 沖縄県平和・男女共同参画課内沖縄平和賞委員会事務局 [Okinawa Prefecture Peace and Gender Equality Promotion Division, Office of Okinawa Peace Prize] | 沖縄平和賞子供版 [Okinawa Peace Prize: Kids' Edition] | | n/a | | <http://www.pref.okinawa.jp/heiwasuishin/kids/peaceprize/index.html> | Accessed on 8 November 2011 | According to its website, the committee is composed of various economic, educational, administrative, media communication organizations, and companies within Okinawa Prefecture. The Okinawa Peace Prize Committee Secretariat is located within the Okinawa Prefecture Government's Peace and Gender Equality Promotion Division.]
- <sup>88</sup> [Book | Okinawa Prefecture Government | Ryukyuan Cuisine | Annual Events and Food | 1997 | p.44-46 | | ]
- <sup>89</sup> [Book | Okinawa Prefecture Government | Eisa | | 1998 | p.17 | | ]
- <sup>90</sup> [Book | Shoshin NAGAMINE | The Essence of Karate-Do | | 1998 | p. 13-15 | | | ISBN 0804821100]
- <sup>91</sup> [Book | | 沖縄歴史教育研究会 [Okinawa History Education Research Association] | 沖縄から見える歴史風景 [Scenes of History from Okinawa] | 29 September 2010 | 215 | | ]
- <sup>92</sup> [Book | Okinawa Prefectural Board of Education | The History and Culture of Okinawa | | 31 March 2000 | 36 | | ]
- <sup>93</sup> [Book | Naha: Okinawa Bunkasha | 沖縄歴史人名事典 [Biographical Dictionary of Okinawan History] | | 2002 | 56 | | See also, "Omoro: A New Interpretation" (おもろ新釈).]
- <sup>94</sup> [Book | | うちなー観光教本 [Uchina Sightseeing Manual] | | 4 April 2011 | 24 | <http://www.ocvb.or.jp/> | | The Okinawa Convention and Visitors Bureau (OCVB) was formed in April 1996. According to its official website, OCVB is "the single only public-private integrated parent organization in Okinawa for promoting tourism throughout the prefecture." Its mission is "to re-establish a strong and efficient system of tourism promotion in Okinawa by unifying and integrating the tourism and convention fields."]
- <sup>95</sup> [Internet Site | | [日本銀行] Bank of Japan | | n/a | | <http://www.boj.or.jp> | Accessed on 15 November 2011 | The Bank of Japan is the central bank of Japan.]
- <sup>96</sup> [Television | NHK | 笑う沖縄百年の物語 [100-Year Story of Okinawa Laughter] | | 18 November 2011 | | ]
- <sup>97</sup> [Book | | 沖縄歴史教育研究会 [Okinawa History Education Research Association] | 沖縄から見える歴史風景 [Scenes of History from Okinawa] | 29 September 2010 | | ]
- <sup>98</sup> [Book | 安仁屋政昭 | 沖縄修学旅行ハンドブック—学び・調べ・考えよう [Okinawa Study Excursion Handbook -- Let's Learn, Discover, and Think] | | June 1997 | | | ISBN-10: 4938585731, ISBN-13: 978-4938585730]
- <sup>99</sup> [Online Publication | 上地拓郎 [Takuro UECHI] | INTERFACE | シーサー物語 [Shisa's Tale] | 7 January 2011 | p. 26 | [http://okinawa-manga.com/wp-content/uploads/manga/books/2011\\_01\\_books/d\\_0107\\_seesar/index.html](http://okinawa-manga.com/wp-content/uploads/manga/books/2011_01_books/d_0107_seesar/index.html) | Accessed on 8 November 2011 | ]
- <sup>100</sup> [Internet Site | | 琉神マブヤー THE MOVIE [Ryujin Mabuyer The Movie] | | n/a | | <http://www.mabuyer.jp/story.html> | Accessed on 2 December 2011 | Official website for the Ryujin Mabuyer movie.]
- <sup>101</sup> [Internet Site | Tokyo Shimbun | 沖縄発ヒーロー 琉神マブヤー 東京に出陣 [Ryujin Mabuyer, hero from Okinawa, arrives in Tokyo] | | 22 November 2011 | | <http://www.tokyo-np.co.jp/article/entertainment/news/CK2011112202000044.html> | Accessed on 2 December 2011 | Ryujin Mabuyer is now the subject of a full-length feature film set to run nationally from 7 January 2012]
- <sup>102</sup> [Internet Site | | 沖縄県知事公室基地対策課 [Okinawa Prefecture Military Base Affairs Division] | 平和を求めめる心 [The heart seeking peace] | n/a | | ]



<http://www3.pref.okinawa.jp/site/view/contview.jsp?cateid=14&id=669&page=1> | Accessed on 18 November 2011 | ]

<sup>103</sup> [Internet Site | | 沖縄県環境生活部平和・男女共同参画課 [Okinawa Prefecture Peace and Gender Equality Promotion Division] | 平成 23 年度 平和宣言 [2011 Peace Declaration] | 23 June 2011 | |

<http://www3.pref.okinawa.jp/site/view/contview.jsp?cateid=11&id=4124&page=1> | Accessed on 18 November 2011 | ]

<sup>104</sup> [Internet Site | | 企画部 秘書広報課 (市長のページ (所信表明)) [Ginowan City Department of Plans Public Relations and Secretariat (Mayor's page (Policy Speeches))] | | 12 December 2010 | | <http://www.city.ginowan.okinawa.jp/2633/635.html> | Accessed on 18 November 2011 | ]

<sup>105</sup> [Internet Site | | 沖縄平和運動センター [Okinawa Peace Activity Center] | | n/a | | <http://www.peace-okinawa.net/> | Accessed on 18 November 2011 | ]

<sup>106</sup> [Internet Site | | 沖縄から基地をなくし世界の平和を求める市民連絡会(略称.沖縄平和市民連絡会) [Citizens Liaison Committee of Removing Bases From Okinawa and Seeking Peace -- Okinawa Citizens Liaison Committee for Peace] | | n/a | | <http://www.jca.apc.org/heiwa-sr/jp/category1/index.html> | Accessed on 18 November 2011 | ]

<sup>107</sup> [Newspaper | | Okinawa Times | 「辺野古ノー」来年 1 月にも訪米団 ["Say No to the Henoko Plan" -- Group To Visit the United States Will Be Formed As Soon As in January] | 19 October 2011 | | | ]

