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Re-visualizing Okinawa: Gender, race and Cold War US occupation in *The Okinawa Graphic*

Mire Koikari

Introduction

In September 1964, *The Okinawa Graphic*, a popular news magazine in Okinawa, published an article entitled ‘Mutual Friendship and Responsibility – High Commissioner Watson.’ Announcing the arrival in Okinawa of Lt General Albert Watson II, the magazine expressed cautious optimism about this change in personnel in the United States Civil Administration of the Ryukyu Islands (USCAR), the central organ of administration in this occupied territory. In contrast to his predecessor, Paul Caraway, whose iron-fisted control had generated much fear and discontent, Watson seemed a better option for Okinawa. Advocating ‘friendship’ and ‘responsibility’ as central pillars of his reign, Watson would surely be more flexible in his governance, respectful towards the islanders’ sentiments, and open to the idea of Okinawa’s eventual autonomy, the magazine noted. Despite some optimism, however, the new commissioner remained unknown. Announcing his intention to defend freedom at any cost, Watson seemed far more determined than Caraway to use Okinawa as a staging arena for anti-communist offensives, while the latter had at least paid lip service to showcasing the islands as a model of ‘democracy’.¹

Prior to his arrival in Okinawa, Watson had stopped over in Hawaii, a former US territory turned fiftieth state, where Japanese and Okinawan immigrants exerted significant influence. As the magazine reported, during his one-week stay in Hawaii, Watson attended a variety of events, most notably a welcome party hosted by the Okinawa Association of Hawaii. The published photos conveyed a sense of excitement surrounding the occasion. Okinawan American leaders showed up in droves to greet Watson, whose rule would soon impact Okinawa. A dinner event was held in the opulent Imperial Banquet Room at the newly refurbished Kaimana Beach Hotel in Waikiki (now the New Otani Kaimana Beach Hotel), a Japanese American establishment built on a property once owned by the white merchant McNerny family.² Among the more than 300 attendees was Ms Teruya, the Okinawan American beauty queen who added feminine charm as she chatted casually with Mr and Mrs Watson.³

To commemorate the occasion, the magazine printed a two-page spread under the heading, 'Aloha High Commissioner Watson.' In it, twelve Okinawan American leaders offered individual remarks accompanied by their formal portraits in suits and ties. Offering 'Aloha from the bottom of our hearts', they praised the work of the previous high commissioners and commended US rule in Okinawa for its political, economic and social benefits to the islanders. While glorifying the success of the occupation, the leaders also used the occasion to make 'suggestions' about US governance in Okinawa. Alluding to various tensions and frictions brewing in Okinawa, Asato Sadao urged Watson to make extra efforts in understanding the islanders' customs and habits and fostering 'genuine cooperation' between the occupiers and the occupied. 'A pathway' would surely open up, Asato stated, when both sides exercised 'good will and reasonable thinking'.⁴ Nakamine Shinsuke emphasized the importance of generating 'discussions' between Americans and Okinawans. He hoped that the new commissioner would display 'generosity' by lending his ears to 'the voices of people' and heeding grassroots wishes.⁵

The Okinawa Graphic's coverage of Watson highlighted a number of dynamics circulating within and beyond Okinawa at the time. Following Watson's footsteps from Hawaii to Okinawa, it reiterated the idea of 'manifest destiny', that is, a US westward advance which enlisted island communities across the Pacific as 'stepping stones' to Asia. Watson's emphasis on 'friendship' reflected emerging Cold War rhetoric, whereby cultivating 'people-to-people' relations with racial-national others constituted a crucial strategy amidst civil rights mobilizations at home and decolonization movements abroad.⁶ Gender played a salient role in this Cold War dynamic. As indicated by the presence of Ms Teruya at Watson's welcome party, women were indispensable in generating cross-cultural affinity and affiliation, whose feminine presence would soften and obscure ongoing racial and national tensions. Hawaii, tropical islands full of 'Aloha', provided an ideal backdrop for such performance. The islands' multiracial population – itself an outcome of the colonial-style plantation economy built on the backs of immigrants of colour – affirmed the standing of the United States as the champion of racial diversity and democracy. The promotion of Hawaii as a symbol of multiculturalism masked the plight of Indigenous Hawaiians, whose increasing marginalization was in stark contrast to the rising status of Japanese and Okinawan immigrants after the Second World War.⁷ While reflecting the dominant workings of power, the 1964 article also showcased the agency of the marginalized and subordinated. Providing laudatory remarks, Okinawan American leaders also articulated their opinions towards the occupiers, suggesting changes in the existing mode of governance.

This chapter examines *The Okinawa Graphic*, a bi-lingual (English and Japanese) news magazine whose visual and narrative contents reveal much about war and occupation, militarism and imperialism, and nationalism and transnationalism in the early Cold War decades.⁸ During the US occupation of Okinawa (1945–72), this magazine constituted a dynamic site of discursive production, where texts and images, reportage and advertisements, and editorials and letters from readers were informed by gender, race, nation and empire. A visual repository of exceptional value and volume, the magazine still plays a crucial role in present-day Okinawa. Its current copyright holder, Shinseisha Press, produces 'company history' (*shashi*) for local business and

civic organizations for a fee, recycling previously published photos to recount and recollect stories from the past.⁹

This chapter will first provide background information on the US occupation of Okinawa, Occupation Studies (*Senryō Kenkyū*) and 'graphic magazines' (*gurafushi*)

Figure 8.1 Cover of *The Okinawa Graphic* featuring a female model with Ryukyuan-style hair and fashion. Courtesy of Shinseisha Press. (See Plate 10.)

in order to situate *The Okinawa Graphic* in relevant historical, discursive and genre contexts. The chapter will then examine select articles from the magazine, with analytical attention to words (English and Japanese), and more importantly visual (especially photographic) images. Unlike other publications such as *Shurei no Hikari* and *Konnichi no Ryukyu* – propaganda magazines issued by the occupiers¹⁰ – *The Okinawa Graphic* is a rare, understudied artefact whose content reveals far more nuance and ambiguity. Complicit in dominant political dynamics, the magazine also showcased multitudes of discursive manoeuvres and manipulations, demonstrating the islanders' will, tenacity and capacity in diverse and sometimes surprising ways (Figure 8.1).

