起ちあがる琉球？：『起ちあがる琉球』（1953年）制作への思惑

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Rising Ryukyus? Ulterior Motives for the Production of *Rising Ryukyus* (1953)

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1. Introduction

During the twenty-seven year U.S. rule of Okinawa from 1945 to 1972, the Civil Information and Education Section (later known as the Public Affairs Department) of the United States Civil Administration of the Ryukyu Islands (USCAR) produced newsreels, documentary films, and TV programs in order to inform Okinawans[1] of occupation policies and USCAR's good deeds. USCAR acquired a 35mm movie camera in early 1951 approximately a month after its inauguration and started making newsreels and documentary films shortly afterwards (Kabira, 1953, p. 217). The whereabouts of many of the earliest films are unknown, but *Leaders for Tomorrow* (1952), a documentary film about three scholarship students studying in the U.S., *Rising Ryukyus* (1953), a promotional film on emigration, and some of the *Ryukyu News* (circa 1953–1956) are extant.[2]

After the opening of the Ernie Pyle International Theater in Naha in 1948, the early 1950s saw a boom in commercial movie theater construction. USCAR made arrangements with three major motion picture distributing companies—Okinawa Motion Picture, Orion Movie Performance, and the Ryukyuan Movie Trading—and succeeded in having its newsreels and documentary films, except for *Rising Ryukyus*, screened in all 116 commercial movie theaters free of charge to USCAR (*Civil*, 1953, pp. 124–125). USCAR made *Leaders for Tomorrow* and *Ryukyu News* in 35mm print and screened the two films in commercial movie theaters;[3] however, they produced *Rising Ryukyus* in 16mm only (*Civil*, 1953, p. 125) and not as a regular program for commercial exhibition. USCAR and the Government of the Ryukyu Islands (established in April 1952) made *Rising Ryukyus* for Okinawans overseas as a "gift" and previewed the film during and after its production for officials ("Film," 1953, p. 2). At that time, USCAR and GRI were also promoting emigration within Okinawa and did not intend to show this film to the Okinawan public because it "might have diverted interest from 'resettlement,' or [the] intra island emigra-

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tion program" (Lessard, 1954).[4)]

Rising Ryukyus was a long-forgotten film in Okinawa, but in 1995, Mr. Alvin Higa, a son of the late Taro Higa, a *nisei* Hawaiian immigration historian who was also a filmmaker, donated the film to the Okinawa Prefectural Archives. Mr. Higa came to Okinawa to participate in the second Worldwide Uchinanchu [the Okinawans] Festival, and he also donated more than 400 books and documents that his father owned along with *Rising Ryukyus* ("Father's;" p. 4, "History," p. 28). Since then, *Rising Ryukyus* has been screened not only in Okinawa but also at an international film festival. OPA screened it in 1999, 2002, and 2011 and allowed public access in 2006. In 2003, the film was shown at the Yamagata International Film Festival as part of a special program for Okinawan films titled "Okinawa—Nexus of Borders: Ryukyu Reflections." In each case, organizers portrayed *Rising Ryukyus* as a promotional film about Okinawa or emigration. No one has fully explained or analyzed it.

This paper attempts to explicate the purposes or intentions of producing *Rising Ryukyus* by referring to the emigration plans of USCAR and GRI and to elucidate how the two organizations transferred (or did not transfer) their policies to the film text. *Rising Ryukyus* adopts a first-person narration, explaining how a young man made up his mind to emigrate overseas, and argues that Okinawan people should emigrate to seek a better life. However, this fictional character's tale is combined with non-fictional descriptions of Okinawa past and present, and the film's rhetoric makes it incongruous to simply, as critics have done, call the film "a promotional film on emigration" or "a film about introducing Okinawa." In fact, *Rising Ryukyus*, based on the emigration policies of USCAR and GRI, has multiple intentions and motives that make it an ambiguous documentary that contradicts its title.