<sup>108</sup> [Internet Site | | 沖縄意見広告運動 [The Okinawa Protest Advertising Action] | | n/a | |

[http://www.okinawaiken.org/img/protestadvertising\\_20111.gif](http://www.okinawaiken.org/img/protestadvertising_20111.gif) | Accessed on 18 November 2011 | ]

<sup>109</sup> [Internet Site | | 沖縄意見広告運動 [The Okinawa Protest Advertising Action] | Opinion Ad Campaign on the New York Times Website | 21 September 2011 | | <http://www.okinawaiken.org/nytimes> | Accessed on 18 November 2011 | ]

<sup>110</sup> [OSC | | OSC ID: JPP20110918043008 | 18 September 2011 | | Japan: Editorial Criticizes Cabinet Meeting on Futenma Base Relocation | | (U) | (U) | Naha Ryukyu Shimpo Online in Japanese -- Website of one of two major Okinawa Prefecture newspapers; URL: <http://ryukyushimpo.jp>]

<sup>111</sup> [Newspaper | | 沖縄タイムス号外先行 [Okinawa Times Extra Edition] | [人と暮らしの間に・創刊 60 年 沖縄タイムス] [Among people and livelihoods, 60 years since Okinawa Times' first issue] | 1 July 2008 | 12 | | ]

<sup>112</sup> [OSC | | OSC ID: JPP20101218034003 | 19 December 2010 | | Japan: Editorials on New National Defense Program Guidelines 18, 19 Dec 10 | | (U) | (U) | ]

<sup>113</sup> [Book | Okinawa Prefectural Board of Education | The History and Culture of Okinawa | | 31 March 2000 | 36 | | ]

<sup>114</sup> [Book | | 沖縄歴史教育研究会 [Okinawa History Education Research Association] | 沖縄から見える歴史風景 [Scenes of History from Okinawa] | 29 September 2010 | 215 | | ]

<sup>115</sup> [Online Publication | Okinawa Times | Nikkei Telecom 21 | [九州・沖縄サミット] / 沖縄基地は不可欠/整理・縮小には意欲/クリントン大統領「礎」で演説 ([Kyukyu-Okinawa Summit] Bases on Okinawa Are Essential / Expressed Eagerness To Reorganize and Reduce Bases/ President Clinton Delivered a Speech at the "Cornerstone" [of Peace]) | 21 July 2000 | | <http://t21.nikkei.co.jp/> | Accessed on 13 December 2011 | ]

<sup>116</sup> [Online Publication | Ryukyu Shimpo | Nikkei Telecom 21 | 沖縄サミット / 米大統領「平和の礎」で演説 / 「命どう宝」を引用 / 県民感情に配慮...(Okinawa Summit / The US President Delivered a Speech at the "Cornerstone of Peace" / He Cited "Nuchi du Takara" / He Gave Consideration to Okinawan People's Sentiments) | 21 July 2000 | | <http://t21.nikkei.co.jp/> | Accessed on 13 December 2011 | ]

<sup>117</sup> [Online Publication | 沖縄県庁企画部企画調整課 [Okinawa Prefecture Planning and Coordination Division] | 第 7 回県民選好度調査報告書 [7th Report on Prefecture Citizen's Preferences] | | 1 October 2009 | |

<http://www3.pref.okinawa.lg.jp/site/view/contview.jsp?cateid=29&id=22038&page=1> | Accessed on 15 June 2011 | Respondents were asked to select their top three choices from a list of twelve strengths. The top three strengths, by



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weighted average, were "citizens exhibit deep empathy," "Okinawa enjoys a warm climate," "Okinawa has a unique culture."

<sup>118</sup> [Online Publication | 沖縄県庁企画部企画調整課 [Okinawa Prefecture Planning and Coordination Division] |

第 6 回県民選好度調査 [6th Report on Prefecture Citizen's Preferences] | | 1 October 2005 | |

<http://www3.pref.okinawa.lg.jp/site/view/contview.jsp?cateid=29&id=22038&page=1> | Accessed on 15 June 2011 | |

<sup>119</sup> [OSC | | OSC ID: JPP20110516020001 | 16 May 2011 | | Japan: Okinawa Local TV Evening News 16 May 11 | | (U) | (U) | RBC: The fourth story of the day is a 3.5-minute report on annual peace march held on 15 May the anniversary of Okinawa's reversion to Japan. Participants express opposition to the military's presence on the island.

QAB: "Station Q" carries as its second story a six-minute report on 15 May peace March including recent developments concerning the Futenma relocation issue.]

<sup>120</sup> [OSC | | OSC ID: JPP20100514176001 | 14 May 2010 | | Japan: Okinawa Local TV Evening News 14 May 10 | | (U) | (U) | NHK: The third story of the days is an approximately four-minute report on the "Okinawa peace March" which began on 14 May.

OTV: The main local news segment of "OTV Super News" carries as second story a two-minute report on "Okinawa peace march."

RBC: The third story of the day is an approximately 1.5-minute report on the "Okinawa peace march."

QAB: "Station Q" carries as its top story a one-minute report on the "Okinawa peace march."

<sup>121</sup> [Internet Site | Okinawa Times | 5・15 平和行進 「米軍予算を被災地支援へ」 [15 May Peace March "Use the Budget for the US Military for Disaster Relief] | | 16 May 2011 | | [http://www.okinawatimes.co.jp/article/2011-05-16\\_17872/](http://www.okinawatimes.co.jp/article/2011-05-16_17872/) | Accessed on 2 December 2011 | The usual three day event was shortened to a single day out of consideration for the victims of the 11 March 2011 Great Eastern Japan Earthquake, according to Okinawa Times.]

<sup>122</sup> [Internet Site | Okinawa Times | 続く重圧 怒りの警告 「38年前の復帰の日も雨だった」 [Continuing pressure, angry warning 'it was raining on the day of the reversion 38 years ago'] | | 16 May 2010 | | [http://www.okinawatimes.co.jp/article/2010-05-16\\_6519/](http://www.okinawatimes.co.jp/article/2010-05-16_6519/) | Accessed on 2 December 2011 | |

<sup>123</sup> [Internet Site | Press Net Japan Co.,Ltd | 沖縄復帰 37 年で「平和行進」 「基地のない島」求め 2 千人参加 ['Peace March' Held for 37th Year Since Okinawa's Reversion; 2,000 People Participated Seeking "Island Without Bases"] | | 15 May 2009 | | <http://www.47news.jp/CN/200905/CN2009051501000304.html> | Accessed on 2 December 2011 | Posted to Press Net Japan's 47 News website but attributed to Kyodo Press Agency.]

