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CONTESTING ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT:
DISCOURSES, METHODS, AND BYPRODUCTS OF
THE RESIDENTS' MOVEMENT AGAINST THE OIL INDUSTRY
IN OKINAWA, 1973-1983

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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

This thesis examines the movement against oil industry development of Kin Bay, Okinawa, from 1973 to 1983 by residents of the Kin Bay area, including the Yakena and Teruma Districts, the Henza and Hamahiga Islands, Yonagusuku Village, Gushikawa City, and Ishikawa City (see Figure 1&2). The residents challenged actions taken by governmental agencies at the national and local levels, and by entities in both the public and private sectors, in the name of “economic development” or the “peace industry” which had resulted in environmental pollution and the loss of their fishing rights.

In 1972, in what is commonly referred to as the “reversion,” the U.S. transferred administrative rights over Okinawa to Japan. After reversion, various economic development projects were introduced to reduce the economic “gap” between mainland Japan and Okinawa—this economic gap and the calls for increased economic development remain key issues in Okinawa. One of the economic development projects conducted was the Kin Bay Development Project, in Kin Bay on the eastern coast of Okinawa Island. After the U.S. oil company, Gulf Oil, started an operation on Henza Island, a private Japanese company, Mitsubishi, planned a massive ocean reclamation project, to fill in the ocean and create new land connecting Henza and Miyagi Islands (see Figure 3, 4& 5). They proposed to construct oil storage tanks and a refinery—a Central Terminal Station (CTS)—on the reclaimed land. These industries were promoted during the reversion period by private companies and the governments of the U.S., Japan, Okinawa Prefecture, and Yonagusuku Village as alternatives to the military-dependent economy, which had pervaded Okinawa during the Occupation period. Repeated oil spillage accidents covered Kin Bay with heavy oil, and black, gluey waste-oil balls

coated beaches in the Kin Bay coastal area. Fishermen had to leave the community because they could not make a living from the fish taken in Kin Bay which reeked of petroleum. Residents of Kin Bay communities protested against the economic development project, contending that it would pollute their environment and adversely affect the local industry. The residents' movement transformed their beliefs into actions. This enabled them to mobilize both local adherents and external resources, and to elaborate a counter-narrative against their opponents.

Protest against the oil industry led to the emergence of an indigenous social movement in Okinawa, which highlighted the involvement and leadership of community residents in lieu of political parties. The Kin Bay Struggle thereby provided innovations in terms of both the actors and the strategies employed. In this thesis, I will use social movement theories to understand the causal factors which resulted in significant changes to the strategies and collective actions of the Kin Bay Struggle (see Appendix C). I shall also extend the scope of analysis beyond the limited timeframe and context of the Kin Bay Struggle to an examination of the broader enabling framework of the historic, political, economic, and legal factors which have allowed such social movements to emerge and mobilize. I shall argue that there are multiple significances of the residents' movement by elucidating the directional changes of their collective actions.

The problems which gave rise to the Kin Bay Struggle were the cumulative result of historic, political, and economic events, including the annexation of the Ryukyu Kingdom by Japan, World War II, the post-war U.S. Occupation, the 1972 reversion to Japanese administration, and the post-reversion efforts of the Okinawa Prefectural

Government to stimulate economic development in Okinawa, but without regard to the environment, existing local businesses, and cultural practices.

Research Questions

The analysis of the Kin Bay Struggle explores the economic plan of the Japanese National Government and Okinawa Prefectural Government to create economic independence for Okinawa by means of developing an oil industry (Kin Bay Development Project); the resulting impacts upon the Kin Bay community; and the protest against the Project by the community and its supporters, and examines a number of questions in each area:

1. Emergence of the Kin Bay Struggle:

1a. Why and how did the Kin Bay Struggle emerge?

1b. What were the issues articulated and tactics employed by the Kin Bay Protection Society in the early stages of the Struggle?

1c. What discourses were employed by those in support of the economic development of Okinawa and the oil industries?

2. Process of the court struggle:

2a. Why did the Kin Bay Protection Society choose to take the Struggle to court?

2b. How did they use the court as a field of protest?

2c. How did those in support of CTS respond, and what was the result of the court struggle?

3. Employment of cultural practices as a form of protest:

- 3a. Why and how did the residents involved in the Kin Bay Struggle redirect their efforts after their defeat in court?
- 3b. How did the residents revive traditional rituals and cultural practices, and continue the protest?
- 3c. What was the significance of cultural practices and traditions to the protest?

Literature Review

Background on Environmental Movements and the Kin Bay Struggle

Looking at the environmental movement in Japan will provide us with background on how industrialization proceeded and environmental movements emerged in Japan. In *Environmental politics in Japan: Networks of power and protest*, sociologist Jeffrey Broadbent (1998) studies the dilemma of economic growth and the environmental movements against landfills and industrialization in Oita Prefecture in Kyushu, Japan which began in the mid-1960s. Japan was in the period of its “economic miracle” in the 1960s and the 1970s, and this growing capitalism rapidly polluted the environment. Broadbent’s analysis of environmental movements in Japan is an example of how to look at cultural activities in such movements. His analysis of the struggle captured cultural factors in the environmental movement that were peculiar to Japanese society, and which related to religious beliefs and the traditional lifestyle sustained by the natural environment. Following Habermas, Broadbent portrays “environmental movements as defenders of traditional lifestyles, ones close to nature and protective of the organically developed community,” and evinces the significance of cultural components in the environmental movements in Oita (ibid.: 179).

Issues of environmental pollution and subsequent anti-pollution movements emerged in Okinawa following its reversion to Japan. As with Broadbent, who identified cultural components in Oita's environmental movement, Miyume Tanji's (2003) dissertation, *The Enduring Myth of an Okinawan Struggle* (especially chapter seven, entitled "Kin Bay and Shiraho: Emergence of New Social Movements in the 'Okinawa Struggle'"), also draws attention to Okinawa's distinct culture and the significance of traditional cultural practices and lifestyles in the Kin Bay Struggle.

Initially, the majority of the discussion of the Struggle occurred in articles written by Kin Bay Struggle activists from various walks of life. Moriteru Arasaki (1984; 1992; & 2005), the founder of a scholarly group in support of residents' movements and a mainland Japan scholar known for his works relating the struggles of the Ryukyuan Arc, was the first to write extensively in Japanese on the subject. Subsequently, Miyume Tanji (2003) developed on the base laid down by Arasaki in her English-language dissertation, which also extended the discussion to how the lessons of the Kin Bay Struggle influenced post-reversion anti-development/anti-military movements in Okinawa.

The Kin Bay Struggle, which emerged right after reversion, is considered to have set itself apart from the more vocal and visible anti-base movements, as well as from the majority of pre-reversion movements which had been based on political parties and unionized groups (Tanji, 2003: 213). Regarding the Kin Bay Struggle, Tanji argues that it places "the idea of a single 'Okinawan struggle' under critical reconsideration by the activists in general" (2003: 7). As she explains that the Kin Bay Struggle was the residents' movement, defined as "a type of collective action made by the people concerned with issues that affect the living conditions of the communities they reside in"

(221), the struggle led by the Kin Bay Protection Society relied on the voice of the residents, seeking economic and political autonomy through revitalizing traditional cultural practices and lifestyle, without assistance from reformist political parties.

The Kin Bay Struggle ended in defeat a quarter century ago. However, Tanji characterizes the Kin Bay Struggle as leading the way for the operation of later social movements in Okinawa and argues that the lessons of the Kin Bay Struggle also informed the subsequent anti-airport construction movement in Shiraho, Ishigaki Island, protests against the reclamation of coral reefs, and the anti-U.S. heliport construction movement in Henoko, Nago City, northern Okinawa Island. Therefore, even today, decades after its disappearance, the significance of the Kin Bay Struggle is still being discussed, in such forums as a report on a round-table talk among former Kin Bay Struggle activists in the local magazine *Kēshi-kaji*. In those discussions, the Struggle is considered to have been a pioneering social movement in Okinawa that initiated efforts to protect the ocean, and which led subsequent social movements in Okinawa by its example.

While Tanji's research succeeds in capturing the Kin Bay Struggle's major themes and its continuity to the present, it does not fully describe its background and the processes of the particular principles that drove it, nor the actions taken. In this thesis, I delve into the details of the processes of the movement, and examine the specificities of the Kin Bay Struggle and the interaction between the protesting residents and those who promoted development.

Theory

Social movement theory has evolved in its understanding of peoples' collective actions toward bringing changes in society. *Relative deprivation* theory, derived from

psychological theory, hypothesizes that deprivation first causes frustration; frustration then becomes aggression, and the aggression spawns violence (Miller, Bolce, & Halligan, 1977: 968). The theory argues that deprivation among individuals or in a group of people is the causal factor for the emergence of social movements, but it fails to explain the reason that there are some individuals and groups of people who do not organize into collective action despite having experienced deprivation; nor the reason that there are some individuals and groups who exhibit collective action even though they have not experienced deprivation (ibid.).

Since then, social movement theory has refined and expanded its analytical framework to incorporate aspects of both *resource mobilization* and *political opportunity* theories, which seek to explain “why and how” people with grievances organize social movements (Klandermans, Roefs, & Olivier, 2001). Resource mobilization theory argues that social movement organizations do not exist absent their relationship with, or tactical utilization of, other organizations and institutions. Organizers rationally choose what resources they can apply for their purposes (McCarthy & Zald, 1977; Morris, [1981] 1997). From this resource mobilization perspective, I examine how the Kin Bay Protection Society succeeded in obtaining both outside and internal resources for its struggle.

An aspect of *political opportunity* theory places more emphasis on the structural influence rather than the internal conditions that constrain the occurrence and effectiveness of a social movement (Piven & Cloward, 1977; Jenkins & Perrow, 1977/1997). Resistance by the powerless, ethnic minority groups, women, or workers against the causes of their grievances has the possibility to emerge when an institution

loses its authority or shows its vulnerability—such as when a regime changes, when leaders initiate structural reform, in the case of an election, etc. People realize their right to resist, and they see the feasibility of change. In the case of the Kin Bay Struggle, the Kin Bay Protection Society was established after reversion and existed until 1983. In this thesis, I analyze the political opportunities in which the Society emerged, and which facilitated the diversification of their collective action to disrupt the promotion of the CTS development project.

However, while both political opportunity theory and resource mobilization theory explain the “structural potential” for collective action, they are not sufficient to explain “the shared meaning and definitions that people bring to their situation” as what mediate “opportunity, organization, and action” (McAdam, McCarthy, & Zald, 1996: 5). In this sense, it would be beneficial to attend to how people frame their situation or grievance, and at the same time remain “optimistic that, acting collectively, they can redress the problem” (ibid.). This framing perspective provides ways of looking at how social movement organizations carry out their identification of antagonists, definition of issues, and assignment of actors, strategies to follow, and rationale behind their decided course of action for the purpose of their struggle (Snow, Rochford, Worden, & Benford, [1986] 1997; Snow & Benford, 1988; Hunt, Benford, & Snow, 1994). There are three main categories of framings to be considered: *diagnostic*, *prognostic*, and *motivational*. The diagnostic framing points out what the problem is, as well as who is responsible for it, and identifies the causality of the issues. The prognostic framing explains the prospective process of improvements, identifying targets and proposing strategies, and assigns appropriate actors to perform duties aimed at the attainment of the targeted goals. Finally,

the motivational framing articulates attractive and rational reasons to conduct collective action (ibid.). These framings are necessary for social movement organizations to convey effective messages that can mobilize their adherents.

Collective identity/action and culture theories focus on the process of identity construction in the communication among social movement actors or via media such as texts, symbols, etc. (Melucci, 1992; Mueller, 1994; Klandermans, 1992; Taylor, 1992). This framework helps to understand how individual or collective consciousness is raised through collective actions; how identity influences the construction of collective beliefs and to what extent collective beliefs are influential on the construction or reconstruction of identity; how internal and/or external mobilizing approaches impact individual beliefs; and how culture is used to relate the values and principles of a social movement organization to participants and society at large (Klandermans, 1992; Mueller, 1994).

Examination of collective action, identity, and culture in social movements elucidates how social movement actors produce and share the meaning of their collective action through texts, practices, and objects (Melucci, 1995: 42). Analysis of culture helps in examining the aforementioned frame transformation processes, because culture has the potential to intervene or alter dominant values. The use of cultural expression facilitates the discernment of the social movements' antagonist and protagonist framings.

In my thesis, I will apply resource mobilization, political opportunity, framing, and culture and collective identity theories to explore how the Kin Bay Protection Society directed and redirected their course of actions, and what made them choose to do so; as well as how the diverse collective actions that they chose collaborated with each other and enabled them to take further actions. As McAdam, McCarthy, and Zald (1996) imply

in their statement of the necessity to “discern the clear outlines of synthetic, comparative perspective on social movement that transcends the limits of any single theoretical approach to the topic,” analysis and understanding of a social movement require the combination of several theoretical approaches for comprehensive understanding (2). In terms of resource mobilization, political opportunities, and framing theories, while political opportunity theory examines the pre/conditions for the emergence or events leading to collective action, it is also necessary to look at how the framings of the social movements can yield mobilization of external supporting forces. By combining the approaches of framing, political opportunity, and resource mobilization theories, I will examine how the Kin Bay Protection Society framed the issues, strategies, and reasons for joining the struggle, which depended on the structural conditions in which they were embedded, and how their framings could mobilize outside support.

Furthermore, I apply frame transformation to examine how the Kin Bay Protection Society protested against the “economic development discourse” over the course of their struggle. Social movements in general, however, find that the dominant discourse contradicts their values. Snow, Rochford, Worden, and Benford (1986) proposed *frame transformation*, and explain how social movements abandon “the old meanings and understandings,” and therefore reframe “erroneous beliefs or ‘misframings,’” and implant new values and meanings (245). One of the concepts they proposed is that of *domain-specific interpretive frames*, which explains the shifting process of the framings of “dietary habits, consumption patterns, leisure activities, social relationships, social statuses, and self-perception” (Snow, Rochford, Worden, and Benford, 1986: 246). For instance, this informs the examination of the struggle to change the “status, treatment, or

activity of a category of people,” such as “women, children, the aged, handicapped, and prisoners” or “the relationship between two or more categories,” such as ethnic or racial groups (ibid.). The principles or values articulated in the Kin Bay Struggle were contradicted by the dominant discourse of “economic development” in this particular social, political, and economic context in the Okinawa of the 1970s. I examine how the Kin Bay Struggle’s interpretation challenged the dominant discourse of “economic development” which had imposed the CTS plan, through the re-articulation of their own values.

Lastly, it is also necessary to contextualize the Kin Bay Struggle’s employment of cultural expression and its impact on the struggle’s course of action. In her study of cultural and political activism in a women’s movement in Bloomington, Indiana, Suzanne Staggenborg (2001) argues that “in the absence of significant political opportunities or threats, cultural activities are likely to be more satisfying than political action,” and cultural activities become media to “spread feminist ideology and create networks to political groups” (527). Staggenborg’s work assesses the assumption that cultural activism would inactivate women’s social movements, and argues instead that cultural activism contributes to women’s social movements by sustaining their collective identity and building external networks with outside organizations. In the Kin Bay Struggle, collective actions, identities, and cultural practices became important elements during the course of action which helped the Society frame the issues and their goals, and build coalitions with local and international groups. As Frances Fox Piven (2007) points out, the international coalition struggles against the oil and copper industries succeeded because “systems of corporations and interdependence” have made popular power

“become more far-reaching and available to more people” (7). Consequently, I investigate what political opportunities led the Kin Bay Struggle to employ collective cultural practices, and how collective cultural practices encouraged networking, and helped to challenge the dominant discourse of the CTS development projects.

Design of Study

In what follows, I discuss the method of data collection and analysis of both previously documented data and my own newly conducted interviews.

Archival Data

I collected governmental, research institutional, and corporate documents on development projects in general and industry in Okinawa to examine the discourse of the economic development projects, especially the Kin Bay Development Project. I also collected documents, newspaper articles, scholarly articles, and literature on environmental pollution and the protest against the oil industry. Next, I examined these to understand the processes, causes, and consequences of the struggle. The documents provide information on the socio-economic and political contexts in which the Okinawa residents’ movement emerged, responses of the developers, actions of residents, and consequences of the Kin Bay Struggle.

In addition, I gathered organizational newsletters, such as *Kin Wan Tsūshin* (*Kin Bay Report*; later renamed *Higashikaigan*, or *Eastern Coast*), and records such as newspaper articles on the oil industry and protests against it. In analyzing historical processes and means of litigation, I created and analyzed chronological data tables indicating the history of the Kin Bay Struggle, and the court briefs of court cases; these

helped me see the process of the struggle. Those documents tell what happened in the course of the struggle, how the movement participants critiqued the economic development projects, and how the residents and other social actors devised their own understandings of economic self-sufficiency. Finally, I was given access to the magazine published by the Anti-CTS Struggle Expansion Society (later renamed the Residents' Movements of the Ryukyu Arc Expansion Society) from the 1970s to the 1980s. This newsletter discusses a broader scope of issues regarding economic development in the Ryukyu Arc, and helped in understanding how the Kin Bay Struggle continued to influence other social movements.

Interview Data

During my fieldwork in 2006 and 2007, I interviewed eight people, including both protesters and promoters of development of the oil industry. Those interviewees included former local school teachers who had participated in the struggle, a former and current fisherman, a former member of a workers' union, a female writer in Okinawa, a former Okinawa Prefectural Government officer, and a Henza Island resident who was also a former CTS employee (see Appendix A).

I used the snowball sampling method, and contacted these interviewees by utilizing the network among the activists. I first contacted one of the leaders of the struggle against the construction of the U.S. Military heliport in Henoko, located on the eastern coast of northern Okinawa Island. He introduced me to one of the former managers of the Kin Bay Struggle. I first met that person at the Kin Bay Protection Society Office located in Uruma City, in the middle part of Okinawa Island. Since Mr. S. had been a manager of the movement and was also one of the members articulating the issues outside the

community, he introduced me to other participants and fishermen who both were and were not involved in the struggle, and shared with me governmental and corporate documents, organizational newsletters, newspaper articles, journal articles, and photos. I also interviewed Ms. E., a writer who had articulated the issue of the impact of economic development in communities on the islands of Okinawa.

The interviews were conducted with open-ended questions (see Appendix B), and the length of the interviews varied from one to four hours. All the interviews were digitally recorded, transcribed, and translated into English where quoted.

The information provided helped to shape my understanding of the perspectives, both pro- and anti-CTS development. Moreover, to overcome the unbalanced gender participation in the conducted interviews, I closely followed women's activities in the movement's newsletter. I conducted this interview project to understand the intentions of the people who engaged in the movement and who lived through the reversion period. The human sources participating in the interviews by and large corroborated the views expressed in the printed materials mentioned above.

Finally, I also had a chance to meet interviewees who shared their contradictory perspectives on the economic condition of Okinawa. Mr. O. shared his ideas on the difference of the economic conditions before and after reversion; he had promoted the oil industry as a government official, both pre- and post-reversion. I also visited the Henza Community Center and had the chance to interview Mr. H, who shared the reasons that Henza District promoted the construction of the bridge and the oil industry.