2. The USCAR/GRI emigration plan to Bolivia

Rising Ryukyus was made when Okinawa was facing land issues and overpopulation. After landing on Okinawa in 1945, the U.S. military started to govern while engaging in combat and confiscated fertile agricultural land to construct military bases. It is said that the U.S. did not have a definite plan about Okinawa in the first few years; however, when the situation in east Asia changed around 1950, the U.S. shifted course, regarding Okinawa as a strategically important island—the "Keystone of the Pacific." In December of that year, the U.S. government established USCAR, nominally replacing the military government.[5)] The U.S. would control Okinawa for an indefinite period of time, with the intensive construction of military bases making the island a fortress against communist regimes. Okinawans who had lost their land or were otherwise employed, and who were drawn by the solid wages, formed the majority of the construction crews. Supposedly wages were three times higher than a high school teacher's salary, though Okinawans were paid less than Japanese, Filipino, and American workers (Amemiya, 1996).

When the military base construction boom faded, however, the U.S. Military began to

lay off employees, and there were not enough jobs for young people (Amemiya, 1996). The U.S. sought an emigration program as a solution to this problem and put the Pacific Science Board of the National Research Council in charge of an investigation. In 1951, the Hoover Institution at Stanford University assigned James Lawrence Tigner, a PhD candidate in Latin American history,[6] to explore settlement possibilities in several Latin American countries.

Tigner visited Okinawa in 1951 to do research on issues of emigration. He then spent ten months in South America visiting Okinawan immigrants and local officials, whom he found eager to help Okinawans in distress. In Bolivia, there was already a plan to invite Okinawan farmers (Amemiya, 2002): the Uruma Agricultural Cooperative Association of Santa Cruz, composed of Okinawan immigrants, arranged to accept 100 emigrant families and to provide them with fifty hectares of land each. Tigner and the Okinawans in Bolivia later suggested that the Bolivian government establish an agricultural bank for new emigrants ("Emigrants," 1952, p. 2).

Tigner regularly sent progress reports and advice, which Okinawan newspapers frequently featured, contributing to Okinawans' awareness of overseas emigration; some people applied for emigration to Bolivia even before GRI started recruitment ("Impatient," 1952, p. 2). Tigner also revisited Okinawa to implement the emigration program after his investigation. During his second visit to Okinawa (from August 27 to September 28, 1952), he discussed the details of his emigration investigation with Brigadier General James H. Lewis, Civil Administrator of USCAR ("Directions," 1952, p. 2). Tigner also met with Chief Executive Shuhei Higa and other government officials as well as representatives of the private sector.

In cooperation with Tigner and USCAR, GRI was also promoting emigration. Tigner accepted GRI's suggestions that the U.S. lend all the travel expenses to the first emigrants and that the U.S. government appeal to the United Nations to lend Okinawan emigrants funds for farming from the Official Development Assistance program ("The U.S.," 1952, p. 2). Brigadier General Lewis then agreed to prepare $160,000 to fully cover transportation costs for the first four hundred emigrants. But for the second group of emigrants, USCAR would cover only 60 percent of said costs, with the private sector providing for the remainder ("The U.S.," 1952, p. 2). In addition, USCAR would not fund other expenses, which were expected to be derived from other sources (Tigner, 1963, p. 222). Tigner intended that Okinawans already in South America and Hawaii would fulfill this role ("The U.S.," 1952, p. 2).

Concurrently, GRI had been preparing to establish an emigration bank ("Birth," 1954, p. 3) with a capital fund of one hundred million yen. GRI would contribute ten million yen for the first year—an insufficient amount. The bank would make loans to would-be emigrants who needed travel and other expenses; those who would go to North and South America would have to repay the loan within ten years ("The emigration," 1954, p. 1).

In May 1953, the Bolivian government approved an emigration plan that would accept 12,000 people (3,000 families) from Okinawa in the next ten years and would

allow them to cultivate 10,000 hectares as farmland. The Bolivians requested that GRI or USCAR provide $138,684 to partially fund the plan ("Bolivia," 1953, p. 3). Financial difficulties prevented GRI/USCAR from making any contribution, however, and forced the organizations to look for outside sources.