History, scholarship and genre convention

The US occupation of Okinawa took place on the heels of the Pacific War, whose ending was particularly violent for the islanders. As the Battle of Okinawa raged from 1 April to 22 June 1945, Okinawa, Japan's southernmost prefecture, became a site of deadly confrontations between the United States and Japan, resulting in enormous destruction of human life and infrastructure across the islands. Following the ceasefire, Okinawa was administratively separated from mainland Japan, which had controlled the once-independent kingdom since 1872, and was placed under US rule. In the emerging Cold War context, Okinawa held exceptional significance for the region's geopolitical dynamics. With its proximity to locations of strategic importance in Asia and the Pacific, Okinawa was slated to become the 'Keystone of the Pacific', from which the United States would launch its offensive against communist foes. Cold War militarization deeply impacted the islands, displacing residents, generating countless crimes and accidents, and transforming Okinawa into a permanent garrison. Far from compliant, Okinawans engaged in resistance, both small and large. Best known were the successive waves of 'island-wide struggles' (*shimagurumi tōsō*), in which Okinawans were mobilized en masse to protest the US military presence in the 1950s (called 'the first wave') and the 1960s ('the second wave'). The protest mobilization coalesced into the reversion movement, demanding Okinawa's return to Japanese administration. The reversion, which took place in 1972, did not stop Okinawa's militarization, however. To this day, US military facilities in Japan are disproportionately concentrated in this tiny island prefecture. The Japan Self-Defense Forces (JSDF) also exert an increasingly significant presence, whose post-Cold War expansion in Okinawa has been notable.¹¹

During the occupation, the United States deployed a variety of cultural strategies in order to contain the islanders' opposition. Okinawa was renamed 'Ryukyu', an old name for the islands that predated Japanese rule. Local culture and tradition were promoted, fostering an Okinawan identity apart from mainland Japan, and stifling the islanders' wish for reversion. American food, clothing, medicine and other everyday materials were introduced, making the occupiers' culture familiar and digestible. The home economics movement emerged, enlisting women of diverse backgrounds and nationalities to disseminate knowledge and technologies of American (i.e. modern) homemaking.¹² The University of the Ryukyus (UR) and

the Ryukyuan-American Cultural Center (initially called the 'Information Center') were established, providing spaces for the islanders to learn about US culture and history. At the centre of all these dynamics was USCAR, the central organ of US governance from 1950 to 1972.

For discussions of post-war Okinawa, the field of 'Occupation Studies', or *Senryō Kenkyū*, provides a crucial context. A trans-Pacific arena of scholarship, this field has involved notable scholars such as John Dower in the United States and Sodei Rinjirō in Japan, and has generated numerous studies on the topic. Despite its richness and diversity, however, Occupation Studies has predominantly focused on US rule in mainland Japan. In so doing, it has obscured the importance of other Allied forces (such as British Commonwealth Forces) in the occupation of Japan, and has overlooked other geographical locations (such as Okinawa) that were also part of the post-Second World War US occupation. While Okinawan scholars – Miyagi Etsujirō, Yakabi Osamu and Ōta Masahide, among others – have produced detailed accounts of US rule in Okinawa, their work tends to be marginalized in *Senryō Kenkyū*.

The pattern of marginalization remains in place to a remarkable degree today. Scholars of Japan continue to approach the 'Senryō' (Occupation) as a mainland Japanese event, placing Okinawa outside the purview of analysis. This tendency not only reinforces a well-established dynamic of knowledge production, where the colonized is repeatedly subordinated to the colonizer to sustain the latter's primacy. A lack of attention to Okinawa also results in a failure among scholars to examine the varied connections between the islands and the mainland. In the early post-war decades, numerous exchanges involving peoples, ideas and resources took place between Okinawa and mainland Japan, informing not only Okinawan but also Japanese experiences. In ongoing discussions of the occupation, then, Okinawa continues to be a methodological and epistemological blind spot, whose recuperation is an urgent matter not only for those studying Okinawa, but also for those studying mainland Japan.

Gurafushi – news magazines characterized by their extensive use of pictorial images – is a well-established genre in Japan. Pictorials such as *Asahi Gurafu*, *Mainichi Gurafu* and *Sankei Gurafu* garnered wide readership in a manner similar to *Life* and *Time* in the United States. Similarities are not coincidental, as these magazines shared an intertwined history. In the early twentieth century, as the newly available technologies of printing and photography circulated across Asia, Europe and the United States, they spawned a new mode of literacy, that is, graphic magazines, in more than one nation or region.¹³ When radio and television were not widely available, periodicals featuring photographic images became a crucial means of (visual) communication, contributing to the creation of an 'imagined community' in Japan and elsewhere.¹⁴

An essential tool in nation building, *gurafushi* also played a crucial role in the expansion of empire. In Japan, as the imperialist drive gained force, English-language *gurafushi* – *Asahi Graph Overseas Edition* (by *The Asahi Shinbun*), *Nippon* (by Nihon Kōbō), *Front* (by Tōhōsha), and *Commerce Japan* (by Bōeki Kumiai Chūōkai) among them – were published with Western readers as their main target. Circulating attractive images of and narratives about Japan, in which women, children and domestic objects played a prominent role, these publications functioned as propaganda tools whose aim was to contain Western criticism regarding Japan's foreign policies. These magazines

also provided a crucial training ground for individuals such as Natori Yōnosuke, Domon Ken and Kimura Ihei, the ‘founding fathers’ of Japanese photography whose involvement in propaganda activities suggests a problematic link between war- and art-making.¹⁵ Importantly, among those involved in the production of the magazines were Japanese socialists and communists, whose complicity in the wartime state is interpreted as a subversive means of survival by some¹⁶ and a troublesome instance of ‘conversion’ (*tenkō*) requiring critical analysis of ‘war responsibility’ (*sensō sekinin*) by others.¹⁷ The legacy of *gurafushi* is therefore complex and multifaceted, inseparable from Japan’s past ‘occupations’ in Asia, but also potentially subversive of them.

Emerging in post-Second World War Okinawa, *The Okinawa Graphic* followed the format of its mainland predecessors, while also articulating its own unique dynamics. Its founder was Sakiyama Kishō, an Okinawan businessman whose profile was as colourful as the photographic images circulated by the magazine.¹⁸ Originally from Nago, Okinawa, Sakiyama dabbled in various business ventures before, during and after the Second World War. Prior to the war, he sold Okinawan liquor, *awamori*, in Tokyo. He also managed a high-end hotel, Naha Hotel, in Okinawa. Migrating to *Nanyō* (the ‘South Seas’), where a large number of Okinawans resided as part of a Japanese imperial scheme focused on sugar production and fisheries,¹⁹ Sakiyama also worked for the Japanese colonial government headquartered in Palau. Once the war was over, he returned to Okinawa to start a German-style bakery and run a subsidiary of Shōchiku, the leading film producer-distributor in Japan. *The Okinawa Graphic* was yet another business endeavour undertaken by this multitalented businessman. As discussed below, the magazine reflected its founder’s varied and sometimes incongruous interests, as well as the double nature of mainland *gurafushi* wherein complicity and subversion constituted prominent features.

The Okinawa Graphic

In post-war Okinawa, the islanders’ responses and reactions to US rule were far from straightforward. On the one hand, the occupiers were figures of adoration, as they ended Japanese rule, under which Okinawans had endured political marginalization, economic exploitation and cultural stigmatization for decades. On the other hand, the occupiers were also targets of bitterness, resentment and discontent, as they relegated Okinawans to the position of second-class citizens just as the Japanese had previously done. Though the hierarchy between ruler and ruled was obvious to everyone, the US occupiers insisted on the rhetoric of ‘people-to-people’ relations to emphasize mutuality and obfuscate disparity, a discursive strategy Okinawans frequently – and knowingly – went along with. Emerging within this context, *The Okinawa Graphic* became an ambivalent space of meaning making, circulating heterogeneous and often contradictory sentiments and pronouncements.

The magazine’s pro-American stance was evident in its depictions of the occupiers. In the New Year’s issue in 1960, the magazine published an interview with High Commissioner General Donald Booth at his private residence in Okinawa. Sakiyama Kishō, who conducted the interview, described his choice of interview site as follows: ‘The object of the visit was to introduce ... the life of a typical American couple at home

and thereby help promote mutual understanding between Okinawans and Americans.' The general was more than willing to play a part in this Cold War performance of mutuality staged at his own residence. Having just returned home, he made a point of changing from his military uniform into a suit and tie to emphasize his civilian status for the duration.