In summary, this research combines analysis of written archival materials and interviews. Because the Kin Bay Struggle is a mobilization from the past, literature both

on the Kin Bay Struggle itself and on other social and political events were available. That accumulated information enabled me to contextualize the Kin Bay Struggle in the pre- and post-reversion socio-economic conditions of Okinawa. In other words, I could analyze the course of the Kin Bay Struggle in relation to social changes brought by the reversion. However, the information gained through this historical study is limited because it reflects mostly what happened and how people responded in the past. Interviewing former activists, government officials, and oil industry employees helped me to understand why they acted as they did, what lessons they have learned from the Kin Bay Struggle and how the lessons learned might be kept alive in today's social movements in Okinawa. Finally, it helped me to understand the practical and structural issues that remain in Okinawa, more than twenty years after the end of the Kin Bay struggle.

In the following chapters, I examine the kind of dilemma contained in the reversion, how the interests of the Okinawan people were divided, and how the residents of Kin Bay communities responded to the issue according to external factors, by disentangling the government officials' discourse promoting oil industry development; other community residents' motives for admitting oil industry development; and the experiences, feelings, and opinions of protesting residents. Furthermore, I address the contribution of the support system provided by extended communities of protesters who strived to protect their environment against hegemonic interests.

CHAPTER 2: EMERGENCE OF THE KIN BAY STRUGGLE

The interests of different parties, including the Japanese government, Japanese private companies, the Okinawa Prefectural Government, and the Yonagusuku Village Council, coexisted and interacted in the Kin Bay CTS development project, which was promoted for the sake of the “economic development of Okinawa.” The emergence of the organized opposition to the project, the interpretations made and actions taken by the group, and the conflict among the different parties involved during the beginning stages of the implementation of the Kin Bay Development Project in the Kin Bay area are the focus of this chapter. I will refer to framing theory in order to examine how the players framed the issues of economic development; to political opportunity theory to explore what enabled the Kin Bay Struggle to emerge; and to resource mobilization theory in order to analyze the framings proposed and collective actions taken by the Kin Bay Protection Society.

Political and Economic Background

As regards the causes of the CTS issue, Kin Bay Struggle activist Seishū Sakihara (1978) argues that it is impossible to understand the CTS development issue without looking at the historical relationship of Okinawa with Japan prior to the U.S. occupation. He states that “the ‘Japanese dominant class’ interest in Okinawa has merely been political and economic in nature” (124), going back even to pre-modern history. Okinawa had been at the front line of Japanese national territorial defense since World War II, and had been forced to sacrifice itself to the U.S. by allowing its military occupation, in

exchange for the Japanese recovery of sovereignty as well as rapid post-war economic growth (Sakihara 1978: 124).

The Kingdom of the Ryukyus, which was an independent state comprised of the Islands of Okinawa, Miyako, and Yaeyama, was invaded by Japan's Satsuma clan in 1609, and was annexed by the Meiji Government, becoming Okinawa Prefecture in 1879 (Fujiwara, 2003: 374–7; Matsushima, 2006: 207). Prior to invasion by the Satsuma, the Kingdom of the Ryukyus had trade relations with China, Java, Sumatra, Thailand, and other South Seas lands, and, even after the invasion until its annexation by Japan, the Kingdom of the Ryukyus continued trade with the Qing Dynasty, obtained agricultural technology, developed vessels and navigation systems, engaged in diplomatic negotiation, and developed its oceanic culture while exporting the sea products of the Ryukyus (Nakamatsu, 1976: 474).

From the Meiji period on, Japan implemented a policy of modernization, which included the promotion of monolingual education and the consequent prohibition on the use of indigenous languages. Cultural practices, such as village festivals, annual events, and mutual support systems in the community were discouraged in school education, again in the name of modernization (Nomura, 2005: 56–7; Nakamatsu, 1976: 479). During World War II, Japan built its military bases in Okinawa, turning the islands into a battlefield which ultimately claimed numerous lives, and destroyed environmental and historical assets in the Battle of Okinawa (Arasaki, 2005: 2–3).

After WWII, the U.S. occupied Okinawa. During the U.S. military occupation, the people of Okinawa were encouraged to revitalize traditional performing arts and culture, since emphasizing cultural differences between Japan and Okinawa would justify the

continued U.S. occupation of Okinawa, separating Okinawa from Japan (Taira, 1982: 43–45; Saeki, 2007: 156). The period is sometimes considered to have been a time during which Okinawans found themselves under less control from the central government of Japan, and could revive their cultural practices (Okinawa no Bunka to Shizen o Mamoru 10 Nin Iinkai, 1976: 275). However, as symbolized by the phrase, “Bayonet and Bulldozer,” the residents of Okinawa faced eviction from their lands due to the construction of U.S. military bases (Arasaki, 2005: 12). Expansion of the U.S. bases resulted in a forcible division of what had been closely-linked and interdependent village communities; at the same time, it created more military employment, required people to leave their communities, causing depopulation and deactivating community activities (Nakamatsu, 1976: 480–482).

Reversion and the Kin Bay Development Project

Oppressive U.S. military occupation led the people of Okinawa to mobilize; the villagers’ struggle to protect the land and promote a reversion movement (Ahagon, 1973/1996: 15–18) eventually evolved into the “island-wide” struggle which included residents, political parties and leaders (Arasaki, 2005: 14–15). Therefore, the reversion of administrative rights over Okinawa from the U.S. to Japan was thought to signal an attainment of human rights and economic development. However, reversion did not yield the results that Okinawans had expected. Agreement between the Japanese and U.S. governments merely reorganized the U.S.-Japan military alliance to strengthen their mutual capabilities, and resulted in the permanence of the military base presence in Okinawa (Arasaki, 1992: 57–8; 2005: 29). Therefore, reversion chiefly benefited

American and Japanese political and economic interests: the U.S. wanted Japan's support in Asia, in compensation for the drain on the U.S. military budget caused by the Vietnam War; while Japan needed the land in Okinawa to maintain its own economic growth derived from environmentally-polluting industries (Sakihara 1978: 124–5). The Japanese government further installed additional Japanese Self Defense Forces bases on Okinawan soil (Arasaki, 1992: 10; 2005: 34–48). Moreover, reversion resulted in the development of new industries—including industries protested by environmentalists in Japan in the 1960s—as decided by the Japanese and Okinawa Prefectural Governments without meaningful input from community residents, all as part of an economic development initiative (Arasaki, 2005: 52–54).

The issue of Okinawa's autonomy has been tied to the issue of economic dependency on the military industry. Continued occupation of Okinawa's land by the U.S. military from World War II on had shifted the economy towards service industries rather than production. According to Thomas R. Howell (2000), “70 percent of Okinawa's income derived from local industries providing goods and services to the U.S. bases” in the 1960s. However, the U.S. military started laying off Okinawan employees to cut costs on military bases after the reversion agreement was signed in 1969, even though the bases still remained in place (Arasaki, 1992: 57–8). Moreover, during the U.S. military occupation, Okinawa's main currency was the U.S. dollar. Therefore, the Okinawan population was directly affected by the so-called “Nixon Shock,” which followed the U.S. President's announcement of a floating exchange rate system. Okinawans had to exchange their dollars for yen during a period of high economic growth in Japan (Ryukyu Shimpō, 1992: 170–177). Additionally, about 80 percent of

trade transactions in Okinawa were with mainland Japan. Therefore, social critic Issho Shima claimed that both currency exchange and the strong yen had negative consequences in the lives of Okinawans, given that their daily necessities, construction materials, and machines were imported from mainland Japan (1972: 22).

The neighboring islands of Okinawa also suffered economic downturn during the era of the U.S. military occupation that accelerated their depopulation (Miyagi, 1970: 17). The residents of the neighbor islands were not provided with enough social infrastructure, and had to rely on U.S. helicopters to transport supplies and provide emergency care (Asato et al., 2004: 26). Therefore, those residents were eager to build bridges between their islands and Okinawa Island to stop population decline on their own small islands (Miyachi & Shimozato, 2003: 43). Henza Island residents organized a committee for highway-bridge construction between Henza Island and Yakena District located in Okinawa Island, and started construction work themselves during the early 1960s, but their several trials failed because of the seasonal typhoons (Henza Sekiyu Sangyō Yōchi to Jinushi Kai, 1993: 54–5). In this economic context, the establishment of the CTS project seemed a possible solution to the structure of economic dependence created by the U.S. military occupation of Okinawa, the unmanageable economic instability caused by political changes, and the lack of infrastructure in neighbor island communities owing to the inadequate resources of the GRI under the United States Civil Administration of the Ryukyu Islands (USCAR).

The Okinawan Prefectural administration had long sought an economic alternative to the military industry, and proposed oil industry development for the islands in order to survive. The development plan was typical of what had methodically been prescribed in

Japan, and was promoted to “narrow the gap of income and unemployment rates that exist between mainland Japan and Okinawa Prefecture” (Utsumi, 1995: 34). The economic development projects were proposed during the reversion period as follows. Initially, in 1970, the GRI proposed the development of a local oil industry in the *Ryūkyū seihu chōki kaihatsu keikaku* (GRI long-term economic development project) (Arasaki, 1992: 31). They planned the reclamation of Kin and Nakagusuku Bay, and the development of local oil industries. This idea was put forward in the plan entitled *Okinawa Keizai Kaihatsu no Kihon to Tenbō* (Basis and Prospects for Okinawan Economic Development), proposed by the Economic Research Institute at the University of the Ryukyus in 1967. Later, in 1972, the Japanese government included the development program of Okinawa in its *Shin Zenkoku Sōgō Kaihatsu Keikaku* (New Nationwide Comprehensive Development Program). In those proposals, there were two trajectories of the development plan: one was tourism development and the other was industrial development, and both were seen as necessary projects for the future economy and business of Okinawa. Therefore, in addition to the Marine Expo held in 1975, CTS development was considered the setting-off point for Okinawa’s economic development. With these plans in place, even before reversion, companies such as Gulf, Kaiser, Esso, and Caltex came to Okinawa aiming to engage in the Japanese market (Arasaki, 1992: 32). After reversion, the following oil companies arrived on the east coast of Okinawa: Nansei Oil in Nishihara Town, Toyo Oil in Nakagusuku Village, and Gulf Oil and Mitsubishi Oil in Yonagusuku Village (Asato et al., 2004, 24–5).

Mitsubishi Oil Development in Kin Bay

The Kin Bay area describes an arc that sweeps from the Kin Village coast, extending towards the Katsuren peninsula (also known as Yokatsu Peninsula), and reaches the islands of Henza, Miyagi, and Ikei. The districts of Yakena and Teruma, which are part of Yonagusuku Village and are separated by the districts of Yonagusuku and Chūō, lie on the upper half of the Katsuren Peninsula.

Okinawa Keizai Kaihatsu Kenkyūjo (Okinawa Economic Development Research Institute) issued *Okinawa, Kin-wan Chiku Kaihatsu Kihon Kōsō* (Kin Bay Area Development Base Project) in March 1972, and proposed to reclaim the ocean between Henza Island and the neighboring island of Miyagi, and to locate an oil stockpiling camp, thermal and nuclear power plants, an aluminum industry, a petrochemical complex, and similar developments on the eastern coast of Okinawa, (Okinawa Economic Development Research Institute, 1972) (see Figure 3).

The Gulf Oil Development Project was first introduced to Miyagi Island in March 1967. During a meeting of officers from four districts, Gyuzen Shuri, a former district chief who had become a farmer at the time, gathered youth from the four districts, organized *Miyagi-jima Tochi o Mamoru Kai* (Miyagi Island's Land Protection Society), mobilized local landowners, collected petitions, held gatherings, and succeeded in impeding the Gulf Oil construction (Shuri, 1977: 108–110).

After being rejected by the people of Miyagi Island, Gulf Oil found Henza Island more receptive to the company's approach, which led to the obtainment of a Certificate for Introducing Foreign Capital from the local Government of the Ryukyu Islands (GRI), and subsequently to drilling at the construction site on Henza Island (Asato et al., 2004:

26–27). By November 1969, Gulf Oil had positioned all of their tanks, and by June 1971, they built a highway-bridge between Henza and Okinawa Islands (*ibid.*). These oil tanks were named the Okinawa Terminal Co. and started operations on May 3rd, 1970, while the oil refinery on Henza Island was named the Okinawa Oil Refining Co., and started operating in April 1972 (Kin Bay Protection Society, 1975: 57; Howell, 2000: 8).

However, because the Japanese government intervened in foreign companies' development in Okinawa to protect domestic companies, Gulf Oil was forced to enter into a joint venture with Japanese companies. Finally, Gulf transferred ownership to Idemitsu Kosan Co., a Japanese oil refinery specializing in petrochemical production as well as marketing (Howell, 2000: 8).

Norio Ōta, president of Ōta Machinery Construction, was responsible for the idea of reclaiming Kin Bay and bringing in private capital to develop the reclaimed land, when he found himself incapable of meeting his business's financial deadlines (Ōta, 2005: 33). Although he did not explain the processes in detail, he stated that he “obtained consent” from the fishermen of Katsuren and Yonagusuku Villages at Tōbaru Fishery Cooperative, and approached Seishū Nakamura, chief of Yonagusuku Village Council (*ibid.*: 34–5). The ocean reclamation project was approved by the members of the Yonagusuku Assembly as a way to “solve difficulties of the neighbor islands,” according to Ōta (2005: 35). Alongside representatives from Yonagusuku Village Assembly, Ōta brought his proposal to the Mitsui Estate in 1968, but they suggested consulting with Mitsubishi Trades instead, because of the magnitude of the project (39–40).

Although the GRI designated the area of Yokatsu and the neighbor islands (Henza, Hamahiga, Miyagi, and Ikei) as protected areas called the Yokatsu Marine Government

Founding Park in October 1965, the protection label was lifted in April 1972 for the Kin Bay Area Development Project (Kin Bay Protection Society, 1975c). GRI provided Mitsubishi Development with a Certificate for Introducing Foreign Capital, and allowed it to reclaim public water areas between Henza and Miyagi Islands on March 4th, 1972; in addition, it provided Mitsubishi's Okinawa Oil Base Co. with a certificate to take over public water areas on May 19th, 1972 (Kin Bay Protection Society, 1975c). Oil pollution on Kin Bay had already started, with Okinawa Terminal Company's Henza storage and refinery facilities having already experienced oil spillage accidents. The consequential pollution was overt, resulting in considerable damage to the fishing industries of Yakena and Teruma (ibid.). Due to the ongoing detrimental environmental conditions, the GRI saw it as pertinent to develop the oil industry even further on the reclaimed land between Henza and Miyagi Islands.

Birth of the Kin Bay Struggle

Mobilization processes involved various parties and individuals, both internal and external to the Kin Bay communities. First, local junior and high school teachers were already aware of the environmental pollution going on in mainland Japan. As the main mobilizing force in the reversion movement, they also knew how to organize. In early September 1973, Yakena District-born Okinawa International University Professor Seiryō Tamae informed Seishū Sakihara about the Development Project proposed by the Japan Industrial Location Center in February 1970, citing increases in the percentages of both demand and supply of oil in Japan, the needs of the secondary industry, mining, manufacturing, and construction industries to be independent from the military-dependent

economy of Okinawa, and the need to promote development of the Kin Bay Area (Kin Bay Protection Society, “Zadankai: Kin-wan tōsō o furikaette” [Round-table talk: Reflection on the Kin Bay Struggle]). After learning of the project, Sakihara approached the members of the *Okinawa Arumi Yuuchi Hantai Shimin Kyōgi Kai* (Ishikawa Civil Association against Okinawa Aluminum; established in May 1972), the group of members of the Ishikawa City assembly and high school teachers who had already succeeded in stopping the aluminum industry development project in Ishikawa City. Sakihara’s intention was to organize a residents’ group to protest the development project (ibid.).

Second, there were intellectuals who helped in defining the problem. Mainland Japanese scholars, who had witnessed environmental pollution, had already paid attention to the protests against the industrialization on the east coast of Okinawa, even prior to reversion. For example, the group *Tōyō Sekiyu Kichi Kensetsu Hantai Domei* (Anti-Toyo Oil Stockpiling Camp Construction Allies) provided information on the effects of environmental pollution in their journal entitled *Jishukōza* (Autonomous Learning). They reported on *Tōyō Sekiyu Kichi Kensetsu Hantai Domei*’s previous protest against Caltex’s funding of Toyo Oil, which had reclaimed Nakagusuku Bay for CTS construction in September 1969 (*Jishukōza*, Vol. 23. February 10th, 1973: 10–16).

Moreover, there was a group of scholars who had already raised some level of understanding among the Okinawan residents about the dangers of development. The scholars organized themselves in July 1973, under the name *Okinawa no Bunka to Shizen o Mamoru 10 Nin Iinkai* (The 10 Member Association for the Protection of Okinawan Culture and Nature) prior to the establishment of the Kin Bay Protection Society. The

scholars' group was concerned with the expansion of the development projects occurring in Okinawa since reversion and their effect on the cities, towns, and villages which were drawn into a larger economic growth plan by Japan (1976: 3).

Yoshiyasu Iha, a high school teacher at the time, explained the organization process carried out by the Kin Bay Protection Society. When *Jishukōza*'s editorial group visited Okinawa in August 1973, Iha and Sakihara, who were among the first to be aware of the pollution, updated them on the CTS protest and introduced them to the following organizations: *Ishikawa Shiminkyō*; *Miyagi Tochi o Mamoru Kai*; and *Ginoza Seikatsu to Kankyō o Mamoru Kai* (Ginoza Life and Land Protection Society), which opposed a mainland Japanese paper manufacturing company. Iha explained that it was an urgent matter: the Prefectural Government would authorize the allocation of 5 million kiloliters (1,321,000,000 gallons [1 kiloliter = 264.2 gallons]) of oil for Mitsubishi (*Jishukōza*, Vol. 35. February 10th, 1974: 3–4).

At the same time, study group meetings began to take place to mobilize awareness among the residents of the Kin Bay communities. Sakihara and other school teachers invited the women of Yakena Village to take part in them, so as to learn about the impacts of environmental pollution on the health of human beings (Kin Bay Protection Society, *Zadankai: Kin-wan tōsō o furikaette*). He believed that since women bore and raised children, they were inherently more conscious about environmental pollution, and they also were the ones who gathered shells and seaweed at the Kin Bay coastal area (*ibid.*). In the meetings, they studied environmental pollution and its effects on the residents of mainland Japan. Their involvement in protest movements against environmental pollution caused by industrialization helped them accumulate knowledge

on the impact of industrialization in relation to the Kin Bay Protection Society, and in turn, motivate local residents to participate in the protest.

Target of the Struggle: The Prefectural Government, Political Parties, and Labor Unions

On September 22nd, 1973, about 150 people, including the aforementioned locally-oriented resistance groups and residents, got together at an agricultural cooperative located in Yakena District in Yonagusuku Village (Asato et al., 2004: 28). Their framing of the issue was that the Okinawan Prefectural government had allowed a large-scale Japanese corporation to develop CTS, an environmentally polluting industry, in the residents' neighborhood. According to the participants of the Kin Bay Struggle, by that time, the environmental concern about water pollution at Kin Bay was already evident: the ocean's natural flow was also blocked because the sea was divided by the new 4.7 km highway-bridge built on a dividing wall, and, what is more, 80 percent of Mitsubishi's ocean reclamation project was completed (Kin Bay Protection Society, *Zadankai: Kin-wan tōsō o furikaette*). Additionally, in 1971, Gulf Oil had spilled more than 190 tons of crude oil, thus contaminating the coastal area of Kin Bay and damaging fish, shellfish, and seaweed. On September 18th, 1972, there was an approximately 4 ton oil spillage accident (*Kin-wan tsūshin*, Vol. 1. September 27th, 1973). Furthermore, rainwater was also contaminated by soot and smoke from Gulf Oil's terminal smokestacks, resulting in damage to agricultural products (Asato et al., 2004: 29–30).