<sup>124</sup> [Internet Site | Official Kadena Town Website | 嘉手納町について [About Kadena Town] | | n/a | | <http://www.town.kadena.okinawa.jp/english/Concern/index.html> | Accessed on 2 December 2011 | The symbol represents "Ka" in the Japanese Hiragana character ( as in Kadena ) and symbolizes Asuka ( a flying bird ) It is a simple design expressing the desire for peace and union of the people, and also the evolution of the town's future. ( constituted May 17, 1973 ).]

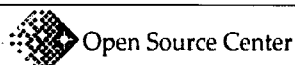
<sup>125</sup> [Internet Site | | 宜野湾市 [GINOWAN CITY] | | n/a | |

<http://www.city.ginowan.okinawa.jp/2552/2715/1111.html> | Accessed on 2 December 2011 | Official website of Ginowan City in Japanese.]

<sup>126</sup> [Internet Site | 沖縄県平和祈念資料館 [Okinawa Prefectural Peace Memorial Museum] | OSC ID: 非核宣言集 | 名護市 [Collection of Nuclar-Free Declarations: Nago City] | | n/a | | ([www.peace-museum.pref.okinawa.jp/](http://www.peace-museum.pref.okinawa.jp/)) | | Accessed on 2 December 2011 | |

<sup>127</sup> [Internet Site | | 読谷村平和行政の基本に関する条例 [Ordinance on the Basis of Yomitan Village's Peace Administration] | | 29 March 1991 | |

<http://www.yomitan.jp/reiki/40390101001000000000/40390101001000000000/40390101001000000000.html> | Accessed on 2 December 2011 | Official website of Yomitan Town in Japanese.]



- <sup>128</sup> [Internet Site | | 時をこえ (LIVE) / HY 公式 ["Over the times" (live) / HY Official] | | 13 August 2010 | | [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=t5A0mkfBj\\_A](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=t5A0mkfBj_A) | Accessed on 6 April 2011 | ]
- <sup>129</sup> [Internet Site | | 時をこえ (LIVE) / HY 公式 ["Over the times" (live) / HY Official] | | 13 August 2010 | | [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=t5A0mkfBj\\_A](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=t5A0mkfBj_A) | Accessed on 6 April 2011 | ]
- <sup>130</sup> [Internet Site | | MONGOL 800 のオフィシャル・ホーム・ページ [MONGOL 800 Official Home Page] | | n/a | | <http://www.mongol800.jp/> | Accessed on 6 April 2011 | ]
- <sup>131</sup> [Internet Site | | MONGOL800 / 琉球愛歌 [Mongol 800: Ryukyu Love Song] | | 27 March 2009 | | <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=o0FXdy6SR2o> | Accessed on 7 April 2011 | ]
- <sup>132</sup> [Internet Site | | 琉球新報 [Ryukyu Shimpō] | 普天間「県外」46% 平和教育に関するアンケート [46% Says "Outside of Prefecture" on Futenma on Survey of Peace Education-related Survey] | 19 June 2010 | | <http://ryukyushimpō.jp/news/storyid-163788-storytopic-7.html> | Accessed on 21 November 2011 | The 2010 survey received responses from 34 schools and 2,100 high school students and found that 92.3% said that learning about the Battle of Okinawa was "very important" or "important." ]
- <sup>133</sup> [Internet Site | | 内閣府大臣官房政府広報室 [Public Relations Office of the Japanese Cabinet] | 外交に関する世論調査 [Opinion Survey Related to Foreign Diplomacy, 2011] | | 5 December 2011 | | <http://www8.cao.go.jp/survey/h23/h23-gaiko/2-1.html> | Accessed on 12 December 2011 | Those who said they "do not have friendly feelings" fell from 18.4% in 2010 to 15.5% in 2011.]
- <sup>134</sup> [Internet Site | | 内閣府大臣官房政府広報室 [Public Relations Office of the Japanese Cabinet] | 外交に関する世論調査 [Opinion Survey Related to Foreign Diplomacy, 2010] | | 5 December 2011 | | <http://www8.cao.go.jp/survey/h22/h22-gaiko/2-1.html> | Accessed on 12 December 2011 | ]
- <sup>135</sup> [OSC | | OSC ID: JPP20110318004001 | 18 March 2011 | | Japan: Media Report on US Assistance for Nuclear Accident 'Operation Tomodachi' | | (U//FOUO) | (U//FOUO) | ]
- <sup>136</sup> [OSC | | OSC ID: JPP20111011027001 | 11 October 2011 | | Japan: State MATT JMA -- Afternoon Edition 11 Oct 11 | | (U//FOUO) | (U//FOUO) | ]
- <sup>137</sup> [Internet Site | | 防衛省 [Ministry of Defense] | | n/a | | <http://www.mod.go.jp/> | Accessed on 5 December 2011 | ]
- <sup>138</sup> [Internet Site | | 海上自衛隊「立派な父」篇 [Maritime Self Defense Force's "Good Father" Version] | | 2011 | | [http://www.mod.go.jp/gsdf/jieikanbosyu/streaming/qa/cm/explain/movie\\_web\\_m01.html?keepThis=true&TB\\_iframe=true&width=680&height=490](http://www.mod.go.jp/gsdf/jieikanbosyu/streaming/qa/cm/explain/movie_web_m01.html?keepThis=true&TB_iframe=true&width=680&height=490) | Accessed on 15 December 2011 | ]
- <sup>139</sup> [Internet Site | | 陸上自衛隊「笑える日」篇 [Ground Self Defense Force's "Smiling Day" Version] | | 2011 | | [http://www.mod.go.jp/gsdf/jieikanbosyu/streaming/qa/cm/explain/movie\\_cm\\_g02.html?keepThis=true&TB\\_iframe=true&width=680&height=490](http://www.mod.go.jp/gsdf/jieikanbosyu/streaming/qa/cm/explain/movie_cm_g02.html?keepThis=true&TB_iframe=true&width=680&height=490) | Accessed on 15 December 2011 | ]
- <sup>140</sup> [Internet Site | | Mainichi Shimbun | 1976 (昭和51)年1月18日 沖縄海洋博が閉幕 [18 January 1976: Okinawa International Ocean Expo Closes] | | 18 January 1976 | | <http://mainichi.jp/select/wadai/newsbox/box/etc/2010/01/20100113org00m040039000c.html> | Accessed on 25 October 2011 | ]
- <sup>141</sup> [Internet Site | | ~ pink tentacle | Posters by Kazumasa Nagai | n/a | | <http://pinktentacle.com/2010/11/posters-by-kazumasa-nagai/> | Accessed on 25 October 2011 | ]
- <sup>142</sup> [Book | 多田治 [TADA Osamu] | 東洋経済新報社 [Toyo Keizai Inc.] | 沖縄イメージの誕生 青い海のカルチュラル・スタディーズ [The Birth of Okinawa's Image: Cultural Studies of the Blue Waters] | 6 October 2004 | p.58 | | ]
- <sup>143</sup> [Online Publication | 公益社団法人 地盤工学会 [The Japanese Geotechnical Society] | 土と基礎 [Ground and Foundation, Vol. 21, No. 4] | 沖縄国際海洋博覧会 EXPO 75 ["Okinawa International Ocean Expo – Expo 75"] | 1



