

# The Ryukyuanist

A Newsletter on Ryukyu/Okinawa Studies

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**This issue** notes two recent welcome developments in the dynamics of Ryukyu/Okinawa studies. (1) In September 2008, *Japan Focus* was awarded the *Ryukyu Shimpō*'s newly established Ikemiyagi Syuui Memorial Prize. (2) In March 2009, the University of Hawai'i's new Center for Okinawan Studies held its inaugural conference calling for exploratory and forward looking papers. It is the *Ryukyuanist*'s good luck and honor to be able to feature Professor Kyle Ikeda's paradigmatic paper that surveys the accomplishments in studies of Ryukyuan/Okinawan literature, assesses challenges to the field, and offers valuable suggestions for further advancement.

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## **The Ikemiyagi Syuui Memorial Prize Goes to *Japan Focus***

In 1946, Ikemiyagi Syuui (1907-89), became the editor in chief for the *Uruma Shimpō* (temporary title of the postwar *Ryukyu Shimpō* until 1951). After a few years of sick leave in the 1950s, he returned to the *Ryukyu Shimpō* as editor in chief and quickly advanced to president and then chairman of the newspaper company. Throughout his life, Ikemiyagi was known as a *hankotsu* journalist who believed in democracy and stood up to oppressive governments. Before the war, he pursued higher education in Tokyo, majoring in German literature at Waseda University. No sooner had he begun his career in journalism than he was arrested and jailed by the notorious prewar Special High Police (*tokkō*) of the Empire of Japan for violation of the Public Peace Maintenance Law (*Chian Iji Hō*). Shortly after, he was transferred to a prison in Okinawa where he joined fellow *hankotsu* Okinawan inmates including Senaga Kamejiro (see "A Note on *hankotsu* below, p.7). After release, while off and on jobs of short durations, he translated a German nonfiction, *Die Moorsoldaten: 13 Monate Konzentrationslager* by Wolfgang Langhoff (Zurich: Schweizer Spiegel Verlag, 1935). With the help of a Japanese friend in Tokyo, the translation was published in 1947, titled *Kyōsei shūyōjo no jūsan kagetsu* (Kanagawa: Sōgeisha, 1947). It is included in Ikemiyagushiku Syui, *Hankotsu no jānarisuto: Ikemiyagi Syūi Serekushon* (Naha: Niraisha, 1996).

Ikemiyagi was a prolific writer across genres, fields and subjects. The peculiarities of Okinawa's political status kept him in permanent outrage, prompting him to relentless protests by his pen from the moral high ground of human rights and democracy. Especially, the "Okinawa Problem," a syndrome of problems rooted in the enormous U.S. military presence in Okinawa and the Japanese government's sustained indifference to the injustices perpetrated on Okinawans, infuriated him without end. Despite sustained widespread protests, the Okinawa Problem still torments Okinawans today. The heirs to the *hankotsu* legacy of Ikemiyagi have lately come to realize that their principal means of communication, the Japanese language, though efficient for delivering their message to the Japanese-speaking people, is failing to reach the people outside Japan. Their numerous proposals for the solution of the Okinawa Problem have been ineffective in influencing, let alone winning over, the U.S. public opinion. Reaching out to the hearts and minds of the American public and policymakers needs their language, English, and modes of presentation of issues and appeals that resonate among them.

The larger context of the Okinawa Problem is international communication and understanding. Realizing this, in 2007 the *Ryukyu Shimpō* adopted a project to celebrate the 115<sup>th</sup> anniversary of its founding by honoring the achievements and legacy of Ikemiyagi Syuui as well as recognizing the contributions of international media, journalists, and others toward the solution of the Okinawa Problem. For the latter purpose, the *Ryukyu Shimpō* established the Ikemiyagi Syuui Prize. An announcement early in 2008 says:

The Prize is intended for either individuals or for organizations that disseminate information and views on Okinawa problems to a global audience. It is open to all nationalities beyond Japan

within the spheres of journalism, or research activities. The Ryukyu Shimpo will present the award and a citation to the winner in recognition of such achievements.