Right after the Kin Bay Protection Society was organized, members gathered at the Prefectural Hall on September 25th, 1973, and handed a written protest that they had drafted at the local Agricultural Cooperative to Governor Yara. It asked the officials to:

(1) cancel the Kin Bay Reclamation Project; (2) disapprove the expansion of the oil storage bases; (3) also disapprove the additional creation of oil storage bases; and (4) disapprove the introduction of oil-related companies (Kin Bay Protection Society, Kin-wan o Mamoru Kai gaishi). The Prefectural Government officials and the Governor Yara responded that they would allow Mitsubishi to have a capacity of 5 million kiloliters of oil. This was the same as the original amount that they had announced at the extraordinary Prefectural Assembly on July 14th, 1973 (*Okinawa Times*, 1973, July 20th).

The Kin Bay Protection Society continued their protest against the Prefectural Government. On September 29th, 1973, they visited the Deputy Manager of the Department of Labor and Business, and investigated the reasons for the allocation of 5,000,000 kiloliters to Mitsubishi (*Kin-wan tsūshin*, Vol. 2. October 11th, 1973). The Society employed a strategy of mass bargaining, saying that “each resident is a representative of the struggle.” They mobilized 600 participants at the Okinawa Prefectural Governmental Hall on October 26th, 1973, and handed a Public Written Inquiry (22 items) to Governor Yara. Moreover, they protested against the members of the Economic and Labor Committee of the Prefectural Assembly for their tacit approval of the continuation of reclamation construction. They also initiated a sit-in protest at the public square next to the Okinawa Prefectural Hall from January 18th to January 22nd, 1974. Furthermore, the Kin Bay Protection Society submitted a petition with 6,164 signatures (62.8 percent of the electorate) from Yonagusuku Village residents, and appealed to the Prefectural Government that the residents had been affected by the environmental pollution and asked to put a stop to the forceful continuation of using the

reclaimed ocean land for Mitsubishi's CTS construction (*Okinawa Times*, 1973, December 10).

Members of the Kin Bay Protection Society distinguished their struggle from that of the Reversion Movement, while granting some overlap between them. As in the cases of Ie Island and Ginowan Village protests against U.S. military eviction or for the Reversion Movement, protest movements in Okinawa have called for the involvement of community farmers and emphasized the necessity of their relationship with the land (Arasaki, 2005: 14). However, local school teachers applied the lessons of the Reversion Movement, the Anti-Toyo Oil Storage Construction Movement, and their experiences of betrayal by Reformist political leaders. The members of the Kin Bay Struggle came to see the Reversion Movement and reversion itself as creating a new condition which oppressed the voices of the community residents. As I discussed above, the achievements of the reversion movement did not meet the expectations of the people of Okinawa. Instead, reversion brought up another target for the grievances of the residents—the CTS development project which contaminated fishery sites and harmed the livelihoods of the residents of the eastern coast of Okinawa. Moreover, the Reversion Movement suppressed protest against the problems identified by the Anti-Toyo Oil Stockpiling Camp Construction Allies that emerged during the Reversion Movement era. That group protested against the construction of the oil storage facility by Toyo Oil, funded by Caltex, and emerged simultaneously with the commencement of the oil project's construction, in September 1969. (Umezu and Takahara, 1970: 120, 124). Although their protest reduced the area of reclamation from 220,000 to 60,000 *tsubo* (Oshiro, 1973: 16), it could not stop the construction of oil storage camps. Kinjo observes that the reason for

this was that, for the teachers' associations, labor unions, and political parties, the achievement of reversion was the top priority. Their priority was "national interests" over the residents' interests, and they believed that they "should not bring up what might oppose the reversion agenda" (*Jishukōza*, Vol. 36. March 10th, 1974: 2-3).

Because of reversion activists' prioritization of national interests over residents' interests, the Kin Bay Protection Society rejected applying the labor unions' "class-struggle" analysis and instead emphasized the connection between nature and human beings. The participants in the round-table discussion of the anti-CTS movement in Okinawa on January 28th, 1974, facilitated by the *Jishukōza* editor, included members of the Kin Bay Protection Society and leading figures of the anti-oil stockpiling camp movement in Nakagusuku Village and the anti-aluminum industry movement in Ishikawa City (*Jishukōza*, Vol. 36. March 10th, 1974: 1–11). They began by framing their criticisms using the discourse of the labor unions both in Naha and the central part of Okinawa, which called for a "class-struggle" mobilization intended to overcome the gap between classes in what they saw as a stratified society based on private ownership of the means of production (*ibid.*). However, Seijirō Kinjō, a Kin Bay area farmer proposed that they ought to reject the application of the bourgeois-proletariat framework to the Kin Bay Struggle:

I started to see the relationship between human beings and nature....Without this relationship, there is neither the possibility of liberation for Okinawa nor success in Okinawa's class struggle. I guess this is the major difference between a movement in Okinawa and one in *Yamato* [Japan]. We would never be able to fight under the idea that capitalism is inevitable. (*ibid.*: 5)

Kinjō reframed the boundaries from those of "class-struggle," rejecting the limitation of the Struggle to a proletarian movement, and put more emphasis on the significance of the

relationship between the residents and their environment. The Kin Bay Protection Society thereafter differentiated their struggle from the struggles of labor unions. This rejection of a labor union perspective was the result of their feeling of being betrayed by the Reformist government. They also had their doubts about the politically-oriented name, Reformist, because Chōbyō Yara was from and supported by the Reformist political parties, but actually did not represent their voice as they had expected he would.

Reversion Enabled and Constrained the Kin Bay Struggle

Political opportunity theory, which explains the influence of structural conditions on the emergence of social movements (Piven & Cloward, 1977; Jenkins & Perrow, 1977/1997), would hold that the emerging Kin Bay Protection Society gained momentum within the unexpected circumstance of a continuity of grievances. Okinawan residents had expected that reversion would liberate them from all the oppression and discrimination that they experienced under the U.S. occupation. Instead, the CTS development project appeared to be a continuation of the same afflictions suffered prior to reversion, and the so-called “peace industry” resulted in serious environmental pollution causing damage to local fisheries. They presented their grievances to Governor Yara, who had been elected to two successive terms, first as a leader of the reformist party during the first public election in November 1968 under the U.S. occupation, and again as the first governor of Okinawa Prefecture after reversion (Yara, 1977). As Shokichi Tengan, one of the former school teachers involved in the Kin Bay Struggle recollected, Yara was regarded as a “god of the reversion movement,” during which he had been a prominent and progressive leader, and the residents thought it would be

possible to persuade Yara to change his position towards the CTS (Kin Bay Protection Society, *Zadankai: Kin-wan tōsō o furikaette*). However, those assumptions soon would be proven wrong.

In response to the protest, in January 1974, Governor Yara requested that Mitsubishi apply technologies that would not pollute the environment (Arasaki, 2005: 63). Mitsubishi Development Co., however, insisted on the necessity of the CTS because of the 1972 “oil shock.” Therefore, on January 16th, 1974, Mitsubishi refused to accept the request of the Governor (Kin Bay Protection Society, *Kin-wan o Mamoru Kai gaishi*). Governor Yara then asked that Mitsubishi withdraw their CTS development project, on January 19th, 1974. Mitsubishi encouraged the prefecture to reconsider the repeal of the Kin Bay Development Project because the company had already invested five hundred billion yen in the construction (Arasaki et al., 1991: 92–3). Moreover, on January 25th, 1974, the Ministry of International Trade and Industry declared governmental policy in favor of “CTS promotion” because oil storage was an important state policy after the 1973 oil shock. The Okinawa Development Board was also against Governor Yara’s statement, arguing that, after the rejection of aluminum industry development in Ishikawa City, “CTS” development was one of the remaining driving forces available to promote industrialization in Okinawa (*Okinawa Times*, 1995, May 21). The prefectural government was pressured by national and international trends. In addition, it was afraid that Mitsubishi might take legal action if their contract was breached, and that a loss of trust would ensue from their insistence on environmentally safer procedures. Therefore, the Okinawa government refused to take further actions to reject Mitsubishi’s plan. Even other reformist political parties promoted the CTS development (*ibid.*).

While Governor Yara showed his ambivalence, the reclamation construction continued, and the negative impact of the oil industry became increasingly obvious. On April 11th, 1974, Okinawa Oil Refinery spilled crude petroleum while forwarding heavy oil from oil tanks, and caused damage to the fishery (*Ryukyu Shimpō*, 1974, April 17th). An absorbent material and fishing implements covered with the spilled oil drifted ashore even five days after the accident; and a fishing net deployed 4 kilometers away from the accident site was also tainted (*Ryukyu Shimpō*, 1974, April 17th). The Kin Bay Protection Society protested against the Okinawa Prefectural Government, held a meeting with the Okinawa Oil Refinery, and on April 29th asked the president of the oil refinery to remove all the waste-oil balls in Kin Bay Coastal areas. Both Yonagusuku and Katsuren Fishery Cooperative Associations protested against the oil spillages, holding a demonstration with 250 boats on the ocean, and requested compensation for damage to their fishery practices. Reclamation construction of the Public Water Area between Henza Island and Miyagi Island (64,200 *tsubo*) was completed on April 30th, 1974 (Kin Bay Protection Society, Kin-wan o Mamoru Kai gaishi).

Success and Failure in Mobilization

The Kin Bay Protection Society's rallies, gatherings, and mass bargaining against Governor Yara resulted in both success and failure in the mobilization of intellectuals, labor unions, political parties, and Kin Bay community residents. By October 13th, 1973, the 10 Member Association for the Protection of Okinawan Culture and Nature drafted a public statement against the CTS expansion, which demanded that the prefectural

government should designate all coastal areas of Okinawa Island as cultural assets (*Okinawa Times*, 1973, October 14th).

The Workers' Union of Central Okinawa (*Chubu Chiku Ro*) was one of the chapters of the Workers Union in Okinawa, and had joined the struggle from the very beginning (Arasaki et al., 1991: 94; Interview with Mr. Y., December 2006), issuing a statement against expansion of the CTS and the reclamation of the ocean to the governor. It had supported the Kin Bay Protection Society, and co-sponsored the "Anti-CTS Rally Central Okinawa" with the Kin Bay Protection Society in Okinawa City on November 22nd, 1973 (Kin Bay Protection Society, *Kin-wan o Mamoru Kai gaishi*). The Union was concerned because some of their members worked in the Kin Bay area. Since they were not subject to the decisions of their head office (the Prefectural Workers' Association in Naha), they had more autonomy in their decision-making (Arasaki et al., 1991: 94; Interview with Mr. Y., December 2006).

However, with the exception of the Workers' Union of Central Okinawa, most of the other reformist political parties did not critique the prefectural policies on CTS development (Arasaki et al., 1991: 92–3). The meeting between reformist parties, democratic organizations, and the Kin Bay Protection Society broke down. It caused the cancellation of the Anti-CTS Prefectural Residents' Gathering, and conflicts between the Kin Bay Protection Society and the Prefectural Government parties which had supported Governor Yara and ignored the appeals of the Society (Kin Bay Protection Society, *Kin-wan o Mamoru Kai gaishi*).

After Yara rejected the Kin Bay Protection Society's requests to avoid further environmental pollution on January 19th, 1974, violence from the pro-CTS parties began.

Organized groups of gangsters for hire, employees mobilized by private companies, and right-wing organizations got involved, and the conflict between promoters and protestors became intense. Violence against protestors increased in early 1974 (Kin Bay Protection Society, Kin-wan o Mamoru Kai gaishi). Protesters' car tires and windows were destroyed by people who favored the project. Protesting school teachers were detained when they passed over the highway-bridge constructed by Gulf Oil on their way to and from their schools on Henza, Miyagi, and Ikei Islands. This led the Workers' Union of Central Okinawa to mobilize their members, and give those teachers passage to their schools (Kin Bay Protection Society Round Table Talk in 2005). The Prefectural Association of the Liberal Democratic Party (*Jimin-tō Kenren*) protested against the governor's withdrawal of CTS construction in February 1974 (Kin Bay Protection Society, Kin-wan o Mamoru Kai gaishi). On February 8th, 1974, the Prefectural Association held a rally at Yogi Park in Naha City, marched to the Prefectural Hall, and assaulted government officials, destroyed windows and tables, and turned the governor's office upside down (*Okinawa Times*, February 9th, 1974). However, the police, which had mobilized riot police against the action held by the Kin Bay Protection Society, only sent uniformed police in response to the LDP's attack against Governor Yara (*ibid.*). The Society's struggle hut, or headquarters, was attacked by CTS promoters, and protestors were threatened by malicious phone calls, rock throwing, and petrol bombs (Kin Bay Protection Society, Kin-wan o Mamoru Kai gaishi). Riot police were also brought in and restrained protestors whenever the Society had protests, gatherings, or rallies at the Prefectural Government and Yonagusuku Village (Kin Bay Protection Society, Kin-wan o Mamoru Kai gaishi).

The emergence of the Kin Bay Protection Society thus resulted in conflict and division among the community. Yakena District was divided into two sides: the residents who protested against the construction of oil bases, and those who promoted the projects. Residents began to conduct community events and farming separately, based on their new political affiliations, to the extent of dividing families, parents against children, brothers against sisters (Ryukyuko no Jūmin Undō o Hirogeru Kai, 1981: 43–6).

Summary

For the Kin Bay Protection Society, reversion provided critical momentum that expanded the Society's political opportunity. After reversion, Chōbyō Yara, a reformist, became the first governor of Okinawa Prefecture. Since Governor Yara had been a leader during the reversion movement, the Kin Bay Protection Society—including Kin Bay community residents, who had experienced the environmental pollution, and local school teachers who learned organizing skills in the reversion movement—appealed to the Prefectural Government through public questionnaires, gatherings, rallies, petitions, and mass bargaining to oppose the land reclamation and CTS facility. In so doing, the Kin Bay Struggle became the first social movement in Okinawa which presented an opposition to the Prefectural Government, and in a manner different from the Reversion Movement, which had created island-wide struggle, involving political parties and leaders. This was, instead local and environmentally focused.

The appeals of the Kin Bay Protection Society were disregarded by Governor Yara, and except for the Workers' Union of Central Okinawa, could not mobilize political parties or labor unions. The Protection Society also faced violence from parties in favor

of the CTS development project. While the Society faced those difficulties, Mitsubishi completed reclamation construction, the already-existing oil storage and refineries caused oil spillages, and the contamination of Kin Bay continued. In the next chapter, I will focus on the Kin Bay Struggle in the courts.

CHAPTER 3: EMERGENCE OF COURT STRUGGLE

The Kin Bay Struggle which emerged immediately after reversion faced a new opponent as a social movement in Okinawa: the Okinawa Prefectural Government. The Kin Bay Protection Society took radical actions, such as rallies and sit-in, in front of the Okinawa Prefectural Government Hall, and requested that Governor Yara reconsider and stop ocean reclamation and the CTS construction. Governor Yara initially supported the claim made by the Kin Bay Protection Society but was ineffective because of pressure from the Japanese Government and Mitsubishi as well as attack from pro-CTS parties and the Prefectural Union of the Liberal Democratic Party. The Kin Bay Protection Society could not garner enough support from labor unions and intellectuals, since those labor unions and intellectuals were concerned that it might affect the Yara Prefectural Administration; instead, it brought violence against the residents and fishermen in the struggle, and could neither mobilize reformist political parties nor change the decision of Governor Yara. In this chapter, I explore the court struggle employed by the Kin Bay Protection Society after they failed to win repeal of the pro-industry model decision by the Okinawa Prefectural Government. The specific questions examined in this chapter are why the Kin Bay Protection Society chose to take the struggle to court, how they used the court as a field of protest, how those supporting CTS responded, and what the results of the court struggle were (see Appendix D).

Action to Assert “Fishing Rights”

The continued reclamation work and repeated oil spillages caused environmental pollution and affected the lives of the residents with offensive odors and noise from the oil base (*Okinawa Times*, 1974, February 27th). Agricultural products cultivated near Kin Bay were damaged by acid rain caused by soot and smoke from oil refineries. Chemicals used by Okinawa Oil Refinery as “neutralizers” after the oil spills were carcinogens. The range of fishing zones was reduced (*Ryukyu Shimpo*, 1974, February 6th). Accumulation of sludge in the ocean caused the extermination of sea urchins, seaweed, and coral reefs (*Okinawa Times*, 1974, February 27th). Fish and shellfish decreased overall because of oil spillage and the use of chemical products discharged into Kin Bay (*Ryukyu Shimpo*, 1974, April 17th). After the Okinawa Oil Refinery oil spill of April 11th, 1974, waste-oil balls contaminated Kin Bay beaches (*Okinawa Times*, 1974, April 30th). Longline fishing between Hamahiga and Henza Islands was no longer possible. Crude oil and absorbents adhered to gillnets; fish and squid carcasses floated on the ocean (*Ryukyu Shimpo*, 1974, April 15th). The Society found significant environmental pollution issues as they compared their local situation to those in mainland Japan. On April 26th, 1974, the Maritime Safety Agency announced the results of a report which revealed that the number of occurrences of waste-oil balls drifting ashore was three times as many compared to a similar survey completed in 1972 (*Ryukyu Shimpo*, 1974, April 27th).

The Kin Bay Protection Society realized that the CTS had denied fishermen their right to fish in order to claim exclusive range for ocean reclamation and pollution. As their next collective action, the Kin Bay Protection Society chose court struggle. They contested the legality of the procedures taken by Governor Yara for the Kin Bay Public

Water Area Reclamation Certificate (Kin Bay Protection Society, 1975c), outlining their purposes in the statement issued when they filed suit:

We the Kin Bay Protection Society consider that this filing of a lawsuit is neither the only way to eject Mitsubishi nor to drive the Prefectural Government into a predicament. We will withdraw from this lawsuit if the Prefectural Government reflects on its erroneous development administration, disapproves the completion of reclamation construction, and guarantees that they will not give Mitsubishi a Certificate for Reclamation. However, unless the Prefectural Government changes its attitudes toward CTS development, we will continue our struggle until we throw Mitsubishi out, by this lawsuit, and by employing all the other means and strategies.... We call for reformist political parties, other private organizations, and people of Okinawa to participation in this struggle led by the Kin Bay Protection Society. (Kin Bay Protection Society, 1975: VII–VIII)

As articulated in their statement, court struggle for the Kin Bay Protection Society was not meant to be their main goal. Rather, their claim indicates that the court struggle was intended to mobilize the people of Okinawa into action to get the Okinawa Prefectural Government to withdraw the permit and remove Mitsubishi.

However, as political opportunity theory explains that resistance by the powerless emerges when structural change weakens authority and the protesters feel it feasible to change decisions through initiating court struggle (Piven & Cloward, 1977; Jenkins & Perrow, 1977/1997). The court struggle taken by the Society was also derived from the political context in which they were embedded. During the U.S. occupation, as reflected in the policy “Proclamation and Ordinance,” the people of Okinawa were overruled by the USCAR High Commissioner, who had absolute authority (Kojima, 2004: 24). For the 27 years of the U.S. occupation, the Okinawan people were forced into a situation where U.S. military training and administration were the first priority and the people were controlled within a top-down structure. Therefore, the only way to challenge the U.S. military authority at that time was

through social demonstration, rallies, and riots (ibid.: 30). The struggle of the people of Okinawa for their human rights during the Reversion Movement emerged under U.S. military control, at which time the people of Okinawa requested “*kakumuki hondonami*” (nuclear-free mainland status) (Arasaki, 2005: 35). Political parties, leaders, teachers, and members of the public were united and fought for reversion, since they believed it to be a crucial step to reclaiming their human rights. After reversion, the people of Okinawa finally obtained the rights granted by the Japanese constitution. However, Governor Yara’s unexpected position of initially supporting and then backing down on Kin Bay Protection Society’s request, indicated his vulnerability as well as deception on the Government’s part, and provided and highlighted an opportunity to take action against the Prefectural Government’s faulty decisions.

