

The Ryukyuanist

A Newsletter on Ryukyuan/Okinawan Studies

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This issue features a duet of reviews celebrating two landmark publications in the progress of Okinawan studies. The publications are *Islands of Discontent Okinawan Responses to Japanese and American Power*, edited by **Laura Hein** and **Mark Selden**; and *Japan and Okinawa Structure and Subjectivity*, edited by **Glenn D. Hook** and **Richard Siddle**. These are reviewed respectively by **Dr. Hugo Dobson** of the University of Sheffield and by **Dr. Kozy Amemiya** of the University of California at San Diego. Dr. Amemiya also reports on an Okinawa-U.S. joint symposium she has recently attended.

The desk comments on the enigmatic intransigence of **Governor Keiichi Inamine** with respect to a term limit on the military use of the new U.S. military base under preparation in Nago. We also assemble and classify the contents of *The Ryukyuanist*, Nos. 51-60. (The last inventory of the contents of *The R*, Nos. 1-50, appears in No. 51.)

A comedy or a tragedy? The politics of term limits on a new U.S. military base

In November 1998, **INAMINE Keiichi**, a conservative candidate, won the gubernatorial election against the incumbent **Governor OTA Masahide**, who sought a third term on his record of history-making politics of protest and high ideals of peace and security *sans* arms for Okinawa. A major issue was how to respond to the demand of Japan and the United States for a new base in Okinawa to replace the Marine Air Station at Futenma that is scheduled for closure. This issue had had a long tortuous history. Hoping for a new breakthrough, Candidate Inamine proposed a civilian-military joint use airport/air base on land somewhere in northern Okinawa subject to the condition of a 15-year limit on its military use. To the electorate he emphasized that Okinawa would be acquiring a fully civilian airport as its collective property as a prize for 15 years of waiting. (The previous U.S./Japanese agreement at the Special Action Committee on Okinawa [SACO] was a "sea-based heliport." For the history of U.S. military bases up to this point, see Chalmers Johnson, ed. *Okinawa: Cold War Island*, Japan Policy Research Institute, 1999.)

The United States did not like the term limit on the Futenma replacement. The Japanese government merely shelved it away on grounds that it was difficult to be sure about the future of the security environment of East Asia. In 1999, the Japanese government "bribed" Okinawa Prefecture with the privilege to host the 2000 Summit, and Nago City with a promise of generous development aid. At one point **President Clinton** weighed in, saying that he would not attend the Okinawa Summit unless the Futenma issue was resolved by then. The frightened Japanese government pressured Governor Inamine and Mayor Kishimoto of Nago in many subtle and not so subtle ways.

In the beginning, Governor Inamine's idea was an airport/air base *on land in northern Okinawa*, without specifying the location. The Japanese government had long cherished a different idea; namely, a sea-based facility around the coast of Camp Schwab in the Henoko District of Nago City as recommended in the SACO's December 1996 final report. In December 1997, the citizens of Nago rejected this idea in a referendum. In November 1999, Governor Inamine announced that among several possible sites for the Futenma replacement that the prefecture had examined, the coastal area of Camp Schwab and Henoko was the most suitable location. The Japanese government was delighted with the governor's choice. The governor demonstrated his flexibility by a partial retreat from his earlier idea: a land-based airport/air base. The governor then contacted the mayor of Nago to ask for cooperation. For what he later called "the hardest decision he has ever made in his entire life," Mayor Kishimoto agonized for more than a month, but eventually went along with Governor Inamine. The day after Okinawa cleared the hurdle, **Prime Minister Obuchi** called a cabinet meeting and adopted official guidelines for subsequent action.

As the matter has evolved since then, it appears that the Japanese government has also made a kind of concession to Governor Inamine's idea of land-based facility. Land being unavailable on which to base the facility, the Japanese government has proposed to make a new piece of real estate, i.e., to build a new permanent man-made island in the sea. (A simpler and smaller version of the Kansai airport) The new

facility would be much larger than any of the SACO suggestions and its environmental impact would be much more serious. The proposed island would use the existing coral reefs as its core support, destroying the rich marine life over an extended area.