A screening committee was appointed consisting of Nariyuki Agarie (president emeritus of Meio University), Keiko Inafuku-Katsukata (director, Center for Okinawan Studies at Waseda University), Seigen Miyazato (professor emeritus of the University of the Ryukyus and president of the Okinawa Issues Research Society) and Koji Taira (editor of the *Ryukyuanist*). On June 1, 2008, after months of surveying relevant data and information from diverse sources, the committee met with the *Ryukyu Shimpo*'s President Choichi Takamine, Planning Director Seiki Nakada, and others. Out of a dozen or so of finalists, the conferees unanimously chose *The Asia Pacific Journal: Japan Focus Newsletter* for the award of the Ikemiyagi Syuui Prize 2008.

As planned, the joint celebration of the *Ryukyu Shimpo* anniversary, memories of the late *hankotsu* journalist Ikemiyagi Syuui and the first recipient of the Ikemiyagi Syuui Prize took place on September 17, the date when the *Ryukyu Shimpo* came into being 115 years earlier. Professors Mark Selden and Gavan McCormack, principal coordinators for *Japan Focus*, attended and received the prize and citation. Leaders of the government of Okinawa Prefecture and more than a hundred well wishers were also present. Governor Hirokazu Nakaima, represented by Vice Governor Zenki Nakazato, sent in a message emphasizing the necessity of international understanding for the solution of Okinawa's military base problems and appreciating contributions of *Japan Focus* toward this goal. After messages and speeches of the guests, Professor Mark Selden responded with his views on international communication in the age of electronic information technology.

On the following day, September 18, 2008, the *Ryukyu Shimpo* hosted a roundtable conversation among Professor Selden, Professor McCormack, and the members of the screening committee that selected *Japan Focus* for the Prize, moderated by Editor-in-Chief Jun'ichi Tomita. The participants' views were reported in detail on the September 22, 2008 issue of the *Ryukyu Shimpo*.

In its September 29, 2008 issue, *The Asia Pacific Journal: Japan Focus Newsletter* reported:

We are honored to announce that *Japan Focus* is the recipient of the *Ryukyu Shimpo* Ikemiyagi Syuui Prize awarded on the 115<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the newspaper. The award recognizes that “*Japan Focus* has made an outstanding worldwide contribution to proposing solutions to problems confronting Okinawa.” We plan to strengthen our coverage of U.S.-Japan-Okinawa relations, historical memory, environment and development.

The *Ryukyuanist* applauds the *Ryukyu Shimpo*'s friendly initiative for international communication befitting the new age of electronic IT Revolution and congratulates *Japan Focus* on receiving the first Ikemiyagi Syuui Prize. We also take this opportunity to express our own appreciation for *Japan Focus*'s policy and activities that have enhanced the profile of Okinawa in the melee for world attention.

Japan Focus declares that it is “free and accessible to all.” Its home page, search engine, external links, topical categories, and indexes are all highly rationalized and reader/user-friendly. Major categories and their numerous subcategories are only a few clicks away. To get to the “Okinawa articles,” open the home page <http://www.Japanfocus.org>, click the “Region” category, then click “East Asia” on the list of regions, and finally click “Okinawa,” a unique subheading under “Japan.” *Voilà!*

Okinawa boosters might say: **“Happy Clicking; Mensōrē to Okinawa at *Japan Focus!*”**

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## **Ryukyuan and Okinawan Literary Studies in North America: Status, Challenges, & Opportunities**

What is the state of Ryukyuan and Okinawan Literary Studies in North America? What are some of the challenges that face the field, and in what ways could the Center for Okinawan Studies at the University of Hawai'i, and other research centers, promote further growth in Ryukyuan/Okinawan literary studies? To answer these questions, in this paper I first review how the terms Ryukyuan and Okinawan literature are being used by literature scholars in Japan and Okinawa, and examine the extent to which scholarship in English has covered these areas. Then I identify three of the largest challenges facing Ryukyuan and Okinawan literary studies in North America: one, the lack of readily available reference and resource material in English that deal with foundational and basic knowledge; two, the difficulty of learning the Ryukyuan/Okinawan language skills necessary for the study of classical and modern literary texts written in Ryukyuan/Okinawan; and three, a research environment that stresses and values theoretically sophisticated interpretation and analysis over translation work and literary histories, when the latter is perhaps more essential in the initial stages of establishing the field. Additionally, I offer a few suggestions for how the Center for Okinawan Studies at the University of Hawai'i could provide leadership in trying to address these challenges.

