

The Ryukyuanist

A Newsletter on Ryukyuan/Okinawan Studies

No. 54

winter 2001-02

In this issue:

Poet Professor Emeritus Naoshi KORIYAMA of Tōyō University, Tokyo introduces folk songs of the Amami Islands of the northern Ryukyus (Southwestern Islands as seen from the Japanese mainland). Professor Koriyama has recently edited and published a multilingual book (in Amamian, Japanese and English) of selected Amami folk songs: **Kagayaku Amami no shimauta: Beautiful Amami Island Folk Songs** (Tokyo: Hokuseidō Shoten, 2001).

A number of scholars in Ryukyuan/Okinawan studies express strong views on Susan Sered, **Women of the Sacred Groves: Divine Priestesses of Okinawa** (Oxford University Press, 1999). (p. 5)

In addition: **Publications, In Memoriam: HOKAMA Kanwa, 1927-2001.**

A new phase of the Rekidai Hōan project: Japanese version

Rekidai Hōan (Dynasties' Treasured Records), written in Chinese, is a collection of international communications between Ryukyu and Asian countries, mainly imperial China (Ming and Qing). The earliest document is dated 1424 and the latest 1867. After the demise of the Ryukyu Kingdom, the Kuninda residents of Chinese descent, who were charged with Ryukyu's foreign affairs during the kingdom era, preserved **RH** in private archives in strictest secrecy. Historians discovered it in the 1930s. Most of the original files were lost in the Battle of Okinawa, but several complete or partial copies made by researchers were available in personal or institutional holdings in Japan and Taiwan. In 1989, Okinawa Prefecture launched a project to assemble and recompile **RH** from these sources. Along the way the project committee struck upon a new idea: since a great majority of the **RH** papers were those exchanged between Ryukyu and China, the same papers should also exist in Chinese archives. Research missions were dispatched to Beijing, and in March 1991, the Okinawa Prefectural Library and the First Historical Archives of Beijing signed an agreement to exchange microfilms of all relevant historical documents bearing upon Sino-Ryukyuan relations and to hold regular research conferences. A highly productive collaborative relationship was born, and has since flourished, between Chinese and Okinawan scholars for the study of historical Sino-Ryukyuan relations.

The **RH** Project began publishing its research journal, **Rekidai Hōan Kenkyū**, in March 1990. The first volume of the new edition of **RH** came out in January 1992. The language of **RH** is daunting classical-style literary Chinese. To overcome the language barrier and widen the use of **RH** for research, in March 1994 the **RH** Project published the first volume of the Japanese version with extensive annotations. More were to follow. A "Japanese version" of Chinese text is not exactly a translation. It is Japanese "reading" (*yomikudashi*) of written Chinese made possible by Chinese characters being ideograms or pictures. It is a linguistic marvel that two different languages are made interchangeable in reading and writing thanks to a fluke of the writing system. Even so, the incredible varieties of Chinese characters require considerable research to find the matching Japanese words for them. Furthermore, the Japanese text that faithfully mirrors the Chinese counterpart is still too arcane for today's readers. Extensive annotations and glossaries are necessary. The Japanese edition provides them.

For the understanding of people, events, and places and for the appreciation of the historical drama of the **RH** world, which encompasses the whole of East and Southeast Asia, one needs the histories of China's Ming and Qing periods as well as of various kingdoms and principalities of Southeast Asia during 1350-1550. Sino-Ryukyuan research collaboration has proved extremely productive and greatly improved the knowledge and understanding of historical Sino-Ryukyuan relations. What is keenly awaited is a similar success of collaboration with scholars and officials of Southeast Asian countries. So far not even a fragment of a document related to Ryukyu has been reported discovered in these countries. Worse still, there is no academic awareness in Southeast Asia of potentially rewarding research possibilities in the historical relations between that part of Asia and Ryukyu. **RH** in English is also said to be under consideration. An exemplary beginning was made by A. Kobata and M. Matsuda (1969).