Tigner also suggested that GRI send delegates to Hawaii and South America in order to promote the emigration program ("Dispatching," 1952, p. 2). On December 15, 1953, GRI dispatched an emigration mission composed of two prominent Okinawans—Ichiro Inamine and Hiroshi Senaga—to South America. Inamine, representing the private sector, was the president of Ryukyu Oil Co., Ltd. and the Okinawa Overseas Association. Senaga, the representative of GRI, was the chief of the Department of Economic Planning. He had stayed in mainland Japan for the prior year, negotiating with the Japanese government on issues of emigration. In addition to publicizing the emigration program, the two men also intended to express gratitude to Okinawans in North and South America for their support after the war ("Three," 1953, p. 2).

Inamine and Senaga spent more than three months visiting Hawaii, Brazil, Argentina, Bolivia, and Peru ("For," 1953, p. 2). As GRI/USCAR expected, Okinawans overseas were willing to help Okinawa, as Okinawans in Hawaii quickly sent checks to their homeland ("Bright," 1954, p. 2). In addition, following the advice of the U.S. government, the Bolivian government provided the Uruma Emigration Cooperative with considerable financial support, contributing to the expedited start of the emigration plan ("Wire," 1954, p. 2). The good news was promptly relayed to the Okinawans via Inamine/Senaga mission reports.

On April 1, 1954, shortly after the mission returned to Okinawa, GRI began accepting applications for the first emigrants.[7)] When the emigration plan to Bolivia was announced, those who were laid off from military construction jobs and/or lost land for military bases saw a good opportunity to start a new life. Therefore, in the first year, 3,591 people applied for the four hundred allocated spots, with the select few chosen on May 3, 1954. Thus, Tigner and the emigration mission played a significant role in the emigration plan to Bolivia proposed by USCAR and GRI.

3. The production background of *Rising Ryukyus*

Rising Ryukyus was produced to accompany the Inamine/Senaga mission of GRI. GRI had wished to express appreciation to the Okinawans in South America and Hawaii for helping Okinawa to recover in the aftermath of the war by showing a film on how Okinawa's restoration was proceeding. GRI submitted a petition to USCAR to realize the production of such a film ("Images," 1952, p. 3). USCAR granted GRI's wish in early August 1952, promising to provide all the production expenses. USCAR also released the following announcement to the Okinawan public:

> It is a very fine intention of GRI to make a documentary about the progress of restoration in

> the Ryukyus. CIE of USCAR is also planning this. To make this realized as soon as possible, the Ryukyuans' support and cooperation will be needed during the filming in the future. ("Images," 1952, p. 3)

Meanwhile, a biannual USCAR report stated GRI's intentions as follows:

> . . . it is interesting to note the enthusiasm and cooperation given by the General Affairs Department of GRI. The primary interest of the government is to show such a film to Ryukyuans in South America, recognizing restoration and progress in the Ryukyus, but emphasizing the great amount of aid required to keep Okinawa economically stable. By this means, the officials hope to raise funds to send emigrants to sympathetic relatives and friends in South America. (*Civil*, 1952, p. 203)

A USCAR official specifically stated the intention of making the film in a letter to the U.S. Army:

> The film production "Rising Ryukyus" was developed with Japanese language dialogue in 16mm prints for the specific purpose of helping soliciting donations to a GRI emigration fund from Japanese speaking audiences in Hawaii, USA, Mexico and South America. (Lessard, 1954)

Although the press previously described *Rising Ryukyus* as a documentary film showcasing Okinawa, these internal USCAR documents clarify that the main purpose for making this film was to raise funds outside Okinawa. USCAR did not disclose this to the local press.