However, reclaiming the seabed on which to build an island to a wave-free height might produce more work for diggers and haulers of dirt, sand and stone than the construction methods suggested by the SACO. The SACO's sea-based facility was to float on water in order, hopefully, to minimize the cost and environmental impact. Three construction methods were suggested then: (a) pile-supported pier type (using floating modules) -- supported by a number of steel columns fixed to the seabed; (b) pontoon type-platform consisting of steel pontoon-type units, installed in a calm sea protected by a breakwater (no construction method was suggested for the breakwater); and (c) semi-submersible type-platform at a wave-free height, supported by buoyancy of the lower structure submerged under the sea. For all these types of sea-based facility, structures, parts, and components will be manufactured outside of Okinawa and hauled to the desired site for final assembly and installation. Although there would be very little employment effect of these construction methods for Okinawa, the environmental impact would be far less adverse than in the case of constructing a much larger permanent airport/air base island. An added advantage is that when the facility is no longer needed (in 15 years!), it can be dismantled and withdrawn relatively easily.

Governor Inamine's proposal of a land-based civilian-military joint use airport/air base with a 15-year limit on its military use morphed into a modified sea-based facility with no explicit term limit on its military use. Clearly this is a poorer bargain overall for Okinawa than any of the previously rejected sea-based facilities. Now that hopes for a complete civilian airport in Okinawa's possession in 15 years are completely dashed, Governor Inamine and Mayor Kishimoto find themselves in an unenviable position to have to admit that they are in effect helping build a larger, more sophisticated and entrenched military air base, contrary to their campaign promises and the wishes of Okinawans. This will be the worst and saddest outcome imaginable of decades of Okinawan struggles for fewer military bases and more land for Okinawans.

However, Governor Inamine keeps saying that unless the 15-year limit on military use is explicitly agreed upon, the construction of the airport/air base should not be undertaken. This is a puzzling stance at best. The Japanese government has been methodically executing every phase of preparations according to its plans. The work has already reached the threshold of the reclamation phase that will irrevocably change the seascape with destructive impacts on the whole ecosystem of the coastal area of eastern Nago. Piles are about to be driven into the coral reefs to mark the area for draining water and filling in with earth. When the island emerges in due course, it would be very hard to argue that the "construction" of the airport/air base on the island should not begin unless the 15-year limit on the military use of the facility was firmly agreed upon. Could Governor Inamine stop the progress of work at this late stage just because the 15-year issue had not been resolved yet? If he tried, what would happen to the Tokyo-Okinawa relationship?

There are many mysterious ambiguities in the relations between Governor Inamine and Okinawa Prefecture on the one hand and the cabinet and bureaucracy of the Japanese government on the other. An interesting characterization of the relations is apparently circulating among the Japanese bureaucrats. It says that Governor Inamine and the Japanese leaders are engaged in some kind of theatrical performances ("false kabuki" according to one version) to mislead the Okinawans or the Japanese nation as a whole. According to the script, Governor Inamine knows fully well that the term limit on the military use of the Futenma replacement is already a lost cause. And yet he keeps insisting that if this condition is not met, he will bring the base construction to a halt. On the other hand, the script continues, the Japanese ministers of state, who meet with Governor Inamine at the cabinet-decreed regular meetings over the Okinawa problem, are convinced that the governor will never block Japan's Okinawa base policy. Therefore they confidently let the governor say anything he wants for Okinawa's domestic consumption.

The "false kabuki" requires discipline and self-restraint on the part of all the actors in order for the show to go on. No one should bare the truth. One powerful politician, however, could not stand the stifling gag order. He blew up and almost spilled the beans. He later apologized for his outburst and retracted his words. He is none other than **ASÔ Tarô**, minister of General Management and Coordination, a position second only to the prime minister's in influence ranking. His outburst occurred when he was chief of the LDP Political Affairs Investigation Board (**Jimintô Seichôkai**).

What to make of all this? We shall continue our inquiry into this and other questions in the next issues.

Book reviews

Islands of Discontent Okinawan Responses to Japanese and American Power edited by **Laura Hein** and **Mark Selden**. Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield, 2003. Pp.322. \$34.95 (paperback). ISBN 1-800-462-6420.

Okinawa is the prostituted daughter of Japan. Japan used her daughter as a breakwater to keep the battlefields from spreading over the mainland until the end of World War II. After the war, she enjoyed economic prosperity by selling the daughter to the United States' (Takazato Suzuyo, cited in Angst, p. 143).