Amami Island Folk Songs: An Introduction

by
Naoshi KORIYAMA

The chain of islands between Kyushu of Japan and Taiwan is called Nansei Shotō (Southwestern Islands). It consists of four groups of islands: Amami, Okinawa, Miyako, and Yaeyama. These islands have a culture distinct from that of the Japanese mainland. Their dialects are quite different from standard Japanese, unintelligible to the mainland Japanese. But if we listen to the island dialects carefully, we can notice many Japanese words that have supposedly come down from ancient Japanese. The dialects spoken on those islands can be called the "Ryukyu dialects" of the Japanese language.

The four island groups between mainland Japan and Taiwan are rich in folk songs. They can be called a "treasure house" of folk music of the world. As dialects are replaced by standard Japanese and fewer people speak their native dialects, the folk songs are in danger of disappearing into the flow of time. People in their 50s or older may speak dialects at home, but the island children are now totally immersed in Japanese TV programs all the time. Fortunately, the folk songs are so closely tied to the hearts of the island people that there are many avid folk song lovers.

The Amami Islands were ruled by the kings of Ryukyu in Okinawa from 1266 to around 1609. In the latter year, they were invaded by the forces of Satsuma. Taken away from Ryukyu, the islands were ruled by the feudal lords of Satsuma until 1871. The people of Amami had to work hard to produce cane sugar for Satsuma under the most difficult conditions. Their only pastime was singing folk songs. The people

made up their songs and sang. Life being hard, most of their songs were filled with plaintive strains. Some of them were beautiful, like the American blues. Some were light and humorous. The island people made melodies out of the sound and rhythm of the ocean waves breaking on their native shores. Some cried out the words of their songs, gazing on the rain clouds over the hills of their islands and thinking of their loved ones. They spontaneously composed some truly beautiful love songs, as the men and women sang reciprocally to the accompaniment of the *sanshin* (samisen) during their singing parties by the shore in the moonlight. We don't know when these folk songs were made up or who the composers were. Several different singers composed them, each adding his or her verse as they sang. Let me quote a few verses from one of the most beautiful Amami Island songs, "Shunkane Bushi:"

*The bridge of the sanshin stands,
Propping up the strings on its head.
As for me, I stand by the road,
Longing for my loved one.*

When I first listened to Mr. Kazuhira Takeshita's singing of this song on the cassette tape, I was utterly fascinated by the beauty of the lyric and music. A few more verses in the same song go like this:

*To the boat sailing at night
Hidden shoals are her enemies.
When I wait for my loved one at
night,
My friends are my enemies.*

This is a charming piece of lyric poetry. Countless are the lyrics in the Amami island folk songs, some passionate, some

romantic, others didactic, sarcastic, or humorous. They are indigenous, but at the same time universal.

As for the form, most Amami folk songs, like many Okinawan songs, have four lines and thirty syllables, arranged in an 8-8-8-6 syllable form. Another well-known song, "Yoisura Bushi," has an 8-8-8 syllable form. "Ikyunnya Kana Bushi" has a 5-8-5-8-5 syllable form. So there are some variations in form among Amami folk songs.

Many folk songs of other countries have been introduced to Japan. We learned them and sang them in translation in primary and middle schools. In contrast, how many Japanese folk songs are known to other countries of the world? How many folk songs of Amami Islands are known in the world? None at all.

Okinawa has a women's vocal group named "Néénées" (lit. Elder Sisters) who are quite active and have sung their native Okinawan songs on tours even in Europe. One of their favorite numbers is "Kurushima kuduchi (kudoki)," a traditional Okinawan folk song. I have an American friend in Tokyo who is a "Néénées" fan. There must be many "Néénées" fans among Americans in Okinawa.

There are no such professional vocal groups in Amami. Due to the language barrier, few people in mainland Japan know the folk songs of Amami and other Nansei Islands, although some Japanese scholars have been doing research on the folk songs of this area.

In the past, three singers from Amami won grand prizes in All-Japan Folk Song Contest; Shunzo Tsukiji in 1979, Mitsuyo Tohara in 1989, and Rikki Nakano in 1990. Shunzo Tsukiji has sung Amami folk songs in France, Romania, and America together with his

partner, Rikki Nakano. Ikue Asazaki and her Amami folk singers' group presented their songs in New York's Carnegie Hall in 1990.