On October 1, 1952, USCAR made a one-year contract for newsreel services with Zenier Brothers Productions, Inc., an American newsreel company operating in Japan. U.S. military officials did not think Japanese filmmakers could make pro-U.S., pro-democratic, and anti-communist documentaries ("United States"). Zenier Brothers was also under contract with Warner Brothers (Inoshita, 1998, p. 56), and one of the brothers was the Warner-Pathé News Tokyo bureau chief. The contract with USCAR included the services of a Japanese cameraman, equipment, negative film, and processing of footage (*Civil*, 1952, p. 203). During the early years of occupation, the U.S. military government and USCAR were showing CIE/SCAP (i.e., Japanese-made) educational films to the Okinawans, but they soon recognized the need for local production. Zenier Brothers Productions made *Ryukyu News*, 35mm newsreels, and there is exactly the same footage in *Ryukyu News* and *Rising Ryukyus*.[8] If contracting with an American producer had been the "plan" that USCAR mentioned above, USCAR could kill two birds with one stone by granting GRI's wish without extra production costs.

Zenier Brothers Productions assigned Masashi Tabata, a cameraman at Warner-Pathé's Tokyo branch, to shoot *Rising Ryukyus*. Tabata began filming in Okinawa on October 30, 1952, focusing on the major activities undertaken by USCAR such as the "completion of hospitals, operation of experimental farms, construction of capital building, and other USCAR-sponsored activities" (*Civil*, 1952, p. 203). GRI assigned two assistants to Tabata to research locations, maintain shot lists, and perform other tasks

(*Civil*, 1952, p. 203). Tabata was to stay in Okinawa for three months ("The filming," 1952, p. 3).

Exactly one month before Tabata arrived in Okinawa, the shooting location selecting committee had chosen locations for the film, most of which were in Naha. When Tabata arrived, he stated that he had not thought about what to shoot and wanted to plan for a few days so that he could make a film that would both tell the truth and not embarrass Okinawan people or others overseas ("The filming," 1952, p. 3). This statement suggests that Tabata neither knew about the location selected by GRI beforehand nor had made plans for the film. Amid the confusion, the shooting of the film was only "partially started" because the script was not completed yet ("Rising Okinawa," 1952, p. 3).

The script for *Rising Ryukyus* was written by Genkai Nakaima, a politician, movie theater owner, playwright, writer, and radio announcer. After approximately a month of work, Nakaima completed the script on November 6, 1952. Considering the time of completion, it is likely that GRI asked Nakaima to write the script after selecting the location sites. He stated that he tried to present two kinds of passions or wills that Okinawans displayed in the work toward postwar recovery: 1) to survive the new era, and 2) to cherish traditional cultural assets. He also attempted to write a scenario that could evoke Okinawans' sense of resilience passed down for generations and to introduce Okinawa's virtue to the viewer ("Rising Okinawa," 1952, p. 3). Although cherishing traditional Okinawan culture (as opposed to that of Japan) was a common strategy of USCAR, USCAR did not mention this in its report. It was left to Nakaima to stress Okinawan culture in his script, which coincided with the strategy of the U.S. Neither Nakaima nor GRI/USCAR revealed the other intention—informing the public of the great amount of outside finances needed for emigration.

On February 18, 1953, approximately 100 days after Tabata's arrival and following a minimal amount of shooting, there was a preview of *Rising Ryukyus* at Naha's Okiei Honkan Theater ("*Rising Ryukyus*," 1953, p. 3). The footage included most of Yaeyama and major buildings in Naha ("*Rising Ryukyus*," 1953, p. 3). Assuming he left Okinawa after three months of shooting as planned, Tabata just shot 10,000 (or approximately 4.5 hours) of the planned 100,000 feet.

Shooting of a talk session for promoting emigration, which was the last part of the film, took place on August 18, 1953 (*Administrative*, 1954). This scene was shot in a Ryukyu Broadcasting Co. Ltd. studio and seems to be a setup for the documentary. A newspaper article published on the following day featured this shoot and reported that the GRI officials were having a hard time acting in front of the camera ("Quite," 1953, p. 3), suggesting that this staged talk session was an "open secret."