Mobilization Period

To initiate court struggle, the Kin Bay Protection Society asked the Defense Council for Reformist Joint Struggle (Kakushin Kyōtō Bengodan) to file a lawsuit against Governor Yara. However, the Defense Council chose not to file a lawsuit when they realized that Governor Yara would be the defendant in the case (Arasaki, 2005), and that it would damage the position of Yara, whom they could finally elect as governor (Kin Bay Protection Society, *Zadankai: Kin-wan tōsō o furikaette*).

Therefore, when the Kin Bay Protection Society initiated its court struggle, only Kantoku Teruya, an attorney and resident of Yonagusuku Village, supported the Kin Bay Struggle (Kin Bay Protection Society, *Zadankai: Kin-wan tōsō o furikaette*). Teruya had

been involved in residents' actions since Seishu Sakihara started to hold study groups with residents (ibid.). Teruya mobilized other attorneys when six fishermen filed a lawsuit for their fishing rights, and asked Norio Ikemiyagi to lead the plaintiffs' group. Since they could not mobilize local attorneys, they called for support from mainland Japan, and Manabu Mizugami and Takeru Yoshida, attorneys from Tokyo, joined in the struggle (Kin Bay Protection Society, Zadankai: Kin-wan tōsō o furikaette).

At the same time, local fishermen were being mobilized to join the struggle. Mr. S shared the story of how he approached the fishermen to bring their court case on fishery rights:

We called the fishermen to raise awareness about the arrival of the oil companies into the area. Among many fishermen, Teruma fishermen took our claim into account. Also, we definitely needed fishermen's power to appeal the environmental destruction. We assumed that their taking away of fishing rights was their tactic to promote the oil industry development, so we really needed the fishermen to stand up. The Teruma fishermen did so....That's how we [Mr. S. and Mr. T.] knew each other....There were about twelve or thirteen fishermen. Six among them participated in the trial. (Interview with Mr. S. and Mr. T., at the offices of the Kin Bay Protection Society in Uruma City on December 26th, 2006)

The fishermen participated in the struggle because it came at a critical moment to defend their beliefs and their livelihood. As discussed above, one of the actions taken by fishermen was a lawsuit denouncing the illegality of the process that the Prefectural Government had used to obtain the certificate for the ocean reclamation. Mr. T., who participated in the court case as a plaintiff, described the severity of the impact of the Kin Bay oil spillage incident. He recalled his personal experience, saying:

The ocean where Mitsubishi reclaimed land was a longline fishing site, and we could not catch the worms for fishing anymore....After the oil spillage accidents we had to clean up the beaches contaminated by the waste-oil balls that had drifted all over the beaches in the Kin Bay coastal area...all over my body I was covered with oil, crude oil...when I came up from the ocean, all of my body

became stained black (Interview with Mr. S. and Mr. T., December 26th, 2006; also reported in *Ryukyu Shimpō*, 1974, April 15th).

Subsequently, on September 5th, 1974, six fishermen filed a lawsuit against Prefectural Governor Chōbyō Yara, to confirm the invalidity of the Kin Bay Public Water Area Reclamation Certificate at Naha District Court (Kin Bay Protection Society, Kin-wan o Mamoru Kai gaishi). In the CTS Trial First Public Hearing on October 30th, 1974, with the participation of 300 people, the plaintiffs claimed that OPG's process of obtaining consent from fishermen was defective (*ibid.*).

Fishermen's Rearticulation of "Economic Development"

The Kin Bay Area Development Project's dominant discourse addressed the underdevelopment of the Kin Bay area (Okinawa Economic Development Research Institute, 1972). During the period of its booming economy in the 1960s and early 1970s, Japan's prevailing idea was that its sustained economic growth was only achievable through industrialization. This dominant discourse also had impact on Okinawa and was also expressed by Chōbyō Yara before the reversion, saying that "I certainly believe that the living standard of the Okinawan people can be raised only by industrialization" (National Archives and Records Administration). During the pre and post-reversion period, the flow of private Japanese companies and environmentally contaminating industries into Okinawa were the direct outcome of the dominant discourse. The mainstream economic standard was also to homogenize and control the society.

This developmentalist discourse became the primary target of the opposition. For instance, women from Yakena District, while gathering to discuss various aspects of the CTS issue, criticized a reformist political party politician who said: "in order to achieve

economic autonomy, environmental destruction is inevitable” (*Higashikaigan*, Vol. 2, May 1976). Shokichi Tengan, a former teacher in Gushikawa City, stated that Okinawa’s post-reversion industrialization had been promoted as “Okinawa’s assimilation to Japan,” based on the policies of rapid economic growth (*Higashikaigan*, Vol. 1, March 1976). As diagnostic framing argues that social movements identify the issues and their causality, those Yakena women criticized the Okinawa Prefectural Government for having blindly followed Japan’s economic development model without taking into account whether the development project would suit Okinawa’s natural environment.

Fishermen denounced the developmental discourse too, citing the fact that, as a result of the CTS development, they had lost their workplace: the ocean. The number of fishermen had diminished (CTS Issue, *Ryukyu Shimpō*, 1974, February 6th). Those fishermen who left the fisheries were reduced to seeking employment in unfamiliar occupations at more distant locations, and were vulnerable to employers who offered lower salaries (*Higashikaigan*, Vol. 1, March 1976). The fishermen who remained, however, believed that they should not just succumb to making a living by becoming part of Mitsubishi’s agenda; instead, they should continue their ties of sustenance with the ocean (*Higashikaigan*, Vol. 1, March 1976). As Marx has noted (1867/2002), moments such as these mark a pivotal point in the “expropriation of the great mass of the people from the soil [and ocean as well], from the means of subsistence, and from the means of labour” through “transformation of the land and other means of production,” that would cause labor exploitation (73).

As a counter narrative against the standard discourse, the Kin Bay Protection Society emphasized that fishermen and residents alike possessed a distinct cultural and

epistemological background. This counter narrative held that the land and ocean were the foundations of the residents' livelihood, and therefore, their destruction would endanger the quality of human life (Arasaki, Sakihara, & Yonemori, 1991: 87-8). In the frame transformation perspective of Snow, Rochford, Worden, and Benford (1986) which explains social movements' denial of old meanings and creation of new values, the Kin Bay Protection Society challenged the pro-CTS development discourse by emphasizing the inherent importance of the ocean. The following statement of the Society indicates the residents' position: "the ocean and natural resources were valuable before development because sea products such as shrimp and shells were abundant" (Asato, et al., 2004: 29). Furthermore, they pointed out that they were already autonomous with regards to their food supply provided by the ocean: "women lived on the sea products that they caught everyday at the sea" (ibid.). The cause of the drastic change in the ocean conditions before and after development was identified as the CTS project, and it was therefore an impediment to the people's former means of sustenance. By rearticulating the ocean's value, the fishermen attempted a frame transformation, to challenge the idea that "economic development" justified land use for the polluting industries.

The society also connected the CTS development issue to the possible endangerment not only of the Kin Bay communities but also of Okinawa as a whole (Kin Bay Protection Society, 1975c). In this period, the Society expanded the scope of their protest, which then not only targeted the CTS but also redirected their discourse to a larger cause: Okinawa's struggle against Japan. For example, the title of the newsletter issued by the Society, changed from *Kin-wan Tsūshin* (Kin Bay Report) to *Higashikaigan* (*Eastern Coast*), beginning March 20th, 1976. The Society contested any approaching

development projects not only in Kin Bay, but also on the entire east coast of Okinawa Island, such as the reclamation and construction of the Ishikawa City power plant, the Nakagusuku Village ocean reclamation and industrialization, and the Gushikawa City shipbuilding industry (*Higashikaigan*, Vol. 1, March 1976). Yoshiaki Taira, the editor of the newsletter, stated that they intended to distribute *Higashikaigan* not only to residents, fishermen, workers' unions, and private organizations in Kin Bay communities, but also broadly to Okinawa's east coast. The Society's aim was to pay attention to the different regions' voices and to stand up for the protection of the eastern coast as Okinawa's collective issue (*ibid.*).

In the first volume of *Higashikaigan*, the late Seishin Asato insisted that those making decisions that would affect the destiny of Okinawa's eastern coast in terms of habitation and prosperity, should not be the administrative government, but the residents and fishermen themselves, whose ancestors were rooted in this region (*Higashikaigan*, Vol. 1, March 1976). He also criticized the Prefectural Government and the village assembly, asserting that those politicians had surrendered their responsibility to the land and to the villages' autonomy into the hands of Mitsubishi (*ibid.*). These critiques of the Prefectural Government indicate that there had been a huge gap between how the independence mandate was understood by the Okinawa Prefectural Government and the understanding of the local people who depended on fishing and agriculture. The fishermen understood economic independence in terms of control over their means of production, their source of income, while the Okinawa Prefectural Government believed that external corporations would bring economic independence.

Concretely, Asato stated that the Kin Bay Protection Society had no leaders, no ideologies, and no sects (*Higashikaigan*, Vol. 1, March 1976). Sakihara also states that the Kin Bay Protection Society practiced its principles through “mass debates” and “mass bargaining” (Kin Bay Protection Society, 2006, Kin wan tōsō o furikaette). Although the Kin Bay Protection Society had “contact managers” Seishū Sakihara and Seishin Asato, it always made decisions through mass debates. Therefore, collective actions to be taken were determined with the consent of all the participants in mass debates, so that many mass debate participants were encouraged to join the subsequent collective action. Moreover, through this mass-bargaining strategy, individual residents could argue directly with the government officials, rather than just having a few members representing the collective voice (*ibid.*). Sakihara identified workers, farmers, and fishermen, individually and collectively, who protested against state power. This identification of the movement actors was enhanced by an emphasis on the epistemological or cultural beliefs collectively possessed by residents and fishermen, who sustained their lives with abundant sea products, further differentiating them from those in government and political parties—i.e., those who believed that “affluence” could only be attained through industries which may be environmentally polluting and may harm natural habitat.

Successful Mobilization of Internal Agents and External Support

The purpose of the lawsuit was to stop Governor Yara from approving the completion of the reclamation construction, and to mobilize labor unions and private organizations to combat Mitsubishi with the support of the people of Okinawa. With the

start of the court struggle, the Kin Bay Protection Society mobilized about 2,000 people at the “Rally for Triumph at the Court Struggle” in Teruma coastal area on July 28th, 1974 (Kin-wan o Mamoru Kai gaishi: 3).

Moreover, after the six fishermen plaintiffs brought the case to court, the Kin Bay Protection Society successfully mobilized additional external intellectual support. On September 7th, 1974, scholars and journalists organized *Han-CTS Toso o Hirogeru Kai* (Society for Extended Struggle against the CTS) as the Society filed a lawsuit against the Prefectural Government (*Okinawa Times*, 1974, September 8th). This group was organized when scholars and journalists became aware that there was a lack of support from the intellectual community in the court process. The Society for Extended Struggle against the CTS asked workers’ unions and other organizations to collaborate in the writing of pertinent newspaper articles. Seishū Sakihara saw that the external support had a positive impact on the struggle which rendered the label “radicals” obsolete (Kin Bay Protection Society, *Zadankai: Kin-wan tōsō o furikaette*).

On October 29th, 1974, the Protection Society mobilized 3,000 people at Teruma Beach, including residents and the Youth Action Party (*Seikō-tai*; organized to protect the members of the Kin Bay Protection Society from the violent actions taken by advocates of the CTS development). Among the external participants were representatives of the *Chubu Chiku Ro* (Workers’ Union of Central Okinawa), the *Okikyōso Nakagami Shibu* (Okinawa Teachers’ Association Nakagami Chapter), the *Kōkyōso* (High School Teachers’ Association), the *Jichiro* (All-Japan Prefectural and Municipal Workers Union), the *Zendentsu* (All-Japan Telecommunications Workers’ Union), the *Zengunrō* (All-Okinawa Military Labor Union), and the *Zentei* (Japan Postal Workers’ Union) (Kin

Bay Protection Society, Kin wan o Mamoru Kai gaishi: 4). Early the following year, on February 5th, 1975, about 8,000 people attended the Prefectural Assembly Convocation in Resistance to the CTS Construction, which was co-sponsored by the Workers' Union of Okinawa Prefecture, the Okinawa Teachers' Association, and the Workers' Union of Central Okinawa, in Naha (Kin Bay Protection Society, Kin-wan o Mamoru Kai gaishi).

According to the theory of prognostic framing, which identifies strategies and the agents of collective action, the lawsuit against the violation of fishing rights defined fishermen as the agents who were to create a voice, and also successfully mobilized other fishermen to join in the court struggle. On April 17th, 1975, two Henza Island fishermen filed a lawsuit concerning the invalidity of the Reclamation Certificate. Later, at the CTS Trial, 7th Oral Pleading on July 14th, 1975, with 300 participants in the gallery, forty fishermen from the Hama District of Hamahiga Island joined the lawsuit as plaintiffs, and stated that they “never agreed with reclamation,” and that after the reclamation, the ocean became sludge (Kin Bay Protection Society, Kin-wan o Mamoru Kai gaishi). These were the internal agents of support.

Consequences of the Lawsuit and Subsequent Collective Action

While the Kin Bay Protection Society succeeded in mobilizing external and internal support, it could not change the attitude of the Okinawa Prefectural Government. One day before the CTS Trial, 8th Public Hearing, the defendant, OPG, submitted its answer, which stated that there was no public benefit or interest relating to the plaintiff's claims. Kin Bay Protection Society complained that they did not even have an opportunity to present witnesses to testify in response to OPG's answer; Judge

Yamaguchi concluded the hearing on September 12th, 1975. At the CTS Trial, 9th Public Hearing, on October 4th, 1975, the Judge made the judgment of “No public benefit” in favor of OPG. The Judge stated that the reclamation had already been completed and there was no possibility that the ocean could be returned to its original condition. Thus, there were no fishing rights to be protected, because now it was impossible to have a fishery at the reclamation site. The Judge rushed off immediately after issuing his decision (Kin Bay Protection Society, *Kin-wan o Mamoru Kai gaishi*; *Higashikaigan*, Vol. 1, March 1976).

None of the Society’s subsequent protest actions against the CTS development could stop it. As their protest against the Prefectural Government progressed, the Society organized a hunger-strike from October 6th–11th, 1975, and appealed to the Naha Branch of the Fukuoka High Court against the decision in the first trial (Kin Bay Protection Society, *Kin-wan o Mamoru Kai gaishi*). The hunger strike received media attention, with 150 participants at the entrance of the Prefectural Hall. Moreover, some of them tied their bodies to the iron fence of the Governor’s residence (Kin Bay Protection Society, *Kin-wan o Mamoru Kai gaishi*). In November 1975, the Society presented a petition against the Yonagusuku Village Council, endorsed by 6,123 signatures, asking for rejection of the reclaimed “new land.” However, both the Government and the Council refused the Society’s request; on October 11th, 1975, Governor Yara approved the completion of the ocean reclamation, and the Yonagusuku Village Assembly formally acknowledged the “new land” (*ibid.*).

However, at the Appeal Hearing, 1st Public Hearing, on January 30th, 1976, the plaintiffs argued that the trial judge had interpreted the law erroneously, and claimed that

there were procedural errors in the trial; that it was unreasonable for the judge to deny the plaintiffs the opportunity to present evidence and arguments in response to the stance of the OPG; and that the reasons cited by the judge in his findings were flawed and not consistent with the law. Nevertheless, OPG maintained their stance and asked Naha District Court to reject the appeal, claiming that it had no public interest or benefit (Kin Bay Protection Society, Kin-wan o Mamoru Kai gaishi). On June 22nd, two days before new Governor Koichi Taira's inauguration (Taira had run as a member of the Okinawa Shakai Taishu-to, or Okinawa Socialist Peoples' Party), Governor Yara approved the oil tank construction (Arasaki, 1992: 63–4). In the end, the Society's actions to stop CTS development were rejected both by Governor Yara—the leader whom the residents had supported—as well as the local government.

Action Asserting the “Right to Life”

After the governor approved the oil tank construction, pollution control agreements were made among the following parties: Yonagusuku Village, Okinawa Oil Base Co., and the Okinawa Terminal Co. came to agreement on December 27th, 1976; the Okinawa Prefectural Government and Okinawa Oil Base Co. reached agreement on March 10th, 1977; and the Okinawa Prefectural Government and all the other oil companies did so on June 4th, 1977 (Kin Bay Protection Society, Kin-wan o Mamoru Kai gaishi). Upon completion of the ocean reclamation, Governor Yara approved the establishment of tanks.

The ocean had been reclaimed, and the lawsuit for lost fishing rights was already denied. With this avenue closed, what the Society could propose as its next action was to

stop the construction of oil tanks, and protect basic human rights—including a safe environment and lifestyle—especially for those local residents facing the dangers of the oil industry. The Kin Bay Protection Society’s next target was the risk anticipated from the oil tank construction and subsequent operations. By this time, the Kin Bay Protection Society had formed a group of plaintiffs comprising 1,250 residents and fishermen, and on April 9th, 1977, the plaintiffs submitted their petition to Naha District Court for a Temporary Restraining Order to impose prohibitions on the construction of a potentially dangerous oil storage tank (Kin Bay Protection Society, *Kin-wan o Mamoru Kai gaishi; Higashikaigan*, Vol. 35, September 1983).

The Kin Bay Protection Society appealed the restraining order based on Personal Rights. These were broadly defined as rights to protect personal benefit, and Environmental Quality Rights, which were asserted as reflections of the environmental pollution and pollution-related diseases caused by the booming economic growth in Japan (Okinawa CTS *Mondai o Kangaeru Kai*, 1977). Although neither are expressly stipulated in the text, they are considered to have been endowed by the Japanese Constitution Article 13 and Article 25, which mainly protect the “right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness (Article 13)” and “the minimum standards of wholesome and cultured living (Article 25).” The Kin Bay Protection Society argued that CTS endangered those residents’ rights, which should be protected by the state (*ibid.*).

For the 3rd Public Hearing for the Petition for Restraining Order to suspend CTS construction, Kin Bay Protection Society mobilized as witnesses professors and researchers from universities and environmental pollution research institutes on biology, geology, technology, and environmental pollution, from both mainland Japan and

Okinawa. At the 4th Oral Pleadings on February 18th, 1978, the plaintiffs argued that the foundation of the reclaimed lands was not strong enough to support the large oil tanks (Kin Bay Protection Society, Kin-wan o Mamoru Kai gaishi). At the 5th Public Hearing, Kin Bay Protection Society witnesses, including geology professor Tadao Ikukoshi, argued that the reclaimed land would be in danger during an earthquake. He claimed that Mitsubishi had fabricated the data to show that the reclaimed land would be safe, and challenged Mitsubishi's promise to make the reclaimed land strong enough to support the large oil storage tanks (Kin Bay Protection Society, Kin-wan o Mamoru Kai gaishi). In addition to those issues, the Kin Bay Protection Society pointed out that the entrance to Kin Bay is narrow and could be dangerous with more than 900 large tankers incoming and outgoing; they noted the possibility of fire because of the experience of the Mitsubishi Industrial area's Mizushima Accident on December 18th, 1974; and they also added the possibility that U.S. military planes might crash into one of the tanks since the tank construction site was in line with the runway of Kadena air base as well as in the vicinity of the ocean training area for the U.S. military, and only 150 meters away from a residential area (Sakihara, 1978: 132).