Aiko Maeoka and her *Sōkyoku* (Japanese harp) group presented their music at the 44th International Music Festival held in Rodez, France in August 1999. On that occasion, Aiko Maeoka sang a verse from "Ikyunnya Kana Bushi" both in the Amami language and French and won big applause. The French version was made by Chris Crochet, who was teaching English in the Kasari area of Amami Oshima around that time.

*Minu samiti
yuruya yunagatu
minu samiti
wakya kana kutu umuti
niburarando
sura, niburarando.*

Je reste éneillé
toute la longue nuit
Je reste éneillé.
Je pense à mon amour.
Je ne peux pas m'endormir,
Bien sur, je ne peux pas
m'endormir.

In August 2000, two young Amami folk singers, Yasuo Kijima and Kosuke Atari, toured Romania, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Italy singing Amami folk songs. Now Amami folk songs are warmly received overseas. It shows that the music of Amami Island folk songs has in its peculiarity something appealing that touches people's hearts even in foreign countries.

My book, *Beautiful Amami Island Folk Songs* (Hokuseido Press, 2001), aims to introduce some of the folk songs of the Amami Islands to the world in English translation. This is the first book of translations of the Amami folk songs. I had a chance to visit the Hamilton

Library of the University of Hawaii in the summer of 1993, hoping to find some collections of Okinawan folk songs in English translation. I had assumed that there should be some there, since there are many people from Okinawa, of first-, second-, third-, and even fourth-generations in Hawaii. Unfortunately I was not able to find any such books there. I thought someone should start translating Okinawan folk songs into English and introduce them to the world.

I have a small book of some Okinawan folk songs translated into English by the late Professor Bntaro Taira, *My Favorite Okinawan Songs* (Hokuseido Press, 1955). Yoko Nishihara, a scholar of English literature from Yaeyama, published her book of English translations of short songs of Yaeyama, *The Soul of Yaeyama: Tubarama and Life* (1995). To the best of my knowledge, these two books are the only English translations of the Ryukyu Islands' folk songs. It has been my long-cherished ambition to publish a first book of English translations of the Amami Islands' folk songs. I was born on Kikai Island of Amami in 1926 and grew up with the folk songs of Amami.

Culturally and musically, the most important Amami island is naturally the main island, "Amami Oshima." It is about 380 km south of the southern tip of Kyushu, the southernmost main island of Japan. Amami Oshima is the birthplace of most of the Amami Island folk songs. Composed by anonymous, ancient folk musicians, these songs have spread to other islands in the Amami group such as Kikai and Tokunoshima. Over time, other anonymous folk singers have added new words to the folk melody and sang accompanied by the

music of the *sanshin*. So, in many Amami folk songs, verses are not exactly in logical sequence. Many apparently disconnected, irrelevant verses are found in one song. A most interesting thing about folk singers of Amami is that they keep adding new words to such popular folk songs as "Kurudando Bushi" and "Ikyunnya Kana Bushi," which many people love deeply. I include a few lyrics from each of the smaller islands, namely Kikai, Tokunoshima, Okierabu and Yoron. I only wish I could have included more from these islands.

In selecting and translating the folk songs, I have most heavily relied on *Nantō kayō taisei V: Amami-hen* (A Grand Collection of the Songs of Southern Islands, Vol. V: Amami), edited by Eikatsu Tabata, Katsunobu Kamei, and Shuzen Hokama (Kadokawa Shoten, 1979) as a main source of the original folk songs. Another source I have frequently consulted is *Amami Oshima min'yo taikan* (A Grand Survey of Amami Oshima Folk Songs) by Eikichi Kazari. Books by Hisao Ogawa and Kouichi Nakasone have also been useful. Other references include the lyric sheets accompanying the cassette tapes and CDs produced and distributed by Central Gakki of Naze City of Amami.