Post-production was completed in early December 1953, just in time for the departure of Inamine and Senaga for the Americas. *Rising Ryukyus* was previewed on December 5 at a rally to promote emigration held at Sangoza Theater in Naha ("A rally," 1953, p. 2). Yet recording and editing were still in progress in Tokyo, and the completed film arrived in Okinawa four days later ("Film," 1953, p. 2). The final version was previewed for

government officials on December 10 at the Naha Cultural Center ("Film," 1953, p. 2). The emigration mission arrived in Hawaii on December 16, and on the 18th, the Hawaii United Okinawan Association hosted a showing of the film (along with lectures on emigration) in the Kawananakoa school auditorium ("Welcome," 1954, p. 3). The mission read a thank-you note from GRI and handed said note along with the original copy of *Rising Ryukyus* to the representatives of relief organizations ("Welcome," 1954, p. 3). The Hawaii United Okinawan Association planned to show the film to the Okinawans in Hawaii upon each gathering of the HUOA ("Hawaiian," 1954, p. 2).[9)]

4. Narration, structure, and rhetoric of *Rising Ryukyus*

Rising Ryukyus adopts a first-person narrative of a young man who is about to emigrate. This choice of device makes the film a unique "documentary," the narrator being a fictional person telling his own "story." Other newsreels or documentary films made in this period in Okinawa usually employed voice-of-God, objective, third-person narration only and explained what was presented on screen.

The film begins with the image of people departing on a vessel. A man introduces himself via voiceover:

> I'm one of the people who is to leave good, old Okinawa as an emigrant abroad. It saddens me that I shall be leaving the place I have called home since being born over twenty years ago. However, after carefully considering my options from as many standpoints that I could, I have reached the conclusion that emigrating overseas is likely to bring me a more humane life. Now I will tell you honestly why I chose this decision. (USCAR & GRI, 1953)

This first-person narration in the opening sequence utilizes a story-telling strategy in an attempt to attract audiences' attention. This opening narration is a form of "breaking the fourth wall," a device used in theater or film wherein a character talks directly to the viewers in an attempt to engage or remind them that they are viewing a play. Genkai Nakaima's background as a playwright explains the drama inherent in this opening remark, a drama that distinguishes *Rising Ryukyus* from newsreels such as *Ryukyu News*. The use of an emigrant as the protagonist and his reasoning for leaving Okinawa could also be a reminder for the target audience, i.e., the prewar emigrants, of their own stories as emigrants. The word "honestly" indicates that this "story" is not a fiction but based on truth. As a result, the opening remark foreshadows the feature of the rest of the film: it is both a personal story and an objective account of the "truth."

The gender and age of this narrator reflect the policies of the emigration program of USCAR/GRI. Having a young male serve as the "protagonist" reflected the U.S. emigration policy, which favored sending young men first and letting them invite their families at a later time. The government adopted this policy in order to save on travel expenses. As Tigner (1954) wrote,

> . . . it is believed most expedient to send only male adult heads of households in the first

> group whose families can subsist without relief in their absence. Each head of a household thus could be expected to 'call' his family at his own expense when he is financially capable of doing so . . . (p. 520)

The narrator's age also reflects USCAR's desire to keep Okinawan youth away from the clutches of Communism by sending them to a distant land.[10] Tigner (1954) emphasized that:

> The prospects of obtaining large tracts of free land in a distant community as afforded by an emigration program will give fresh hope to the youth and in this way serve to cope with their discontent and susceptibility to the Communist's false promise of reward. (p. 522)

The U.S., worried that young Okinawans who were disgusted with the occupation might become susceptible to Communism, wanted to take precautionary measures. Thus, the young male narrator of this film is portrayed as an ideal, hopeful, decent, and hard-working youth who is indifferent to Communism. In addition, he would work hard as an emigrant so that he would make financial contributions to Okinawa in the near future.

This narrator who claims to be among the emigrants in the first sequence, however, is not visually presented or specified, and there is no actual protagonist in the diegesis of the film. The voice used in the film is thus a kind of "disembodied voice of God" (Wolf, 1997, p. 151), with the authority didactically telling the viewer what to make of the unfolding story or events.[11] This ambiguous, quasi-"voice of God" that calls itself one of the emigrants represents not would-be emigrants but the authority—USCAR/GRI. As the film progresses, the first-person singular narration gets mixed with the third-person, and the film ends with the first-person plural. Thus, the film attempts to attract the audience's attention with the intimate first-person narration before stating objective views with the third-person narration, but it occasionally and finally uses the first-person plural narrative to convey the message.

