'America' as desire and violence: Americanization in postwar Japan and Asia during the Cold War

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The self as 'America' in east Asia

What has 'America' meant in everyday terms for the people of East Asia since the end of the Second World War? What indeed does it continue to mean for us in the present day? Would it not be possible to review the relationship with America, built up especially during the period of the Cold War from a comprehensive regional perspective, taking into account the level of people's everyday consciousness and culture besides military and politico-economic aspects? At least as concerns such countries as Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, the Philippines, Vietnam and Indonesia, 'America' has had a uniquely strong and significant presence, which it has not had in quite the same way in any other region, whether South Asia, West Asia, Europe or South America. Most of these countries of the Pacific Rim were once under either temporary or long-term Japanese military occupation. They have since been incorporated into the American sphere of influence as bases for the activity of the American military and multinational corporations. As seen from the perspective of American Cold-War strategy, there can be no doubt that the Pacific Rim area, extending from Japan to Indonesia, formed a continuous space for the establishment of hegemony in Asia. Looking at the everyday consciousness and cultural practices among the people living in this region, does one find a similarly distinctive presence of 'America'? Is there also a spatial continuity whereby the cultural responses to 'America' are similar throughout the region?

Despite the evident importance of research on such a wide-ranging and complex phenomenon, hardly any attempt has been made until very recently to study the significance of 'America' in a region-wide context from the perspective of everyday consciousness and culture while also considering political and military issues. Some work has recently begun on international political relations and strategies involving America and the East Asian region as a whole. However, such work remains largely restricted to politics in the narrow sense. Very little has yet been done in order to analyse international political relations in the broader sense of the politics of everyday culture. For example, no concerted international comparative research has yet been undertaken on the influence of American military bases on urban musical culture and sexuality in Japan, South Korea, Taiwan and the Philippines, despite the fact that this issue has been proposed as an interesting research topic by a number of commentators. Whenever the influence of postwar American culture in Asia has been adopted as a research topic, it has almost always been confined within the national perspective of a single country.

To illustrate my point, let us consider a three-volume publication in dictionary form published in Japan at the beginning of the 1980s with the title 'American Culture'. This was a very valuable attempt to examine from various perspectives how 'America' had penetrated into Japanese culture and customs since the end of the Second World War. It divides the postwar era until the 1970s into three periods. The first period, from 1945 to 1960, is called the 'Period of Love/Hate towards America'. This was an age in which the wartime feeling of unease

towards 'America' turned into yearning, and people lived their daily lives according the American model, even while sympathizing politically with the anti-base protests. The cultural products and fashions cited by this book as characteristic of this period are such things as 'chewing gum', 'English conversation', 'Readers' Digest', 'Jazz', 'Blondie', 'Pro Wrestling', 'Westerns', 'Disney' and 'Popeye', all of which carry a heavy scent of 'Americanism'. The second period, the 1960s, is called the 'Period of American Penetration'. Against the backdrop of rapid economic growth during this period, American lifestyle penetrated deeply into the lives of average Japanese. The items selected for special attention at this stage are 'Coca-Cola', 'home drama', 'supermarket', 'kitchen revolution', 'mini-skirt', 'jeans', 'folk song', and 'hippie', amongst others. The things considered in the third stage, the 1970s, such as 'outdoor life', 'diet', 'sneakers', and the TV 'ratings battle', indicate that 'America' had ceased so much to be an object of desire, and had instead become a source of information about the latest world trends (Ishikawa *et al*. 1981). In this series, the postwar phenomenon of 'Americanism' in Japan was seen not just as the result of American military and political imposition, but as a process of deep structural change involving the emotions and desires of Japanese people. 'America' provided a convincing answer to the void left in the collective consciousness by war defeat. During the course of postwar history, Japanese people reconstructed their own sense of national identity through the medium of desire and antipathy towards 'America'.

Whilst recognizing the importance of this work, I wish to point out two limitations in its approach. First, it focuses too narrowly on the principal theme of culture and customs. For instance, one could have included among the items for analysis such things as the 'emperor', 'MacArthur', 'censorship', 'military bases', 'violence', or 'Okinawa'. However, none of these is included. The concept of 'culture' is depoliticized and treated as something entirely separate from political or military matters. It is emphasized that 'America' became a symbol of wealth and freedom onto which Japanese people themselves pinned their hopes. Placing the issues of unequal power relations and domination outside the sphere of analysis obscures the ideological and political processes that operate precisely by projecting 'America' as an object of desire. For example, postwar musical culture developed through the employment of Japanese musicians on American bases, and was decisively influenced by contact with American military personnel. The book reviewed here fails to give adequate attention to this. Its account of the development of postwar music focuses instead on the enthusiastic reception given to leading American Jazzmen by Japanese fans, and how this led eventually to the establishment of jazz in Japanese musical culture. The happenings in and around the American bases are left in parentheses, and the focus is instead on American culture in the wider world outside the perimeter fence.

The second limitation of this attempt at cultural history is that it confines its account to the Japanese mainland, whereas a full analysis of the phenomena concerned must necessarily look beyond to the contemporaneous situation in Okinawa, and even further afield, such as Korea, Taiwan, and the Philippines. For instance, the musical culture developed on the American bases during the occupation, like Okinawan music in a later period, was influenced in no small degree by contemporaneous Philippine bands. One could also consider cultural relations between Japan and the Philippines up to the 1950s from the perspective of personnel interchange within the military base network in the region, which had an effect on the development of music and sexuality during that period. There is also a need to examine how, in Korea and Taiwan, 'America' was incorporated into peoples' consciousness just as the previously dominant presence of 'Japan' was being negated. Another important theme for consideration is the cultural history relating to the role of 'America' in East Asia during the Korean and Vietnamese wars. The various forms of social consciousness and cultural consumption that have arisen in South-east Asia following Japan's economic expansion into that region, including the so-called phenomenon of 'Japanization', must also be considered in the context of their continuity with postwar 'Americanization'. Such a wide-ranging domain of research

comes into view as soon as one links the issue of 'America' in postwar Japan with the issue of 'America' in East Asia during the Cold War.

This kind of approach relates to the field of post-colonial studies (which has seen rapid recent growth in the East Asian region). The postwar dominance of America in East Asia is, in a certain sense, a reconstruction of the Japanese imperial order that existed until the end of the war. In accordance with the China-containment policy first set out by George F. Kennan, Japan's industrial power was linked to the natural resources and markets of Southeast Asia. Meanwhile, Korea, Taiwan and Okinawa were to act as military buffers for the co-prosperity sphere thus formed. Within such a global strategy, the decolonization movements in the various Asian regions were ultimately subverted into the Cold War order and became part of the structure of American hegemony. There has recently been much re-examination of the continuity of colonial consciousness and practice in the areas once under Japanese colonization. This includes a growing body of work on mass culture, media, urban culture and intellectual practice in Okinawa, Korea, Taiwan, Manchuria and Micronesia. It is essential that the mediating role of 'America' be considered in these investigations of the further postwar development of colonial consciousness and practice in Asia under the Cold War order. As has been stressed by Kuan Hsing Chen, analysis of the Cold War order and Americanism must be pursued in relation to the horizon of contemporary decolonization (Chen 2002: 77–83).