The published interview cast Mr and Mrs Booth as 'friends' of the islanders by highlighting their fondness for local objects, customs and habits. The photos showcased the couple's 'modest but attractive' home, where their penchant for learning from and adopting a culture different from their own was fully on display. Mrs Booth was an avid student of Japanese *ikebana* (flower arrangement), whose artistic production decorated the interior space of their home. Mr Booth too turned out to be a lover of things Asian. Outside, in the corner of their spacious yard, was a Japanese-style garden the general himself tended. The couple's personal demeanour also demonstrated their affinity with local culture. Mrs Booth displayed a soft and gentle disposition, far more 'Oriental' (*Tōyō teki*) than other US military wives Sakiyama had known. Equally charming was the down-to-earth attitude of Mr Booth, who chatted about his hobbies (fishing and photography) as though he were a *shomin teki na ossan* (a middle-aged man next door). As the Booths lived 'a well-regulated daily life pivoting around a well-balanced democratic relationship', their residence stood as a citadel of the American creed. Obscuring the absolute power the general held over the islanders, the interview presented a domesticated and domesticating vision of US rule, with the High Commissioner embodying a Cold War ethos of inter-cultural affinity and affiliation.²⁰

Cross-cultural affinity and affiliation was a popular theme in the magazine. In September 1959, the magazine printed a series of photos on the Fourth of July celebrations in Okinawa and the United States. Reporting on a gala reception hosted by General and Mrs Booth, the magazine printed a picture in which the newly appointed Civil Administrator John Ondrick and his wife were exchanging handshakes with local business and political leaders. Other pictures – the US marine artillery commemorating the occasion with a gun salute and US Air Force jets flying in formation – emphasized an intimate link between military power and national prowess. Thanks to the courtesy of the US military, the magazine also gained access to the image of an oil painting of George Washington in 1766 and that of the military parade in Pennsylvania in 1959, both of which were included in the issue. The Fourth of July celebration was a festive occasion for Okinawans to learn about the occupiers' culture and history.

Beyond the lives of Okinawa-based US military officials, the discourse of militarism and militarization often enlisted women and children. For its very first issue in April 1958, the magazine printed an image of Okinawan Boy Scouts on the cover. Originating in the UK at the turn of the century, the Boy Scout movement proliferated in the United States, providing a site of masculine-military socialization of youth.²¹ Imported into occupied Okinawa, it was appropriated to showcase the Cold War tenet of cross-cultural affinity and affiliation. Inside the magazine, an article related how Okinawan and American youths in the islands jointly celebrated International Friendship Week, an annual commemoration of Robert Baden-Powell, the founder of the British Boy Scouts.²² Women too played a prominent role in narratives about the military. Stories involving American military wives were repeatedly published in the

magazine, introducing their varied activities at the school of the deaf and blind,²³ the International Women's Club²⁴ and the Okinawa Chapter of the Ikebana International.²⁵

Moreover, in the occupied islands, American-style housing embodied US power and authority. In November 1958, the magazine published a two-page spread entitled 'American Village in Futenma', presenting a 'picturesque picture of ultra-modern homes with its beautiful green lawns, shrubs, gardens and paved sidewalks' near the Marine Corps Air Station Futenma.²⁶ According to the magazine, the residential complex, set up exclusively for the occupiers and their dependents, was the definition of 'comfortable living'. Emphasizing the occupiers' power in gendered terms, the narrative also pointed out that this ideal was achievable for the islanders: 'Before too long, Okinawans would come to experience the comfortable living enjoyed by Americans.'²⁷ Mobilized as 'proof' for this argument were Okinawan Americans in Hawaii. Their 'modern' and 'luxurious' homes were repeatedly featured in the magazine, highlighting the American domestic ideal and Okinawan immigrants' ability to achieve it. The message was not difficult to decipher. Just as the immigrant minority was able to obtain domestic luxury in US-controlled Hawaii, so could Okinawans as long as they remained under US rule.²⁸

In addition to housing, domestic commodities – food, clothing and household appliances – also conveyed US power. During the occupation, Okinawans became well acquainted with American brands such as Pepsi-Cola, Coca-Cola, Bridgestone and Singers. The magazine played no small part in this, as it was relentless in advertising their products in its pages. The promotion of American domestic products sometimes mobilized the power of science. This was seen in the case of wheat. As large quantities of American wheat poured into Okinawa as part of relief efforts, the magazine promoted its consumption as a way to tackle vitamin-B deficiency (humorously called *B-taran byō*), which was allegedly caused by the islanders' overreliance on rice. Wheat was a pathway towards 'rationalization of dietary habits', the magazine stated.²⁹ In addition to science, religion sometimes provided a lending hand in promoting wheat. In its 1960 report on the free school lunch programme, the magazine explained that the programme was 'a result of a donation of 1.2 million lbs. of wheat flour made by the U.S. government', whose transfer to Okinawa was mediated by 'the good offices of the International Catholic Welfare Service Council and the International Christian Welfare Organization'. Printed on the page were two student essays. One of them, written by a boy, expressed a deep sense of gratitude for the delicious gift of bread and milk (also a relief item) he received; another, written by a girl, articulated her hope that she would one day achieve an American physique whose excellence she reasoned was due to their daily consumption of milk and bread. Next to the essays was a picture of a tiny girl in a lunchtime classroom. A first or second grader, the girl held a large piece of bread in one hand and a cup of milk in another. Ready to bite into the bread, she could barely contain her excitement, as her small frame was bursting with anticipation of this pleasure³⁰ (Figure 8.2).

In *The Okinawa Graphic*, pro-American discourses proliferated then. Yet the magazine's accounts of the occupation were hardly uniform. Equally frequent were expressions of criticism of the United States. This was seen in the magazine's coverage of a military accident at the Miyamori Elementary School. On the morning of 30 June 1959, a US fighter jet crashed into the school building during the snack (milk)

Figure 8.2 Article promoting the newly started school lunch programme featuring the American ‘gift’ of milk and bread featured in the March 1960 issue of *The Okinawa Graphic*. Courtesy of Shinseisha Press.

break, killing sixteen people and injuring more than 100, the majority of whom were children.³¹ While military-related accidents were frequent, the 1959 incident stood out as it took away so many young and innocent lives.

