



Review: [Untitled]

Reviewed Work(s):

Withdraw U.S. Bases! Appeal from Okinawa by Japan Asia Africa Latin America (JAALA)
Solidarity Committee

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points out, both sides in fact privately *hoped* to cohost in order to lessen the economic and structural burden of the event—“would gain Japan moral authority . . . in much the same way as apologies and compensation measures would” (p. 52). Yet, one weakness of this volume is that it never interrogates sporting ideology closely enough to get to the question lurking behind Butler’s point: namely, why does a bureaucracy’s ability to knock down houses, pave over farmland, and build huge cement sports stadia necessarily win a nation international admiration and goodwill?

After this absorbing beginning, the volume loses much analytical momentum. A chapter on the bidding wars of the 1990s to host the 2002 and 2006 finals adds little to the drama already described by Butler. Four essays on the history of soccer’s development in Japan and South Korea, although informative and valuable to avid soccer fans, do little to maintain the volume’s analytical direction.

Three essays then address Japanese and Korean “civil society” in the context of the World Cup. This set of subjects—soccer fans, volunteers, and grassroots participants—has the most potential to illuminate the ways in which contemporary Koreans and Japanese use soccer to shape their identities as modern citizens. Indeed, the sad and baffling case of the thirty-nine-year-old Korean man who committed suicide just before play began in June (in order to “become a ghost and the 12th player on the pitch and do my best for our team” [Reuters 14 June 2002]) only emphasizes the importance of soccer culture in Korean and East Asian society. Shimizu Satoshi’s piece on Urawa Reds’ fans’ strategic use of discourses of masculinity, delinquency, and Japaneseness is fascinating, although his reflections on their relevance to “the Japanese work environment in general” (p. 142) are too brief to explain this connection. Other essays seem to take far too seriously the very ideologies, such as “Sports for All,” that the editors promised to examine more critically. For example, one author’s conclusion is that “[t]he World Cup is therefore a good opportunity to . . . improve the quality of life for citizens” (p. 171). Yet, McCormack, Nogawa Haruo, and Mamiyu Toshio directly contradict this sport-sociology faith with their excellent discussions of who *really* pays for the World Cup (taxpayers) and what they *really* get out of it (seasonal low-wage jobs, heavy public deficit, and huge stadia that could never be filled again).

In 1999 London’s Frank Cass Publishers put out a collection of essays, *France and the 1998 World Cup*, which included discussions of events during and after the World Cup itself. The present volume, completed and published before the 2002 finals, is unfortunately weaker for not doing this. Finally, this very fact makes the reader suspicious that this volume, for all of its strengths, is one more example of the media trend toward constructing “mega-events” which, again, the editors promised to problematize here (pp. 22, 196).

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Withdraw U.S. Bases! Appeal From Okinawa. JAPAN ASIA AFRICA LATIN AMERICA (JAALA) SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE. Cinema Okinawa, 1998. 24 min. \$30.00 (videocassette).

U.S. military facilities in Okinawa date from a bloody land battle near the Japanese homeland in 1945. Most U.S. military bases in Japan were shut down decades ago, but Okinawa is the exception. The JAALA video *Withdraw U.S. Bases! Appeal*

From Okinawa emphasizes land access, gender issues and perspectives, environmental harmony, and peace education. The video reflects new demographics of the Movement to Demilitarize Okinawa, emphasizes domestic and transnational politics of foreign policymaking, and directly addresses U.S. citizens. This audiovisual work artfully outlines a half century of Okinawans' grievances against the U.S. and Japan.

The video envisions a demilitarized future for Okinawa. In this account, the history of the U.S. military in Okinawa is one of expropriated agricultural lands; crashes and near collisions of jets and Osprey helicopters; danger from munitions during live-fire exercises; sexual assault; theft; noise pollution near schools; and threats to endangered species of coral, fish, birds, and other animals.

Declassification of once-secret U.S. contingency plans (formulated in 1957) to implode Okinawa with nuclear weapons rather than let it fall into the hands of unnamed cold war opponents is dramatically reported. Otherwise, nuclear-weapons-site documentation is uneven. Some weapons dumps are clearly designated as "suspected." Others, for which documentation was lacking, should have been labeled as "probable" or "suspected" sites.

In a Catch-22 dilemma reflecting the movement's temporary success, coral reefs and the dugong (similar to a manatee) will be threatened if Futenma Air Base is relocated to an offshore site.