America prohibits — military occupation and the censorship system

Let us first consider how Japan's defeat in 1945 and subsequent occupation by US forces influenced the development of postwar mass culture in that country. According to one perspective, it would seem that the cultural policies pursued mainly by the American Civil Information and Education Bureau (CIE) during the occupation had the effect of spreading Americanism from its earlier prewar base among the urban middle classes to the nation as a whole. Indeed, only one month after Japan's unconditional surrender on 15 August 1945, an English conversation guide book (called *Nichibei Eikaiwa Techou* — 'Japanese–American English Conversation Booklet') became a bestseller with over four million copies in circulation. In 1947, NHK began broadcasting a radio programme (called *Amerika Tayori*– 'Letter from America') simply consisting of current affairs reports from Washington. This too gained great popularity. In 1949, the morning edition of the Asahi Newspaper began carrying the comic strip 'Blondie', which provided a comical illustration of the American lifestyle and prosperity. This continued to enjoy wide popularity right up to its replacement in 1951 with 'Sazae-san'. Although the scenes portrayed in 'Blondie' did not directly show such things as electric appliances and automobiles, the postwar Japanese who had already acquired the desire for 'American prosperity' read into the vague designs of the cartoons the symbols of such prosperity (Iwamoto 1997: 155–166, 1998: 147–158). In 1950, the Asahi Newspaper sponsored an 'American Exposition' on the outskirts of Osaka, which proved to be far more popular than had been expected. Large crowds came to see the exhibits, which included a 'White House hall' recounting American history from the Mayflower to Roosevelt, a main exhibition hall with displays of American prosperity, a television hall, and panoramas providing a virtual scenic tour of America with pictures of New York skyscrapers, the statue of liberty, the newly developed West, and the Golden Gate Bridge. Thus, speaking in general terms, it was certainly not the case that the explosion of mass desire towards 'America' was simply a result of brute force by the military occupation or the civil policies it promulgated.

However, the complexity of the postwar Japanese encounter with 'America' cannot be understood simply as an extension of the already existing prewar trend towards 'Americanization'. Needless to say, throughout the occupation, Japan was in no position to determine its own future without negotiating with an overwhelmingly powerful 'other'. This was true of all the spheres of life, from economics and politics to culture and lifestyle. As demonstrated by

John Dower, American domination was not entirely one-way, and did not always have the effect intended. Nevertheless, as far as concerns the experience of those directly involved, 'America' presented itself as an overwhelming source of authority, against which it was very difficult to mount any challenge. 'America' was more than just an image of new lifestyles and culture. It was an ever-present force intervening in people's daily lives, whose word could not be challenged. It was a directly present 'other' with which people had to deal on an everyday basis. These direct effects of the American occupation can be considered in two categories: effects consciously pursued as a part of occupation policy, and effects that arose unconsciously through the interaction of occupier and occupied. The principle element in the former category of conscious effects was, of course, the system of censorship, and the various accompanying cultural policies that were pursued. These related mainly to the mass media, including cinema, broadcasting, newspapers and publishing, all of which were powerful forces in the culture of America itself.

Censorship during the occupation has already been quite extensively studied by historical researchers in the fields of journalism, cinema, and literature. Such research has focused mainly on the censorship activities of the Civil Censorship Detachment (CCD), which was an organization within the Counter Intelligence Section (CIS) of the American Pacific Army. As indicated by Ariyama Teruo, the censorship activities of this detachment began originally as part of American military strategy in territories re-conquered from the Japanese military, such as the Philippines. It was conducted mainly from the perspective of military intelligence, and was therefore somewhat at odds with the policies pursued in the occupation of the Japanese mainland (which was planned mostly under the auspices of the State Department). Initially the strategy of the allied powers had been to proceed towards a land invasion of Japan following the conquest of the Philippines and Okinawa. According to this plan, the CCD's role was to be a military one, collecting information on resistance to the invading forces. Therefore, its focus was on 'censorship' of the communications media, such as telegraph and telephone. It had not been organized with the intention of dealing with newspapers, broadcasting, magazines, and other mass media. However, in the event, the occupation of Japan began without a land invasion of the mainland. In the absence of any other suitable organization to fulfil the role, responsibility for censorship of the mass media fell into the hands of the CCD. It thus came to exert an influence far out of proportion to its organizational status. In the early stages of the occupation, the CCD's censorship activities were extremely wide-ranging, covering the various forms of mass media (films, radio, newspapers and magazines), as well as textbooks and books in general, the theatre, letters, telegrams, and telephone (Ariyama 1996: 41–61).

A remarkable feature of the CCD's organizational expansion was that it came to employ large numbers of Japanese personnel. Despite its extremely wide remit, it lacked sufficient numbers of suitably qualified American staff to carry out its duties. It was therefore forced to rely on Japanese personnel in order to accomplish its mission. According to Yamamoto Taketoshi, most of the lower ranking censors who dealt directly with representatives of the media were Japanese. Japanese also fulfilled the role of translating newspaper and magazine articles into English for inspection by American officers. As the media subject to censorship expanded, the proportion of Japanese employees grew steadily larger. What had initially been recognized only as an emergency measure eventually became standard practice. By 1947, there were more than 8000 Japanese conducting censorship activities for the CCD (Yamamoto 1996: 298–299). This number is remarkable when compared to any of the other organizational divisions of the occupation. Although this cannot be conclusively verified, Matsuura Souzou surmises that not a few of these Japanese employees had previously worked as censors in the disbanded wartime Interior Ministry (Matsuura 1969: 50). Matsuura refers here to an episode recorded in the diary of Mark Gain while he was staying in the town of Sakata. According to this, it appears that many of the people who lost their jobs as a result of the disbanding of the Special Police Force (*Tokko Keisatsu*), were re-employed as 'liaison officers' between the Japanese

and the American military. Three out of the six *Tokko Keisatsu* officers in Sakata were re-employed as such 'liaison officers' (Gain 1998).

No documents have survived clearly showing the subsequent careers of those who had worked for the disbanded wartime Cabinet Information Bureau or the Interior Ministry Public Order Bureau. However, there can be no doubt that the occupation forces faced a serious shortage of personnel with sufficient command of the Japanese language, and resorted to the employment of whatever Japanese personnel they could find to carry out the work of censorship. According to Monica Braw, in 1946, the number of people employed by the CCD had grown to 8743, of whom as many as 8084 were Japanese or Korean. Most of these had been recruited from within Japan. These new staff members were provided with basic training in censorship, but 'the training program was not very thorough, consisting of only one hour a day for six days'. In the event, each censor carried out his task individually, following the guidelines set out in 'various textbooks, catalogs, and lists of commands'. These documents were frequently amended and supplement. As a result, acts of censorship were often very arbitrary (Braw 1988: 84–89). Furthermore, as clearly stated by Brigadier Thorpe of the CIS (of which the CCD was a subdivision), the CCD and CIS to a considerable extent inherited the role of the wartime Cabinet Information Bureau. This was done in the name of 're-educating' the Japanese people. In fact, irrespective of their very different ideological stances, the work of the CCD had much in common with that of the disbanded Information Bureau and the Interior Ministry Public Order Bureau.