The author:

Naoshi KORIYAMA, an alumnus of the State University of New York at Albany, taught English at Toyo University for nearly 40 years. His many books include *Another Bridge over the Pacific* (1993), *Like Underground Water*, with Edward Lueders (1995), *Collected Poems* (1996), and *Black Flower in the Sky* (2000). Currently professor emeritus, he is busier than ever writing and editing poetry and as a participant in several social/cultural movements. Address: 2-15-9 Yaei, Sagamihara-shi, Kanagawa-ken 229, JAPAN

A Declaration of Concern

This declaration is based upon our shared concern for the problematic nature of Susan S. Sered's widely circulated monograph on Henza Island, *Women of the Sacred Groves* (Oxford University Press, 1999). We strongly believe that both her methodology and interpretation are deeply flawed as represented, for example, by the quotation below.

Although I had studied Japanese before coming to the field, when I first arrived in Okinawa, my knowledge of Japanese was perfunctory; with the patience and encouragement of villagers, it improved throughout the year... Given that the intellectual context for this project is the study of religion and gender rather than Japanese studies, my less-than-rudimentary Japanese literacy has not proven to be an overwhelming drawback. Henza priestesses do not have a literate tradition or a corpus of sacred texts; the books that have been left unread by them (and by me) were written by outsiders or by members of the Okinawan (mostly male) literary elite. Although there has been a school in the village for many years, the priestesses among whom I carried out my research do not seem interested in reading; they know how to read headlines and advertisements, but I rarely saw them reading a book or newspaper... (p.20)

We feel obliged to caution the general reader against uncritical acceptance of her text for the following reasons:

- 1) Her text raises serious ethical problems of methodology in ethnographic fieldwork by willfully trivializing necessary command of the local language, both spoken and written.
- 2) Sered completely ignores vital and valuable historical records of her field site compiled by the villagers (both female and male) themselves.
- 3) A vast corpus of previous studies on Okinawan religious culture accumulated by both Okinawan and Japanese scholars is left out of consideration by Sered and is slighted with the hasty and inaccurate remark that it is male-biased and based on an outsider's perspective gained by only short-term research. Contrary to her unsubstantiated disrespect for Okinawan and Japanese scholars, there are a number of conscientious researchers who have established long-term commitments, contacts and publication records, and it is Sered's own academic irresponsibility that she is not familiar with the literature.
- 4) She subscribes to an unfounded assumption that studies in gender and religion do not require expertise in area studies. A book-length monograph on Okinawan religion with hardly any references to the vast accumulation of Okinawan studies by local scholars is no longer tenable.
- 5) It should be stressed that this declaration does not spring from our chauvinistic pride in simple linguistic proficiency or personal offense against Sered. Instead, we are truly concerned that Sered's stance marginalizes Okinawan and Japanese scholarship and thus reinforces intellectual colonialism and we believe that this must be criticized especially in an area such as Okinawa that is still subject to various forms of imperialist exploitation.

Concerned scholars of Okinawan studies

(In alphabetical order) **Asahina Tokiko**, Okinawagaku kenkyujo, Japan; **Patrick Beillevoire**, National Center for Scientific Research, France; **Higa Masao**, Kokuritsu Rekishiminzoku Hakubutsukan, Japan; **Kaneko Erika**, Ph.D., U.S.A.; **Kasahara Masaharu**, Yokohama Kokuritsudaigaku, Japan; **Katsukata Keiko**, Waseda Daigaku, Japan; **Kawahashi Noriko**, Nagoya Kougyoudaigaku, Japan; **Ota Yoshinobu**, Kyushu Daigaku, Japan; **James Roberson**, University of New South Wales, Australia; **Annmariamaria Shimabuku**, Tokyo Daigaku, Japan; **Uematsu Akashi**, Atomigakuen Joshidaigaku (retired), Japan; **Wesley Ueunten**, U.C. Berkeley, U.S.A.; **Monika Wacker**, Munich University, Germany; **Yui Akiko**, Okinawa Times Newspaper, Okinawa

[All views expressed in this declaration are the views of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of **The Ryukyuanist**.]