In recent years, Okinawa has provided a focus for a number of researchers to elucidate their particular disciplines; this reviewer has himself come to engage with debates in and over Okinawa through focusing upon the events of July 2000 as part of a larger study of the G7/8 summit process. As the quotation above demonstrates, World War II and the Cold War provide the background for any study of Okinawa, but this book builds upon our understanding by centring upon, as the sub-title states, Okinawan responses to Japanese and US power. This collection of contributions by leading scholars of Okinawa takes the two factors of 'political subordination and economic malaise' (p. 4) as the foundation for understanding contemporary Okinawan life, and in its totality conveys clearly the development of what Chalmers Johnson in his blurb on the reverse cover calls a 'new culture... not an amalgam of Ryukyuan, Japanese, and American cultures but something unique'.

The list of contributors presents the reader with a veritable *Who's Who* of 'Okinawan Studies', and although the origins of the many of the chapters lie in previous publication in the journal *Critical Asian Studies*, there is a synergy between the chapters, suggesting wise selection and skilful editing on the part of the editors. Two other boons of this book are that it is well illustrated and published in paperback, thereby ensuring a wider readership (and making this reviewer wonder why the Hook and Siddle contribution is only published in hardback). The aim of this book is to 'explore contemporary Okinawan claims to citizenship and cultural identity through war remembrance, peace education, community organizing, antibase protest, feminist analysis, movements to protect the environment and revive spiritual traditions, literature, new musical trends, and cinema' (pp. 1-2). This broad range of subjects, but also the way in which they are successfully interconnected in this one volume, will command a broad readership in terms of discipline, nationality, age and profession. Simply put, there is something for everyone here.

The introductory chapter provides an excellent background to the main themes of recent Okinawan history and begins the process of exploring the relationships amongst Okinawans, between Okinawa and Japan, and ultimately the process of '[r]enegotiating a better place for Okinawans within Japan...[and the search] for ways to affirm Okinawan distinctiveness while still enjoying full Japanese citizenship.' (p. 3). These dynamics have resulted in a phenomenon seen elsewhere in the regions of Japan and in their relationship with the capital today: the periphery changing the core. Thereafter, the first half of the book attempts to make sense of Okinawa's past. Matthew Allen focuses upon the Kumejima massacre as a narrative which conflicts with the 'official' discourse and calls into question the centre's rhetorical acceptance of the periphery as Japanese; in contrast, Okinawans became the 'Other within, which should be killed!' (p. 49) or 'disposable people.' (p. 58). Gerald Figal highlights the White Ship of Peace Project as an inversion of Commodore Perry's black ships and a similar inversion in war/peace tourism. Steve Rabson presents the fruits of considerable fieldwork on the Okinawan Diaspora to Osaka, and the struggles and obstacles faced by these communities 'still associated with poverty, day labour, unemployment, and slum conditions that no longer exist' (p. 102). Linda Isako Angst skilfully integrates the extant literature on gender and security with the September 1995 rape incident in exploring the resonance of this event.

The second part of the book shifts into a different gear by focusing upon popular culture and identity: Michael Molasky's excellent study of Medoruma Shun as writer, celebrity and activist; James Roberson's fascinating exploration of identity and images of Okinawa's past and present in Uchinâ pop music; Asato

Eiko's study of the impact of militarisation and development upon the village life of Okinawa; Julia Yonetani's persuasive examination of the intersections between base issues, the G8 summit and the Okinawa Initiative Debate; and finally Aaron Gerow's highly welcome investigation into representations of Okinawa in Japanese cinema (in light of Tarantino's *Kill Bill* and *The Karate Kid* series, could there be a case for a similar study of representations of Okinawa in US films?).

This reviewer does have a few reservations and criticisms of a minor nature. The editing process overlooked a number of factual errors and typos: surely it should be 'declassified' not 'classified' (p. 35); the 2000 G8 summit was hosted at the Bankoku Shinryôkan in Nago, not Shuri Castle in Naha, where only a reception on the evening of the second day took place (p. 11); Murayama Tomiichi was not the first postwar non-LDP prime minister (p. 138); and general inconsistency in the indication of long vowels. There are also some vague and unsubstantiated generalisations: US bases are aimed at protecting Okinawans from 'enemies that few fear', and expectations after the Cold War that the US would withdraw from, rather than reinforce its bases in, Okinawa (p. 5). It is also interesting to observe the way in which Ota Masahide's removal and Inamine Keiichi's installation as governor by a democratic mandate is portrayed as something more sinister. Another problem is that, in the absence of a concluding chapter, the book lacks a punch. Finally, the chapter by Asato jars slightly and represents the only fractured chapter. However, to focus upon these issues would be petty in the extreme when we should be accentuating the positive.