Another point where they put pressure against the construction was the uncertainty of CTS's profitability in Okinawa. According to a court brief issued by Okinawa CTS Mondai o Kangaeru Kai (Society Concerned about CTS issues in Okinawa), the fact the workers were not local residents but came instead from mainland Japan; therefore the expected increase in employment was groundless, there were price increases caused by additional demand for resources, and the amount of construction material that could be supplied from the prefecture's resources was limited (Okinawa CTS Mondai o Kangaeru

Kai, 1978). The CTS development damaged the local fishery and other industries, and contrary to the rhetoric, it led to a decrease in terms of employment opportunities. Moreover, according to Seishin Nagahama, a member of the Village Assembly, sponsorship of oil bases resulted in economic burdens for Yonagusuku Village. Although tax revenue from oil companies increased local government income, the national government scaled back their contribution proportionately. Moreover, local governments needed to provide more services, such as fire engines for oil company emergencies, with the same budget, which strained their resources (*Higashikaigan*, Vol. 11, June 1979).

As Snow and Benford (1988) state, social movement organizers or organizations have to frame their strategies and actions to be resonant with the actors' past or present experience (208). In its court brief, the Kin Bay Protection Society declared the need to prosecute the state, prefecture, and village administrations (Okinawa CTS Mondai o Kangaeru Kai, 1978). The Kin Bay Protection Society attempted to mobilize not only residents near Kin Bay, but also those residing in the rest of Okinawa to learn about the dangers of CTS, to participate in the struggle, and to protect their rights, as well as those of their children and their grandchildren, by preventing environmentally polluting companies from making inroads in the region (Okinawa CTS Mondai o Kangaeru Kai, 1978).

The Society held that the people of Okinawa had survived in the post-war period by means of harmonious interaction with the natural environment, and therefore it was their duty to defend that environment (*ibid.*). Their experience of the Battle of Okinawa and the post-war period empowered the residents against the need for oil industries. Residents and fishermen of Yonagusuku Village testified that it was the abundance of

products from the land and ocean that had helped the residents survive. Yakena resident Kōsei Nakamura's testimony explained that sweet potato leaves and sugar cane supplemented the rations provided by the U.S. military (Okinawa CTS Mondai o Kangaeru Kai, 1978: 89–91). Tengi Taba's family members said they survived on fishing and farming when they first returned to Teruma following their escape to Haeburu, in the southern part of Okinawa Island, during war time (ibid.: 91–94). Fishermen at the Fishery Cooperative of Katsuren and Hama District Chapters said people of Hamahiga Island distributed ocean products among the residents to aid in their sustenance (ibid.: 95–96). These documents concluded that it was necessary for the people of Okinawa to realize that it was their connection with the land and the ocean which gave them the power to survive, but that lands had been confiscated, first by the U.S. military during the occupation, and again, by the present-day CTS development (ibid.: 96–100). Thus, the frame was articulated in terms of an intimate relationship to the land and ocean.

Result of the Court Struggle

All the efforts made by the Kin Bay Protection Society nevertheless resulted in the Governor's forceful promotion of the project, disregarding the number of residents who appealed against it. Even during the lawsuit for a restraining order on CTS construction, oil tank construction proceeded (see Figures 3 & 4), and oil spillages occurred repeatedly at the already-existing oil storage operations and accelerated environmental pollution. Waste-oil balls—ballast water tar lumps discharged from oil tankers—contaminated Yakena beach and the nets used to collect seaweed (see Figure 6). However, oil spillage accidents and pollution were not enough to stop the CTS construction. On March 29th,

1979, while riot police stood by to remove protesters from the courtroom gallery, the court rejected the Petition for Restraining Order on CTS Construction at Naha District Court (Kin Bay Protection Society, Kin-wan o Mamoru Kai gaishi). The judge rejected it for the reason that “even if a fire occurs by establishment of oil tanks, there is no possibility to damage the lives, bodies, and health of the plaintiff residents” (*Okinawa Times*, 1995, May 22nd).

Moreover, the Kin Bay Protection Society was facing lack of political opportunity. On December 13th, 1978, Governor Nishime, from the Liberal Democratic Party assumed office. This transformation of prefectural administration from reformist to conservative meant a shift in power and a loss of allies. On April 3rd, 1979, Governor Nishime finalized the approval of Okinawa Oil Refinery’s construction of four more oil storage tanks (Kin Bay Protection Society, Kin-wan o Mamoru Kai gaishi). In December 1980, Governor Nishime approved further expansion of the CTS, and the Yonagusuku Village chief did the same. While the involved governments promoted the CTS expansion, the natural environment was exposed to the danger of accidents related to oil industry operation. On February 7th, 1981, a 100,000 ton tanker exploded offshore of Kyan Point, the southern-most point of Okinawa Island. On November 17, 1981, crude oil spilled from Okinawa Oil Base (Kin Bay Protection Society, Kin-wan o Mamoru Kai gaishi).

On October 20th, 1982, Kin Bay Protection Society withdrew its appeal of the CTS case from the Naha Chapter of the High Court in Fukuoka, approximately 8 years after their original action against Okinawa Prefectural Governor Yara. Two days later, Seishin Asato passed away (Taira, 1995, May 21st, *Okinawa Times*). Ten years after the organization of the Society, the driving force of the Kin Bay Struggle declined around

1983 (Kin Bay Protection Society, *Zadankai: Kin-wan tōsō o furikaette*). Although it seemed that these devastating consequences resulting from the oil industry development completely obliterated the Society's efforts to make a difference, there were positive outcomes to the struggle, and the court struggle was not a complete failure.

First, the CTS trial resulted in a considerable decrease in size of the reclamation area: from 10,000,000 to 640,000 *tsubo* (from 355,800,000 to 22,771,200 square feet), with a comparable reduction in oil stockpiles from 20 million to 5 million kiloliters (Asato, et al., 2004: 29). Second, the CTS trial also raised awareness of the problems with the oil industry among the people of Okinawa. Kin Bay Protection Society attorney Norio Ikemiyagi argues, "even though the Society withdrew its appeal, it did not 'lose' the case," in 1982. He reflected that through the CTS trial, many people in Okinawa came to understand the problems with oil industry, and public opinion had turned anti-CTS, even though the 1970's national and prefectural economic policy was pro-CTS and was in favor of placing oil storage facilities in Okinawa. Moreover, he found that because of this case, the public now closely and more carefully watches the oil companies, so that oil companies are no longer confident about the permanence of their continued Okinawa operations (*Higashikaigan*, Vol. 35, September 1983).

Summary

For the Kin Bay Protection Society, reversion became a political opportunity. Okinawa was placed under Japanese jurisdiction, and that enabled the Kin Bay Protection Society to employ legal approaches, rather than just radical expressions, e.g., rallying, sit-ins, and mass bargaining. The Kin Bay residents organized themselves and filed a

lawsuit against Governor Yara, prominent leader during the Reversion Movement, whom they had thought of as one who would listen to the claims of the fishermen.

However, as discussed above, the Reformist Okinawa Prefectural Administration, including both Yara and Taira, forcefully promoted the development project in the name of “national interests,” and proved to be opponents of the Kin Bay Struggle. Second, the “*kakumuki hondonami*” requested by the people of Okinawa during the Reversion Movement was appropriated to mean the imposition of “national interests” on Okinawa, as one of the prefectures of Japan. As discussed above, in the CTS trial, when development was protested by the Kin Bay Protection Society for the instability of the ground and the possibility of explosion, Mitsubishi justified CTS expansion and operation as pursuit of national interests. Therefore, in this CTS trial, court proved to be the means to enforce governmental and corporate decisions under the “national interests” banner.

The record of the trial indicates that the Japanese court system in Okinawa after reversion only appeared to be “justice” but actually disregarded the claims of the Kin Bay area residents, ignored the scientific facts and concerns provided by fishermen and resident plaintiffs, and actually connected closely to the national and prefectural level decisions or policies on oil storage. What the Kin Bay Protection Society chose as its protest field—the judicial court system—appeared to be ineffective. The Kin Bay Protection Society soon realized that the court system was merely going to be the next ruling system for Okinawa. The Japanese Government and Mitsubishi justified their imposition of national interests on Okinawa, while for the Okinawans, the case reflected

their claim for human rights at the standard level of those provided to Japanese nationals in mainland Japan.

Moreover, change of the Prefectural Governor from the Reformist Yara and Taira to the Liberal Democratic Party's Junji Nishime in December 1978 meant that the Kin Bay Protection Society faced diminished political opportunities, and suggested that greater difficulty in influencing political decision makers through court struggle or appeals lay ahead. As described above, reformist Governors Yara and Taira, and conservative Governor Nishime equally promoted the CTS construction despite presumed differences in their political stances. However, for the Kin Bay Protection Society, Governor Yara had at least been the leader of the reversion movement, and was thus more inclined to listen to the residents' voices. Therefore, the transition to a more conservative Prefectural Administration made it necessary for the Kin Bay Protection Society to ascertain whether values and principles proposed by the Society were fully supported by the people of Okinawa as a whole.

For these two reasons, the Kin Bay Protection Society found it necessary to redirect their course of struggle. In the next chapter, I will discuss the alternative actions taken by the Kin Bay Protection Society when they lost the court cases and were facing a lack of political opportunities, and how their next strategy did function and did help them to express their political goals.

CHAPTER 4: INDIGENIZING THE STRUGGLE THROUGH CULTURAL NARRATIVES AND PRACTICES

Since the conservative administration which took office in 1978 was more compliant towards the Central Government of Japan, the Kin Bay Protection Society's members felt compelled to change their tactics. Moreover, the change from a reformist to a conservative administration suggested that the values held by the Kin Bay Protection Society were not universally embraced in Okinawa. As modeled in Suzanne Staggenborg's (2001) study which explores the influence of structural conditions on social movements' choices of cultural or political activisms, the Kin Bay Protection Society shifted their field of protest and the target of their collective action. This shift did not mean the dissolution of their collective action; rather, the Society continued their struggle within the Kin Bay communities, but they did so by revitalizing cultural practices rather than maintaining an exclusively judiciary course of protest action against the government and oil companies.

In chapter 4, I will examine the counter narratives employed by the Kin Bay Protection Society, and demonstrate how cultural activities were used to achieve political mobilization for regaining control of the land. I also examine how the Society shared their resistance discourse via cultural texts or practices, creating a network of mutual cooperation. In terms of social movement theories, framing, political opportunity, culture, and collective action and identity were created. Furthermore, I shall analyze how the Society developed local communal industries and reframed their antagonists' "economic development" argument in the discourse of their protest against capitalist economies, and thereby promoted regional autonomy.

Revival of Cultural Practice in the Kin Bay Struggle

On August 3rd, 1980, at 10:00 am, the first Kin Bay *Hārī* (boat race) started at Teruma Beach, after Tengi Taba, a Teruma fisherman, pronounced an oath in the Okinawan language, stating “*wattāya, uminchi damashī ni kakiti, kunuumi, mamoinutami doudouto, hārīkūjun*” (Upon the honor of our fishermen’s spirit, we, the fishermen, proudly row our boats to protect the ocean) (Kin Bay Protection Society, *Higashikaigan*, Vols. 24 and 25, September 1980). On the same day, fishermen, residents, labor union members, youth organizations, and cultural groups participated in the *hārī*, which was followed by stage performances of folk songs and dances. Fishermen expressed their struggle by performing *hārī*, an annual function held around the 4th day of the fifth month in the lunar calendar when the villages in central Okinawa pray for the safety of fishing and a rich haul of fish for the year (Heshiki, 1990: 167). Cultural practices, such as *hārī*, were first publicized in June 1977, the year the Kin Bay Protection Society initiated legal action on basic human rights. However, they were actively promoted and produced beginning in May 1979, after Junji Nishime assumed the office of Prefectural Governor.

Cultural practice became one of the major collective actions besides appeals through court cases, because it constituted a form of large-scale action that the majority of residents could participate in and thereby contribute to the struggle collectively. One of the cultural practices in the struggle, *hārī*, was described as “something important for Yakena people, who cherish tradition” by the newsletter, *Higashikaigan* (Vol. 12, July 1979). As discussed by Melucci (1995), social movement actors produce and share the meaning of their collective action through texts, practices, and objects (42). The society

placed emphasis on their members' identities, and their unique values and lifestyles, by using those cultural practices to protest against the CTS construction, which had imposed a different associated form of work and a different relationship to the ocean and land, on the residents of the Kin Bay Area. Therefore, in the struggle, culture was practiced strategically by the residents in order to verify and revitalize their particular values relating to issues of the natural environment and their ways of living. For example, the Kin Bay Protection Society protested the idea of an "unnecessary ocean" between the islands as conceived by CTS supporters. Organizing *hārī* was meant to solidify the fishermen's leadership. Culture worked as a symbolic measure of mobilization that united the residents' efforts in the struggle for their cause.

Moreover the *hārī* practice was described as initiated by "their [the fishermen's] own idea," because fishermen "wanted to have *ashibi* (play; pastime recreation, including chanting and dancing during off-work festivals) within the ocean, since they have a strong relationship with it" (Kin Bay Protection Society, *Higashikaigan*, Vols. 24 and 25, August 1980). Practicing local culture became one of the major collective actions in accordance with the Society's principle that the movement should be led by community residents. The emphasis placed on cultural practice, according to newsletters, implied growing feelings of accomplishment among residents and fishermen in terms of taking control over their struggle, as well as their community.

The Use of Cultural Practices to Construct a Narrative of Resistance in Kin Bay

In mainland Japan, struggles against environmental pollution caused by industrialization had already emerged in the 1960s. However, the Kin Bay Protection

Society saw themselves and their struggle as different from the anti-pollution protests that had been occurring in Japan, because they considered their own protests as the Okinawan people's way of asserting local rights by means of strategically using local culture. The revival of cultural practices in the Kin Bay Struggle challenged the capitalist and colonialist influx by mobilizing the residents of local communities into the movement, and localizing the environmental protest as the residents' own struggle. Their battling aimed to preserve their cultural values and practices within their natural environment.

Therefore, the Society determined that cultural practices such as *chikuramachi*, village drama plays, and Kin Bay *hārī* had to be revitalized through collective action. (*Okinawa Times*, 1995, May 22nd). One of the organizations derived from the Kin Bay Protection Society, called Kariyushi Kai—which may be translated as “auspicious society” (Handa, 1999/2000: 270)—asserted that two of their major tasks were the “truthful establishment of autonomy and preservation of culture of performing arts” (ibid.). They revitalized the Yakena *chikuramachi*, a festival (*machi*) of *chikura*, or striped mullet. In the Yakena community, this festival, held to pray for a plentiful supply of fish (ibid.). By calling those cultural practices “traditional culture,” (*Okinawa Times*, 1995, May 22nd) the Kin Bay Protection Society intended to frame cultural practices in their collective action as a form of resistance against CTS construction, which threatened the existence of local natural habitat and lifestyle.

The emphasis on tradition was meant to suggest that the cultural practices in the community could help in mending the consequences of Okinawan history. The Kin Bay Protection Society focused on the destruction of culture during and after World War II, and associated the oil industry development as related to the same historical marker.

During an interview, Mr. S, who as a mere formality carries the title of manager of the Kin Bay Protection Society, said that “through revitalizing the culture which once died out after the war, Okinawan people want to strengthen ties between members of the community” (December 2006). Accounts of experiences during the post-war period suggest that the significance of the cultural practices, once abandoned, caused weakening of the community ties. As I discussed in chapter 2, the USCAR encouraged revitalization of the traditional performing arts and culture during its occupation of Okinawa as part of its own political agenda of continuing control over Okinawa, and that gave Okinawans an opportunity to develop traditional cultural practitioners (Taira, 1982: 43–45; Saeki, 2007: 156). However, forceful appropriation of the land for expansion of U.S. military bases divided local communities, and prevented people from engaging in agricultural activities. People left their own communities and worked at the military bases. All those conditions caused depopulation of the communities, and weakened community ties.

During war time and continuing into the reversion period, all that residents were left with were their cultural practices as means to assert their presence and claim on the land. Therefore, cultural practices became the sole valued asset that the residents possessed to counteract the overwhelming influx of economic interests that aimed at superceding local interests. For instance, in an *ashibi*, which in this context may be translated as harvest festival, the performance of a classical Ryukyuan dance depicts the historical subordination of Okinawa to Japan. *Nubui kuduchi*, a song about the Ryukyuan officials’ *Edo nobori*, or mission to visit Edo via Satsuma, which originated after the Satsuma invasion of the Kingdom of Ryukyu in 1609, represents the Ryukyuan obligation to pay tribute to mainland Japan (Tōma, 1992: 334–5). For a protester in the

Kin Bay Struggle, the performance also made reference to collective measures against the CTS project, which was seen as a legacy inherited from successive historical markers—the annexation of the Ryukyu Kingdom by Japan, the Battle of Okinawa, U.S. military occupation, and reversion—that infringed upon the sovereignty of Okinawa.

Blending Forces: Cultural Practices and Community Self-Sufficiency and Autonomy

As argued in both Snow, Rochford, Worden, and Benford's (1986) frame transformation theory—which holds that social movements reshape old beliefs and plant new meanings (245)—and Swidler's (1995) discussion of cultural recodings, which finds that social movements reshape the world through cultural recodings, the Kin Bay Protection Society rejected developmentalism and instead confirmed commitment to the values of agricultural practices through cultural practices (34). The Kin Bay Struggle employed cultural practice to challenge the underdevelopment discourse, which imposed capitalist values and practice on the Kin Bay communities, which had sustained themselves on farming and fishing practices. For example, *kushukki*, which literally means “taking a rest after hard work” (Handa, 1999/2000: 302–303), consists of a prayer and celebration for a bountiful harvest, in a festive gathering after completing agricultural work. It also became a cultural practice translated into the community's pursuit of economic self-sufficiency by revitalizing and maintaining local agricultural practice, as well as a protest against capitalistic economies.

The Kin Bay Struggle applied the traditional idea of *yui* to their collective actions, and evolved it into a form of agricultural volunteerism. *Yui*, which is the verb “to tie,” conveys an image of cooperative work and the ties of community. The Kin Bay Struggle

created derivative organizations made up of residents, fishermen, and union workers who specifically worked on the revitalization of farming and fishing. In February 1980, the Worker's Union of Central Okinawa began organizing volunteer agricultural systems (Kin Bay Protection Society, Kin-wan o Mamoru Kai gaishi). Union workers took turns and helped farmers cultivate their fields when those farmers had to be in attendance at court cases. Tengan, one of the participants in the Kin Bay Struggle, talked about his experience in this volunteer agricultural activity:

We helped each other harvest sugarcane. Because there are many farmers who were busy with participating in the action at the Prefectural Government in Naha, and left what they needed to do....we started the volunteer agricultural system. Workers went into the fields and harvested the sugarcane on Saturdays and Sundays. The Kin Bay Protection Society assigned quotas to the members, "you harvest here today, you harvest there today." It was great. Workers also worked hard at that time. Although we all felt it was a hard job, we volunteered.
(Interview with Mr. G., December 2006)

Agricultural volunteering strengthened the solidarity between labor movements and residents' movements through participating in cultural practices and cooperative work.