Publications (XXXIX)

We gratefully acknowledge the following gifts of materials and publications:

Gajumaru, No. 17. 2001. A journal for and by "expatriates" of Kikai Island origin resident in the rest of Japan, edited and published by YOSHIMOTO Yukio. 123 pp. Essays on personal experiences, worldviews, musings, recollections, etc. Topics range widely. This issue affords glimpses of Kikai persons' attitudes toward Japan and Okinawa. In Okinawa, they have formed an association of persons of Kikai origin, current membership at 800. This association just celebrated the 35th anniversary of its founding and published a commemorative collection of essays (p. 22).

KORIYAMA, Naoshi. 2001. **Kagayaku Amami no shimauta: Beautiful Amami Island Folk Songs**, edited and translated. Tokyo: Hokuseidō. 200 pp. ¥1500 + tax. Foreword by Leza Lowitz. (See the article by the author in this issue of *The R*).

Kreiner, Josef (ed.) 2001. **Ryukyu in World History**. Bonn, Germany: Bier'sche Verlagsanstalt. (JapanArchiv: Schriftenreihe der Forschungsstelle Modernes Japan). 418 pp. A book that has grown out of an international symposium held in Bonn on September 30 - October 1, 1998, reported in *The R*, No. 42. Europeans have known Ryukyu/Okinawa (R/O) for centuries in contrast to a much shorter but more direct relationship between it and the U.S.A. European scholars coming from this background are guided by different perspectives for the understanding and interpretation of R/O. The status of R/O as a part of Japan today gives rise to additional issues concerning the nature of the Japanese nation. In the lead article, Josef Kreiner reviews the place of R/O in the European worldview and world strategy. Before the rise of modern Japan, R/O enjoyed a larger presence in European consciousness than Japan. Today, R/O as Okinawa Prefecture is physically and demographically only a very small part of Japan. But according to Kreiner, "Ryukyu and its culture -- as well as its language -- form one of two main equal pillars of support, standing side by side, which hold up the Japanese culture. Only the realization of this fact makes it possible to appreciate the immensely rich diversity of Japanese culture" (p.39). This volume includes papers presented

to the 1998 conference and five new papers: "Onarigami --- Holy Woman in the Kingdom of Ryukyu: A Pacific Culture with Chinese Influences" by Monika WACKER; "An Outline of Ryukyu's Relation to China" by TAKARA Kurayoshi; "The *Ryukyu Shobun* in East Asian and World History" by Gregory SMITS; "The Ryukyus under U.S. Occupation" by Gabriele VOGT; and "Okinawa Between the United States and Japan" by Chalmers JOHNSON.

Okinawa Prefectural Library, Historical Materials Compilation Office. 1994. **Rekidai Hōan Yakuchūbon Dai-issatsu** (Rekidai Hōan Translated and Annotated, Vol. I). Translated and annotated by WADA Hisanori. Published by Okinawa Prefectural Education Commission. 37, 691 pp. Dates of the documents range from 1424 to 1696. Documents that have important implications for the international status of Ryukyu are messages in various forms from emperors of China to kings of Ryukyu and kings' memorials to emperors. The apparent intimacy of Sino-Ryukyuan relationship at the highest level of state is liable to varying interpretations.

Idem. 1997. **Rekidai Hōan Yakuchūbon Dai-Nisatsu** (Rekidai Hōan Translated and Annotated, Vol. II). Translated and annotated by WADA Hisanori. 38, 592 pp. Most interesting of all the volumes in the series (13 noted in various issues of *The R*). Documents show Ryukyu's pan-Asian trade activities, Ryukyu's loyalty to China with respect to Hideyoshi's Korean expeditions, and Ryukyu's relationship with Nanming during the transition from Ming to Qing. Also included are documents showing some of the activities of Huaiji, King Sho Hashi's Chinese minister widely believed to have been sent to Ryukyu by the Yongle Emperor to assist the royal administration. Further, it includes a mini-dictionary of official bureaucratic terms indispensable for the understanding of the kinds and levels of interaction between China and Ryukyu as well as an extensive index of personal and place names in Vols. I and II.