April 1973 | 87-89 | <http://www.jgs-library.net/search/result.php> | Accessed on 24 October 2011 | 公益社団法人 地盤工学会 [The Japanese Geotechnical Society]]

<sup>144</sup> [Internet Site | | 八重山毎日新聞オンライン [Yaeyama Mainichi Shimbun Online] | 島の自然を後世に残そう [Editorial: Let's Preserve the Island's Nature for Future Generations] | 4 August 2007 | | <http://www.y-mainichi.co.jp/news/8939/> | Accessed on 26 October 2011 | ]

<sup>145</sup> [OSC | | OSC ID: JPP20070730969021 | 30 July 2007 | | Kyodo: FEATURE: Ishigaki Locals Initiate Own Rules for Coral Reef conservation | | (U) | (U) | Tokyo Kyodo World Service in English -- English service of Japan's largest domestic and international news agency, owned by nonprofit cooperative of 63 newspaper companies and NHK]

<sup>146</sup> [Online Publication | Public Relations Division, Executive Office of the Governor, Okinawa Prefecture Government | Outline of Okinawa Prefecture | | 2008 | | <http://www.pref.okinawa.jp> | Accessed on 21 October 2011 | ]

<sup>147</sup> [Music CD | BEGIN | 島人ぬ宝 [Islander's Treasure] | | 22 May 2002 | | | ]

<sup>148</sup> [Television | 琉球放送 [Ryukyu Broadcasting Corp. ] | RBC 「島人ぬ宝」 オープニング・テーマ [RBC Opening Theme "Islander's Treasure"] | | n/a | | <http://www.rbc.co.jp/rtvprog.php?catid=152&blogid=85> | Accessed on 26 October 2011 | ]

<sup>149</sup> [Internet Site | | オリコン [Oricon Inc. ] | | n/a | | ]

<http://www.oricon.co.jp/prof/artist/2802/products/music/476482/1/> | Accessed on 27 October 2011 | ]

<sup>150</sup> [Television | Fuji TV | Hey Hey Hey | | 25 March 2011 | | | ]

<sup>151</sup> [Internet Site | | 公式サイト Cocco [Cocco Official Site] | | n/a | | <http://www.cocco.co.jp/> | Accessed on 5 April 2011 | Official website of Cocco, available in English and Japanese.]

<sup>152</sup> [Internet Site | Oricon | Cocco's singles rankings | | n/a | | [http://www.oricon.co.jp/prof/artist/4841/ranking/cd\\_single/](http://www.oricon.co.jp/prof/artist/4841/ranking/cd_single/) | Accessed on 5 April 2011 | Oricon supplies sales ranking for music, movies, games, television, and books in Japan. Sales rankings are published on the Oricon Style website.]

<sup>153</sup> [Television | TV Asahi | MUSIC STATION | | 18 April 2011 | | | ]

<sup>154</sup> [Internet Site | | Nikkei Telecom 21 | | n/a | | <http://t21.nikkei.co.jp/g3/CMN0F11.do> | Accessed on 28 October 2011 | For example, Ryukyu Shimpo and Okinawa Times used the phrase "chura shima" (beautiful island) 67 times in 1997, 298 times in 2002, and 2045 times in 2010.]

<sup>155</sup> [Online Publication | 多田治 [Osamu TADA] | 金沢大学日中無形文化遺産プロジェクト報告書= Report of the International Workshop "the Japan-China intangible cultural heritage project at Kanazawa University" | エスニック観光と沖縄イメージ : 3つの時代の博覧会 [Ethnic Tourism and Okinawa Image: Three Ages of Exposition] | 20 February 2011 | | <http://hdl.handle.net/2297/28223> | Accessed on 27 October 2011 | ]

<sup>156</sup> [Internet Site | | 株式会社 ビデオリサーチ [Video Research Ltd.] | | n/a | | <http://www.videor.co.jp/> | Accessed on 27 October 2011 | Video Research Ltd is a reputable media and marketing research firm founded in 1964 with interests held by all five of Japan's major commercial broadcasters.]

<sup>157</sup> [Internet Site | NHK (Japan Broadcasting Corporation) | NHK On Demand | 連続テレビ小説 ちゅらさん 第1回 美(ちゅ)ら海の約束 [Serial TV Drama: Churasan Episode 1: The Beautiful Ocean's Promise] | n/a | | <https://www.nhk-ondemand.jp/goods/G2010022647SA000/> | Accessed on 28 October 2011 | ]

<sup>158</sup> [Internet Site | | 沖縄美ら海水族館 [Okinawa Chura Umi Aquarium] | | n/a | | <http://oki-churaumi.jp/guide/haisai.html> | Accessed on 28 October 2011 | ]

<sup>159</sup> [Online Publication | | 沖縄県全島緑化県民運動推進会議設立趣意書 [A Prospectus for Setting Up the Council To Promote the Prefectural People's Greenery Campaign on All Okinawa Islands] | | 27 June 2008 | | <http://www.shinrinryokuchika.jp/pdf/syuisyo.pdf> | Accessed on 2 November 2011 | ]



<sup>160</sup> [Internet Site | YouTube | ANN News 沖縄・名護市長選 辺野古移設、条件付き容認 vs 反対 [ANN News: Okinawa Nago mayoral election, Henoko relocation, opposition vs conditional acceptance] | 22 January 2010 | | <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CONLvWaL5mQ> | Accessed on 3 November 2011 | ]