Not the first postreversion governor of Okinawa-*ken* to get face-to-face meetings with top officials of the U.S. Departments of Defense and State, Ōta Masahide championed the aggrieved landowners still prominent in the Movement to Demilitarize Okinawa. At the 21 October 1995 island-wide rally, Ōta is depicted apologizing to fellow citizens "for his failure to defend the human rights of a young girl" raped by three U.S. Marines in September. Indeed, Okinawan women activists subsequently noted having to pressure Ōta into action. Viewers also see lengthy segments with female high-school students and elderly women exhorting eight thousand people at that historic outdoor mass meeting. Voting-booth scenes in coverage of two post-rally referenda on the military facilities utilize ballot-box metaphors likely to resonate with Americans—the video's primary intended audience.

The audio mix of spoken English and (mostly subtitled) Japanese with computer-generated music and other sound is effective. Whether or not contrasted with material supportive of foreign military bases, *Withdraw U.S. Bases!* will provoke lively discussions among undergraduate students. (It has been shown on community-access television in Hawai'i over fifty times.) Since the video's intended audience is English speaking, it may generate effective antibases *gaiatsu*, or "foreign pressure." In a pointed example, Japanese and American colleagues are shown holding a binational 1998 antibases meeting in Massachusetts. Future responses to JAALA's appeal to international treaty law in defense of the dugong, a manatee endangered by a proposed reef-sited heliport for U.S. Marine Corps aircraft, will test this inference.

Japan's large financial contribution to maintaining the U.S. military facilities depends also on the tolerance of NIMBY Japanese taxpayers. Thus, the video might have explored difficulties of affecting attitudes of Japanese living safely away from the daily irritations and dangers experienced by Okinawans. If JAALA has assessed lack of support to the Movement to Demilitarize Okinawa from all presidents of South Korea and the reluctance of China's leaders to call for the removal of those bases, the video provides no clue. Actively or by default, public opinion in South Korea and the People's Republic of China will increasingly matter. Indeed, even Kim Jong-il of North Korea reportedly opposed immediate withdrawal of U.S. bases on the Korean peninsula, while saying nothing about bases in Okinawa (Kim Dae-jung, in CNN

interview cited in Reuters, “North Agrees U.S. Troops Stabilizing Influence, Kim Says,” *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 18 August 2000, p. A7).

Apparently completed before the 15 November 1998 prefectural election, the video does not mention the defeat of two-term governor Ōta Masahide. In that election, many Okinawans experienced economic uncertainty as part of the Asian financial crisis—exacerbated by the Liberal Democratic Party’s unwillingness to accommodate the antibases governor. In neighborhoods abutting military facilities, others even claimed that voting for challenger Inamine Keiichi would facilitate removal of bases from densely populated areas by 2015. The Komeito Party endorsed no one. (Since July 2001, Ōta has served in the House of Councillors.)

With insights from Sheila Smith and colleagues, an updated version of *Withdraw U.S. Bases! Appeal From Okinawa* might situate Okinawan antibases politics in a broader context of prefectural challenges to the central government (cf. Sheila Smith, ed., *Local Voices, National Issues: The Impact of Local Initiatives in Japanese Policy-Making*, Michigan Monograph Series in Japanese Studies, no. 31 [Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 2000]). During President Clinton’s July 2000 visit to the G-8 Economic Summit in Okinawa, “red card” demonstrators protested the latest sexual assault by U.S. military personnel, reminding us that the bases issue is still with us. Later U.S. military action in the name of a war on terrorism have undercut Okinawa’s tourist economy and have led some to believe that the prefecture is more vulnerable to external attack than before.

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The Expanding Roles of Chinese Americans in U.S.-China Relations: Transnational Networks and Trans-Pacific Interactions. Edited by PETER H. KOEHN and XIAO-HUANG YIN. Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 2002. xi, 311 pp. \$66.95 (cloth).

In the post–September 11 era, when the war against terrorism has become the focus of public attention and of U.S. foreign policies, U.S.-China relations no longer occupy the headlines the way that they did in the aftermath of the Cox Report, the spy plane incident, and the bombing of the Chinese embassy in Belgrade. The slipping of the Sino-American relationship from the spotlight does not diminish its continued significance in the reality of everyday life. China has not only become America’s fourth leading trade partner but has also replaced Japan as the country with which it has the largest trade deficit. *The Expanding Roles of Chinese Americans*, therefore, gives us a timely book that examines the multifaceted, increasing contact between the United States and China. More important, it is focused on one group of players whose role in U.S.-China relations has yet to be explored fully, namely, Chinese Americans, whom the editors argue have “cast a dense and diverse web of vines possessing varying scope and strength across the folds and crevices in the overall China-U.S. relationship” (p. xiv).

One of the virtues of the book is its attempt to cover a variety of topics concerning contemporary Sino-American contact ranging from transnational networks based on family, education, science, and business connections to the involvement of different Chinese American groups in various foreign policy issues. The thirteen essays in the volume are written by scholars from different fields, such as political science, history,