In addition, the organizational structure of the Cabinet Information Bureau did not simply disappear with its formal abolition. Many of its activities were continued within the government in organizations with new names. For instance, according to Kawashima Takane, in November 1945, just before being disbanded, the Information Bureau set up a new Public Opinion Survey Section. This was moved to the Interior Ministry Regional Bureau when the abolition of the Information Bureau was decided in December. In January 1946, it was moved to the Cabinet Office as the Public Opinion Research Unit. At the time of its establishment, two thirds of the staff of this new section were former personnel of the Information Bureau. In the process of being moved from the Information Bureau to the Interior Ministry and then to Cabinet Office, its size grew considerably to a total of 32 personnel. It inherited some the duties of the old Information Bureau, including soliciting opinions at public gatherings, analysis of newspapers and publications, and public opinion surveys. Similar moves to secure organizational continuity were made in the Interior Ministry Public Order Bureau. Although the Special Police Force was officially abolished and its members banned from holding public office, attempts continued to establish an organization for collecting information relating to the maintenance of public order. In December 1945, security sections were set up in the head offices of prefectures, and a Public Safety Section was established in the Interior Ministry Public Order Bureau. These eventually developed into public security police forces established in police stations throughout the country. Thus, in some parts of the Cabinet Information Bureau and the Interior Ministry Public Order Bureau, 'a skilful attempt at postwar organizational survival was mounted, effectively closing the gap between the Japanese government's aim of sabotaging the process of democratization in order to achieve an 'orderly surrender', and GHQ's goal of an 'orderly occupation'(Kawashima 1995: 54–62).

The far-reaching censorship operation carried out by the occupation forces exposed a fundamental contradiction of the whole occupation system: it attempted to impose 'democracy' using almost identical techniques to the wartime system of thought control. While emphasizing the importance of freedom of expression in all the media, General MacArthur imposed a severe regime of censorship extending to the furthest corners of cultural and expressive activity. What is more, one of the explicit prohibitions of this system was to forbid any public recognition that censorship was taking place. Publishers were ordered to remove from their publications all indications that they had been subject to censorship. No articles about censorship personnel or

the censorship process were allowed to be published. Indeed, reference in the media to the presence of the 'occupation army' itself was suppressed. The media were required to make as if the occupiers were no longer present in the country. Hirano Kyouko mentions an interesting anecdote recounted by the film historian Joseph L. Anderson, who spent his youth in occupied Japan while his father was working there. When he saw the film *Children of the Honey Nest* by the director Shimizu Hiroshi, Anderson was surprised at the earnest effort to 'expunge any trace of the presence of the occupying military … At that time [during the occupation] large railroad stations were crowded with occupation army soldiers. Nevertheless, in the railroad scene in the film, there was not the slightest sign of any soldiers. The RTO (military Railroad Transportation Office) signs seen all over the place at the time were not shown in the film'(Hirano 1998: 87–88). Thus, the fact of censorship itself was censored, and an 'Orwellian' (Dower 1999) discursive space was created within the postwar Japanese media, as a result of the occupiers' suppression of their own presence.

Another aspect of the occupation's censorship policy was its inconsistency, even arbitrariness. Until it was disbanded in 1949, the function of the CCD remained consistent throughout the occupation period. However, the content of its censorship criteria was in a state of constant flux depending on the situation of the moment. There was a general rightward drift from an earlier focus on the exclusion of militarist discourse, to a later concern with the suppression of leftist discourse. This entailed a complete change in what was censored and what was forbidden. In the absence of any consistency of content, it is doubtful whether censorship actually achieved any consistent ideological effect. Nevertheless, precisely as a result of this inconsistency, media producers came ultimately to exercise a certain degree of 'self-constraint' or 'self-censorship', since they had no idea what kind of expressions were liable to fall foul of the censors. In the words of John Dower, this was

> a system of secret censorship and thought control that operated under the name of 'free expression' — indeed, waved this banner from the rooftops — and yet drastically curbed any criticism of General MacArthur, SCAP authorities, the entire huge army of occupation, occupation policy in general, the United States and other victorious Allied powers, the prosecution's case as well as the verdicts in the war-crimes tribunals, and the emperor's personal war responsibility once the victors pragmatically decided that he had none.

Thus, instead of bringing liberation, as it claimed to be doing, America ('the land of freedom') provided Japan with further 'lessons about acquiescing to overweening power and conforming to a dictated consensus concerning permissible behavior'(Dower 1999: 439).

America seduces — the army of occupation in the urban space of Tokyo

During the occupation, 'America' did not, however, remain simply an external presence in the postwar culture of Japan, a proscribing and controlling 'other'. Despite the frantic attempt by the censors to conceal its presence from film and print, the army of occupation was itself very much a part of the mass-cultural scenery of postwar Japan. When one considers this other unconscious level, 'America' appears not so much as a 'prohibiting' presence, but as a 'seducing' presence in the everyday consciousness of the times. As an illustration of this, let us consider the link between American military bases and postwar popular music. Many young Japanese singers suddenly found employment entertaining American soldiers on the bases and in recreation facilities, where life went on largely in isolation from the surrounding society and working conditions were relatively good. There were many young popular singers who began their singing careers entertaining American troops. Ito Yukari began singing on American bases from her father's back at the age of six. Eri Chiemi also began singing to American soldiers while she was still in the fourth grade of primary school. Matsuo Kazuko took the stage at Kita

Fuji Base at the age of 15. Meanwhile, Mori Mitsuko was making a living touring bases singing the jazz she had learnt. Several hundred musicians used to gather daily at the northern Marunouchi exit of Tokyo Station, where they were 'auctioned off' as band players before the American military trucks. From this developed the postwar system of talent recruitment by brokers, which later dominated mass entertainment in the age of television (Kuwabara 1981: 48–54). Numerous powerful cultural influences — jazz, fashion, sexual culture — spread out from the American bases and took root very soon after the beginning of the occupation.

This type of cultural influence spreading from American military bases is far from being a phenomenon restricted to Japan. It can found throughout the Asian area where American bases were established during the Cold War, including Japan, Okinawa, South Korea, and the Philippines. Kang Nobuko provides a vivid account of how rock music developed in Korea through links with the American bases set up after the Korean War. In this is recounted the story of Shin Jung Hyo, later to become known as the 'godfather' of Korean Rock. As a youth, having lost both his parents in the Korean War, he listened to the American forces radio station (AFKN) on an American military communications wireless he had bought. He then learnt to play the guitar by himself, and wondered the streets of Seoul playing it. After studying with a guitar teacher, he then became a musician in the American Eighth Army's show. In Korea during the 1950s, 'playing at the Eighth Army's show was the only way of making a living as a musician. At their height, there were as many as 264 stages where such shows were held, and those appearing in the Eighth Army's show could earn a guaranteed yearly income of $1,200,000, at a time when the total value of South Korea's yearly exports was no more than about $1,000,000' (Kang 1998: 149–154) One can see clear parallels here with the process that produced Japan's postwar singers and entertainers during the occupation. Likewise, in the 1960s, Okinawan Rock music was born as a result of interaction with the American bases during the Vietnam War.