In Japan, scholars of Ryukyuan and Okinawan literature use the terms *Ryūkyū bungaku* (Ryukyuan literature) and *Okinawa no bungaku/Okinawa bungaku* (Okinawan literature) to denote two different things. Ryukyuan literature refers to the literary works composed or written in the Ryukyuan language by the inhabitants of the Ryukyu Islands, which includes the Amami Islands. For the most part, this term corresponds with literary activity that took place during the period of the Ryukyu Kingdom (1429-1879).<sup>1</sup> Well-known examples of Ryukyuan literature include the collection of early *Ryūka* (Ryukyuan poetry), the *Omoro Sōshi*, and classical court drama, known as *kumi odori*.

Okinawan literature, in contrast, refers generally to modern literary works in Japanese by writers from Okinawa after the abolishment of the Ryukyu *han* (domain) and establishment of Okinawa Prefecture in 1879. It should be noted that the term Okinawan literature does not include writing from the Amami Islands, while the term Ryukyuan literature does.<sup>2</sup> Okamoto Keitoku identifies the years around 1898 as the time when Okinawan literary activity in Japanese, primarily new-style poetry, first appeared, and around 1908 as the time that Okinawan writers began publishing narrative fiction in Japanese.<sup>3</sup>

Categorization according to the language of composition, however, does not entirely correspond with historical and political periods. Although the Ryukyu domain was abolished in 1879 and significant efforts to impose the Japanese language on Okinawans soon followed, this did not mean that the Ryukyuan language suddenly ceased to exist. Okinawans still used Ryukyuan in composing Ryukyuan poetry as well as the performing of early 20<sup>th</sup> Century *kageki* (Okinawan opera) and Okinawan *shibai* (theater) well into the 1920s. While Ikemiya Masaharu considers the latter two forms part of the Ryukyuan theatrical arts, and therefore Ryukyuan literature, Nakahodo Masanori has written about post-1879 Ryukyuan poetry and Okinawan opera as part of the branch of modern Okinawan literature written and composed in Ryukyuan, in contrast to the one in Japanese.<sup>4</sup>

Additionally, some works are difficult to identify as simply written in Japanese or Ryukyuan/Okinawan. Many of the *shingeki* or new drama pieces in Okinawa that were composed after World War II, were written and performed in something called *Uchinā Yamato-guchi*, a mixture of Okinawan and Japanese. Chinen Seishin's (1941- ) *Jinruikan* (The Human Species Pavilion, 1976) is one such example. Contemporary Okinawan writers Sakiyama Tami (1954- ) and Medoruma Shun (1960- ), who primarily write in Japanese, also incorporate a large amount of Okinawan language in their stories. While a variety of Okinawan writers have utilized Okinawan in the representation of spoken dialogue in works of fiction, Sakiyama and Medoruma have gone as far as to experiment with Okinawan in the narrative parts of their stories. For example, in the seventh installment of Medoruma's serialized novel *Me no oku no mori* (Forest at the Back of my Eye, 2006), the narrating perspective and voice is given entirely in *Uchinā Yamato-guchi*, with almost all of the text, both *kanji* and *kana*, adorned with Okinawan pronunciations to the side.<sup>5</sup>

### **Lack of Fundamental Reference & Resource Material**

I have presented an overview of the terms Okinawan and Ryukyuan literature for the purpose of not only providing a general background for Okinawan/Ryukyuan literary studies, but to highlight and compensate for the fact that to

date, there is no explanation of what I have just covered available in English. Steve Rabson's *Two Novellas from Okinawa*, and Michael Molasky & Rabson's anthology *Southern Exposure* deal only with Okinawan literature, primarily narrative fiction from the post-war era. The two book-length studies of Okinawan literature in English to date, Molasky's *The American Occupation of Japan and Okinawa* and Davinder Bhowmik's *Writing Okinawa*, focus primarily on narrative fiction in Japanese. My own research concentrates on the war fiction of contemporary writer Medoruma Shun, a second-generation survivor of the Battle of Okinawa. Because none of these studies engage modern literary works written in Ryukyuan, let alone pre-1879 Ryukyuan literature, readers of the above may get the impression that none exist.

To my knowledge, there is only one readily available complete published translation in English of a pre-1879 Ryukyuan literary work, and that is Tamagusuku Chōkun's *Shūshin Kani'iri* (Possessed by Love, Thwarted by the Bell, 1719) a famous classical court drama piece.<sup>6</sup> Sakihara Mitsugu's *A Brief History of Early Okinawa based on the Omoro Sōshi*, contains translations of some of the songs in the *Omoro Sōshi*, but not the entire collection.