In the magazine’s coverage of the disaster, photographic images took far more space than written text. In the August issue, the magazine printed a series of horrific images from the crash site. One photo showed an elementary school boy with severe burns all over his body lying naked on a hospital bed. Another showed a different victim, also a boy, whose tiny body was curled up on a stretcher as he was carried out of the building.³² In the October issue, the magazine reported on the joint memorial service attended by Okinawans and Americans. While the English title, ‘Joint Memorial Service’, was neutral enough, the Japanese title, ‘Kurikaesuna kono kanashimi o’ (Never to repeat this sorrow), was far more visceral. The article refrained from condemning the Americans, including High Commissioner Booth who attended the service, in any explicit terms. However, it still made its criticism legible by presenting an image of a victim’s mother breaking down in the middle of the service and another of the surviving classmates grieving at the altar. Preserved in these images was the indelible memory of US domination and its consequences.³³

The corporeal nature of war-making and empire-building was highlighted in other pieces as well. In June 1958, as part of the series entitled ‘Oraga Mura’ (my village), the magazine cast a spotlight on Miwa, a community located in the southernmost area

of the main Okinawa island, where the last phase of the Battle of Okinawa had been fought. A newly formed administrative district, Miwa, absorbed three pre-existing villages – Kiyan, Mabuni and Makabe. The reason for the merger was the drastic loss of population in these villages where so many had perished during the battle. As the magazine explained, the naming of Miwa – whose Chinese characters denoted ‘three’ and ‘peace’ – reflected the wishes of local residents who had seen too many lives disappear amidst chaos and bloodshed in the final days of the war.³⁴

In Okinawa, however, the dead would never completely disappear. In July 1962, the magazine turned the camera on what remained – and reappeared – in the aftermath of the Battle of Okinawa. The black-and-white photos showed human skulls and bones, some left in underground caves and others on open ground and exposed to the scorching sun. Still unaccounted for and unable to find their way home, these bones presumably belonged to some 20,000 individuals who had been caught in the crossfire between the United States and Japan. Utilizing the power of photography, the magazine invoked the memory of the slaughter literally in black-and-white terms. Against the backdrop of these stark images, the magazine also commented on another matter, that is, the different and unequal trajectories that the mainlanders and the islanders had each experienced since the end of the Second World War. Referring to the notion, popularized in mainland Japan – that the *senjo* (post-war period) had already run its course – it argued that the ‘post-war’ was far from over in Okinawa, where the foreign occupiers remained and the remnants of the war were barely below the surface.³⁵

Japanese empire and its legacies

In *The Okinawa Graphic*, the portrayal of Japan – Okinawa’s former colonizer whose influence hardly abated after the Second World War – was as complex as that of the United States. Similar to its approach to the United States, the magazine circulated numerous narratives whose tone and content were favourable to mainland Japan. Just as high commissioners were visible in the magazine’s accounts of the United States, the imperial household was a recurring topic in its depictions of Japan. The foremost symbol of and driving force behind pre-1945 Japanese expansionism, the imperial family (re)gained popularity in post-war Japan and Okinawa, with women and domesticity playing a pivotal role in facilitating this shift.

In the chronicle of high-profile events in post-war Japan, the 1959 marriage of Crown Prince Akihito to a commoner, Shōda Michiko, outshone others. The ‘wedding of the century’ triggered the ‘Mitchi (Michiko) Boom’, generating enormous excitement among Japanese and Okinawans.³⁶ Joining the festivities, the magazine reported on the young, handsome couple, following their tennis-court romance, the wedding gala, and the birth of their first son Naruhito (nicknamed ‘Naru-chan’), and Michiko’s motherhood.

The fervour surrounding the royal nuptials cannot be explained away as merely a case of popular fascination with celebrity affairs. In the early post-war context, the romance of Akihito and Michiko held political significance. The union of the imperial heir and a commoner sanitized the memory of the war that had been fought in the name of the

emperor. This in turn cleansed the image of Japan as an imperial aggressor, signalling its rebirth as a democratic nation. In occupied Okinawa, imperial institutions went through further reconfiguration. With the rise of the reversion movement, the symbols long associated with the emperor – the national flag (*Hinomaru*) and national anthem (*Kimigayo*) among them – were (re)deployed to express Okinawans' wish to end the US occupation and rejoin their *sokoku*, or homeland, Japan. The imperial portrait published in the magazine on the occasion of New Year in 1962, most likely a reprint of the official photo issued by the Imperial Household Agency for the public, captured a new discourse circulating in the mainland and its refraction occurring in the islands. Featuring the emperor, the empress, the crown prince and his brother, the photo placed young mother Michiko and her first-born Naruhito at the very centre of this domestic(ated) vision of Japan. The magazine provided a brief narrative, celebrating the imperial family as the embodiment of the beauty and peace of the *sokoku*, to which Okinawans wished to return. Equating mainland Japan with the newly democratized imperial family, the magazine imagined Okinawa's reversion in terms of its return to and reunion with the reformed family.³⁷

Okinawa's longing and belonging to the 'home(land)' was also frequently expressed via the islanders' attachment to Japanese domestic materials, whose popularity vied with those associated with the United States. Aware of Okinawa's potential as a consumer market, mainland Japanese manufacturers advertised their products via the print media, lectures and demonstrations, and shows and exhibits, cultivating brand loyalty years before the reversion. Advertisements for Japanese food items – Kikkoman soy sauce, Ajinomoto spice, Kirin beer, Nisshin flour, Meiji milk – proliferated. Equally popular were Japanese electronic appliances, that is, washing machines, electric fans, portable cameras and automobiles produced by Toshiba, Mitsubishi, Hitachi, Toyota, Sanyo and Minolta. The magazine not only published advertisements for Japanese products. It also shed light on how they were made. As seen in the reports on Kikkoman,³⁸ Citizen³⁹ and other industrial giants, the magazine repeatedly praised the rationality, precision and cleanliness characterizing production sites and processes in the mainland so as to highlight the industrial power and prowess of Japan.

Of the various domestic materials circulating in Okinawa, milk embodied layers of meaning. During the US occupation, American home economists promoted the consumption of milk as a way to improve the islanders' health, an essential ingredient in Okinawa's modernization (and 'civilization'). As powdered skim milk, a leading aid product, made its way into the islands from the United States, its unpleasant taste became forever associated with US rule among the islanders. Soon, however, Japanese dairy producers also made their way into Okinawa's consumer market. Among them was Morinaga Milk Industry, a leading national brand, whose infant formula, Morinaga dry milk, became extraordinarily popular. At one point, the product accounted for more than 90 per cent of the baby formula consumed in this occupied territory.⁴⁰

In Okinawa, Morinaga's marketing strategies targeted mothers and babies. The baby contest, an annual event where infants were weighed, measured and judged, provided a welcome venue for the company to publicize its baby formula. The 1962 contest, sponsored by Morinaga Milk Industry, the *Ryukyu Shinpō* newspaper and the Okinawa Women's Federation, attracted nearly 20,000 babies (and their mothers). The winner

in the baby boys division was sixteen-month-old Takara Masahiko, who struck a pose in front of the camera with the medal draped over his plump, naked body. His mother was quoted as saying that the key to the first prize was Morinaga dry milk. Printed on the opposite page was a large advertisement for the said product.⁴¹ At the following year's event, Morinaga's promotional drive was even more aggressive. Ōno Isamu, company president, flew to Okinawa to hand out the 'gold medals' to the 'best babies' in Okinawa, one to a baby boy and another to a baby girl⁴² (Figure 8.3).