Ties created through cultural practices between community residents and union workers from different parts of Okinawa enabled them to revitalize farming. "The idea of volunteer farming activities comes from the tradition of *yui*," asserts economic historian Araki (1977), who traces the term's meaning to Okinawan historical practices started in the early 18th century which still exist, but are in the process of extinction (45). The term meant "working together," says Araki; people getting together and working together was called *yee* or *yui* (ibid.: 42). In the *yui* practice, villagers got together and engaged in cooperative labor. Such cases are referred to in statements, such as "the field was restored by *yui*." An alternative meaning of the term connotes a labor exchange system, called *yui* or *yuimāru*, which refers to family members of farmers exchanging their labor in cases

where a labor shortage exists (ibid.). Araki explains that the Okinawan *yui* practice was found historically in all societies prior to the capitalist approach to agriculture, and disappeared within the currents of industrialization, through the evolving trajectories in the modes of production (Araki, 1977: 44).

Cultural practices were also signifiers of prayer for community prosperity and autonomy. After the CTS development was implemented, division and conflict among the local residents emerged. This was a concern for the Society since these would cause destruction of community lives and culture (*Okinawa Times*, 1995, May 22nd). For instance, during the Kin Bay Struggle, the yearly Yakena *tsunahiki* (commonly known as tug-of-war) was once suspended because the Yakena community residents were pulled apart due to conflicting approval and disapproval of the CTS project. The *tsunahiki* ritual is an annual event engaged in by village residents of central Okinawa Island, in order to ensure an abundant crop and the prosperity and well-being of the village. *Tsunahiki* involves the gathering and weaving of straw by members of the community into two large intertwined ropes symbolizing male and female. Once united by a thick wooden pole the ends are pulled in opposite directions, into east and west, again representing male and female, respectively, and thus enacting a fertility rite. Moreover, Yakena *tsunahiki* practice involves members of both genders: the women of Yakena, separated into east and west wings, sang a song while seeming to pick a quarrel with one another, creating a dialogue, and livening up the participants (Kin Bay Protection Society, *Higashikaigan*, Vol. 13, August 1979). *Tsunahiki* practice implied ties within the community.

Therefore, the revival of the Yakena *tsunahiki* became part of the Yakena residents' struggle for reinforcing community autonomy (Kin Bay Protection Society, *Higashikaigan*, Vol. 12, July 1979). Pro-CTS District Chief, Yasumitsu Matayoshi, remained in power and was assigned by Yonagusuku Village to do business, although he had lost the election. Normally the person chosen by the residents as District Chief should be assigned the work by the Village. However, even the Yonagusuku Village Chief made the claim that the Village had right to choose the one whom the Village wanted to commission its work, and allowed Matayoshi to stay in the position and even receive a salary. When his successor Ireijō became District Chief in November 1974, as chosen by Yakena residents through petition, the idea of community autonomy developed through efforts to revive local culture, requiring the active participation of residents (*ibid.*). Therefore, the revival of the Yakena *tsunahiki* contributed to residents being reunited as community members, after the separation that had been caused by the CTS issue. Underlying all these endeavors—whether *yui* voluntarism or the revitalization of the *tsunahiki*—is the common act of reclaiming of the land, by means of staging cultural practices, and thereby vindicating the residents' strong connection to their environment.

Culture as a Measure of Building Solidarity among the Ryukyu Arc

Measures taken against the trespasses of the CTS transpired in parallel with actions taken against similar issues. Within the framing of ocean cleanup, anti-detergent, anti-environmental pollution, Sakihara says, “we employ *hārī* to devise the struggle for the seizure and purification of the ocean inhabited by coral, seaweed, and fishes...as well as a way to call residents and workers to view *hārī* as both a traditional event and a

festival of struggle (Kin Bay Protection Society, *Higashikaigan*, Vol. 31, October 1981). *Hārī* practices started in August 1980, in the latter period of the struggle, after the filling of oil tanks started in March 1980.

By holding *hārī* on the polluted ocean, the fishermen tried to raise awareness about environmental damage among the residents, workers, and other groups. As mentioned above, the intrinsic meaning of *hārī* as a ritual is to pray for abundance of fish in the seas. By extension, *hārī* not only constituted an action to purify the ocean, but it also increased the number of supporters or participants joining forces against related issues in different organizations, such as a Society for Banishing Synthetic Detergent in the Kin Bay Struggle. Thus, cultural practices in the Kin Bay Struggle strengthened the ties of the community, which created a network of mutual cooperation and internal solidarity, and the restoration of the value originally given to primary industries (i.e., agriculture, fishery). The network facilitated various systems of volunteers who would assist with cultivation of designated and/or vacant farms, thus offering support to those who were absent due to their participation in the protest against the CTS, and to prevent the occupation of idle space by the same entity.

Moreover, the solidarity network expanded beyond the confines of the Kin Bay Area, among communities of the Ryukyuan Arc—Amami, in the north, Iriomote, in the south, and further towards the Pacific islands of Palau and Guam (see Figures 6 and 7). As Piven (2007) notes that the successes of indigenous peoples' struggles have been supported by the popular power available through global interdependency, the Kin Bay Struggle was beginning to understand the value of networking or solidarity with other communities—through their network with the Ryukyu Arc and the Pacific (see Figure 7&

8), they enhanced their ability to frame the issues and articulate their struggle narratives. These communities all faced environmental pollution as a consequence of the decisions made at the national level derived from diverse sources such as nuclear energy, tourism, or oil refineries. In response, they resorted to cultural practices and narratives that involved their environment as means of reclaiming their use for the development of local industries.

Networks of residents' struggles among Ryukyu Arc communities were built by Ryukyuko no Jūmin Undō o Hirogeru Kai (Society for Extended Residents' Movement of the Ryukyu Arc, former Society for Extended Struggle against the CTS). Ryukyu Arc Residents Movement Exchange Camps were held as follows: first in Kin Bay from August 24th to 26th, 1979; in Amami Island from July 26th to 27th, 1980; and third on Iriomote Island from July 25th to 26th, 1981. Edateku Island, one of the Amami Islands, had protested against CTS, and Iriomote against tourism and a nuclear fuel reprocessing plant. In these camps, participants from the Ryukyu Arc held evening cultural exchanges, and enjoyed folk songs, dances, *eisā*, *bon* dance night strolls in their neighborhood accompanied by *uta-sanshin* (songs sung to *sanshin* music), and attended a historical play. Amami hosted the 2nd camp, where the Edateku Festival was held on the evening of July 26th (Kin Bay Protection Society, *Higashikaigan*, Vols. 24 and 25, September 1980). Their version of *Hachigwachi udui*, a dance gathering where men and women form circles in an open space of the community, and hold lively dialogues in the form of call and response in song, reflected on the relationship between men and women within a community (Tabata, 1992: 131).

The following year, the third Camp participants, on Iriomote Island, joined the final day of harvest festival with local residents in the evening of July 24th, 1981 (Kin Bay Protection Society, *Higashikaigan*, Vol. 31, October 1981). People of the community tied a rice straw around their heads, held a *tsunahiki* in front of a *kaminchu*, or local priestess of the indigenous religion, and danced with joy. Participants from the Kin Bay Protection Society reported that “the residents of the community said the *tsunahiki* held within the harvest festival was a reminder of the time when the community was prosperous” and stated that “protecting and living on the island under conditions of depopulation in itself was the struggle” (ibid.). Cultural practice became valuable because it represented islanders’ resistance to depopulation and the weakening of community ties that started from the era of the U.S. occupation (see Chapter 2).

These annual events started with the slogans, “from a sea that divides to a sea that unifies,” and “For the State, the Ryukyu Arc is now and was before a conquered base that should be sacrificed” (Kin Bay Protection Society, *Higashikaigan*, Vol. 12, July 1979). The ties strengthened between those different communities enabled people to reconstruct the idea of geographical integrity, an alternative framework based on the Ryukyuan Arc instead of Japan’s political arrangements. This reconstruction of geographical location implied their gains in the direction of regional autonomy. Their new vision permitted their cause to expand beyond the limits of the arc itself making their cause a part of the people’s Pacific Ocean.

Linkage across the Pacific

The Kin Bay Struggle not only resonated with the Ryukyuan Arc, but also extended its influence to the anti-nuclear movement in the Pacific islands of Guam and Palau (also “Belau” in Palauan) through cultural practice. Exchange with the peoples of Palau and Guam started in October 1980. David Rosario, a member of one of the delegations of an anti-nuclear Chamorro group from Guam called “Mariana Alliance against Casting Nuclear Waste in the Pacific Ocean” visiting Hiroshima and Nagasaki Prefectures in Japan, traveled to Kin Bay. His group intended to build an international coalition to protest against the nuclear waste dumping project proposed by the Japanese Government (Kin Bay Protection Society, *Higashikaigan*, Vol. 26, November 1980).

While Palau was preparing for its inauguration of self-governance and debating the articles to be included in its constitution, a delegation from the anti-nuclear movement in Palau visited Japan to meet with anti-nuclear protesters in Japan. The Kin Bay Protection Society sent its delegates—Seishin Asato and attorney Kantoku Teruya, together with Hirofumi Niimoto from Uken, Amami—to Palau in January 1981 to celebrate the establishment of Palauan self-government and to exchange ideas with residents protesting against the nuclear waste dumping project.

Moreover, as part of the project, “Okinawa-Minamata Journey,” held from June 20th to July 2nd, 1981, the Kin Bay Protection Society invited women from Palau to meet both in Minamata, a place affected by mercury-polluted water in mainland Japan, and in Okinawa (Kin Bay Protection Society, *Higashikaigan*, Vol. 30, July 1981). In the report of the *kangei ashibi* (welcoming gathering) held on the night of the 21st, Asato states:

[T]he songs and dances of Okinawa, *sanshin* practice, were oppressed before the war, became extinct during the war, and revived from scorched ground after the

war with *rokkin-kan sanshin*, or *sanshin* made of 3.6 liter (0.951 gallon) cans used by the U.S. military to store potatoes and beef after WWII. Culture is the proof of peace, and immortal. We did them [the culture practices] as a weapon to protest against wars and developments, like *kangei ashibi*. (ibid.)

While women from Palau stayed in Okinawa, cultural practices, including songs, music, and dances, were presented and shared as what promoted the healing of Okinawans from their historical tragedies and as what encouraged Okinawans for the collective actions to come.

In their statement, called the “Belau, Okinawa, and Minamata Appeal,” the participants from Belau, Minamata, and Okinawa linked those separated islands via a cultural framework (Kin Bay Protection Society, *Higashikaigan*, Vol. 30, July 1981). According to the project statement, Belau was “the Island of oceanic people, who traveled across the Pacific with highly-developed navigation, and thus formed an oceanic culture.” They exchanged not only the experiences of oppression by Japan, the U.S., and European countries, but also were connected as island peoples that could “overcome division and isolation...as one Pacific community.” The Appeal indicated that “Belau, Okinawa, Amami, and Minamata were connected through the ocean. People met and exchanged their views on the sea, and saw the connection between the different islands.” The statement goes on to say that sharing cultures which are “closely connected to the ocean” strengthens their cases against the threats to the environment and the lives of the people of the Pacific, by both the U.S. and Japan (ibid.).

Global coalition is also seen in other international localities. There was a movement against military bombing of the island of Kaho‘olawe, led by the Protect Kaho‘olawe ‘Ohana (PKO) in Hawai‘i. Like the Kin Bay Struggle, which linked their struggle with the Ryukyu Arc and the Pacific, the PKO stance, represented in their use of

the concept of *aloha ʻāina* (defined as “love of the land or of one’s country” and “deep love of the land” (Pukui & Elbert, 1957/1986: 21) linked the Kahoʻolawe Movement to other organizational protests on land use issues in Hawaiʻi and in other international locales. The PKO’s newsletter, *Kahoʻolawe Aloha ʻĀina*, shows their concern about the issues of militarism internationally, in places like, for example, Vieques, Puerto Rico and Ie Jima (Ie Island), Okinawa, with reports on the impact of militarism and peoples’ mobilization tactics written by those who were sent to Ie Island and Vieques as American Friends Service Committee delegates (*Kahoʻolawe Aloha ʻĀina*, August and September 1978; October and November 1978). Global coalition, enabled by shared interest or position, became an important framing process for other parts of the world.

These external connections were built by means of cultural exchange and solidarity, which arose out of concern over common issues. The links between the islands of the Ryukyuan Arc and the Pacific emerged from the need to defend their respective regional autonomy. The islanders reconstructed their geographical integrity in ideology and practice, once freed of the constraints imposed by the administrative frameworks of Japan or the U.S. The geographical frameworks of the Ryukyus and the Pacific Islands, reconstructed the residents’ identities, by protests against the state’s discourse which had imposed the burden of military bases and environmentally polluting industries in the name of national benefit, national interests, or national security.

Redefining Patterns:
Traditional Culture as a Tool for the Residents’ Movement in Okinawa

The Kin Bay Struggle altered the direction of the people’s struggle in Okinawa as a whole through its emphasis on cultural practices rooted in the local communities.

Emphasis on local cultural practices evidenced the residents' voices protesting against the executive authority of Okinawa's Prefectural Government in the capital city of Naha. That meant they contested the idea that the Okinawa Prefectural Government represented the people of Okinawa. Rather, the residents' viewed the Okinawa Prefectural Governments' disavowal of the value of the natural environment and local industries as the direct byproduct of Japanese and U.S. colonialism in Okinawa. A youth participating in the Kin Bay Protection Society cited Asato saying that "the residents' movement depends on how the people, who have to live in the community, and engage in life, culture, and events, make an assessment of their circumstances and participate in the struggle" (Kin Bay Protection Society, *Higashikaigan*, Vol. 32, December 1982).

As Arasaki (1996) and Tanji (2003) observe, the Kin Bay Struggle both raised awareness among the residents and increased their readiness for action. Its example provides a model for other struggles, and, as some scholars contend, an alternative path of protest for the Okinawan people (Arasaki, 1996; Tanji, 2003: 213). Tanji adds that each resident, rather than their political parties, holds an agency of representation in the collective struggle (ibid.). Domain-specific transformation theory argues that "the success of their mobilization efforts [movements for liberation or integration] also rests in part on effecting changes in the way their potential constituents view not only their life situation, but also themselves" (Snow, Rochford, Worden, & Benford, 1986/1997: 246). The Kin Bay Struggle emphasized individual residents' responsibility to protect the natural environment. Only residents on their own behalf—and not by intervention of elected politicians—can act for their own region's needs, and subsequently each Pacific region

affected by the interests of their own national framework can support others in their efforts to retain regional autonomy over the use and administration of local resources.

Through the struggle, residents learned the importance of a self-sufficient, sustainable economy which aims to utilize natural environmental resources without destroying their habitat. Further, the knowledge acquired via the Kin Bay Struggle reached beyond the boundaries of the Yakema community. When the development of CTS was introduced to Tarama Island, Miyako, residents could profit from the lessons of the Kin Bay Struggle experience and readily took action in 1978 (Tarama o Mamoru Kai, 1978). Moreover, lessons of the Struggle extended to the protest against the construction of the airport in Shiraho, Ishigaki Island, and the sit-in protest against the construction of the U.S. military heliport in Henoko, Nago City (Tanji, 2003; Kin Bay Protection Society, *Zadankai: Kin-wan tōsō o furikaette*).

The Shiraho District Opposition Committee Against the Construction of New Ishigaki Airport (*Shin Ishigaki kūkō Shiraho Chiku Kensetsu Soshi Iinkai*), emerged in November 1980 (Tanji, 2003: 219), to oppose the project to expand use of the airport by reclaiming the coral reef next to Shiraho Village. The project was proposed by Ishigaki City and the Okinawa Prefectural Government to increase the capacity of the airport by enabling jumbo jets to arrive and depart (Matsushima, 2006: 35–36). Just as the Kin Bay Development Project was promoted by the reformist Okinawa Prefectural Administration, the Shiraho airport construction project was welcomed by the reformist Mayor of Ishigaki City and labor unions (Tanji, 2003: 219). The Shiraho community succeeded in mobilizing local and international support, and in defeating the project in 1991. However, when new Ishigaki City Mayor Nagateru Ōhama assumed office in 2004,

he supported the project as an incentive to the promotion of the tourism industry. The project was approved by the National Territory and Transportation Department, and the new airport is scheduled to open in 2012 (Matsushima, 2006: 36–37).

Although their successful opposition was ultimately reversed, the Shiraho struggle, which emerged 7 years after the 1973 Kin Bay Struggle's emergence, learned from the experience of the Kin Bay opposition (Asato, et al., 2004; Tanji, 2003). Shiraho fishermen visited Kin Bay and became aware of the negative impact of “economic development,” including environmental pollution and decrease of the number of fish (Sakihara, in Asato, et al., 2004: 32). Members of the Kin Bay Struggle also visited Shiraho and shared their idea that the “development,” which required destruction of the natural environment, would never provide an “affluent life” (Sakihara, in Asato, et al., 2004: 33). In the Shiraho struggle, the ocean was also represented as what sustained the residents' fishery practice and their lives after WWII.

In the meantime, the Henoko Heliport Construction Opposition Committee (*Henoko Heliport Kensetsu Soshi Kyōgikai*), later renamed the Henoko Life Protection Society (*Henoko Inochi o Mamoru Kai*), emerged in January 1997, and has opposed the construction of the U.S. military heliport on the offshore area next to Henoko Village, located on the east coast of Nago City (Tanji, 2003: 272). The construction project has been proposed as a relocation plan for the Futenma Air Base as a result of the discussion in the Special Action Committee on Okinawa (SACO) started after Governor Ota's refusal to sign a document to maintain the U.S. military's forceful use of the land and the rally of 85,000 people in October 1995, in reaction to the rape committed by three U.S. marines against a 12-year old girl in September 1995 (ibid.: 253). The SACO announced

its “reorganization and reduction” plan, which designated Camp Schwab located in Henoko District in December 1996 (ibid.: 270). Since the plan was proposed, Henoko Life Protection Society has prevented the construction.

The protest has mobilized more diversified agents in their struggle, including women, small groups comprised of individual citizens, and those not associated with labor unions and political parties but “inspired by pride in one’s local environment, as well as past war experience” (Tanji, 2003: 295). The Henoko struggle has sought to avoid a hierarchical relationship among those different agents, and to grow “a united and effective coalition-based movement,” even though there have always been tensions and conflicts among the parties (295).

Both the struggles in Shiraho and Henoko highlight the importance of the involvement of the unique lifestyle of local residents, sustained by abundant sea products. The Shiraho protest stressed the significance of the local residents’ involvement and their taking leadership in the protest, while they succeeded in mobilizing external support groups (Tanji, 2003: 243). The Henoko struggle has represented elderly people, who survived the Battle of Okinawa by making use of ocean products (Tanji, 2003: 75).

Moreover, abundance of the marine products, as emphasized in Kin Bay, Shiraho, and Henoko implies that participants in those struggles have tried to envision and practice self-sufficiency of their communities, as an alternative to the corporate and military industries, or even the “peace industry,” which have always divided the residents of the communities. One of the women at the Henoko sit-in protest stated that she strived to have “our own stomach which would not be controlled” through her involvement in the agricultural practice in the Kin Bay Struggle (*Keshi-kaji*, Vol. 48, September 2005:

15–17). Also, in the struggle at Henoko, seaweed cultivated from the coastal area of Ginoza Village, adjacent to the eastern coast of Nago City was of central significance (*Okinawa Times*, 2005, May 30th). Agricultural and aquacultural practices were used to express protest against the “economic development project” and to envisage internal community development.