This lack of fundamental information in English affects the general field of Ryukyuan and Okinawan literary studies in English in two obvious ways. First, it generates an impression of Okinawa as lacking a creative literary/expressive tradition performed in Ryukyuan or Okinawan, particularly during the modern period. Second, the lack of a variety of translated works, in terms of theme, genre, and time period, makes it difficult to create or teach a class solely on Okinawan, not to mention Ryukyuan, literature in translation. In my own experience, while students have responded with great interest to the Okinawan works I have included in my Japanese literature course, the limited number of translations makes it difficult to fill a semester long Okinawan literature course, thematically or numerically. The even fewer number of pre-1879 Ryukyuan literary works in translation makes an introductory Ryukyuan literature course in translation all but impossible.

### **The Ryukyuan/Okinawa Language Barrier**

The reason for the above lack of coverage is partially due to the difficulty of acquiring Ryukyuan/Okinawan language skills. To be sure, the translation of Ryukyuan texts can be done by relying on Japanese glosses and annotation; but it hardly needs to be mentioned that increased knowledge of and proficiency in Ryukyuan would greatly aid scholars in comprehending, researching, and translating Ryukyuan texts. With the University of Hawai'i being the only US based university that offers courses teaching the Okinawan language, and this only having begun four years ago in 2005, it is still too early to see the effect of those courses on published research about Okinawa and the Ryukyus. It would be fair to say that most of the scholars trained at Universities in North America who study or conduct research on Ryukyuan or Okinawan literature have come out of Japanese language and literature programs that do not teach Ryukyuan/Okinawan.

Increasing basic knowledge of the Ryukyuan/Okinawan language for those already proficient in Japanese, fortunately, is not as cumbersome a task as trying to teach Japanese to entry-level learners. Due to the close linguistic relationship between Japanese and Ryukyuan, people with Japanese language skills already have a wealth of linguistic knowledge that will aid them in learning Ryukyuan/Okinawan.<sup>7</sup> One thing the Center for Okinawan Studies at the University of Hawai'i can do is offer Ryukyuan/Okinawan language workshops to established and emerging scholars from a variety of disciplines. Connecting the workshop to an academic conference or other Ryukyuan/Okinawan Studies related event could help bolster applicant and participant numbers.

### **Research Environment**

While effort needs to be put into the development of Ryukyuan literary studies and toward increasing Ryukyuan language proficiency in scholars, work also needs to be done to promote the translation into English of Okinawan literary works written in Japanese. In other words, there are still plenty of important Okinawan literary texts that should be translated that do not require Ryukyuan or Okinawan language skills. Unfortunately the current research, tenure, and promotion environment at universities does not encourage or value translation work as much as original research articles or book length manuscripts. This has had an adverse effect on the amount of translations. I have heard indirectly that one Okinawan literature scholar felt he had put as much or more energy, time and effort into putting together an anthology of Okinawan literature as he had into his book. Unfortunately, the book counts a lot more towards tenure and promotion. Hence, there is great hesitancy on the part of that scholar to work on a second anthology. In such an academic environment, as a junior scholar who has yet to earn tenure at my university, I am

not at all surprised that I have been advised and counseled to concentrate first on articles and a book manuscript, before working on translations.

Although original research and scholarship are important to the overall field of Okinawan studies, quality English translations of Okinawan literary works arguably have a greater impact on Okinawan studies, particularly in the current early stages of the field when many important works have yet to be translated and knowledge about Okinawa is very limited. Without access to works in translation, it is impossible to introduce them to undergraduates or interested readers without Japanese language skills. We also should not underestimate the role literature can have in sparking or further developing interest in another culture. During my stay at the University of the Ryukyus from 2002-2004 as a research student, I was asked by Professor Nakahodo Masanori to help field numerous inquiries about Okinawan literature from foreign students. Almost all of the students mentioned that they had become interested in Okinawan literature through the anthology *Southern Exposure*. Even film-maker Regge Life visited Nakahodo-sensei, hoping to meet with some of the writers whose stories he had read in *Southern Exposure*. I recall remarking on the international impact *Southern Exposure* was having to one visiting student and her response was, "Yeah, if someone interested in learning more about Okinawa asks you for a recommendation, you're going to hand them *Southern Exposure* before you give them an academic study." This is not to belittle the contribution of secondary research, but rather to point to the importance of literary translation, particularly in the initial stages of developing the field.