This edited volume by Hein and Selden will inevitably be compared with that of Hook and Siddle, especially as they share a number of contributors (Molasky and Yonetani). However, there is no reason why they should not stand happily side-by-side on our bookshelves. Although it is obvious, as Hook and Siddle state, that there will 'never be any single paradigm for "understanding Okinawa"' (p. 248), both volumes leave the reader wondering what happens next, in the light of the US-led 'war on terrorism', steadily increasing Japanese militarism, and internal politics on the islands of Okinawa.

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Japan and Okinawa Structure and Subjectivity edited by **Glenn D. Hook** and **Richard Siddle**. Sheffield Centre for Japanese Studies/ RoutledgeCurzon series. London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003. \$95.00. Pp. 255. ISBN 0-415-29833-4.

Looking back at the 1960s when I spent my formative years growing up in Japan as an ordinary mainland Japanese, I remember Okinawa as a peculiar place in my view of the world. Okinawa then was too exotic for me to think of it as part of Japan, and yet not exotic enough as one of "others" in Asia. Thus Okinawa had fallen through the cracks of my consciousness between Japan and Asia, between us and them. Although I was aware of the Okinawa Reversion Movement within Japan at the time, neither the movement nor Okinawa really spoke to me then because I thought the movement was being taken up mostly by left-wing political parties for their own political agenda. Not knowing where to place Okinawa in my worldview, I simply put it away from my consciousness until 1995.

In 1995 the abduction and rape of a 12-year old girl by US servicemen and the subsequent uproar of the Okinawan people drew the attention for the first time of many ordinary mainland Japanese, Americans and other peoples in the world to the plight of Okinawa and the Okinawans. I realized then that what forty years ago appeared to me as "peculiar" about Okinawa (neither completely part of Japan nor really outside it) was actually the heart of the matter regarding Okinawa. *Japan and Okinawa Structure and subjectivity* explores this core issue of Okinawa with vigorous analysis and utmost sensitivity.

The purpose of this volume is twofold. One is to situate Okinawa's political economy in the global, regional and national order and examine the structural constraints they impose upon Okinawa. Throughout modern history, Okinawa has been pushed into a marginal existence in the realm of Japanese imperialism and subordinated to Japan's needs. The other is to explore how the Okinawans have responded, coped with, or resisted these structural constraints and what strategies they have taken as their relationships with external forces evolved. The chapters in this volume, contributed by twelve authors, divided into two parts,

focusing on structure and subjectivity, respectively, cover a wide spectrum of external constraints placed upon Okinawa in the modern and contemporary eras and shed light on a remarkable range of aspects inside and outside of Okinawa. Taken as a whole, the collection of thoughtful discussions presents a dynamic picture of the interplay between the structures of constraints and the ways in which the Okinawans think under these constraints who they are, how they want to live, and what they want for their children. The picture presented here conveys the complexity of the situations of Okinawa, through which the Okinawans have lived and struggled to create their own identity and their own strategies to take control of their lives.

In the first chapter following the Introduction, Furuki Toshiaki sets the frame of discussions in this volume. He examines the historical transformation of Okinawa's place in a "world system" that would encompass East Asia, by expanding Immanuel Wallerstein's "world system" theory, and finds Okinawa currently in the US-centric system. In order to envision a new system to overcome the current situation, Furuki suggests a system based on the notion of Okinawa as a frontier full of vitality and significance, rather than a marginal region of little relevance to the central government. An idea of turning Okinawa into a Free Trade Zone (FTZ) is one possibility of applying the frontier notion in practice. Analyzing the intertwining of globalization and regionalization processes and Okinawa's responses, Glenn Hook discusses the difficulties Okinawa faces, with the bureaucracy of the national government with their resistance to Okinawa becoming a fully fledged FTZ, together with some within Okinawa whose interests are at risk with the central government.

The focal point of the structure of Okinawa's subordination is the US military, which has occupied Okinawa from the post World War II through the Cold War into the current post-reversion eras. The continuing concentration of the US bases is an outcome of what Gabe Masaaki terms in Chapter 4 the triangular relationship of Okinawa with the United States and Japan, in which the two giants at the top are looming over Okinawa. Okinawa is held down under the mutually beneficial relationship between the United States that militarily dominates East Asia, or the world for that matter, and Japan that shoulders the financial cost of maintaining the US bases. Payoff for Okinawa is public works. But public works have not helped Okinawa achieve self-reliance nor healthy development. Most of the public works in Okinawa are closely aligned with military operations. Without a viable alternative to the FTZ plan and with the stiff resistance of the central government to any plan to turn Okinawa self-reliant, Okinawa's economy has been made more and more dependent on the national government's public works, which have had a devastating impact on Okinawa's pristine environment. At the end, as Gavan McCormack argues in Chapter 6, Okinawa has ended up with all the problems associated with Japan's development in the modern era. These chapters demonstrate that Okinawa's subordinate relationship is perpetuated in Japan's national structure.