<sup>161</sup> [Internet Site | RIMPEACE | 外務大臣に対する抗議行動 [Demonstration Activities Against the Foreign Minister] | | 19 October 2011 | | <http://www.rimpeace.or.jp/jrp/okinawa/henoko111019.html> | Accessed on 3 November 2011 | RIMPEACE is a Japan-based grassroots civic group that operates the "Track! The US Bases in Japan" website--[www.rimpeace.or.jp](http://www.rimpeace.or.jp)--established to "figure out the true picture of the US military deployment in Japan." ]

<sup>162</sup> [Internet Site | RIMPEACE | 防衛大臣への抗議行動 [Demonstration Activities Against the Defense Minister] | | 19 October 2011 | | <http://www.rimpeace.or.jp/jrp/okinawa/henoko111017b.html> | Accessed on 3 November 2011 | RIMPEACE is a Japan-based grassroots civic group that operates the "Track! The US Bases in Japan" website--[www.rimpeace.or.jp](http://www.rimpeace.or.jp)--established to "figure out the true picture of the US military deployment in Japan." ]

<sup>163</sup> [Internet Site | | ヘリ基地いらない二見以北 10 区の会 [The Council Comprised of 10 Districts of Futami and Northward To Oppose a Helicopter Base] | | n/a | | <http://kichi-iranai.jp/> | Accessed on 3 November 2011 | ]

<sup>164</sup> [Internet Site | | 海上ヘリ基地建設反対・平和と名護市政民主化を求める協議会 [The Council To Oppose the Offshore Helicopter Base Construction, Seek Peace, and Call for Democratic Municipal Administration of Nago City] | | n/a | | <http://www.mco.ne.jp/~herikiti/> | Accessed on 3 November 2011 | ]

<sup>165</sup> [Internet Site | WWF Japan | Protecting Japan's Shiraho coral reef | n/a | | [http://wwf.panda.org/what\\_we\\_do/where\\_we\\_work/project/projects/index.cfm?uProjectID=JP0066&source=ge](http://wwf.panda.org/what_we_do/where_we_work/project/projects/index.cfm?uProjectID=JP0066&source=ge) | Accessed on 28 October 2011 | Tepei SAGAWA is listed as the project's "executant" [sic]. ]

<sup>166</sup> [Online Publication | | グリーンピース・ ジャパン プレスリリース [Greenpeace Japan Press Release] | 辺野古への普天間代替施設建設は大規模な環境破壊 - - 国際環境 NGO らが共同声明を発表 [Construction of the Futenma replacement facility in Henoko would result in massive environmental destruction - joint statement from the international environmental NGO and Other Groups] | 4 December 2009 | | [http://www.greenpeace.org/japan/ja/news/press/archives/pr20091204\\_html/#note1](http://www.greenpeace.org/japan/ja/news/press/archives/pr20091204_html/#note1) | Accessed on 28 October 2011 | ]

<sup>167</sup> [Internet Site | Ryukyu Shimpo | Ryukyu Shimpo | 社説 拝啓・米議会の友へ/普天間撤去へ劇的転換を試される米国民民主主義 [Editorial: Dear Friends in the US Congress/Please Make a Drastic Shift for the Withdrawal of Futenma Base -- the US Democracy Is Being Tested] | 27 April 2011 | | <http://ryukyushimpo.jp/news/storyid-176509-storytopic-11.html> | Accessed on 23 November 2011 | ]

<sup>168</sup> [Internet Site | Ryukyu Shimpo | Ryukyu Shimpo | 社説 米軍汚染土問題 環境浄化の責任自覚せよ [Editorial: The Issue of the US Military's Soil Contamination -- It Should Be Aware of Its Responsibility of Doing Environmental Cleanup] | 30 May 2011 | | <http://ryukyushimpo.jp/news/storyid-177612-storytopic-11.html> | Accessed on 23 November 2011 | ]

<sup>169</sup> [Online Publication | Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs | AGREEMENT UNDER ARTICLE VI OF THE TREATY OF MUTUAL COOPERATION AND SECURITY BETWEEN JAPAN AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, REGARDING FACILITIES AND AREAS AND THE STATUS OF UNITED STATES ARMED FORCES IN JAPAN | | 23 June 1960 | | <http://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/area/usa/sfa/pdfs/fulltext.pdf> | Accessed on 29 November 2011 | ]

<sup>170</sup> [Internet Site | Okinawa Times | Okinawa Times | 社説 枯れ葉剤 納得のいく実態解明を [Editorial: Agent Orange -- The Realities Should Be Made Clear In a Convincing Manner] | 16 August 2011 | | [http://www.okinawatimes.co.jp/article/2011-08-16\\_22151/](http://www.okinawatimes.co.jp/article/2011-08-16_22151/) | Accessed on 23 November 2011 | ]

<sup>171</sup> [OSC | | OSC ID: JPP20110726020001 | 26 July 2011 | 23 November 2011 | Japan: Okinawa Local TV Evening News 26 Jul 11 | | (U) | (U) | ]

<sup>172</sup> [Television | QAB Television | Station Q | 検証動かぬ基地 シュワブの枯れ葉剤使用を追う [Examination -- Unchanging Base Situation: Examining the Use of Agent Orange at Camp Schwab] | 9 November 2011 | | <http://www.qab.co.jp/news/2011110931930.html> | Accessed on 23 November 2011 | ]