The Center for Okinawan Studies can help promote literary translation work by publicly recognizing quality translations through an annual award. This would help increase the value of translations for scholars in terms of research accomplishments, and encourage others to translate. The award does not have to be translation specific, but could be for a significant contribution to Okinawan or Ryukyuan Studies in general.

In this paper, I have provided an overview of the state of Ryukyuan/Okinawan literary studies in North America and outlined three major challenges facing the field: a lack of foundational and basic information, the difficulty of acquiring Ryukyuan language skills, and a research environment that values analysis over translation work. Related to all of these challenges, of course, is the status of Ryukyuan and Okinawan literature within the fields of Japanese literature and Japanese studies. Due to the fact that within North American scholarship Ryukyuan/Okinawan literature has been largely understood as a subcategory of Japanese literature, the former has been approached primarily from within the perspective of the latter. One of our challenges at this conference and for the future of Okinawan Studies, I believe, is to consider and find ways to generate a trajectory for future research which grows out of a Ryukyuan/Okinawan studies perspective, while being mindful of productive connections with Japanese and other areas of study. In the following days as we consider other suggestions and directions, we should keep in mind that *what* we focus on or highlight as scholars, can drastically shape the state of general knowledge of the field, simultaneously limiting and enabling possibilities for future study.

Kyle Ikeda

#### **The author:**

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#### **Notes**

<sup>1</sup>. Ryukyuan were also writing poetry and prose in Japanese and Chinese during the Ryukyu Kingdom period. Ikemiya Masaharu additionally separates *wabungaku* (Japanese literary works) and *kanbungaku* (Chinese literary works) written by Ryukyuan from Ryukyuan literature and Okinawan literature. For Ikemiya's more detailed categorization see Ikemiya Masaharu, "Ryûkyû bungaku sôron," in *Iwanami kôza: Nihon bungaku-shi*, ed. Kubota Jun, et al. (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1996), 1-36.

<sup>2</sup>. See *Ibid*, 3-5.

<sup>3</sup>. See Okamoto Keitoku, "Okinawa no kin, gendai bungaku: sono tenbô," in *Okinawa bungaku-sen: Nihon bungaku no eiji kara no toi*, ed. Okamoto Keitoku and Takahashi Toshio (Tokyo: Bensei shuppan, 2003), 5-6.

<sup>4</sup>. For Ikemiya's treatment of Okinawan opera and theater as part of Ryukyuan theatrical arts, see Ikemiya, "Ryûkyû bungaku sôron," 24-26. For treatment of post-1879 Ryukyuan poetry and Okinawan opera as modern Okinawan literature see Nakahodo Masanori, "Kindai Okinawa no bungaku: Okinawa no bungaku no ni keitô," in *Okinawa bungaku-sen: Nihon bungaku no eiji kara no toi*, ed. Okamoto Keitoku and Takahashi Toshio (Tokyo: Bensei shuppan, 2003), 20-25.

<sup>5</sup>. See Medoruma Shun, "Me no oku no mori: dai 7 kai," *Zen'ya* 1, no. 7 (2006).

<sup>6</sup>. See Tamagusuku Chôkun, "*Shûshin Kani'iri* (Possessed by Love, Thwarted by the Bell)," translated by Nobuko Miyama Ochner, *Asian Theatre Journal* 22, no. 1 (2005).

<sup>7</sup>. Although the term *hôgen* or dialect is often used to refer to the Ryukyuan/Okinawan language, I have elected to follow the lead of linguists Leon Serafim and Miyara Shinsho and refer to it as a language, in large part in order to emphasize the mutual unintelligibility of mono-linguistic speakers of Japanese and Ryukyuan/Okinawan. In personal communications, Serafim has attested that linguistically speaking, Ryukyuan should not be considered a dialect of modern Japanese, although the two are closely related. Additionally Miyara Shinsho argued in his presentation "Okinawan Language Revitalization" at the University of Hawai'i on March 17, 2008, that Okinawan is a language, not a dialect.