The understanding of Japan as the source of knowledge and technologies of bodily wellness was also seen in the popularity of mainland cosmetics in Okinawa. Shiseido, a leading brand of national (and international) repute, became a chief player in the islands' beautyscape. Its marketing strategies included a 'beauty tour', whereby the company's representatives would fly to Okinawa to visit local high schools and provide instruction on beauty techniques and technologies. The magazine's April 1965 issue reported on one such tour. Several Shiseido representatives, dressed in business suits and high heels and sporting well-coiffed hair, dispensed a series of beauty tips and secrets to graduating seniors. The demonstrations focused on 'not only diet and beauty sleeps but also hair style, makeup, color harmony, fashion, manner and culture', to which students, all in school uniforms and some still wearing their hair in pigtails, paid scrupulous attention. Printed on the same page was the list of Shiseido cosmetics

Figure 8.3 Article from the April 1963 issue of *The Okinawa Graphic* featuring a baby contest providing an opportunity for Morinaga Milk Industry to publicize its nutritional knowledge and technology. Courtesy of Shinseisha Press.

necessary to achieve this ideal of Japanese femininity, including facial cleanser, nourishing cream and a new line of lipsticks called 'Cherry Pink'.⁴³

Political dynamics surrounding women's bodies, already noticeable in the story of Shiseido, was even more evident in the phenomenon called 'collective employment' (*shūdan shūshoku*). Repeating the pre-war pattern of labour migration, in which Okinawans had worked in the industrial centres of Osaka and Tokyo for low wages,⁴⁴ the post-war 'collective employment' arrangement sent young islanders to the same regions, once again defining Okinawa as a reservoir of cheap labour for Japanese capital. Its disciplinary nature was especially notable in cases involving Okinawan women.

In March 1964, the magazine shined a spotlight on collective employment involving women (recent graduates of junior high schools in Okinawa) at mid- to small-scale textile factories in the greater Osaka region. The first piece was a roundtable discussion (*zadankai*) entitled 'Okinawan Maidens are Hard at Work', which involved Japanese employers, a representative of the Okinawa Employment Agency and a reporter from the magazine, all of them men. The discussion highlighted the employers' perceptions of workers. They observed that Okinawan women lacked speed, creativity, inquisitiveness and education. However, once they grasped the nature of their assignment, they turned out to be a capable, obedient and diligent workforce. Indeed, their quality was so good that one company in Hyōgo Prefecture hired only women from the islands. As its president half-jokingly stated, with the majority of his factory workers coming from Okinawa, he planned to rename the company 'Okinawa Textile' in the near future. Intending to be favourable, the employers' commentary was frequently paternalistic as well as stereotyping.

The roundtable discussions also shed light on the workers' living and working conditions. The employers were eager to demonstrate how much they cared about their charges. The company dormitories provided excellent living conditions. The opportunities for self-cultivation (such as lessons in the tea ceremony and flower arrangement) and recreation (such as volleyball and swimming) were plentiful. Even night school was available for further education. Assuming the role of 'surrogate parents', the employers patrolled the areas surrounding the factories, making sure that employees did not wander into questionable places such as bars. They even informed the (real) parents back in Okinawa of their daughters' daily conduct, work performance and monthly earnings on a regular basis. Far from critical, the magazine praised the quality of these living and working conditions, and commended the 'humane relationships' that the Japanese employers cultivated with their Okinawan employees.⁴⁵ During the discussion, hardly any attention was paid to the fact that these practices rearticulated a pre-existing colonial dynamic in gendered terms, where Japan was cast as a male guardian and Okinawa a female child in need of protection.

Following the roundtable discussion, the magazine profiled a number of factories in the region. At Yamamoto Textile in Kaizuka, Osaka, a subsidiary of Dai Nippon Bōseki (commonly known as Nichibō; later Unitica),⁴⁶ thirteen women from the islands engaged in 'light-load' work. The company's products were distributed nationally and internationally, and were also purchased by the US military in Okinawa to make soldiers' summer uniforms. Relations between the supervisors and the workers were warm and personal, as evident in a series of published photos that showed smiling workers on

the job and in recreation.⁴⁷ A similarly positive account was given of another company, Kyōritsu Woolen Yarn Spinning in Yamato, Nara Prefecture. The factory floors were so 'clean' and 'up-to-date' that one wondered if it were indeed a factory. Equally or even more awe-inspiring were various welfare programmes available for the workers. The dormitory, equipped with television sets and other modern amenities, was more like a hotel, and the workers had access to educational and recreational opportunities. Showing the Okinawan women lined up in company uniforms on the factory floor and in the living quarters, the magazine once again visually highlighted the orderly lives they led under the benign gaze of their generous employers.⁴⁸

Repeatedly the magazine cast mainland Japan in a positive light. However, just as its depictions of the United States varied, its portrayal of the mainland was diverse and even contradictory at times. The Okinawan body, a site of subordination in the examples discussed above, also became a vehicle for (potential) contestation vis-à-vis the former colonizer, Japan. In November 1958, the magazine published a piece entitled 'Okinawa-ban Nitōhei monogatari' ('The GI Story' in the translated title provided by the magazine). In it, two Okinawan men – former Lance Corporal Tokuda Anshū and former Army Captain Ōshiro Shinichi – recounted their experiences as Japanese imperial soldiers. Despite the light tone at the outset where the two men poked fun at the military, their discussion soon turned to incidents of Japanese prejudice and discrimination that they and their fellow islanders had endured during the war. Back then, they explained, few Okinawan soldiers would ever be promoted to the higher ranks due to their linguistic handicap. The islanders' use of their local tongue, combined with their (seeming) inability to speak in standard Japanese, fed into the view that Okinawans were racially inferior. The perceived racial difference not only resulted in numerous obstacles but also triggered numerous cases of physical and verbal abuse. Okinawan soldiers were yelled at, slapped and kicked, and even beaten to a pulp. Clearly the emperor's soldiers were not treated equally. The understanding of Japanese superiority and Okinawan inferiority was prevalent even, or especially, in the military.

Yet, as Tokuda and Ōshiro recalled, it was Okinawans' bodily differences from mainland Japanese that saved their lives in the end. Accustomed to the subtropical environment and skilled in fishery, Okinawan soldiers were able to survive the final phase of the war when they were stranded in remote outposts in Southeast Asia and the Pacific where the sun was scorching and food barely available. The camaraderie among the islanders was another factor contributing to their survival. Their shared language and ethnic heritage became a source of physical and spiritual sustenance under those unfathomable circumstances. Despite harsh memories, the two former soldiers wistfully recalled the genuine bonds, trust and even 'military spirit' they shared with their comrades during the war.⁴⁹

In Tokuda's and Ōshiro's accounts, the memories of Japanese racism and imperialism, however painful, were relatively contained. On some occasions, however, Okinawans' anger erupted. In 1970, the magazine reported on the public protests against former Japanese Army Captain Akamatsu Yoshitsugu who visited Okinawa. A commander in the outer island of Tokashiki during the war, he was considered responsible for one of the *shūdan jiketsu*, that is, compulsory mass suicides enforced

under the orders of Japanese commanders in the final days of the Battle of Okinawa.⁵⁰ In Tokashiki alone, approximately 400 people lost their lives as a result. The purpose of Akamatsu's visit was to attend the twenty-fifth memorial service held for the war dead on the island. However, Akamatsu had to abandon his plan half way through. As soon as he landed at Naha Airport, Okinawan protesters and reporters surrounded him, creating a tense scene captured in one of the photos. Later, attempting to board a ship to reach Tokashiki, he was blocked by a group of young men from the island. Holding up a banner that read 'Never Forgive Captain Akamatsu', shown in another photo, the men shouted 'Apologize!' 'Go home!' and 'Why did you come here?' At a subsequent press conference, Akamatsu insisted that he had never issued an order to force Tokashikians to take their own lives. Highlighting the contentious nature of Okinawa-Japan relations, the magazine provided a pictorial account in which Okinawan bodies visibly confronted and blocked the former imperial commander.⁵¹