Idem. 1998. **Rekidai Hōan Yakuchūbon Dai-Sansatsu** (Rekidai Hōan Translated and Annotated, Vol. III). Translated and annotated by KANDA Nobuo. 25, 495 pp. Document dates range from 1697 to 1725. A stable

pattern of Sino-Ryukyuan relations was re-established during this period. The tribute bearing ships and their sister ships regularly sailed between Okinawa and China. The investiture missions of the Chinese court visited Okinawa without fail to confirm and appoint the new kings. Shipwrecked seafarers were rescued and returned to their respective home countries.

Walters, Leon K. 1997 "An American Collector in Okinawa," **BIBLIO** (December): pp. 52-57. Walters lived in Okinawa from 1964 to 1972 as a civilian employee of the U. S. government. His first encounter with Okinawa was during the Battle of Okinawa as a member of the Tenth Army's field hospital. By the time of his second tour in Okinawa, he had become a book collector. This article tells how he invested almost all the savings from his salaries in the acquisition of publications on Okinawa in both English and Japanese. After returning to the U.S., he sold at a bargain price all of his Japanese-language collection to his alma mater, Ohio State University. Later, he also donated the English-language items. He believes that what he has sold or given makes Ohio State the holder of the third

largest university collection on Okinawa after Hawaii and Syracuse.

Yoshida, Kensei. 2001 **Democracy Betrayed: Okinawa Under U.S. Occupation**. Preface by Chalmers Johnson. Bellingham, Washington: Center for East Asian Studies, Western Washington University. *Studies on East Asia, Volume 23*. xlii, 210 pp. Despite the provocative title, this book is a well-balanced, densely documented political history of Okinawa of the period of occupation and administration by the US military, 1945-72. What made the American rule of Okinawa a betrayal of democracy was that Okinawans had a better sense of democracy than the generals who ruled Okinawa. Okinawans relentlessly exposed the legal and moral contradictions of "democracy" under military occupation. An irony is that after Okinawa's reversion to Japan, the Japanese government's betrayal of democracy in Okinawa has been just as bad as America's during the occupation. The book is a product of most painstaking mining of documentary, archival, and internet sources. It is *the* best study of Okinawa's American interlude ever published in English.

In memoriam: HOKAMA Kanwa (1927-2001)

HOKAMA Kanwa is an indispensable figure for the assessment of High Commissioner Paul Caraway's "tyrannical" rule of occupied Okinawa (February 1961 - August 1964). Caraway is credited with the elimination of corruptions from Okinawa's financial sector. Fearful Okinawans called Caraway's actions "Caraway Sempū" (Caraway Tornado). In his memoir, published in April 2000, Mr. Hokama claims that there was no "Caraway Sempū," that it was he who as Banking Administrator stirred up the whirlwinds to blow Okinawa's corrupt financiers off their jobs, and that Caraway himself, after appointing Hokama to the Banking Administrator's position, remained silent throughout the period of the so-called "Caraway Sempū." In other words, Caraway was not "tyrannical" enough. This irony is a major rewrite of an important segment of postwar Okinawan history, which has already provoked considerable controversy.

Alas, this extraordinary Okinawan died on November 28, 2001. Mr. Hokama was born in Ishigaki, and after graduating from Okinawa's most prestigious First Middle School (*icchū*) at Shuri, advanced to Japan's Naval Academy, an incubator of elite naval officers of Imperial Japan. In the early 1950s, he completed his undergraduate education at Muskingum College with the US GARIOA scholarship and pursued post-graduate studies at Cornell University. His field of concentration was accounting. Upon return to Okinawa, he joined the University of the Ryukyus faculty. He was also one of the first new CPAs of postwar Okinawa. HC Caraway, convinced of the need to clean up Okinawa's corruption-tarnished financial institutions, recruited him for the position of Banking Administrator to head the Financial Inspection Bureau of the Government of the Ryukyu Islands. On leave from the university, he served in that position for two and a half years, January 1963 to July 1965. Later, he moved from the University of the Ryukyus to Meio University, where he was professor emeritus at the time of his death.