However, the linkage between popular culture and the American bases in postwar Japan cannot be reduced to a simple relation of influence. Although it was through a direct connection with the occupying power that many aspects of popular culture regained their footing after the war, popular culture itself adopted a rhetoric of negating this connection. In other words, as the occupation drew to its close, Japanese popular culture attempted to forget its links with the occupier. Underground images associated with the occupation, such as the 'black market' and 'pan-pan girl', became increasingly marginalized. As the violent America of the occupation was obscured, 'America' instead became a model of lifestyle consumption. The link between these two aspects of 'America' is a highly convoluted one. I would like to explore this here on the level of urban space. There were very different ways of relating to 'America'. At one extreme there was a direct encounter with the violence of the bases in such places as Okinawa, Tachikawa, and Yokosuka. At the other extreme there was a hidden relation with 'America' in the centres of consumer culture, like Roppongi, Harajuku and Ginza. Although the later are today not typically thought of in connection with the American military, the reason why they became such special places for Japanese youth after the war cannot be understood unless one takes into account their relation to the American military facilities that once existed within them.

Before the war, Roppongi had been a 'soldiers' town'. Numerous military facilities were concentrated there, including those of the territorial army, Konoe Shidan and Kempeitai. The area was devastated by air raids during the war, and the remaining facilities were inherited by the American military after the surrender. Military headquarters, barracks, and housing for military personnel came to be located there. Since these facilities were not returned to Japan until around 1960, Roppongi remained in the shadow of the American military throughout the 1950s. Unlike Yokota, Tachikawa and Yokosuka, however, there was no airbase or any very large number of troops housed there. There was, therefore, little sense of 'America as the source of violence'. It was here that the young people who came to be known as the *Roppongi-zoku*

('Roppongi tribe') came to gather. TV personnel, rockabilly singers and their associates began gathering in Roppongi, and thus it gradually developed its present image as a place for fashionable and colonial-style night life.

Likewise, the development of Harajuku into a 'young people's town' cannot be explained without reference to Washington Heights, which was once a residential facility for American officers. The construction of the Heights began immediately after the end of the war. It was fully equipped with a hospital, school, fire station, church, department store, theatre, tennis courts, and golf course. It thus became a symbol of 'American affluence' appearing suddenly like a mirage amid the surrounding burnt out ruins, barracks and black markets. In the 1950s, shops targeted at officers' families, such as Kiddy Land and Oriental Bazaar, came to line the streets in the area. It was amid this new townscape that Central Apartments was built. This was known as the most luxurious residence in Tokyo, and came to be a symbol of the district. In the words of Kobayashi Nobuhiko, who lived in Harajuku in the early 1960s, those who lived in this building mostly worked for trading companies or in other occupations connected with the American military — 'people who were above the clouds to "ordinary Japs"' (Kobayashi 1984). At that time, Harajuku still had the sense of being 'off limits' as a place reserved largely for the American military. Eventually the American military presence contracted, and the Apartments' residents changed from people connected with the American military to people working in fashion-leading professions, such as cameramen, designers, and copy writers.

As for the Ginza district, meanwhile, 'the main buildings were requisitioned for use as occupation army facilities … stars and stripes were seen fluttering all over the area, giving an impression just like that of an American town. There was great activity around the PX set up in Matsuya Department Store, since it was frequented by officers and troops from all branches of the Allied forces. War orphans thronged around the entrance selling things or offering their services as shoeshine boys.'(Harada 1994: 176) Even before the war, Ginza had already provided a flavour of Americanism, but during the occupation it was 'Americanised' in the more direct sense of becoming a foreign concession. Even the streets acquired names invoking a colonial landscape, such as 'New Broadway', 'X Avenue', 'Embassy Street', 'Saint Peters Street', 'Poker Street', and 'Hold Up Avenue'. This naming of streets in the American style was not restricted to Ginza. The occupation forces called the main roads radiating outwards from the imperial palace 'avenues', while the roads running in irregular circles around the centre were called 'streets'. The 'avenues' were labelled A to Z in a clockwise order, and about 60 different names were given respectively to the streets. The official names were used mostly for functional purposes, but in Ginza, where the central command headquarters was located, it seems that some of the names were also popularly used.

References to the Ginza district in popular songs of the time give some indication of the heavy presence of the occupation army, combined with sexual images of the ruined and burnt out city. For example, in one hit song from 1946, entitled *Tokyo no Hana Uri Musume* ('Tokyo Flower Girl'), the contemporary landscape of Ginza was represented as follows: 'Jazz is playing, the lamplight shadow of the hall/Buy my flowers, buy my flowers/An American soldier in a chic jumper/A sweet fragrance chases after his shadow'. Given the already mentioned strict censorship by CCD, it is somewhat strange that such a song should have been heard, drawing so direct a connection between the Ginza and American soldiers. Later songs show a growing tendency to a more oblique mode of reference. The 1949 hit, *Ginza Kankan Musume* ('Ginza Kankan Girl') has the following words: 'That girl is cute, that kankan girl/Wearing a red blouse and sandals/Waiting for someone on a street corner of Ginza/Looking at the time, grinning nervously/This is the Ginza kankan girl'. In 1951, a song called *Tokyo Shoeshine Boy* came out with these words: 'That girl in red shoes/Today still walking the Ginza/With presents of chocolate/Chewing gum and castella'.

A discontinuity of historical memory now obscures this process whereby places once occupied by American military facilities became centres for the consumer culture of youth.

So far I have mentioned the appearance of the 'Roppongi tribe' beginning in the late 1950s, and the curious changes in the lyrics of songs about Ginza. In 1957, the 'Western Carnival' was held at the Nissei Theatre in Ginza, starring Yamashita Keijiro, Hirao Masaaki, and Mickey Curtis. This achieved enormous popularity and, along with the influence of Elvis Presley, spurred the fashion for rockabilly. However, by this time the connection with the occupation forces was no longer obvious. Whereas Japanese musicians in the 1940s had polished their skills playing for American soldiers, the musical trends of the 1960s onwards were supported by an audience of Japanese youth. Already at the beginning of the 1950s, as the American military pulled out of the Japanese mainland, the Japanese jazz bands that had played for the troops were leaving the bases and starting to play for Japanese singers instead. At that time, there were as many as 150 jazz bands in Tokyo, and more than 3000 band players (Komota 1970: 143). Eri Chiemi and Yukimura Izumi both debuted with jazz numbers. Together with Misora Hibari these two singers attained stardom as part of the same trend. It was against this background that the TV entertainment world took shape by the beginning of the 1960s. By this time, the link with 'America' had become indirect.