Nonetheless, Okinawa's relationship with Japan was complex and convoluted. The ambivalence and ambiguity characterizing the relationship between the two were made evident on the occasion of Okinawa's reversion on 15 May 1972. In the May, June and July issues of that year, the magazine published a series of photographic retrospectives which recounted Okinawa's 'Nagakatta sokoku e no michi' (long journey back home). With the end of US rule, Okinawa would finally 'recover its humanity under the Peace Constitution' of Japan and join the latter in taking a step towards a new era. Amidst the euphoria, the magazine reported on a small event, the symbolic significance of which was hard to overlook. Two Okinawan youths – Matsukawa Kazuhide and Odo Tōru – were admitted to the National Self-Defense Academy of Japan, a training ground for the revamped Japanese military, newly named the JSDF. Having passed the highly competitive exam, the two were attending the entrance ceremony at the academy in Kanagawa Prefecture. The joyous mood was enhanced by the cherry blossoms swirling across the academy grounds, a symbol of Japan par excellence. Matsukawa and Odo were given words of encouragement by the academy's principal, Inoki Masamichi, and dignitaries of the JSDF, and were joined by three other Okinawans who had entered the academy a year before. With a picture of five uniformed students from Okinawa raising their hands in a crisp salute, the magazine celebrated the end of US rule and the islands' return to Japan in explicitly militarized terms.

Paradise, Hawaiian style

The complex nature of *The Okinawa Graphic*, evident in its depictions of the United States and Japan, also characterized its representations of Hawaii, another island community under US rule. Hawaii was first and foremost the 'Paradise in the Pacific', an island utopia full of tropical flora and fauna, exotic hula girls and magnificent landscapes. Equally important, however, was the fact that Hawaii was a place where Okinawan immigrants had achieved exceptional success. Immigrating to the Hawaiian islands more than half a century ago, the first-generation immigrants – often referred to as 'pioneers' – had overcome numerous challenges, established a thriving ethnic

community and realized the American dream. Buoyed by their ethnic success, some members of the Okinawan American community were ready to engage in competition and even criticism vis-à-vis Japan. Despite being critical of Japan and its imperial legacies, however, they rarely challenged US colonialism in Hawaii, where the Indigenous population continued to struggle against numerous odds in their own islands.

In the magazine, narratives of Okinawan immigration to Hawaii proliferated, with things feminine and domestic once again playing a leading role. As discussed earlier, Okinawan American homes were conspicuously featured in the magazine, providing a vision of 'comfortable living' and highlighting the democratic nature of the United States. Hawaii was indeed the nearest 'America' from which domestic ideals as well as objects travelled to Okinawa. Immediately after the Battle of Okinawa, Okinawan American leaders in Hawaii, including Asato Sadao mentioned at the beginning of this chapter and Wakukawa Seiei discussed below, had organized relief efforts, shipping large quantities of second-hand clothing and other household materials to war-torn Okinawa with the help of US military transport.

The discourse of family was also at the centre of success narratives of Okinawan immigrants in Hawaii. In 1962, the magazine published a photographic portrait of the Shingaki clan, whose patriarch, Shingaki Zenshin, was originally from Itoman in Okinawa. The two-page spread featured Mr and Mrs Shingaki at the centre, surrounded by their children – seven daughters and seven sons – and grandchildren. Having obtained 'an extremely respected and secure livelihood', the Shingakis' familial-domestic scene was visual proof of the comfort and prosperity that Okinawan immigrants enjoyed in the United States.⁵² In March 1965, the magazine published another story on Okinawan American success. The United Okinawans Federation of Hawaii organized an annual celebration of the elders, where more than 800 members of the federation turned out to honour the 'pioneers' of their community. At the centre of the celebration was 101-year-old Fukuhara Goze, an immigrant woman with snow-white hair and deep wrinkles who exuded a sense of contentment as she smiled at the camera.⁵³ Constituting part of the sixty-fifth anniversary of Okinawan immigration to Hawaii, this and other events held that year circulated many congratulatory narratives on the 'Pioneers', 'Aloha Spirit' and 'Lovely Nature' in 'Paradise'.⁵⁴

The discourses of family, immigration and ethnic success sometimes intersected with those of the military. In March 1960, the magazine published a story on Second Lieutenant Higaonna Ryōkichi, a member of the US Army Engineering Corps. Born in Gushikawa, Okinawa, and educated in Okinawa and Hawaii, this young officer was newly assigned to Okinawa. This not only gave him a chance to contribute his engineering skills to the occupation; he was also able to reunite with his grandparents and former teachers and classmates, all of whom welcomed him back with enthusiasm. As the young Okinawan American officer stepped back into his former stomping ground, the magazine described the moment as full of nostalgia. As the occupation was re-imagined as an occasion for a kinsman's return home, US rule would cease to be a case of foreign domination violently imposed at gunpoint and instead become a moment of family reunion.⁵⁵ The discourse of 'returning home', which played a powerful role in erasing Japanese imperial violence, also obfuscated US military violence in the occupied islands.

On some occasions, the magazine provided a space in which Okinawan immigrants in Hawaii would express criticism regarding Japan. In July 1962, the magazine printed two statements sent in by residents in Hawaii under the title 'Opposition to Okinawa's Reversion to Japan.' It was a provocative gesture. As the magazine explained, in Okinawa, where the reversion movement was gaining momentum, anyone expressing even a slight disagreement with Okinawa's return to Japan would be ostracized. The magazine nevertheless decided to publish the statements, giving Uehara Tokuo and Kakazu Hashitsugu, both seventy-three years old and originally from Okinawa, a chance to voice their opinions, accompanied by their formal portraits to signal the seriousness of their arguments.

Stating his fondness for Japanese people at the outset, Uehara proceeded to condemn pre-1945 Japanese rule in Okinawa. Since the annexation of the Ryukyu Kingdom in the late nineteenth century, Japan had treated Okinawa as a 'step child', leaving the islanders in an impoverished state for decades. Given this history, Uehara argued, the post-war US occupation was a blessing. US investment, driven by Okinawa's significance as a garrison, led to the development of infrastructure and the rising standard of living in the island. Clearly, the occupation 'liberated' Okinawa and brought 'happiness' to its people. To add credence to his argument, he pointed to benefits in other places, notably Hawaii and the Philippines. Given the beneficent and beneficial nature of the occupation, US rule in Okinawa should continue.