The terrorist incident of September 11, 2001 has exacerbated Okinawa's situation. As several contributors (Gabe, Hook and Siddle) point out, the 9/11 incident reinforced for the US military strategists the importance of keeping the US bases in Okinawa, thus making it harder to realize Okinawans' demand to reduce the size of the US presence. Both governments of the United States and Japan are now pulling Okinawa in a direction opposite to Okinawans' wishes. Under these circumstances, Chalmers Johnson points out in one of the latest articles elsewhere that even conservative Governor Inamine Keiichi is showing his frustration in recent months.* Former Governor Ota Masahide fought hard for getting a reduction of the US bases, but he was shunned and his pleas were unheeded by the Japanese government. In the gubernatorial election campaign of 1998, LDP-candidate Inamine advocated a more gradual reduction of the US military bases than Ota's plan. Backed by the LDP-controlled national government with promises of massive aid money to Okinawa if Inamine were elected, Inamine defeated incumbent Ota.

Once elected, Inamine seemed to reciprocate the support he had received from Tokyo and was willing to appease the central government, as discussed by Julia Yonetani in Chapter 11 in the case of the Prefectural Peace Memorial Museum. If Johnson is correct about Inamine's hardening attitude towards Japan's central government regarding the US military bases, the shift in the governor's stance is a sign that the pressure on Okinawa to submit to the global order imposed by the United States and Japan is so intense that even a conservative LDP governor is compelled to move closer to a former governor's anti-base position. It also indicates, as this book strives to show, an evolutionary process of interaction between such external forces and Okinawans' subjectivity.

Women in Okinawa are forced to pay a particularly high price for the dependent nature of Okinawa's relationship to the US military. However, they are not passive victims. Rather, they are actors vital to the dynamic anti-base movement, as Miyume Tanji illustrates in Chapter 9. Since 1995, women's political activism has been integrated into the "Okinawa Struggle," which had been dominated by male activists and participants. Women's participation has widened the support base for the anti-base movement inside and outside Okinawa and transformed the nature of the anti-base movement. Now, male activists comment that women are "the most 'energetic' forces of today's Okinawan anti-base movement" (p.182). At the same time, Tanji points out that women are still subjected to a patriarchal order in many local communities of Okinawa, which compels women activists in Okinawa to employ certain strategies using the notions associated with "Okinawan women." Tanji's discussion of women's political participation presents a picture of Okinawan women that is more profound than the commonly held but little examined one that Okinawan women are strong. It also sheds light on another aspect of Okinawans' struggle against the condition to which Okinawa is subjugated and on how it permeates the subjectivity of Okinawans and brings about strategies to resist and overcome the imposition of the status as a marginal people.

Out of the continuous resistance to their forced integration to Japan's national order, an Uchinânchu identity has emerged. It overlaps with the national identity (Nihonjin), but symbolizes "a separate 'people' or 'nation' (*minzoku*), or, at the very least, an ethnic minority" and thus can be a political tool towards the acquisition of ethnic self-determination (Siddle, 133). It is by no means monolithic, and Richard Siddle discusses its multiplicity. He also demonstrates, based on the premise that ethnicity is socially and culturally constructed, not inherent in a people, that the Uchinânchu identity is constantly evolving both in time and in application. The Uchinânchu identity also helps the Okinawans build their global network of Okinawans at home and as emigrants, as Yoko Sellek notes in her discussion of Okinawan emigration. In another attempt to show the diversity of the Okinawans, Christopher Aldous examines the Koza Uprising of 1970, and Michael Molasky analyzes Arakawa Akira, poet and social critic, both breaking down the stereotype of the Okinawan as gentle, friendly, passive, and compliant: in short, "the ideal colonial subject" (Molasky, 225).

The editors of this volume conclude that many of the chapters "provide deep insight into the complex, overlapping and entangled ways in which Okinawans have refused and resisted these impositions, or accepted and complied with them on their own terms" (p.241). The complexity and the diversity of the Okinawan responses to the external and internal constraints depicted and analyzed in this volume avoid reifying Okinawa and the Okinawans. Overall, this book succeeds in presenting dynamic pictures of Okinawans in various spheres in pursuit of their self-reliance and self-determination.