- <sup>173</sup> [OSC | | OSC ID: JPP20111117035002 | 17 November 2011 | 9 November 2011 | Japan: Okinawa TV Serial Report Views Alleged Use of Agent Orange on US Bases | | (U) | (U) | ]
- <sup>174</sup> [Internet Site | Ryukyu Shimpo | Ryukyu Shimpo | 社説 きょう復帰 39 年/今も続く基地の集中 差別の解消は国の責務だ [Editorial: Today Is the 39th Anniversary of Okinawa's Reversion to Japan / The Base Concentration Still Continues -- The State Holds Responsibility for Solving the Discriminatory Situation] | 15 May 2011 | | <http://ryukyushimpo.jp/news/storyid-177096-storytopic-11.html> | Accessed on 23 November 2011 | ]
- <sup>175</sup> [Internet Site | Ryukyu Shimpo | Ryukyu Shimpo | 社説 EV 時代 官民挙げて沖縄の新産業に [Editorial: The Age of Electric Vehicle [EV] -- The Official and Private Sectors Should Cooperate in Developing the EV Into Okinawa's New Industry] | 8 January 2011 | | <http://ryukyushimpo.jp/news/storyid-172036-storytopic-11.html> | Accessed on 23 November 2011 | ]
- <sup>176</sup> [Internet Site | Okinawa Times | Okinawa Times | 社説 経済振興 制度設計は待たなし [Editorial: Economic Promotion -- We Cannot Afford To Put Off Designing Systems] | 1 December 2010 | | [http://www.okinawatimes.co.jp/article/2010-12-01\\_12458/](http://www.okinawatimes.co.jp/article/2010-12-01_12458/) | Accessed on 23 November 2011 | ]
- <sup>177</sup> [Internet Site | | 全日本空輸株式会社 [All Nippon Airways Sky Web] | | n/a | | <http://www.ana.co.jp/asw/index.jsp> | Accessed on 3 November 2011 | ]
- <sup>178</sup> [Online Publication | 新垣祐治 [Yuji ARAKAKI] | しまたてい [Shimatei] | 沖縄観光の今後と環境問題 [Okinawa Tourism From Now and Environmental Issues] | 1 October 2009 | p.50 | <http://www.shimate.or.jp/20kouhou/simatei/top51.htm> | Accessed on 18 October 2011 | ]
- <sup>179</sup> [Internet Site | JAL [Japan Airlines] | ことりつぷアプリ JAL 沖縄 ["co-Trip [Short Trip]" Application: JAL Okinawa] | 28 October 2011 | | [http://co-trip.mapple.net/news/news\\_111028.asp](http://co-trip.mapple.net/news/news_111028.asp) | Accessed on 29 November 2011 | JAL partnered with Tokyo publisher Shobunsha to make a free electronic version of the guide available for Android and iPhone smartphones from October 2011 until March 2012.]
- <sup>180</sup> [Book | 昭文社 [Shobunsha Publications, Inc.] | ことりつぷ 沖縄さんぽ ["co-Trip [Short Trip]": Walking Guide to Okinawa] | 2 February 2010 | p.40 | | ISBN-13: 978-4398153517]
- <sup>181</sup> [Book | 昭文社 [Shobunsha Publications, Inc.] | ことりつぷ 沖縄さんぽ [co-Trip: Walking Guide to Okinawa] | 2 February 2010 | p.40 | | ISBN-13: 978-4398153517]
- <sup>182</sup> [Online Publication | | 沖縄県 [Okinawa Prefecture] | Think! うちなーの未来をみんなで考えよう 沖縄 21 世紀ビジョン [Think! Let's All Think About Okinawas' Future Together, Okinawa 21st Century Vision] | 1 March 2010 | 111 | <http://www.pref.okinawa.jp/21vision/> | Accessed on 14 October 2011 | ]
- <sup>183</sup> [Online Publication | | 県民が望む 20 年後の沖縄の姿 [The Image of Okinawa in the Next 20 Years That Residents Hope] | 30 November 2009 | | <http://www.pref.okinawa.jp/churahome/pdf/0911/08-09.pdf> | Accessed on 18 October 2011 | The survey returned 2,751 valid responses and was conducted over a one-year period from November 2008 to November 2009 and used a free answer format.]
- <sup>184</sup> [Internet Site | | 沖縄のうわさ話 [Okinawa Uwasa Banashi] | [NEWS] 海埋め立てすぎでは? [Isn't there too much land reclamation?] | 11 June 2011 | | <http://098u.com/wp/2011/06/42796> | Accessed on 29 September 2011 | There were 25 responses to a 11 June 2011 post on Okinawa Uwasa Banashi that criticized land reclamation in Okinawa. Twenty-one of 25 respondents reacted negatively to reclamation projects in Okinawa; two responded favorably; and two were neutral in their assessment.]
- <sup>185</sup> [Internet Site | | 沖縄のうわさ話 [Okinawa Uwasa Banashi] | [意見] 沖縄埋立問題 ([Opinion] Okinawa's reclamation issues) | 12 August 2011 | | <http://098u.com/wp/2011/08/46966> | Accessed on 29 September 2011 | There were 28 responses to a 12 August 2011 post on Okinawa Uwasa Banashi that criticized land reclamation in Okinawa. Twenty-two of 28 respondents reacted negatively to reclamation projects in Okinawa; two responded favorably; and four were neutral in their assessment.]
- <sup>186</sup> [Online Publication | 日本鳥学会 [The Ornithological Society of Japan] | [A Written Request by the Ornithological Society of Japan Submitted to Keiji Omori, Chief of the Defense Facilities Administration Bureau] | ]



| 10 October 1999 | | <http://www.soc.nii.ac.jp/osj/japanese/iinkai/hogo/yambaru.html> | Accessed on 30 November 2011 | ]

<sup>187</sup> [Internet Site | Asahi Shimbun | 米軍基地「返還前に環境調査を」 沖縄知事ら政府に要望 [Okinawa Governor, et al demand Tokyo require an environmental assessment prior to returning US military base land] | | 21 August 2011 | | <http://www.asahi.com/politics/update/0208/TKY201102080484.html> | Accessed on 6 December 2011 | Nakaima was accompanied by Nago Mayor Inamine and visited the Prime Minister's Official Residence, the Defense Ministry, the Foreign Affairs Ministry, and the US Embassy during their visit.]

<sup>188</sup> [Book | Okinawa Prefectural Board of Education | The History and Culture of Okinawa | | 31 March 2000 | | | 6 June 2011 | Sho Taikyū was a king of the Kingdom of Ryūkyū (on the throne 1454-60), the fifth of the line of the first Sho Dynasty. The "Bell Bridging All Countries" is called Bankoku Shinryō no Kane, in Japanese. The actual bell is located at the Prefecture History Museum.]

<sup>189</sup> [Internet Site | 沖縄県知事公室広報課 [Official Website of the Okinawa Prefecture Division of Public Relations] | 知事応接室の屏風について [Concerning the Folding Screen in the Governor's Reception Room] | | n/a | | <http://www.pref.okinawa.jp/chiji/byoubu/01.html> | Accessed on 15 July 2011 | ]

<sup>190</sup> [Book | 高良倉吉 [Kurayoshi TAKARA] | 琉球王国 [Ryūkyū Kingdom] | | 6 June 2005 | 82 | | | The "golden age" itself typically refers to the period from the unification of the Ryūkyū Kingdom in 1429 under the first Sho king through the second Sho dynasty from 1470 to 1879, when the kingdom was disbanded and formally integrated into Japan as a Prefecture.]