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## A note on “hankotsu” (反骨)

The origin of this Japanese word is Chinese, meaning rebellious mentality, defiance of the authorities, refusal to conform to social norms, and the like. In Confucian society, “hankotsu” as a character trait was frowned upon. In the course of postwar democratization of Japan, however, the sense of the word made a 180-degree turn-around and acquired a favorable overtone as the formerly docile people also made a similar about-face and intensified their denunciation of the prewar Japanese militarism and imperialism that had ruined their country. Today, “hankotsu” is a good word standing for democracy, human rights and civil liberties. A broad cross-section of the Japanese intelligentsia shares “hankotsu” mentality. This contrasts sharply with the sufferings of “hankotsu” journalists and intellectuals in prewar Japan. (See Satoshi Kamata, *Hankotsu no jaanarisuto* (Hankotsu journalists) [Tokyo: NHK, 2002]). Can we translate “hankotsu” into English effectively?

“Han” (反) of “hankotsu” is generally likened to the English prefix “anti-.” An unabridged Webster’s gives a long list of “anti-” prefixed word formations, in addition to words led by “anti” (without hyphen) and legitimized as part of the customary vocabulary worthy of entries in any dictionary: e.g. *Webster’s New Universal Unabridged Dictionary Fully Revised and Updated* [Barnes and Noble Books, 1996].)

Among the well-established “anti” words, the closest synonym to “hankotsu” is “antiestablishment” defined “opposed to or working against the existing power structure or mores, as of society or government.” This roughly fits Ikemiyagi’s “hankotsu” during the Fifteen-Year War and the American Interlude of Okinawa. But he was not an “antiestablishmentarian” vis-à-vis the democratized government of postwar Japan. He supported Okinawa’s reversion to Japan and after the reversion did not appear to be “antiestablishmentarian” in the dictionary sense of “a person who supports or advocates antiestablishmentarianism.” This last unwieldy word is defined: “a policy or attitude that views a nation’s power structure as corrupt, repressive, exploitive, etc.”

An antiestablishmentarian is someone that never compromises with the national power structure. Ikemiyagi was vigorously against the imperial Japanese government, Japanese militarism and the U.S. military government that pretended to be a “civil administration of the Ryukyus.” With the reversion, it seems that his spirit of “hankotsu” vis-à-vis the Japanese state became tempered, although his general antipathy toward “Japan” a.k.a. “Yamato” to the Okinawans continued unabated and was well-known to the public.

Among the more than a thousand “anti-” words in *Webster’s Unabridged* quoted above, there are many that might be considered part of the description of Ikemiyagi’s “hankotsu”: e.g., anti-aristocratic, anti-authoritarian, anti-censorship, anti-centralization, anti-colonialism, anti-conventional, anti-discrimination, anti-dogmatic, anti-dynastic, anti-expansionism, anti-hegemonism, anti-hierarchism, anti-Japanese (to be read “anti-Yamato”), anti-orthodox, anti-statism, and anti-totalitarian. Although Ikemiyagi no longer denounced the Japanese state wholesale as “corrupt, repressive, exploitive, etc.” as an antiestablishmentarian would have, there still were enough problems in the modern world and Okinawa against which his spirit of “hankotsu” had many roles to play. So long as these problems persist, the Ikemiyagi legacy of “hankotsu” journalism will be honored and preserved by journalists and public intellectuals.

What “hankotsu” individuals say or do acquires a dramatic quality from how the establishment they are against reacts to their activities. During the American Interlude, Okinawa experienced dramatic power struggles between the American establishment that monopolized all powers of administration, legislation and judiciary and one outstanding “hankotsu” politician, Senaga Kamejiro (1907-2001). Senaga and Ikemiyagi were born in the same year and had closely intertwined early careers including the same alma mater in Okinawa, harassments by the same Japanese thought police in the 1930s, entanglements in the same Battle of Okinawa, leading positions at the *Uruma Shinpo* after the war, cooperation for founding the People’s Party (Jinmintō), etc. While after a period of illness in the 1950s, Ikemiyagi concentrated on journalism, Senaga kept up his unwavering dedication to populist politics as head of the People’s Party. He served in Okinawa’s legislature and rode on to get himself elected to mayor of Naha. The alarmed U.S. military government “red-purged” him within a year of his election and disqualified him for all elected offices by decree. The American establishment in Okinawa also brought economic sanctions and other pressures on local governments and businesses suspected of support for Senaga. Contrary to the American expectations, the repression helped Senaga’s popularity soar. Eventually, Senaga’s “hankotsu” politics hastened the closure of the American military government and expedited Okinawa’s reversion to Japan. (kt)

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