Summary

After the results of the court case and transformation of the Prefectural Administration from reformist to conservative, the Kin Bay Protection Society was compelled to find an alternative course of action. During this period of scant political opportunities, the Kin Bay Protection Society re-initiated cultural practices within the community that had been abandoned as a result of successive traumatic historical events that had affected Okinawa’s land and ocean. Cultural practice was employed as their act of protest against the external forces, i.e., the governments and private companies that led the CTS project. Because of those agents, the residents were unable to maintain local industries and their control over how to live in their own community. Therefore, cultural origins matter in the Kin Bay Struggle, because the capitalist “developmentalist” ideology and practice had devastated the residents and necessitated the revitalization of cultural practice, under the ongoing destruction of the natural environment.

Cultural practices and reappraisal of local industries worked in tandem for the common cause in resisting the devastation brought by the CTS to the Kin Bay area. People from different walks of life (farmers, fishermen, union workers, youth, men, and women) joined forces to reclaim the use of the land and ocean in accordance with

regional interests and traditions. Moreover, application of cultural practices enabled the Kin Bay Struggle to enhance value restoration in primary industry and community autonomy, and the expansion of its network of solidarity with other ocean-related communities in the Ryukyu Arc and the Pacific constituted a roadmap leading to Pacific unification against environmental threats inflicted by national frameworks that trampled upon regional autonomies. The concept of *yui* was revived and applied in the context of volunteering for the common cause. The Kin Bay area regional cause expanded to the Ryukyu Arc first, and later to the Pacific islands, thus transforming a regional struggle into a forum in which the environmental ailments of the Pacific Ocean as a whole could be addressed. The initial aim to combat the action of the CTS had reverberations in other realms, which involved protection of natural resources at other levels of contamination.

Analysis of the cultural practices in the Kin Bay Struggle suggests the different aspects involved in understanding peoples' articulation of cultural values, in which it is possible to claim that local residents had further ability in operating their agency in the protest through cultural practices. Those practices, though originally mostly religious and celebratory in nature, offered their potency to serve a political cause by symbolically uniting individuals in common pursuit of resisting new forms of colonialism and attaining or rather restoring a sense of regional autonomy.

CHAPTER 5 CONCLUSION

This thesis, in its focus on the process of the Kin Bay Struggle, aimed to answer a number of questions. First, the Kin Bay Struggle was analyzed to discover why and how the Kin Bay Struggle emerged; what the issues articulated and tactics employed by the Kin Bay Protection Society in the early stages of the Struggle were; and what discourse was employed by those in support of the economic development of Okinawa and the oil industries. Second, I examined the process of the court struggle to analyzing why the Kin Bay Protection Society chose to take their Struggle to court; how they used the court as a field of protest; how those in support of CTS responded; and what the result of the court struggle was. Finally, in regards to the employment of cultural practices as a form of protest, I analyzed why and how the residents involved in the Kin Bay Struggle redirected their efforts after their defeat in court; how the residents revived traditional rituals and cultural practices to continue the protest; and what the significance of cultural practices and traditions to the protest was.

By positioning the Kin Bay Struggle in the political and economic context of Okinawa in the post-reversion period, I could evince the influence of the historical-political framework on the course of events in the Kin Bay community. I presented the Society's collective actions against their antagonists—including the Okinawa Prefectural Government and oil companies—in the order of their occurrence. Moreover, I examined how political changes enabled the residents to organize, how support from outside groups provided intellectual assistance and credibility, and how

collective activities were led by the residents. Issues, strategies, and mobilization tactics proposed by the Society are seen to have evolved over time.

I argued that the emergence of the Kin Bay Struggle was propelled by the structural change put into place by the reversion, which enabled the people of Okinawa to elect their own leader. Moreover, I explained that internal and external support drove the Kin Bay Protection Society to organize and frame its issues, guided to a significant degree by lessons learned from pre-reversion protests against the aluminum and oil industries on the eastern coast of Okinawa, and from the experience of industrialization in mainland Japan and its environmental impact.

The Kin Bay Protection Society aimed to guard the ocean against oil spillages and conflagrations caused by tankers and oil-related industries, which were promoted by Governor Yara's reformist administration as a "peace industry" for the future economy of Okinawa. Since even reformists could not criticize the Governor's compliance with national policy, the residents came to distrust the reformist political parties that could or would no longer represent their interests. Thus, they themselves became the representatives of their own struggle, despite the Kin Bay Protection Society's ultimate lack of success in mobilizing either reformist political parties or labor unions.

The structural change brought by reversion also enabled the Kin Bay Protection Society to take their next collective action. The Society initiated court struggle to gain validity for their claim, through applying principles of the Japanese Constitution that became accessible and applicable to the people of Okinawa after reversion. With the involvement of local fishermen, residents, and attorneys from Okinawa and mainland Japan, the Society first demanded that the Okinawa Prefectural Government put an end to

the ocean reclamation process, so that they could protect their fishing rights; but once reclamation was completed, the discourse was redirected to protest the dangers presented by the CTS. Although the court struggle succeeded in mobilizing support from labor unions, intellectuals, and political parties, it served principally to prove the unjust nature of the court system, which disregarded the appeal of the Society and allowed unilateral CTS construction even during the lawsuit. The Society failed in its court struggle, and subsequently faced the transformation of the Prefectural Administration from reformist to conservative.

Lack of political opportunity impelled the Society to shift the fields and targets of its collective actions. The Society proposed some practical ways to envision economic self-sufficiency and implement regional autonomy through cultural practices in Kin Bay communities. It initiated voluntarist agricultural practice, with the intention to revitalize farming as a viable regional industry in lieu of government-initiated capitalist industries. Cultivation practices in this struggle aimed to redefine economic development as well as autonomy, based on the residents' cultural values. Employment of cultural practice enabled the Society to gain support from labor union workers, residents of the Ryukyu Arc, and the wider Pacific. Moreover, extended coalition with the Ryukyu Arc and Pacific communities enabled the Society to redefine geographical integrity and critique the discourse of "national interests" imposed on Okinawa. In a larger context, the Kin Bay Struggle was part of a worldwide, indigenous peoples' struggle to regain rights to self-determination. Indigenous communities struggling globally against capitalism and colonialism for their independence or autonomy were identified as allies in the Kin Bay

Struggle. The exchange of thoughts and experiences through networking with the Pacific islanders helped the Kin Bay Protection Society to frame their struggle.

The lessons of the Kin Bay Struggle have been kept alive over the post-reversion period into present-day Okinawa, and have evolved as part of the protest movement against further economic development and militarization in Okinawa. The continuous promotion of “economic development,” proposed and conducted in Okinawa since the reversion, indicates that it has not brought economic self-sufficiency to Okinawa. The Kin Bay Struggle contested the “economic development” of corporate capital and the government, instead envisioning community self-sufficiency through the revitalization of residents’ cultural beliefs and livelihoods cooperating with nature. The struggle has passed on its visions, narratives, and practices of how to internally resist the application of “economic development” from external forces to contemporary social movements in Okinawa.

Those shifts in the fields and targets of the Society’s collective actions were highlighted by applying the frameworks of social movement theories. Framing theory (Snow, Rochford, Worden, & Benford, 1986/1997; Snow & Benford, 1988; Hunt, Benford, & Snow, 1994) provided me with tools to explain how movement players were impelled to shift their actions according to the opportunities and resources gained. Political opportunity theory (Piven & Cloward, 1977; Jenkins & Perrow, 1977/1997) enabled me to understand the impact of the dynamics of the post-reversion politics in Okinawa—indeed, the impact of reversion itself—on the emergence and mobilization of the Kin Bay Struggle. Resource mobilization theory (McCarthy & Zald, 1977; Morris, 1981/1997) helped me identify the political opportunities and framings that enabled the

Society to gain internal and external support. After they failed in mobilizing reformist political parties and labor unions, the Kin Bay Protection Society was forced to propose alternative framings, which eventually succeeded in mobilizing diverse actors and expanded the number of their supporters. Framing, resource mobilization, and political opportunity theories worked together and supplemented each others' limitations.

Furthermore, Staggenborg's 2001 study on the relationship between political opportunities and cultural activism allowed me to frame my discussion of how and why the Society employed cultural practices, and what was gained through cultural practices. Both collective identity/action and culture theories (Melucci, 1992; Mueller, 1994; Klandermans, 1992; Taylor, 1992) and frame transformation theory (Snow, Rochford, Worden, & Benford, 1986) encouraged me to pay attention to how the Society envisioned and practiced alternative means toward "economic self-sufficiency" by performing festivals and rituals, and eventually redefined "economic development." As I summarized how framing, political opportunity, and resource mobilization theories applied to the case of the Kin Bay Struggle, collective identity/action and culture theories helped me to capture the evolution of the Kin Bay Struggle both with political opportunity and frame transformation theories. Combination of the multiple social movement theories enabled me to grasp the dynamics of the course of actions and interdependency among those different factors.

Before conducting this research, my understanding of the Kin Bay Struggle was that there was a clear boundary that divided the residents from the government promoters of the oil industry. However, as seen in the previous chapters, the different parties shared an interest in "economic self-sufficiency." Through interviews with former members of

the Kin Bay Protection Society including former teachers and fishermen, Okinawa Prefectural Government officials, and former oil industry workers, and by reading through the archival data, I realized that even government officials and former CTS workers had a vision of the revitalization of their communities. In other words, the different parties involved had some shared interests, but what they did not hold in common was agreement on how to become economically self-sufficient.

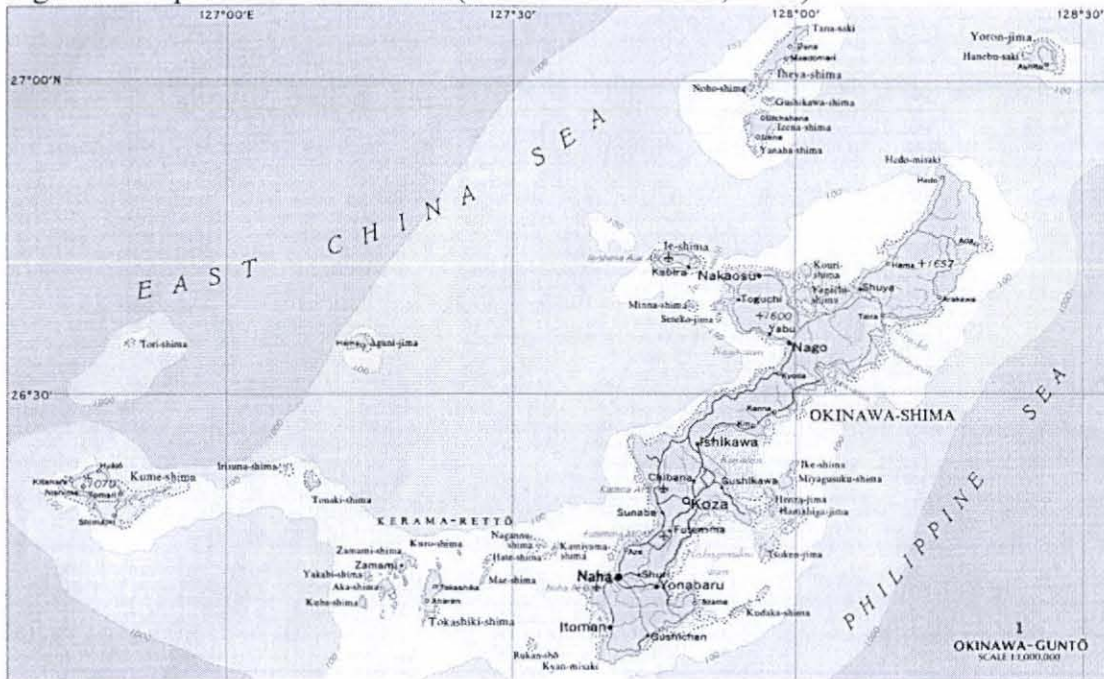
The Kin Bay Struggle, therefore, was not only a protest against economic development, but also a conflict among parties with different ideas about “economic development” and “economic self-sufficiency” for the future economy of Okinawa, at a time when the people of Okinawa faced reversion. The Kin Bay situation emerged right after the reversion of Okinawa from the U.S. to Japan, and signals the critical moment when the people of Okinawa realized the significant relationship between the natural environment and human beings, as well as between political autonomy and economic self-sufficiency, within the dynamics of social change. Thus, looking at those various perspectives broadened my understanding of the issues involved in oil industry development. I realized that the conflict was caused by a lack of homogeneity in values and ideas about how to revitalize the communities and Okinawa as a whole after the reversion. In post-reversion Okinawa, development discourse is still pervasive, and how to achieve “economic sufficiency” remains a basic but undecided issue. Therefore, this ambiguous boundary between social movement actors and their antagonists still remains.

Further studies could be performed on how social movement theories can be applied to understand the complexities of the debate over economic development in Okinawa, post-reversion to the present. Another area to be explored is how the

communities in Okinawa have promoted culturally and environmentally appropriate local industries as a way to regain and exercise their rights to economic and political self-determination, as well as means for internally-generated economic development in Okinawa. There is a need to formulate effective discourses that can serve social movements in Okinawa in promoting economic self-sufficiency and political autonomy while upholding regional cultural practices.

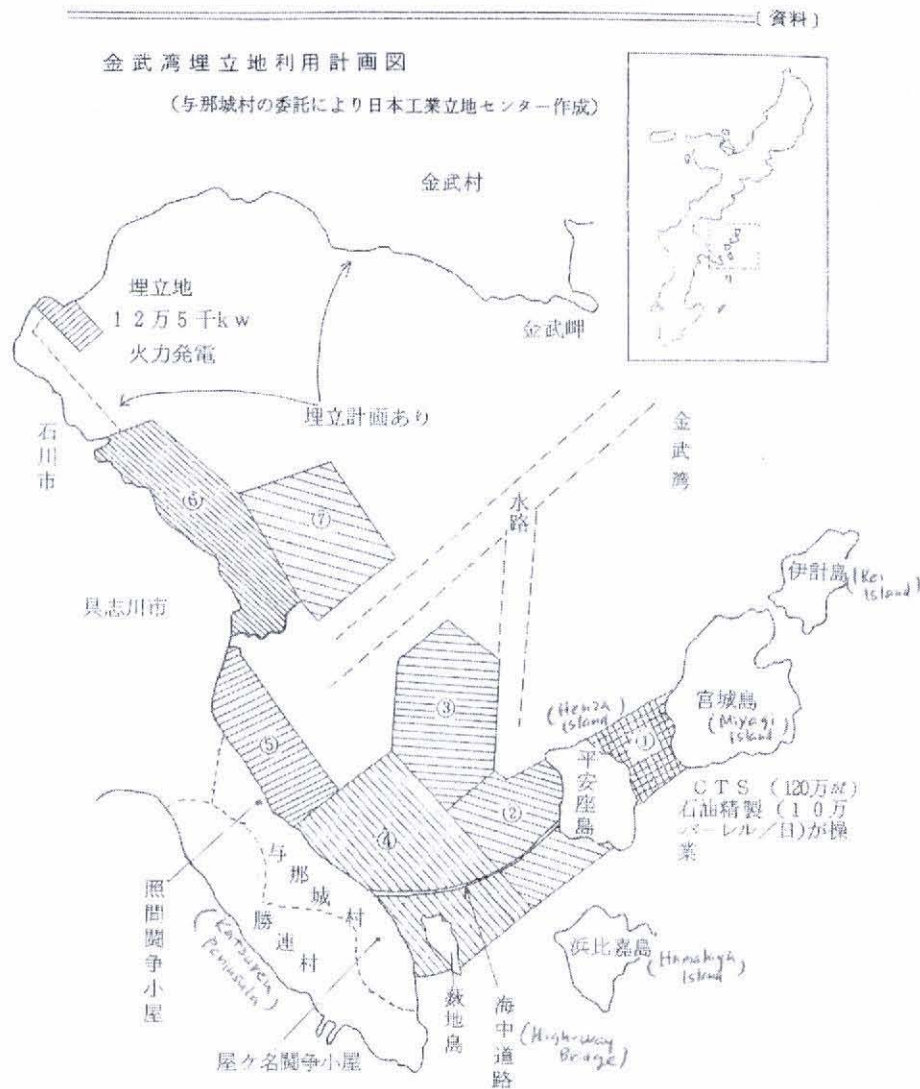
FIGURES

Figure 1. Map of Okinawa Islands (Before Reclamation, 1970).



Source: Okinawa-U.S. National Atlas 1970. Retrieved on April 21st, 2008, from University of Texas Libraries. Perry-Castañeda Library Map Collection. Japan Maps: Regional Maps. [http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/middle_east_and_asia/okinawa.jpg].

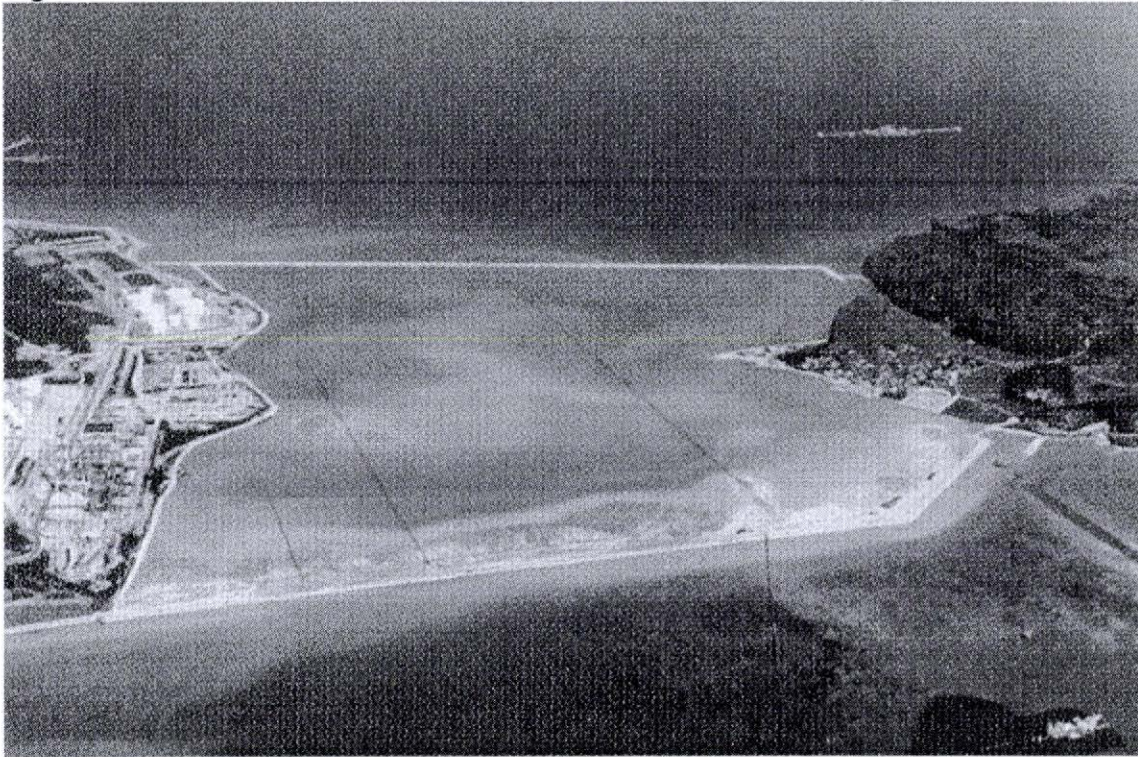
Figure 3. Kin Bay Area Development Project



- ① CTS; ②Thermal power generation, nuclear power generation, aluminum industry; ③Petrochemistry; ④Chemical industry, food industry, leisure facility; ⑤Transportation, public wharf; ⑥Machinery, merchandising industry; ⑦Shipbuilding industry

Source: Kin Bay Protection Society. 1975b. "Kin-wan umetatechi riyo keikakuzu (Kin Bay reclaimed land use planning map)." in *Kankyō Hakai (Environmental disruption)* 6(1): 45.