Lastly, I must confess I am puzzled by the title, *Japan and Okinawa*. After all, this volume is about Okinawa and the Okinawans, focusing on Okinawa's subordinate relationship with Japan, and so why not *Okinawa and Japan*, instead? The title Japan and Okinawa implies a study of the relationship between Japan and Okinawa with analysis of both in equal weight or at least more analysis of Japan than provided by this volume. Perhaps the title has some deep significance I failed to grasp. If so, a brief explanation in the Introduction would have helped me understand it.

At the same time, the title made me realize how little Japan and the Japanese in the relationship with Okinawa have been taken up and analyzed. Study of Japan and the Japanese that would mirror the discussions in this volume (that is, analyses of how Japan's political economy is structured to inhibit Okinawa's development for self-reliance, and how such structure interacts with the views and attitudes of the mainland Japanese towards Okinawa and Okinawans) is much wanted. Particularly Japanese consciousness of Okinawa awaits vigorous analysis. Even when the Japanese identity is examined, it is often vis-à-vis the West. Rarely do the Japanese look at themselves vis-à-vis ethnic minorities inside Japan. It appears that Okinawan identity is forged vis-à-vis the Japanese through the Okinawan struggles while Japanese identity is being shaped vis-à-vis other nationals, ignoring Okinawans. This matter should be scrutinized and analyzed. The utter shortage of such work reflects Japanese indifference to Okinawa and Okinawan experiences. Unfortunately, it appears that Okinawa is still remaining in the cracks of consciousness of the Yamatonchu.

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Communication

Ryudai-UCD Joint Symposium Cross-Cultural Contact between the U.S. and Okinawa

The symposium was held on the campus of the University of California, Davis on November 7 and 8, 2003. The purpose of the symposium was to examine the relationship between Okinawa and the United States in the postwar era. It was part of the study of the 150-year relationship between the U.S. and Japan, funded by the Ministry of Education of the Japanese government. The international symposium is the first phase of a three-year project that includes sending Okinawan scholars to the U.S. and vice versa. The symposium was chaired by Professor Katsunori Yamazato of Ryudai (University of the Ryukyus) and Professor Darrell Hamamoto (University of California, Davis).

Papers from Ryudai:

- Masahide Ishihara. *Using the Constitutional Ideas in the Time of the Absence of a Constitution.*
Masahide Ishihara. *USCAR's Language Policy and English Education in Okinawa.*
Hidemi Todoriki. *Nutrition and Longevity: Crisis in Postwar Okinawa.*
Katsuyuki Miyahira. *Metaphors and Metonymies in the USCAR Public Discourse.*
Shin Yamashiro. *What's Okinawan about the Okinawan Environmental Movements?*
Nobuyuki Ogura. *Rapid Diffusion of Modern Buildings and the Planning Method in Postwar Okinawa.*
Ikue Kina. *Women in Postwar Okinawa 1945-60: Cross-Cultural Sisterhood and/or a Form of Imperialism?*
Katsunori Yamazato. *The birth of a University: The MSU Mission and the University of the Ryukyus.*

Papers from the United States:

- Wesley Ueunten, *The American Occupation of Okinawa and Okinawan Identity Formation in Hawaii.*
Darrell Hamamoto, *US Imperialism in Asian American Studies: Theory and Method.*
Yoko Fukumura, *U.S.-Okinawa Relations through Okinawan Women's Activism: Local Struggles and Transnational Movements Against U.S. Militarism.*
Edith Kaneshiro, *For compassionate Reasons: Okinawan Repatriations during American Occupation of Japan.*
Kozy Amemiya, *Success by Default: Fifty Years of Postwar Okinawan Immigration into Bolivia.*
Ben Kobashigawa, *Some Notes on the Transnational Impact of Okinawan Emigrants on Prewar and Postwar Okinawa.*

From these papers that covered a wide range of topics and fields of research emerged an unmistakable theme that ran through all the presentations. That is, how deeply and pervasively the U.S. occupation permeated into every aspect of Okinawans' lives, from law to education, architecture, diet, etc., and completely changed the ways in which Okinawans lived. It also had a strong impact on the lives of overseas Okinawans. Furthermore, the U.S. occupation has left legacies behind, which continue to influence Okinawans' lives. Discussions after each paper presentation were lively, and the participants and audience alike exchanged ideas vigorously. The papers will be compiled into a book to be published first in Japanese and then in English.

Kozy Amemiya

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