<sup>191</sup> [Book | Okinawa Prefectural Board of Education | The History and Culture of Okinawa | | 31 March 2000 | 28 | | | Hashi Sho established the first dynasty of the Okinawan nation state in 1429, after several power struggles among Ryūkyū's three clan chiefs; in 1430, he notified the Ming Emperor that Ryūkyū was united. The kingdom supplied the Ming Court with horses and sulfur, which it needed for struggles with the Mongols, and other goods from Southeast Asia after the Ming prohibited Chinese from sailing out of China.]

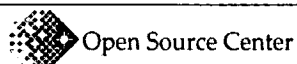
<sup>192</sup> [Book | 新田重清 [Jusei NITTA], 座安政侑 [Masayuki ZAYASU], 山中久司 [Hisashi YAMANAKA] | 沖縄の歴史 [History of Okinawa] | | 23 May 2011 | 25 | | | Published by 沖縄文社 [Okinawa Bunkasha] and sold in Okinawa. The rule of King Sho Shin (1465-1526), in particular, is remembered for strengthening tributary ties with China and for popularizing Buddhism by constructing temples. Moreover, it is during the 16th century that the Ryūkyū court oversaw work on the Omoro Soshi, the first written collection of 1000 court and regional songs and staple of modern day Okinawan studies.]

<sup>193</sup> [Internet Site | 財団法人 沖縄観光コンベンションビューロー [Okinawa Convention & Visitors Bureau] | おきなわ物語 [Okinawa Story] | | n/a | | <http://www.okinawastory.jp/> | Accessed on 6 October 2011 | According to its official website, OCVB is "the single only public-private integrated parent organization in Okinawa for promoting tourism throughout the prefecture." Its mission is "to re-establish a strong and efficient system of tourism promotion in Okinawa by unifying and integrating the tourism and convention fields."]

<sup>194</sup> [Television | | NHK BS プレミアム 「テンペスト」 [NHK BS Premium "The Tempest"] | | 17 July 2011 | | | <http://www.nhk.or.jp/jidaigeki/tempest/index.html> | Accessed on 11 August 2011 | A story about a girl, born near the end of the Ryūkyū Dynasty in the 19th Century, who is destined to live as a man. She poses as a eunuch, hiding her true gender, and becomes a government bureaucrat to protect the dynasty in an era of political upheaval. The program began airing every Sunday from 17 July 2011 and is scheduled to last ten weeks. The story is based on the bestselling novel by Naha-born author Eiichi Ikegami.]

<sup>195</sup> [Internet Site | | 沖縄ブーム 異質性を脚色、商品化 仲里効 [Okinawa boom: Dramatizing and commercializing heterogeneity by Isao Nakazato] | | n/a | | <http://www.yomiuri.co.jp/e-japan/okinawa/kikaku/022/16.htm> | Accessed on 12 August 2011 | ]

<sup>196</sup> [Television | | 琉球の風 [The Winds of Ryūkyū] | | 10 January 1993 | | | | NHK aired this 26-episode period drama on Sundays from 10 January to 13 June 1993. The viewership for the first episode was 20.8 with an average of 17.7.]



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- <sup>197</sup> [Online Publication | 沖縄県 [Okinawa Prefecture] | 沖縄 21 世紀ビジョン [Okinawa 21st Century Vision] | | 31 March 2010 | | [http://www.pref.okinawa.jp/21vision/archives2/okinawa21\\_201004.pdf](http://www.pref.okinawa.jp/21vision/archives2/okinawa21_201004.pdf) | Accessed on 27 July 2011 | ]
- <sup>198</sup> [Online Publication | 沖縄県 [Okinawa Prefecture] | 沖縄の新グランドデザインと国際都市形成ビジョン [Okinawa's New Grand Design and Blueprint for Creating a Cosmopolitan City] | | 1996 | | <http://www.pref.okinawa.jp/97/kokusaitoshikeisei/mokuji.htm> | Accessed on 27 July 2011 | ]
- <sup>199</sup> [Internet Site | Asahi Shimbun Globe | 沖縄はアジア交易の拠点だった [Okinawa Was the Hub of Asian Trade] | | 24 September 2010 | | <http://globe.asahi.com/feature/100920/memo/01.html> | Accessed on 15 February 2011 | ]
- <sup>200</sup> [Internet Site | | 沖縄タイムス [Okinawa Times] | [ 日中と沖縄 ] 対話こそ関係改善の道 [Japan, China, and Okinawa: the road to improving relations is precisely dialog] | 26 September 2010 | | [http://www.okinawatimes.co.jp/article/2010-09-26\\_10540/](http://www.okinawatimes.co.jp/article/2010-09-26_10540/) | Accessed on 7 October 2011 | ]
- <sup>201</sup> [Internet Site | | Asahi Shimbun Globe | 沖縄はアジア交易の拠点だった [Okinawa Was the Hub of Asia Trade] | 24 September 2010 | | <http://globe.asahi.com/feature/100920/memo/01.html> | Accessed on 6 October 2011 | ]
- <sup>202</sup> [Online Publication | 沖縄県庁企画部企画調整課 [Okinawa Prefecture Planning and Coordination Division] | 第 7 回県民選好度調査報告書 [7th Report on Prefecture Citizen's Preferences] | | 1 October 2009 | | <http://www3.pref.okinawa.lg.jp/site/view/contview.jsp?cateid=29&id=22038&page=1> | Accessed on 15 June 2011 | Respondents were asked to select their top three choices from a list of twelve strengths. The top three strengths, by weighted average, were "citizens exhibit deep empathy," "Okinawa enjoys a warm climate," "Okinawa has a unique culture." ]
- <sup>203</sup> [Online Publication | 沖縄県庁企画部企画調整課 [Okinawa Prefecture Planning and Coordination Division] | 第 6 回県民選好度調査 [6th Report on Prefecture Citizen's Preferences] | | 1 October 2005 | | <http://www3.pref.okinawa.lg.jp/site/view/contview.jsp?cateid=29&id=22038&page=1> | Accessed on 15 June 2011 | ]
- <sup>204</sup> [Online Publication | | 県民が望む 20 年後の沖縄の姿 [The Kind of Okinawa Citizens Desire in 20 Years] | | 30 November 2009 | | <http://www.pref.okinawa.jp/churhome/pdf/0911/08-09.pdf> | Accessed on 18 October 2011 | The survey returned 2,751 valid responses and was conducted over a one-year period from November 2008 to November 2009 and used a free answer format.]
- <sup>205</sup> [Book | Yoshinobu Ota (edited by Richard G. Fox and Orin Starn) | Between Resistance and Revolution: Cultural Politics and Social Protest | Appropriating Media, Resisting Power: Representations of Hybrid Identities in Okinawan Popular Culture" | 1999 | 145, 153 | | ISBN: 0813524156 9780813524153 0813524164 9780813524160]
- <sup>206</sup> [Online Publication | 林, 泉忠 [John Chuan-Tiong LIM] | 沖縄住民のアイデンティティ調査 ( 2005 年 ~ 2007 年 ) [Identity in Okinawa: Survey 2005-2007] | | March 2009 | p. 130 | <http://ir.lib.uryukyu.ac.jp/handle/123456789/10367> | Accessed on 29 August 2011 | In 2007, 45.2% of respondents aged 18-25 identified most strongly as "Okinawan but Japanese" (45.2% in 2007) followed by 28.0% claiming a strictly "Okinawan" (Okinawa-jin) identity, and 23.7% saying "Japanese." The overall average for the 1,201 respondents that same year was 29.7% "Okinawan but Japanese," 41.6% "Okinawan," and 25.5% as "Japanese." To assess national affinity, the same poll asked respondents which sports team they would support in a hypothetical competition. The overall support for a Japan team was 96.9% in 2005, 95.9% in 2006, and 93.5% in 2007; support for a China team was 0.2%, .7%, and 1.7%; and support for an America team was 0.5%, 0.7%, and 1.8%. Given the choice between a fictional Okinawa team or a Japan team, however, the majority said they would support Okinawa.]
- <sup>207</sup> [Newspaper | | 沖縄タイムス [Okinawa Times] | にぎやかにキジムナーフェスタ開幕 [Lively Kijimuna Festival Opens Today] | 24 July 2011 | | [http://www.okinawatimes.co.jp/article\\_photo/32907/](http://www.okinawatimes.co.jp/article_photo/32907/) | Accessed on 25 August 2011 | ]
- <sup>208</sup> [Online Publication | 沖縄県庁企画部企画調整課 [Okinawa Prefecture Planning and Coordination Division] | 第 7 回県民選好度調査報告書 [7th Report on Prefecture Citizen's Preferences] | | 1 October 2009 | | <http://www3.pref.okinawa.lg.jp/site/view/contview.jsp?cateid=29&id=22038&page=1> | Accessed on 15 June 2011 | ]