Kakazu, another contributor, could not agree more. As he observed, not everyone supported reversion in Okinawa. In his recent visit to the occupied islands, he found that only a small minority, roughly 10 per cent of the population including educators, administrators and politicians, supported the reversion. The majority of the islanders, most of whom were farmers living in rural areas, preferred US rule. Those in favour of the US administration, among whom Kakazu counted himself, could not forget the violent nature of Japanese control. As far as he was concerned, the difference between US and Japanese rule was that between liberation and slavery. Given the thriving nature of Hawaii, another island community under US control, the occupation would surely bring happiness to Okinawans, Kakazu concluded.⁵⁶

As indicated by Uehara's and Kakazu's arguments, support for the US occupation of Okinawa critically hinged on the idealization of Hawaii, and also the Philippines, as showcases of US democracy.⁵⁷ Needless to say, their views, while critical of Japanese imperialism, let the US empire entirely off the hook. Yet (even) in Hawaii, not everyone agreed with this perspective. In 1965, amidst the celebration of the sixty-fifth anniversary of Okinawan immigration, the magazine published an essay by Wakukawa Seiei, 'Hawai boke no naka ni omou' (My Musing amidst Hawaii Stupor), with a portrait which conveyed his serious academic persona. A Marxist intellectual, Wakukawa, originally from remote Nakijin in Okinawa, had been involved in progressive social movements in Okinawa, mainland Japan and Hawaii since before the war.⁵⁸ His essay provided a counter-discourse to the ongoing glorification of Hawaii.

According to Wakukawa, residents in Hawaii were afflicted by a disease called *Hawai boke* (Hawaii stupor). Too eager to believe in the superficial image of the islands, they were blind to the fact that the 'Paradise in the Pacific' was in fact full of cynicism, fictitiousness and contradictions. The disease was rampant in *Nikkeijin*

shakai (Japanese American society), in which he included Okinawan immigrants. While congratulating their achievements in Hawaii, *Nikkei*, or Japanese Americans, would constantly look back to Japan with longing and envy. The principles of obedience, conformity and harmony prevailed, marginalizing dissenting voices and stifling any criticism of the 'American way of life'. Conformity to the status quo was so thorough that McCarthyism – the anti-communist witch-hunt raging in the US mainland – exerted even more influence in Hawaii. Unlike the pioneering generation who had tilled the soil, the current generation was spending too much time, money and energy playing golf and having cocktail parties with descendants of plantation owners and managers. Completely Americanized, the *Nikkei* community presented a mirror image of their white counterparts; worse still, the community's pro-American views would even exceed those of the latter. Hawaii's *Nikkei* had become too well trained, contained and domesticated (*kainara sareta sugata o sukkari totonoeta*).

In addition to providing a stinging critique of Japanese and Okinawan immigrants in Hawaii, Wakukawa also commented on the state of its Indigenous population. Despite his critical stance, his account of the islands' Indigenous people was surprisingly stereotypical. Good-natured and yet primitive, Hawaiians would not think about the future and instead focus on the here and now. They surf in the ocean, inhale the sweet smell of *leis* (flower garlands) and indulge in the passion of hula. Such was the sorry state of 'Aloha'. Wakukawa recirculated the familiar trope of primitive and inferior natives as he portrayed Indigenous Hawaiians as a group of people who were failing to catch the wave of modern progress.⁵⁹ Notwithstanding his otherwise critical perspectives, his account failed to question the history of US imperialism and its structural violence that had for decades shaped the lives of the original inhabitants of the islands.

Conclusion

During the US occupation of Okinawa, *The Okinawa Graphic* played a complex and multifaceted role in discursive production in the occupied islands. Circulating pro-American and pro-Japanese discourses and images, the magazine also became a fluid site of negotiations where Okinawans and Okinawan Americans would articulate varied and often contradictory sentiments and pronouncements vis-à-vis the imperial powers. As Okinawans and Okinawan Americans engaged in a variety of discursive manoeuvres – some predictable and others unpredictable – they defied any easy categorization as 'victims' or 'resisters', requiring us instead to pay analytical attention to nuances and contradictions proliferating on the ground.⁶⁰ More than anything else, this chapter's analysis highlights the significance of women, children and immigrants as historical actors in occupation-era politics. Often sidelined in mainstream accounts, their stories and images proliferate in the pages of this magazine, indicating the importance of rethinking and recounting this and other histories from marginalized and often forgotten vantage points.

Notes

- 1 'Yūai to sekinin no seiji o – Watoson shin benmukan chakunin,' *Okinawa Gurafu* (hereafter OG), September 1964, 3–5. All issues of *Okinawa Gurafu* cited in this chapter, unless otherwise noted, are deposited at the Hamilton Library East Asia Collection, University of Hawai'i, Honolulu, Hawaii. The English title on the magazine cover alternated between *Okinawa Graphic* and *Okinawa Graph* during the occupation. In this chapter, I refer to the magazine as *The Okinawa Graphic*.
- 2 The New Otani Kaimana Beach Hotel Official Website, 'Kaimana Story-History': <http://www.kaimana.com/kaimana-story-history/> (accessed 13 September 2018). The Imperial Banquet Room replicated the design of the historic Nijō Castle in Kyoto.
- 3 'Yūai to sekinin', 6–7.
- 4 Ibid., 9.
- 5 Ibid., 8.
- 6 For the significance of Cold War rhetoric of affinity and affiliation, see Christina Klein, *Cold War Orientalism: Asia in the Middlebrow Imagination, 1945–1961* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).
- 7 Dean Saranillio, 'Colliding Histories: Hawai'i Statehood at the Intersection of Asians "Ineligible to Citizenship" and Hawaiians "Unfit for Self-Government"', *Journal of Asian American Studies* 13, no. 3 (2010): 283–309.
- 8 The predominant language in the magazine was Japanese, with supplementary summary translations provided in English for select pieces. Some of the articles had no English translation, and all of the advertisements were in Japanese.
- 9 http://www.s-syuppan.com/memorial_magazine/ (accessed 17 September 2018).
- 10 Chihiro Komine, 'U.S. Occupation of Okinawa by Photography: Visual Analysis of *Shurei no Hikari*', *The Okinawan Journal of American Studies* 5 (2008): 25–30.
- 11 For critical discussions of recent JSDF expansion in Okinawa, see Makoto Konishi, *Okinawa tōsho sensō: Jiseitai no kaikyō fūsa sakusen* (Tokyo: Shakai Hihyōsha, 2016).
- 12 Mire Koikari, *Cold War Encounters in US-occupied Okinawa: Women, Militarized Domesticity, and Transnationalism in East Asia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).
- 13 The transnational nature of the genre is well reflected in the career of Natori Yōnosuke, the foundational figure of *gurafushi*. Learning photographic techniques in Germany and starting his career in Europe, Natori returned to Japan in 1932 and established a publishing company, Nihon Kōbō, in 1933. Travelling internationally through the 1930s and 1940s, he had his photographic work published in *Life* magazine in the United States. For critical assessment of Natori and other Japanese photographers in pre-war and wartime Japan, as well as the transnational nature of the genre, see Mari Shirayama, '*Hōdō shashin*' to *sensō, 1930–1960* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2015) and Yoshiyuki Morioka, *Books on Japan 1931–1972: Nihon no taigai senden gurafushi* (Tokyo: BNN Inc, 2012).
- 14 Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983).
- 15 Morioka, *Books on Japan*; Shirayama, '*Hōdō shashin*'.
- 16 Seiichi Tagawa, *Yakeato no gurafizumu: 'Front' kara 'Shūkan San Nyūsu' e* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 2005).
- 17 Shirayama, '*Hōdō shashin*'.