America fragments — between 'desire' and 'oblivion'

However, let us not forget that the period from the late 1950s to the 1960s, which saw the development of the youth culture described above, was also a period of intense struggle over the military bases. This began in 1953 with protests against the American army test-firing range in Ishikawa. The first anti-base movement in Tokyo began in the same year with a large rally of residents opposed to the Setagaya Base. In 1955, protest erupted over the enlargement of the American military airbase in Tachikawa (in the outskirts of Tokyo). In October of the following year, farmers, trade unionists and students staging a sit-in to prevent surveying of the land clashed with police, giving rise to about 1000 casualties. At roughly the same time, large protests were taking place in Okinawa in response to repeated rapes and killings of Okinawan women by American soldiers and against an occupation policy generally at odds with residents' wishes.

Thus, in the Japan of the late 1950s, two 'Americas' had begun to appear. On the one hand, there was an 'America' that was an object of consumption, whether through material goods or as media images. This 'America' had gradually lost its associations with military violence, despite having been born on the American bases and in the military recreation facilities. On the other hand, there was also an 'America' that was literally embodied in violence, and became the object of anti-base protest. These were nevertheless different aspects of the same 'America'. A relation with American military bases lay behind the formation of the fashionable postwar images of all the places mentioned above. To this extent, it is possible to trace a continuous cultural geo-political horizon between Ginza, Roppongi and Harajuku, on the one hand, and Yokosuka and Okinawa, on the other. Nevertheless, at about the time Japan entered the era of high economic growth in the late 1950s, a fault line opened up between the two 'Americas'. The 'America' embodied in such places as Ginza, Roppongi and Harajuku, and the 'America' of Yokosuka and Okinawa came to seem like entirely different things. The former 'America' came to be understood as if it had existed from the very beginning entirely on the level of consumer culture. In the case of the latter 'America', the cultural dimension was erased from the picture, and overwhelming attention was drawn to the problems of pollution, violence and prostitution emanating from the bases.

This division between the two 'Americas' was reflected in, and reinforced by, the division in roles between the Japanese mainland and Okinawa. One remarkable expression of this is seen in the currency exchange rate policy. In the mainland, the rate was fixed at one dollar to 360 yen, in accordance with the 'Dodge Line'. Thus, the yen was deliberately undervalued in order to give a boost to economic recovery by encouraging exports. In the case of Okinawa,

however, America's main goal was not economic recovery, but to provide a stable environment for the construction of military bases. Local labour, construction companies and service industries were mobilized to construct the bases. The money thus earned was used to import goods and recycled into the local economy. In order to encourage imports, the exchange rate was set at 120 'B-yen' to the dollar. The extreme difference in exchange rate between the mainland and Okinawa lead to the development of very different economic structures. In the mainland, an export-lead growth economy developed, while in Okinawa the economy became heavily dependent on the bases. These were two sides of the same coin. The policy adopted in Okinawa encouraged the development of a subordinate economic structure, with a very weak manufacturing sector and an inordinately large tertiary sector centred on import trading. In the mainland, export industries grew steadily, nurturing the formation of a mass consumer society (Makino 1996, Minamura 1995).

The separation of the mainland from Okinawa clearly reflected the great change in America's policy towards Asia that occurred around 1947. With the beginning of the Cold War, the focus shifted from the earlier goal of democratization and the decentralization of power, to a policy designed to make Japan into the leading member of the Western camp in Asia. This policy turnaround became definitive after the Chinese revolution. Japan would have been far less important to American policy if there was still a pro-American government in mainland China to act as a block against the southward spread of Soviet power. However, with the formation of a communist government in China, Japan ended up becoming the cornerstone in America's Asia policy. It became necessary to construct a military bulwark against communism in East Asia, and to stabilize the Japanese economy as the centre for economic growth in the region. In the absence of any immediate prospect for the expansion of economic relations between Japan and China, the idea of reviving the Japanese economy by linking it to the markets of Southeast Asia had already been proposed to the Truman administration by George F. Kennan. This was a plan for an 'East Asian Co-prosperity Sphere' under an American military aegis. However, this was not a sufficient condition to make Japan into the centre of an anticommunist economic sphere in Asia. It would also be necessary to reduce Japan's military burden in order to avoid any drag on the speed of its economic recovery. To solve this dilemma, the military burden was placed mainly on Okinawa, while the Japanese mainland was allowed to concentrate its energy on economic growth. General MacArthur was a particularly enthusiastic proponent of this strategy. By making Okinawa into a fortress, military stabilization in East Asia could be attained while the Japanese mainland was demilitarized.

The American strategy of dividing economic and military functions among the countries of East Asia can be discerned even more clearly when one considers the case of South Korea. Lee Jong Wong provides a very convincing account of how both Japan and Korea were drawn into a system of divided roles as a result of America's Asian policy in the 1950s. The Eisenhower administration sought a way of simultaneously both reducing government budget deficits and maintaining global military hegemony. This required a trade-off, which was achieved by a division of labour between Japan, on the one hand, and countries such as Korea, Taiwan, and the Philippines on the other. Thus, in the 1950s, 'while Asia policy in general became increasingly military centered, policy toward Japan turned in the direction of an economic emphasis. In parallel with this, policy toward "front-line countries", like South Korea, stressed even more the military aspect, thus restricting the potential for economic growth' (Lee 1996).

Of course, this system of a division of labour between economic and military roles was not followed consistently throughout the early Cold War period. In the early stages of the Eisenhower administration, Japan was expected to become not just an economic centre for East Asia, but also a military one. Lee reveals a 1954 memorandum of the American joint chiefs of staff in which it is stated that Japan's recovery of military strength was 'of fundamental importance to the construction of a position of strength against communism in the Far East'. Indeed, in 1953, against the background of a worsening situation in East Asia, the mainstream

opinion in American military circles was in favour of a large-scale remilitarization of Japan. However, such plans for Japan to become a major military centre were blocked on one side by the growing anti-base peace movement in Japan, and on the another side by Asian countries fearing the revival of Japanese imperialism. In the event, the military element in Japan was peripheralized, and support was given to the concentration on economic growth. The military burden of defence against China and North Korea was shifted instead to South Korea and Taiwan. Thus, the United States gave its backing to the dictatorial regimes of Chiang Kai Shek and Syngman Rhee, whose authoritarian power enabled these countries to build armed forces far out of proportion to their economic strength.

In this way, from the mid-1950s onwards, the role of military defence against the socialist block in the Far East was assigned to South Korea and Taiwan — and Okinawa too — while mainland Japan took on the role of a centre for economic growth. The year 1955, of course, marked the beginning of the so-called '1955 system' in Japan. This year also saw the beginning of the period of postwar rapid economic growth, later symbolized by such events as the Crown Prince's wedding, the domestic appliance boom, the Tokyo Olympics, and the Osaka Exposition. In the context of the theme of this paper, one could say that the image of 'America' in Japan underwent a process of structural transformation and concealment after the mid-1950s. In other words, there was a shift from an Americanism modelled directly on America, to an Americanism more deeply embedded in a particularistic national consciousness and more focused on the images of consumer lifestyles.