Figure 4. Before Reclamation: Ocean Area between Henza and Miyagi Islands



Source: Norio Ōta. *Okinawa kyodai purojekuto no kiseki: sekiyu bichiku kichi (CTS) kaihatsu, gekito no 9 nen (The miracle of Okinawa big project: 9 years of fierce fight for oil storage development)*. Tokyo: Ātodeiz.

Figure 5. After Ocean Reclamation and the CTS Construction



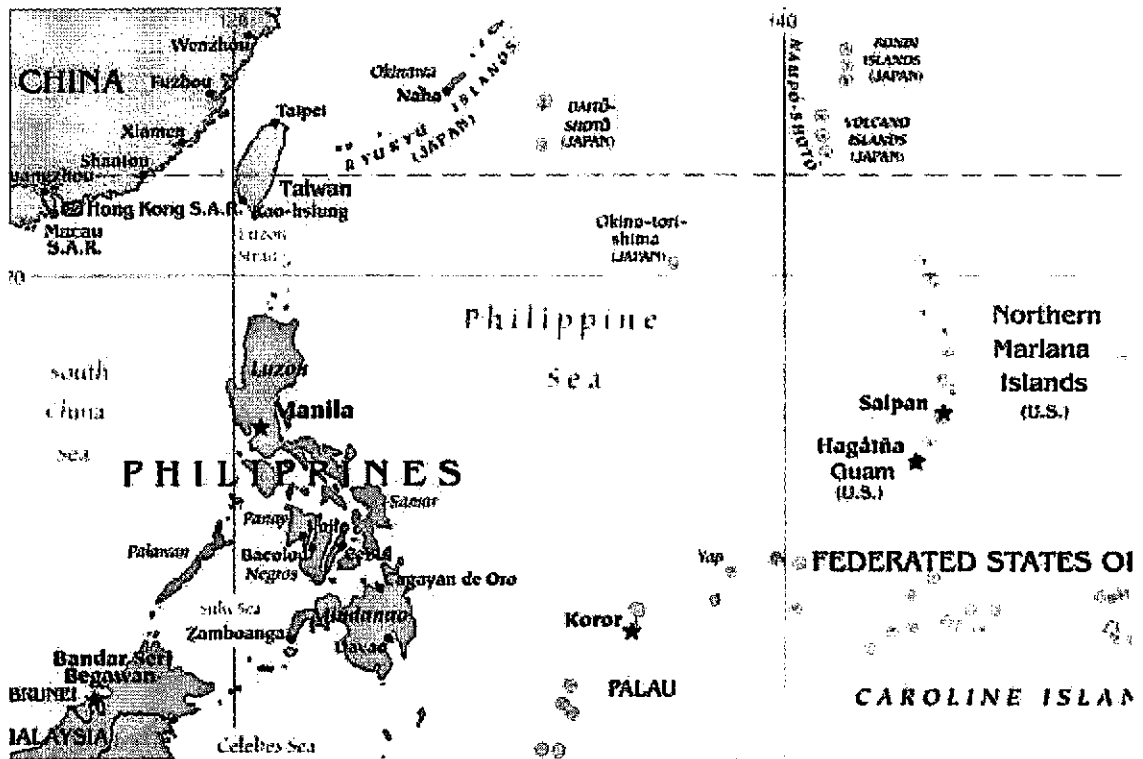
Source: Source: Norio Ōta. *Okinawa kyodai purojeukto no kiseki: sekiyu bichiku kichi (CTS) kaihatsu, gekito no 9 nen (The miracle of Okinawa big project: 9 years of fierce fight for oil storage development)*. Tokyo: Ātodeiz.

Figure 6. Waste-oil Balls in Kin Bay Area



Source: Personal photograph by Shōkichi Tengan. Obtained by the author on December 22, 2006.

Figure 7. Map of the Pacific Islands (Guam and Palau) and Ryukyu Arc



Source: Oceania (Political) 2001. Retrieved on April 21st, 2008, from University of Texas Libraries, Perry- Castañeda Library Map Collection. Map of Australia and the Pacific. [www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/australia.html].

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APPENDIX A

DATE	INTERVIEWEES
2006.12.20	Mr. S., a former local school teacher who was one of the managers of the struggle
12.21	Mr. G., a former school teacher who participated in the struggle
12.22	Mr. N., a fisherman at Uruma City Fishery Cooperative
12.24	Mr. O., former Okinawa Prefectural Government official
12.25	Mr. H., Henza Island resident, and a former CTS employee
12.26	Mr. T., a former fisherman at Gushikawa City Fishery Cooperative who became a plaintiff in the fishing rights' court case
12.26	Ms. E., a writer who evaluates the impact of developments on the environment and culture of Okinawa
12.27	Mr. Y., who, as a former member of the Workers' Union of Central Okinawa, supported the Kin Bay Struggle

APPENDIX B
INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Interview questions for those who participated in the struggle:

Please tell me about the residents' movement and your involvement in it.

How did the residents' movement start?

Why did you participate in the residents' movement?

What kinds of activities were important in the movement?

How was the movement related to community?

How did you explain the issue to your neighbors and to the larger society?

What did reversion mean to you?

Have you participated in any other movements?

What did/does autonomy mean to you?

Interview questions for those who did not participate in the struggle:

What did you think about the CTS development project in the Kin Bay area?

How did you feel about the protest against CTS development?

What did reversion mean to you?

**APPENDIX C
KIN BAY STRUGGLE TIMETABLE**

Year	U.S., Japan, World	Government of the Ryukyu Islands (GRI)/Okinawa Prefectural Government (OPG)	Corporations	Kin Bay Protection Society (KBPS)	Other Agents	Theoretical Implications
1969	Sato-Nixon Agreement on Reversion (11.19)					
1970		Long Term Economic Development Project(9.10)	Okinawa Terminal Co. starts operations (5.3)			
1971	"Nixon Shock" (8.15)		Gulf builds a highway-bridge between Henza and Okinawa Islands (6.6) Gulf Oil spills more than 190 tons of crude oil (11.1)			
1972	New Nation-wide Comprehensive Development Program (Japan) (10.31)	Okinawa, Kin Bay Area Development Project (3.0) GRI certifies Mitsubishi for its development and reclamation (3.4) Reversion of Okinawa: Chobyō Yara becomes the 1st Governor of Okinawa Prefecture (5.15)	Okinawa Oil Refining Co. starts operation (4.16) Mitsubishi's Okinawa Oil Base Co. obtains a certificate to take over public water areas (5.19)			Opening of political opportunity

1973	Outbreak of the 4th Middle Eastern War: The First Oil Crisis (10.6)			<p>Organization of KBPS: (9.22)</p> <p>KBPS hands a Public Written Inquiry to the Governor at the OPG (10.26)</p> <p>Submits a petition with 6,164 signatures to the OPG (12.10)</p>	<p>Anti-CTS Rally Central Okinawa (KBPS and the Workers' Union of Central Okinawa) (11.22)</p>	<p>Framing</p> <p>Successful resource mobilization</p>
1974	<p>The Minister of International Trade and Industry (Japan) declares governmental policy in favor of "CTS promotion" (1.25)</p>	<p>Governor Yara requests that Mitsubishi withdraw its CTS development project in Okinawa (1.19)</p>	<p>Mitsubishi encourages Governor Yara to reconsider the repeal of the Kin Bay Development Project (1.23)</p> <p>Completion of reclamation construction of the Public Water Area (4.30)</p> <p>Mitsubishi Oil accident in Mizushima, Okayama Prefecture (12.18)</p>	<p>Sit-in protest at the public square next to the Okinawa Prefectural Hall (1.18-22)</p> <p>6 fishermen file a lawsuit to invalidate the Kin Bay Public Water Area Reclamation Certificate (9.5)</p> <p>"Central Okinawa Rally for Anti-CTS and Reclamation, Triumph at the Court Struggle" at Teruma Beach (3,000 participants) (10.29)</p>	<p>Pro-CTS Prefectural Union rallies in Naha City (2.08)</p> <p>Organization of the Society for Extended Struggle against the CTS (9.7)</p>	<p>Opening of political opportunity structure</p> <p>Failure in mobilizing external resources</p> <p>Framing / Successful resource mobilization</p> <p>Success in mobilizing external resources</p>

1975		Approval of the completion of the ocean reclamation (10.11)		48 Hamahiga Island fishermen reiterate that they never agreed to the ocean reclamation (7.14) Hunger Strike (10.6-11)	"Prefectural Assembly Convocation in Resistance to the CTS Construction" (8,000 participants) (2.5) The Judge's reactionary judgment (10.14)	Success in mobilizing external resources
1976		OPG official remarks, "CTS has taken root as a non-environmentally polluting industry in mainland Japan." (3.29) Governor Yara approves the oil tank construction (6.22)	The Pollution Control Agreements among Yonagusuku Village, Okinawa Oil Base Co., and the Okinawa Terminal Co. (12.27)			Decline of political opportunity structure
1977		The Pollution Control Agreements among OPG and all the other oil companies (6.4)	The Pollution Control Agreements between OPG and Okinawa Oil Base Co. (3.10)	KBPS applies for a temporary restraining order at the Naha District Court (4.9)		Shifts in their framings
1978		New Prefectural Governor Junji Nishime (LDP) assumes office (12.13)				Closure of political opportunity

1979	Iranian Islamic Revolution: The Second Oil Crisis (2.11)	Naha District Court rejects the Society's request for halting the CTS construction (3.29) Governor Nishime approves Okinawa Oil Refinery's construction of four more oil tanks (4.3)		Teruma <i>kushukki</i> is held in Teruma District (4.27) The 1st Ryukyu Arc Residents' Movement Exchange Camp (8.24-26)	Restructuring collective identity, revitalizing values
1980	The 2nd Pacific Islands Forum Summit: Japan's plan to dump nuclear waste in the Pacific faces objections from the heads of local governments (8.14-15)	Governor Nishime approves CTS expansion (12.24)	The first filling of oil tanks (3.12)	The Worker's Union of Central Okinawa begins organizing volunteer agricultural systems (2.3) Yakena Tug of War Festival (7.26) 2 nd Ryukyu Arc Residents Movement Exchange Camps (7.26-27)	Cultural recoding, reframe the values of agricultural practices Restructuring collective identity and revitalizing values
1981				KBPS delegates departure to Palau to celebrate the foundation of Palauan self-governement (1.22)	Restructuring collective identity and revitalizing values

				<p>“Okinawa-Minamata Journey” (6.20-7.2) 3rd Ryukyu Arc Residents Movement Exchange Camps (7.25)</p> <p>Kin Bay boat racing is held at Teruma Beach (8.9)</p>		Cultural recoding, reframe the value of ocean
1982			Okinawa Oil Base Co. causes oil spillage accident (11.17)	KBPS withdraws its appeal of the CTS case (10.20)		

**APPENDIX D
COURT STRUGGLE TIMETABLE**

YEAR	DATE	PLEADING OR DOCUMENT	NOTES
1974	9.5	Lawsuit filed to Confirm the Invalidity of the Kin Bay Public Water Area Reclamation Certificate	6 fishermen plaintiffs bring this case before the Naha District Court
	10.30	Central Terminal Station ("CTS") Trial: First Public Hearing. Plaintiffs claim Okinawa Prefectural Government (OPG) process of obtaining consent from fishermen was defective; OPG counter argued that consent from fishermen was properly obtained.	300 people participated.
	12.13	CTS Trial: Second Oral Pleading. OPG argued that fishermen abandoned their fishing rights; KBPS questioned the factual basis of the OPG argument; OPG committed to provide a response at the next public hearing.	140 people participated.
1975	1.31	CTS Trial: Third Oral Pleading. OPG Answer to the Plaintiffs' request for explanation; OPG request to KBPS to confirm the points at issue.	100 riot police mobilized at the court house.
	2.28	CTS Trial: 4th Public Hearing. OPG answered that the Reclamation Certificate was valid.	100 people participated; 150 riot police on stand-by.
	3.31	CTS Trial: 5th Public Hearing. Senshun Namikawa, President of Yonagusuku Fisheries Cooperative, testified as a Defendant OPG witness.	
	4.17	2 Henza Island fishermen, Rinzo Hamagawa and Kokichi Fujita, filed a lawsuit concerning the invalidity of the Reclamation Certificate.	5 other fishermen from Hamahiga Island showed their interest to participate as plaintiffs in the lawsuit.
	5.23	CTS Trial: 6th Public Hearing. 4 plaintiff fishermen stated their opinions. In the afternoon, the plaintiffs pursued questions to defendant OPG's witness, President of Yonagusuku Fisheries Cooperative, asking him about the status of the 2 million yen compensation to be paid to compensate for damaging the reef in Kin Bay.	
	7.14	CTS Trial: 7th Oral Pleading. 40 fishermen from the Hama district of Hamahiga Island joined the lawsuit as plaintiffs. (Plaintiffs now total 48.) Hama District fishermen stated that they "never agreed with reclamation," and that after the reclamation, the ocean became sludge.	300 people participated at the hearing.

	9.12	CTS Trial: 8th Public Hearing. One day before the hearing, defendant OPG submitted their answer, which states that there is no public benefit or interest relating to the plaintiffs' claims. KBPS complained that they did not have an opportunity to present witnesses to testify in opposition to OPG's answer. Judge Yamaguchi concluded the hearing.	300 people participated at the hearing.
	10.4	CTS Trial: 9th Public Hearing - (Decision of the Court). Reactionary judgment of "No public benefit" in favor of OPG. Judge rushed off immediately after issuing his decision. OPG Governor evaluated that "this is a fair judgment."	1,500 people participated; after the Court decision, riot police and participants struggled with each other in the rain.
	10.7	48 plaintiffs filed an appeal of the First Judgment to a higher court, claiming their discontent with the first judgment.	
	10.11	Governor Yara confirmed that the reclamation of 640,000 <i>tsubo</i> of ocean between Miyagi Island and Henza Island had been completed, and that the newly created land is legally registered to Mitsubishi.	
1976	1.30	Appeal Hearing: 1st Public Hearing. Plaintiffs argued that the Trial Judge erroneously interpreted the law. Plaintiffs also claimed that there were procedural errors in the trial; that it was unreasonable for the Judge to deny the plaintiffs the opportunity to present evidence and arguments in response to OPG's position; and that the reasons cited by the Judge in his judgment were flawed and not consistent with the law.	100 people participated.
	4.2	Appeal Hearing: 2nd Public Hearing. OPG requests rejection of the appeal, claiming that the appeal has no public interest or benefit.	100 people participated.
	5.14	Appeal Hearing: 3rd Public Hearing. Plaintiffs submit preliminary documents which state that there were procedural errors in the trial.	250 people participated
	7.9	Appeal Hearing: 4th Public Hearing.	
1977	4.9	Plaintiffs submitted to court their Petition for Temporary Restraining Order to impose prohibition on the construction of a potentially dangerous oil storage tank.	1,250 fishermen and residents became plaintiffs in the Petition for Restraining Order.
	8.13	First Oral Pleadings: Regarding Petition for Restraining Order to suspend CTS construction.	
	10.12	2nd Oral Pleadings: Regarding Petition for Restraining Order to suspend CTS construction.	

	12.10	3rd Public Hearing - Witnesses for KBPS: Yoshiro Hoshino (Head of Setouchi Coastal Area Research Group), Tadao Ikukoshi (Geology Professor, Wako University), Muneaki Tajiri (Head of Dept. of Environmental Pollution Regulation, Tokyo City), Soichi Kondo (Technology Commentator), Naomasa Kobayashi (Biology Professor from Doshisha University), Yasutomo Yokoi (President of Fishermen Council of Setouchi Coastal Area), Kunihiro Yamada (Setouchi Coastal Area Research Group and Osaka University), Kanemasa Kaneshima (President of Okinawa Chapter, Japan Submarine Federation), and Tsuyoshi Uehara (Biology Professor, University of the Ryukus).	
1978	2.17	4th Oral Pleadings: Lawsuit for Restraining Order on CTS construction (Plaintiffs argued that the foundation of the reclaimed lands are not strong enough to support the large oil tanks).	
	6.19	5th Public Hearing - Lawsuit for Restraining Order on CTS construction. KBPS witness Tadao Ikukoshi (Geology Professor, Wako University) argued: that the reclaimed land would be in danger during an earthquake, Mitsubishi fabricated the data to make up the fact that the reclaimed land would be safe, and challenged Mitsubishi's promise to make the reclaimed land strong enough to support the large oil storage tanks.	
1979	3.29	Judgment rejecting the Petition for Restraining Order on CTS construction	Riot police were standing by and removed the public protesters from the courtroom gallery.
		Plaintiffs attorneys were attempting to submit new evidence and requested that Judge Inamori thoroughly examine the evidence. Judge Inamori ignored the plaintiffs' attorney, and one woman protested against the Judge's action. As the court officials dragged her out of the court, there was a struggle in the courtroom, involving court officials, plaintiffs, plaintiff attorneys and others in the court gallery. Judge ordered that everyone who had left their seats must leave the courtroom. Plaintiff attorneys protested that the Judge's actions were unfair, and left the courtroom. Police were dispatched to the court. Judge Inamori locked the courtroom doors, leaving only the defendant OPG attorneys and press in the courtroom, and the Judge subsequently rendered the decision rejecting the Petition for Restraining Order on CTS construction.	
	4.12	Appeal of Judgment rejecting the Petition for Restraining Order on CTS construction	
	10.30	CTS Second Lawsuit: Objection to first Trial Judgment - The first Oral Pleadings. Seishin Asato (KBPS leader) stated his opinion.	Based on an order by the higher court, increasing the court costs from 500 yen for each case, to 1500 yen for each plaintiff, the

			number of plaintiffs decreased from 1,250 to 50.
1980	2.19	Appeal Hearing - 2nd oral Pleadings. KBPS Declaration to change the claims in their Petition.	
		Appeal Hearing - 2nd Oral Pleadings. The original claim was to stop the construction of CTS oil tanks. However, during the trial, the construction continued, and the Okinawa Oil Base has completed construction of 21 oil tanks and the Okinawa Terminal will complete the construction of the remaining 4 tanks soon. In March 1981, the company will fill the tanks with oil and start operations. Thus the KBPS added a new claim to stop filling the tanks with oil.	70 residents and supporters participated in the hearing.
	6.10	3rd Public Hearing.	
	10.28	4th Public Hearing.	
1981	6.9	Appeal hearing - 6th Public Hearing. KBPS submitted new evidence regarding the weakness in the foundation of the ground.	
	10.6	CTS Lawsuit: 7th Oral Pleadings. KBPS pointed out to Mitsubishi the unstableness of the ground; problems with the structure of the oil tanks; and that disaster or emergency prevention measures were insufficient. Mitsubishi avoided response or explanation.	
1982	10.20	KBPS attorneys withdrew the Appeal of the CTS case from the Naha Chapter of the Higher Court in Fukuoka.	