During his brief tenure as Banking Administrator, he and his staff not only caught corrupt practices and had the offenders properly punished, but also engineered restructuring, reorganization, and mergers of the affected institutions with a view to improving their efficiency and preventing the return

of corruption. From time to time he filed detailed reports on his activities with HC Caraway and other governmental leaders. But Caraway showed no reaction to his reports. Hokama assumed that silence meant approval, or at least acquiescence, and continued the same strict policy of bank inspection. After Caraway's departure, Hokama stayed on in his job one more year before he returned to the University of the Ryukyus. During the last years of his life, he was very concerned about what he thought were accounting irregularities at Okinawa's premier corporation, Okinawa Electric Power.

It should have been a startling spectacle that Okinawan officials hunted down Okinawan businessmen so vigorously and had them prosecuted and punished so severely as Hokama and his staff did. The conventional wisdom among Okinawans was that they were all brothers, and sisters, and that they should stick together to protect one another against intruders such as the US military. It is possible that Okinawans expected Hokama to overlook minor wrongdoings of his own people and to protect them from the wrath of the alien tyrant, HC Caraway. Hokama gave no thought to this kind of parochial moral relativity. Instead, he believed that justice was universal and offenders, American or Okinawan, should be punished.

There were deeper reasons for his toughness toward his own countrymen. He was deeply ashamed of some Okinawans' lack of integrity, discipline or even self-respect. He was ashamed when he heard Caraway criticize Okinawan businessmen in his famous "Autonomy Is a Myth" speech. Hokama resolved then to show to the world that Okinawans had the will and ability to put their own house in order by themselves. He was an Okinawan patriot and a man of strong character combining in him better elements of Japanese naval discipline and American professional training.

Consider the challenges that HC Caraway posed for Okinawa. In his "Autonomy Is a Myth" speech at the luncheon of the Golden Gate Club in March 1963, Caraway said:

For many years the banks of the Ryukyu Islands were permitted to operate with almost complete license. I say license rather than freedom, for here again, we find a gross abuse of trust by the banks and the government... Such behavior would constitute a felony almost anywhere else. The Government of the Ryukyu Islands refused to act, and instead weakly sought to evade its responsibilities and shift the blame to the United States Administration.

The Okinawan press did not correctly understand the word "license" in the Caraway speech above. They only knew that "license" meant, as the dictionary would have it, a right granted by the authorities to engage in a certain line of business and completely missed what Caraway was saying. But not so with Caraway's audience on that particular occasion. It consisted of Okinawans who had been to the U.S. for higher education like Hokama. They knew Caraway was exposing a shame of Okinawa.

Caraway left the office of High Commissioner on August 1, 1964. The previous day, July 31, 1964, he showed up in the office of the Financial Inspection Bureau and handed a "Certificate of Commendation to Mr. Kanwa Hokama, Director..." In it, Caraway said:

The Bureau has met and exceeded the most optimistic hopes and expectations of the people. Under its supervision, financial malpractices and irregularities have been eliminated; needed management changes have been made in financial institutions; and the banking and insurance systems in the Ryukyu Islands have been revitalized....

This Certificate is a very inadequate means of expressing the High Commissioner's admiration, respect and thanks to you the Director and through you, to all of the members of the Bureau who have so ably served the people and the Government.

A total triumph for Hokama and his staff. No other Okinawans during the American interlude won a US High Commissioner's "admiration, respect and thanks" so unreservedly expressed. According to Hokama, this certificate was the first and last written communication from Caraway to him on how Caraway thought of his work.

In a fundamental sense, Okinawa's ills can only be cured by Okinawans themselves. And Okinawans can do that if they put their minds to it. HOKAMA Kanwa showed how to face and overcome grave social problems. May all Okinawans remember and share his resolve, drive and decisiveness! May his legacy also develop in a different direction: to seek ideals for Okinawa and seize the opportunity for attaining them!