From the end of the 1950s, American military facilities became almost invisible in the urban areas of the Japanese mainland. This was in stark contrast to the situation in Okinawa, where the worsening situation in Indochina was making the presence of the bases even more prominent. In 1953, there were 733 American military facilities located in Japan, covering a total land area of about 1000 square kilometres. These facilities were found in every region of the country, and included 44 air bases, 79 training ranges, 30 naval port facilities, 220 barracks, and 51 residential complexes. The American military presence was thus a fact of daily life clearly visible to anyone. However, this presence was gradually reduced during the course of the late 1950s and 1960s until, in 1968, there were only seven air bases, 16 training ranges, nine port facilities, four barracks, and 17 residential complexes. The number of troops also gradually decreased, from 260,000 in 1952, to 150,000 in 1955, then down to 77,000 in 1957, and 46,000 in 1960. The greatest reduction was in land forces, so that the emphasis of the American military presence shifted to the navy and airforce. By the end of the 1960s, there were only relatively few facilities left in the Tokyo area, including the bases at Yokota, Tachikawa, Yokosuka and Zama. The presence of American military personnel ceased to be a part of people's everyday lives. 'Base culture' became contained in a few centres well isolated from the surrounding society.

Thus it was that the image of 'America' in Japan came to be divorced from the experience and memory of a direct encounter with the bases and their associated violence, in contrast to the entirely different situation in other parts of East Asia, such as Okinawa, South Korea and Taiwan. 'America' was sanitized as an image consumed through the media, and thus spread its seductive power uniformly among the whole population. In the late 1940s and early 1950s, 'America' had held very different meanings for different groups of Japanese. For some people, 'America' was a 'liberator', while for others it was a 'conqueror'. 'America' was simultaneously an object of desire and a source of fear. It represented both wealth and decadence. There were many different 'Americas', depending on the variables of class, generation, gender, region, and individual circumstances. This was because America was no mere image but a reality encountered in everyday life. People's notions of 'America' were shaped by their direct experience of particular American soldiers, systems or changes.

However, from the late 1950s onwards, 'America the occupier' ceased to be part of most people's everyday experience. By becoming a problem confined to 'certain regions' (i.e. those

still hosting bases), 'America' was distilled as a uniform image with even greater power than before to gain people's hearts. This can be illustrated by the depictions of America in advertising at the time. Whereas, until the early 1950s, the word 'America' was simply invoked as a *model* to be emulated, from the late 1950s, Japanese families — above all housewives — performing the 'American lifestyle' were presented as the *ideals* to be emulated. 'America' also came to be associated with the 'pop-culture' of Japanese youth. So long as 'America' was simply presented as the ideal, the meanings people attributed to it could be diverse. However, just as 'America' ceased to be a matter of direct and concrete daily experience, its image became inscribed in the identities of Japanese people. As 'America' became less direct, more mediated, and increasingly confined to images, it conversely became more interiorized and its effect on people's consciousness and identity became deeper.

'America' in South Korea, Taiwan, and the Philippines

What has 'America' meant to the people of other East Asian countries in the postwar era? In the case of South Korea during the Cold War, the position of 'America' in people's consciousness has been largely determined by the state of relations with North Korea. At the end of the Second World War, 'America' was welcomed with open arms as the liberator from hated Japanese colonial rule. At this stage, closeness to America was associated with opposition to Japan. However, this changed with the outbreak of the Korean War. With the emergence of the North/South division as an overwhelming fact of life, 'America' became associated in everyday consciousness more with 'anti-communism'. The emphasis of America's policy toward Asia shifted from democratization and the elimination of Japanese imperialism to the construction of an 'anticommunist' stronghold in Asia. Conservative political forces in Japan were revived as a mechanism towards this goal. South Korean identity came to focus on self-preservation from the threat posed by the divided self of the 'Northern enemy'. Thus, people's psychological dependency on 'America' deepened. In the words of Mung Bu Shuk, 'through the process of the Korean War, pro-Americanism and anti-communism were raised from the level of mere principals to the level of a "civil religion"'. Indeed, when protest erupted in 1982 against the Gwangju incident and the American military's backing of the authoritarian regime, followed by an arson attack on the American cultural centre in Pusan, all this was denounced as the work of North Korean spies (Mung 2001). Within a thought structure that equated 'anti-Americanism' with the North Korean insurgency, it was impossible even to conceptualize 'America' as an 'other'. At that time in South Korea, the mere act of questioning 'America' was seditious and beyond the pale of possibility. All events were interpreted according to a highly simplified code in which protection against the deadly contagion of communism was paramount.

This reception of 'America' in South Korea mediated by the menacing image of the enemy to the north underwent great change through the process of the democratization movement. Mung speaks of this as follows: 'The American government's implicit consent (even active support) for the military's bloody suppression of the Gwangju protests came as a profound shock to the South Korean people, and led to the revival of a critical perspective toward America which had disappeared during the long period since the Korean War in the 1950s.' Similarly, Kwang Hyok Bom tells us that South Korea in the 1980s was 'transformed into a major center of anti-Americanism' following the assassination of Park Chung Hee and the Gwangju protests. The policy of economic growth followed up to that time by the Park government was an expression of 'a collective desire to become a developed country and live prosperously like America', and was thus similar to the policy being pursued in Japan. However, in the 1980s, 'through the movement for democratization and unification, long entrenched taboos were broken, and previously unheard words, such as 'Yankee Go Home!' and 'American imperialism' became everyday currency. For the first time since the Korean War, the American embassy and other facilities became the target of occupation and siege. Ritual

burnings of the stars and stripes became frequent. America came to be seen as an 'evil' standing in the way of South Korean independence, unity and peace' (Kwang 2001: 31). The old structure of thought, in which pro-Americanism was associated with modernization and anti-Americanism with the acceptance of communism, was replaced by a new structure linking pro-Americanism with dictatorship and disunity, and anti-Americanism with democracy and unification.

Despite this, as Mung astutely points out,

> our understanding of America has until now been focused on the America that gave its support to authoritarianism. Consciously or unconsciously, the 'desiring masses' have nevertheless internalized American values. In reality, both anti-Americanism and pro-Americanism have basically amounted to the same thing in South Korean society, in so far as they both reflect a dependency on America. Extreme yearning and extreme hatred both derive from a subordination of the self to the other. There can be no escape from 'America-centeredness' so long as we continue to think that all problems will be solved just by defeating America.

Mung stresses the need to re-examine the Gwangju incident, and all the other incidents of the Cold War in South Korea, as issues pertaining to the desires of South Korean people, rather than just seeing them in terms of a thought structure of 'America versus the South Korean masses'. The important point here is not so much to expose America's unjustified intervention in the incidents concerned, but rather to show how a colonial structure centred on America has become embedded in the desires of South Korean people. In fact, according to Mung, 'America' is now an even more gigantic presence in South Korean daily life than it was at the time of the Gwangju incident. Since the end of the Cold War, America has attained overwhelming world dominance, and was the only possible source of salvation for South Korea during its period of deep economic crisis.