- 18 The magazine's cover design predominantly featured Okinawan women. As these 'cover girls' sometimes wore traditional garments and hairstyles and other times sported modern fashion, they embodied the islands' heritage and tradition, or its modernity and progress – two themes that were salient in the magazine.
- 19 For *Nanyō* under Japanese control and Okinawan migrants' complex location in it, see Akiko Mori's oral history interviews with Okinawan returnees from the South Seas, *Fukusū no senritsu o kiku: Okinawa, Nanyō Shotō ni ikita hitobito no koe to sei* (Kyoto: Mori Akiko, 2016); Akiko Mori, *Hajimari no koukei: Nihon tōchika Nanyō Shotō ni kurashita Okinawa imin no katari kara* (Kyoto: Mori Akiko, 2017).
- 20 'Mistā Būsu no sugao', OG, 1 June 1960, no page numbers.
- 21 Michael Rosenthal, *The Character Factory: Baden-Powell and the Origins of the Boy Scout Movement* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1986); Mischa Honeck, *Our Frontier Is the World: The Boy Scouts in the Age of American Ascendancy* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2018).
- 22 'Te o kunda kodomotachi, kokusai yūkō no hi', OG, April 1958, no page numbers.
- 23 'Kōtō Benmukan ga gāden pāti', OG, July 1961, 23.
- 24 'Kokusai Fujin Kurabu no shinnen enkai', OG, February 1964, 7.
- 25 'Hekiganryū no ochakai', OG, May 1959, no page numbers.
- 26 A site of continuing tensions and contentions between Okinawa, the United States and Japan, 'Futenma' is synonymous with US military domination and Japanese complicity in it in present-day Okinawa.
- 27 'Futenma no Amerika mura', OG, November 1958, no page numbers.
- 28 Koikari, *Cold War Encounters*, 137–9.
- 29 'Oidase B-taranbyō: beishoku kara funshoku e', OG, February 1959, no page numbers.
- 30 'Ichi nichi nijūmanko, gakkō kyūshoku hajimaru', OG, March 1960, no page numbers.
- 31 The number of casualties later rose to eighteen.
- 32 'Ishikawa ni gunki tsuiraku', OG, August 1959, no page numbers.
- 33 'Kurikaesuna kono kanashimi o–namida mo arata ni Ishikawa gōdō ireisai', OG, October 1959, no page numbers.
- 34 'Oraga Mura, Miwa-son', OG, June 1958, no page numbers.
- 35 'Okinawa wa mada sengo da!: hinome miruka ikotsu niman tai', OG, July 1961, no page numbers. The statement, '*Mohaya sengo dewa nai*' (the post-war phase is over), was first popularized in mainland Japan following the publication of the 1956 Economic White Paper. It argued that post-war recovery and reconstruction had been completed and had given way to an era of 'high economic growth'. Signalling the start of a new beginning in the mainland, where the US occupation had ended in 1952, the notion was hardly applicable to Okinawa, where foreign rule continued. Japan's successful revitalization had much to do with the fact that Okinawa bore the disproportionate burden of Cold War (re)militarization.
- 36 For the 'Michiko Boom' in mainland Japan, see Jan Bardsley, *Women and Democracy in Cold War Japan* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), especially Chapter 5, 'Fashioning the People's Princess: Shōda Michiko and the Royal Wedding of 1959', 106–37. For the same phenomenon in occupied Okinawa, see Koikari, *Cold War Encounters*, 191–3.
- 37 'Iyasakaeru Kōshitsu goikka', OG, January 1962, 1.
- 38 'Shōyu toshi Noda kengaku ki', OG, August 1958, no page numbers.
- 39 'Anata no ude ni Shichizun o', OG, June 1961, no page numbers.

- 40 'Enzeru no Morinaga o tazunete', OG, September 1960, no page numbers.
- 41 'Akachan Okinawa ichi', OG, July 1962.
- 42 'Yoshihiko, Mayumi-chan Okinawa ichi: Morinaga Miruku kara kin medaru', OG, April 1963, 26–7.
- 43 'Utsukushiku narimashō: gakuen de kōhyō no Shiseido seiyō kōza', OG, April 1965: 28–9.
- 44 Wendy Matsumura, *The Limits of Okinawa: Japanese Capitalism, Living Labor, and Theorization of Community* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2015).
- 45 'Okinawa museme wa hataraki mono', OG, April 1964, 4–5.
- 46 At the time, Nichibō Kaizuka was a site of another kind of female bodily discipline. The company's volleyball team, whose members were composed of its Japanese female employees, became the national team of Japan, winning the 1962 World Championship and the Gold Medal at the 1964 Tokyo Olympics. Nicknamed *Tōyō no majo* (The Witches of the Orient) for their invincibility, members of the team endured excessive physical training at the hands of their coach, Daimatsu Hirobumi, a former imperial soldier whose wartime experiences of violence and humiliation were said to inform his coaching style. The disciplinary nature of the training was overlooked, however, amidst the national(ist) celebration triggered by the team's victories on the international stage, a landmark event that signalled the end of the *sengo* (post-war) and the beginning of a new era for Japan. See Yoshikuni Igarashi, *Bodies of Memory: Narratives of War in Postwar Japanese Culture, 1945–1970* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), 155–62, and Helen Macnaughtan, 'The Oriental Witches: Women, Volleyball and the 1964 Tokyo Olympics', *Sport in History* 34, no. 1 (2014): 134–56.
- 47 'Orimono kabushiki gaisha', OG, April 1964, 10–11.
- 48 'Kyōritsu Keito Bōseki Kabushiki Gaisha', OG, March 1964, 8–9.
- 49 'Okinawa-ban nitōhei monogatari', OG, November 1958, no page numbers.
- 50 For the controversy over memories of the compulsory suicides in wartime Okinawa, see Norma Field, *In the Realm of a Dying Emperor* (New York: Vintage Books, 1993), especially Part I: Okinawa, 33–106.
- 51 'Akamatsu Yoshitsugu moto taii raitō o megutte', OG, June 1970, 14–15. The issue's digital version was made temporarily available by the magazine's copyright holder, Shinseisha, in August 2018.
- 52 'Hawai dayori', OG, July 1961, no page numbers.
- 53 'Hawai no keirōkai nigiwau', OG, March 1965, 22–3.
- 54 'Aroha Hawaii', OG, August 1965, 14–15.
- 55 'Furusato ni nasake ari: 11-nen buri de kaetta wanpaku kozō', OG, March 1960, no page numbers.
- 56 'Hawai kara Nihon fukki hantai', OG, July 1962, 20–1.
- 57 For gender analysis of the US colonization of the Philippines, see Kristin Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998).
- 58 For Wakukawa's biographical information, including his extensive interview by Hokama Shuzen, another notable Okinawan intellectual, see Wakukawa Seiei ikō tsuitō bunshū kankō iinkai, ed., *Amerika to Nihon no kakehashi Wakukawa Seiei: Hawai ni ikita ishoku no Uchinānchu* (Tokyo: Niraisha, 2000).
- 59 'Hawai boke no naka ni omou', OG, August 1965, 25. The issue's digital version was made temporarily available by the magazine's copyright holder, Shinseisha, in August 2018.

- 60 For the complex nature of Okinawans' agency, see also Tze May Loo, *Heritage Politics: Shuri Castle and Okinawa's Incorporation into Modern Japan, 1879–2000* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2014) and Masamichi Inoue, *Okinawa and the U.S. Military: Identity Making in the Age of Globalization* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007).