Respondents were asked to select their top three choices from a list of twelve strengths. The top three strengths, by weighted average, were "citizens exhibit deep empathy," "Okinawa enjoys a warm climate," "Okinawa has a unique culture."

- <sup>209</sup> [Online Publication | 沖縄県庁企画部企画調整課 [Okinawa Prefecture Planning and Coordination Division] | 第6回県民選好度調査 [6th Report on Prefecture Citizen's Preferences] | | 1 October 2005 | | <http://www3.pref.okinawa.lg.jp/site/view/contview.jsp?cateid=29&id=22038&page=1> | Accessed on 15 June 2011 | ]
- <sup>210</sup> [Online Publication | 林, 泉忠 [John Chuan-Tiong LIM] | 沖縄住民のアイデンティティ調査 (2005年～2007年) [Identity in Okinawa: Survey 2005-2007] | | March 2009 | p. 130 | <http://ir.lib.uryukyu.ac.jp/handle/123456789/10367> | Accessed on 29 August 2011 | ]
- <sup>211</sup> [Internet Site | | 沖縄県文化観光スポーツ部観光政策課 [Okinawa Prefecture; Department of Culture, Tourism, and Sports; Tourism Policy Division] | | n/a | | <http://www3.pref.okinawa.jp/site/view/contview.jsp?cateid=233&id=14734&page=1> | Accessed on 21 October 2011 | ]
- <sup>212</sup> [Online Publication | | 沖縄21世紀ビジョン～みんなで創るみんなの美ら島未来のおきなわ～ [Okinawa 21st Century Vision ~ Making Okinawa's beautiful island future together] | | 31 March 2010 | | <http://www.pref.okinawa.jp/> | Accessed on 3 October 2011 | ]
- <sup>213</sup> [Online Publication | | 新たな計画の基本的考え方(案) - 沖縄21世紀ビジョン基本計画(素案) - The basic idea of the new plan (draft) - 21st Century Vision of Okinawa Base Plan (draft) | | 4 April 2011 | | <http://www.pref.okinawa.jp/> | Accessed on 3 October 2011 | ]
- <sup>214</sup> [Newspaper | | 沖縄タイムズ [Okinawa Times] | 「21世紀ビジョン依存脱の足がかりに」 [Stepping stone to remove our dependence on 21st Century Vision] | 30 September 2011 | | | ]
- <sup>215</sup> [Online Publication | Public Relations Division, Executive Office of the Governor, Okinawa Prefecture Government | Outline of Okinawa Prefecture | | 2008 | | <http://www.pref.okinawa.jp/> | Accessed on 21 October 2011 | ]



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<sup>213</sup> [Newspaper | | 沖縄タイムズ [Okinawa Times] | 「21世紀ビジョン依存脱の足がかりに」 [Stepping stone to remove our dependence on 21st Century Vision] | 30 September 2011 | | | 21 October 2011 | ]

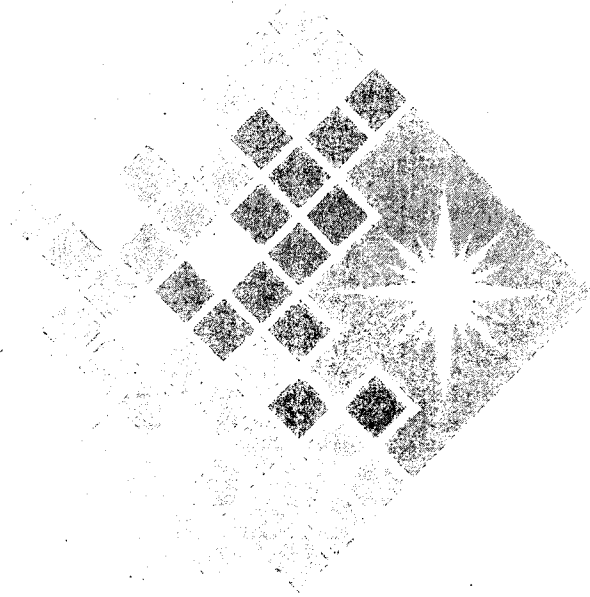
<sup>214</sup> [Online Publication | Public Relations Division, Executive Office of the Governor, Okinawa Prefecture Government | Outline of Okinawa Prefecture | | 2008 | | <http://www.pref.okinawa.jp> | 21 October 2011 | ]



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