The significance of 'America' in South Korea has been profoundly mediated by two historical facts: Japanese colonial domination and the division of the peninsula into two states. The desire and dependency towards 'America' in the consciousness of South Koreans moves in step with their complex feelings with respect to 'Japan' on the one hand, and the 'North' on the other. This is not all. Along the way to the realization of the dream of economic development and a consumer society, desire toward 'America' has become deeply entrenched. 'America' may not have come to structure self-consciousness in so direct a sense as it has in the case of Japan, but it has, nevertheless, found a way into South Korean everyday consciousness via the complex mediation of its relations with 'Japan' and the 'North'.

Some of the same complexity is found in the case of Taiwan, which also experienced a long period of Japanese colonial rule. The key factor in both Korea and Taiwan is the process whereby Japanese prewar colonial domination was replaced by postwar American hegemony. In neither case was America the first external power to intervene. There had been a previous encounter with Japan as the 'Other'. America skilfully inherited this imperial relation between Japan and East Asia during the Cold War. To this extent, 'America' usurped Japan's role as the model of modernization in the region. 'America' provided the scenario for a new lifestyle through the medium of the English language, films, television, and advertising. In this sense, 'America' may have acted as the model of consumerist modernity for Japan, South Korea and Taiwan. However, let us consider exactly what kind of relations 'America' had with its former bases in Taiwan, its economic aid to the country, and to the Nationalist Party (KMT). Having previously been invaded by Holland and China, the island of Taiwan fell prey in the modern era to Japanese imperialism. It was then re-colonized by the KMT, and received military and economic aid from America as part of the Cold War policy of anti-communism. In the present day, however, Taiwan is in the process of becoming a 'semi-imperial' power expanding into overseas markets within its own minor sphere of influence. This expansion relies not on

military force as a means to extract profits, but instead uses economic and political advantage to intervene indirectly in other countries, influencing their policies and manipulating their markets (Chen 1996: 167–169). Having itself been multiply subjected to domination, Taiwan has now attained a 'semi-imperial' status of its own, and subjects more peripheral areas to economic, political and cultural subordination. One might ask what role 'America' has played in this rise from colonial to 'semi-imperial' status.

It should at least be clear that any consideration of the issue of 'America' in countries such as South Korea and Taiwan must take into account the manner in which identities are formed in the context of the cultural geopolitics of East Asia, including the roles of Japan, North Korea and China. The Philippines, however, present a somewhat contrasting case where the issue of 'America' has been very direct and all-embracing. This is well illustrated in an ethnographic study by Fenella Cannell conducted in the Bicol district of south-east Luzon. This study examines how impoverished young people have internalized 'America' through an analysis of their daily conversations and various types of cultural performance, such as amateur singing contests and beauty pageants. The subjects of this study are poor young peasants, who have neither the opportunity to go and work in America nor to buy American goods. Cannell sees a connection between these people's desire to be 'beautiful', as expressed in the various cultural performances in which they participate, and the imitation of 'America' as an imagined 'other'. However, this 'imitation' goes beyond merely incorporating elements of American culture as a subsidiary part of their lives. The imitation of 'America' becomes a means of self-transformation for these impoverished Philippine youths. This cultural practice of self-transformation is now an integral part of the culture of the Bicol district.

The period of Spanish colonialism has left its mark on the urban landscapes of Bicol with its grandiose churches. However, in the everyday lives and consciousness of present day Filipinos, by far the greatest influence is that of an imagined 'America'. Throughout the Philippines, luxury goods, public buildings, the clothing and cuisine consumed in the cities, and films are all looked upon as 'American things', even if they were in fact produced in Asian countries. 'America' is imagined as the source of all power, wealth, cleanliness, beauty, joy and attractiveness. People in the Philippines conceive their own cultural identity always in relation to this imagined 'other'. Thus, Hollywood films are treated as high-class items, and are shown in the well air-conditioned cinemas on the main street of Naga, the central town of Bicol. Tagalog-language films are seen as inferior in comparison. However, even the latter are typically set in the capital Manila, which is most closely associated with the image of 'America'. Even in the rural villages, 'America' is placed at the pinnacle of the symbolic order and, overseas, the entire textual production of the Philippine cultural industry.

The 'American' facilities lining the main street in Naga are beyond the reach of the region's rural poor. When women from the villages go to the town with baskets of fish to sell, they illegally occupy space on the roof of the market place to carry out their trade. They barely even glance at the department stores, restaurants and fast-food joints on the main street. If they need to eat while in town, they will go to a small shop on a side street to buy food. The stores lining the main street belong to a completely different world to that of such rural women. Neverthe-less, even for these impoverished people, the imagined exterior world of 'America' remains an indispensable path to empowerment. Even those who have no contact with American products in their daily lives will serve foreign canned goods on special occasions, such as festivals. Furthermore, going to work in America is seen as the only way for Philippine people to escape poverty. A person's fate is determined not by his/her relation to the country in which he/she lives, but in relation to an external place, America. Recently, it is true, increasing numbers of Filipinos have gone to work in Japan or the Middle East. Nonetheless, 'America' remains the supreme model of what a 'prosperous foreign country' is imagined to be (Cannell 1995: 224–228).

However, according to Cannell, when people in the Philippines imitate 'America', they are

not simply expressing subordination to American culture. Rather, they are attempting to acquire the power of the imagined 'America' through a process of self-transformation. For example, when women in Bicol get drunk at neighbourhood wedding parties, they prefer to sing American pop songs, even if they are well versed in local songs and would never sing American songs when sober. Their spirits fortified by drunkenness, they adopt bold postures and become more self-aware, while singing carefully memorized English lyrics whose meaning they may not clearly understand (for example, the song may deal with unfamiliar scenes such as leaves falling in autumn). By displaying their ability to sing these songs belonging to the 'high culture', they symbolically take on something of the power of 'America'. Through such symbolic action, those unable to purchase American items of consumption gain a means of acquiring proximity to 'America'. Of course, the person singing, and those around her, know full well that she is neither an American, nor even a professional Philippine singer, but no more than a scruffily dressed village woman. The gap between reality and image is nonetheless overcome by the imagination. This imagination sometimes extends to caricature. Cannell mentions a woman she met whose nickname was 'wealthy Marie' because her house was reputed to be full of radios, refrigerators, and electric fans, which, 'just like an American', she would throw out as soon as they became only slightly old. This was despite the fact that she belonged to the poorest tribe in the village, and her house had an earthen floor and leaky roof. Likewise, holes in house walls caused by typhoon damage are sarcastically called 'air conditioners'. When feet get covered in mud as a result of labour in the paddy fields, this is referred to as 'my manicure'. When food served at a celebration in someone's house meets with approval, it is likened to the cuisine in an American restaurant.

This study of daily cultural practice in Bicol addresses issues that have always been at the centre of cultural studies, such as the struggle over hegemony and the dynamics of subjectivity. Cannell sees the reproduction of the 'self as America' in the Philippines not as a process of subordination to the American 'other', but rather as a matter relating to the empowerment of the disadvantaged within a structure of subordination, through a process of self-transformation by Filipinos themselves. However, this also shows the extent to which Filipinos' self-construction has been mediated by 'America'. As Arjun Appadurai states at the beginning of his now classic excursus on globalization, 'American popular music interpreted in Filipino style has even greater currency in the Philippines than do the original songs in the United States. What is more, it surpasses the United States in faithfulness to the original'(Appadurai 1996). Far more people in the Philippines can perform complete renditions of American songs than in the United States. Through this music, Filipinos sing nostalgically about a world that they have never lost. However, to repeat the main point once again, it is precisely such an identification with 'America' that provides the impoverished masses of the Philippines with one of their few means of gaining a form of cultural capital, be it only temporary and confined to the imagination.

This structuring of the Filipino identity through the medium of 'America' can be traced back to the time of mass emigration to the United States just after the First World War. This migration gained impetus thanks to the fact that the Philippines at the time was not regarded as a 'foreign country', whilst migration from Japan and China was being restricted under the policy of exclusion. In his autobiography entitled *The America of my Heart*, Carlos Bronsan provides eloquent testimony of how Filipinos internalized 'America' through the experience of many hardships in the period between the First World War and the Japanese occupation. Bronsan was born into a poor peasant family in the Ilocano region at the beginning of the twentieth century. This was precisely at the historical moment when the independence movement failed and the government fell into the hands of a privileged pro-American elite. At that time, 'the Philippines was being driven slowly but surely into economic collapse. … An Americanized younger generation had become completely incomprehensible to adults. Even in the countryside, where poor peasants toiled flat out for the landlords, young people were

caught up in the trend and rebelled against tradition'. They took it upon themselves to learn English, and thought seriously about going to America. However, having gone to America in search of 'freedom', what they found there was blatant and violent racism, exploitation, corruption, and acts of horrendous barbarism the like of which they had never encountered in the Philippines. Faced with such a situation, Bronsan himself gradually became inured to violence and cruelty, 'confined in a corrupt corner of America seeing only violence and hatred'. Nevertheless, he did not completely lose his faith in 'America the land of freedom'. After a period of frequenting gambling dens, he finally discovered a way of regaining himself through writing. For a while, he worked as an editor of a newspaper for Filipino agricultural labourers. He rediscovered 'America' through literature. However full of corruption the real America, 'whether one is born here or a foreigner, whether one is educated or not, first and foremost we ourselves are America' (Bronsan 1984: 208–210). When the Philippines was invaded by the Japanese military, Filipinos in the United States volunteered in droves for the American army. Thus, it was precisely through an identification with 'America' that they acquired their sense of unity as compatriots and a collective desire for independence.

The Japanese occupation of the Philippines reinforced the convoluted path by which Filipinos came to acquire a national identity of their own mediated by the higher identity of 'America'. Having already absorbed the notion of 'America' as the 'land of freedom and civilization', Filipinos could only view the invading Japanese military as 'barbarians'. Tsuno Kaitaro's account of the Japanese occupation of the Philippines includes the following illustrative anecdote. Before the Japanese invasion, vaudeville had already become a highly popular form of mass entertainment in the Philippines. The performers of this genre were known by such names as 'the Filipino Fred Astair', 'the Filipino Clark Gable' and 'the Filipino Charlie Chaplin' on account of their apparently close resemblance to the originals. During the occupation, many cinemas were forced to close, and when they were later allowed to reopen, strict censorship prevented many films from being shown. To fill the gap caused by the lack of permitted films, cinemas put on stage shows performed by movie actors. These shows often featured skits ridiculing the Japanese occupiers. One such skit portrayed a Japanese soldier with numerous wrist watches attached to both arms frantically searching for more watches to confiscate (Tsuno 1999: 73–86). To the extent that watches were viewed as a symbol of modernity, the Japanese were seen as pillagers of the 'modernity' that already existed in the Philippines. Filipinos were under no illusions whatsoever about the 'empire' of the Far East. They saw the Japanese as barbarous, wicked and cheap. This further reinforced Filipinos' fantasies about 'America'. Ikehata Yukisuke describes the situation as follows:

> The greatest irony of the Japanese occupation of the Philippines was that it reinforced the dependency of Filipinos on America. This was entirely contrary to the Japanese invaders' pretext of liberating the Philippines from American colonial domination. The expectations and loyalty of Filipinos towards the United States grew even stronger during the period of Japanese occupation. They looked forward eagerly to reoccupation by America as a means of liberation from the cruel Japanese military. The pro-American sentiment built up among the people of the Philippines during the Japanese occupation cannot be overlooked when considering the deep sense of dependency on America that developed after the war in all fields of life, including politics, the economy and military. (Ikehata 1996: 18–19)

The obvious failure of the Japanese occupation of the Philippines demonstrates that classical methods of colonial domination are no match, either militarily or culturally, for the American mode of domination that incorporates democratic elements. To the extent that Filipinos had a special sense of dependency on 'America', this dependency had its origins in the peculiar characteristics of American colonial policy. It is true that America's colonization of the Philippines at the turn of the twentieth century had involved the thorough suppression of

opposing forces and the imposition of a unitary government on the entire archipelago. However, as Benedict Anderson points out, there was little enthusiasm for the formation of a strong colonial administrative apparatus in the Wilsonian America of the early twentieth century. Through the enactment of a tariff law in 1909, the Philippines was drawn entirely into the sphere of the American consumer economy. A highly dependent industrial structure based on agricultural commodities such as sugar and coconuts was created. However, there was no strong presence of a colonial administration. Only a weak administrative organization linked to the power of local landowners (caciques) was formed (Anderson 1995: 10–13). American domination was largely limited to the military and economic realms. Mass emigration to the United States also prevented the emergence of any overt conflict between the colonial government and the independence movement. America's prewar domination of the Philippines, focusing on the acquisition of economic power and military bases rather than political and administrative colonization, provided a model for its postwar domination in Asia as a whole.

As I have attempted to show in the above discussion, there is more to the analysis of the role of 'America' in postwar Japanese mass culture than simply the dimension of cultural consumption. It is necessary to clarify the manifold ways in which 'America' has been consumed in other parts of Asia, and in the continuum of history since the prewar era. To the extent that Japanese people's desire towards 'America' has become sedimented in the unconscious and obscured by oblivion, the cultural geopolitics that made such an unconscious possible must be examined in its historical context. The resulting discontinuity is also the discontinuity that spatially divides Japan from Okinawa, South Korea and Taiwan, in the same way as the wartime and postwar eras have been divided temporally within Japan. The same temporal discontinuity was not experienced in places such as Okinawa, Korea and Taiwan, where the postwar military dictatorships, and the Korean and Vietnamese Wars created a sense of continuity with the wartime era. In light of this, the Japanese 'postwar' must be subject to ongoing questioning. In the Japanese mainland, since the 1950s, the consumption of Americanism has reached levels unprecedented anywhere else in the world. This differs from the Philippines, where American songs are sung more faithfully than in the United States, and differs also from Latin America, which has been exposed frequently to violent interventions from its high-handed northern neighbour. After the Second World War, America discovered in the former 'semi-imperial' power of Japan the conditions for becoming a subordinate mirror of itself. Japan, meanwhile, found the means to reconstruct its own identity by looking in the superior mirror of 'America'. It is therefore necessary to conduct further analysis on how the former regions of the Japanese empire accepted American hegemony after the war, and how they transformed their subject positions in that process.

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