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In addition to the unique use of narration, *Rising Ryukyus* utilizes a specific pattern of editing to construct an argument. The film consistently depicts an Okinawa that is both recovering and devastated, signifying the real intentions of the producers. As Nakaima explains, *Rising Ryukyus* showcases both the traditional and contemporary sides of Okinawa while attempting to paint the island in a good light. However, what is argued in the film counters Nakaima's intention to show the progress of restoration and traditional culture.[12] While presenting the restored Okinawa and highlighting Okinawa's virtue were two objectives, the film needed to show the distressed situation of post-war Okinawa because the primary aims of the film were to induce sympathy for poor Okinawans and to provoke financial contributions from the viewer.

After the opening remark/sequence, the film shows scenic views (Fig. 1) and a depiction of traditional events, with the young narrator describing Okinawa as a paradise. Then the narration changes from first-person singular to first-person plural:

Figure 1: A scenic view

> There are various sightseeing guides and brochures of *our* [emphasis mine] home country,[13] the Ryukyus, and most of them have described it as a dreamland. It is even said that the "R*yugu*" of Japanese folktale *Urashimataro* is actually Ryukyu. The Ryukyus, a land of everlasting summer with the Kuroshio current washing over. The Ryukyus, a place of scenic beauty, a dreamland on the southern ocean. Rare subtropical fruits such as bananas, papayas, pineapples, and screw pine grow ripe, and various kinds of oddly shaped rocks in coast lines with white sands and green pines surrounded by coral reefs entertain the eyes of Japanese tourists. Well, the Ryukyus *may be* [emphasis mine] a dreamland depending on a point of view, and it is said that many Japanese people think [sic] so before the war and even today. Indeed, *our* [emphasis mine] homeland does not lack scenic beauty. (USCAR & GRI, 1953)

The change in point-of-view (i.e. the use of "our") implies that the narrator represents all emigrants or the Okinawan government. Although he describes Okinawa as a dreamland in the beginning, he is referring to sightseeing guides, and he later says "may be," qualifying what he has just described.

The narrator then talks about the war-devastated *Shureimon* Gate, followed by images of dying trees, a severely damaged bridge, and a rebuilt *Kannondo* Temple (following its destruction during the war), all supporting what he has just implied: Okinawa may not be a dreamland. The film then introduces scenic places, such as *Kayauchibanta* Cliff and the Kin *Kannonji* Temple, both of which escaped war devastation, yet even here the tone of the music is mainly in a minor key, implying pessimism.

After showing the somewhat tragic sides of the Ryukyus, the narrator then explains traditional cultural events of the islands. "There are also unique cultures and customs based on old traditions in the Ryukyus," he asserts, "not just scenic beauties. And, there are not a few rare cultural events that we the island people are proud of" (USCAR & GRI, 1953). On dragon boat races (or *haryusen kyoso*) (Fig. 2), he recalls that "I have never missed going to dragon boat races since I was a boy" (USCAR & GRI, 1953). In this scene, the narrator also introduces to the viewer the tug-of-war in Yanbaru, the northern part of Okinawa, before concluding that "these events among others will be the ones we

Figure 2: Dragon boat race

cannot forget for the rest of our lives" (USCAR & GRI, 1953).

This celebration of Okinawan culture reflects Nakaima's intention—to cherish traditional cultural assets. Yet the film does not intend to depict Okinawa as an unblemished paradise. Rather, at the end of the tug-of-war sequence, the narrator says, "Let's look at the reality. Did we ever lead a satisfied, stable life? No. Isn't it the common psychology that people express their disgust by attending festivit[ies], for the islanders' ordinary life is too miserable?" (USCAR & GRI, 1953) (Fig. 3). Thus, traditional cultural events are regarded as mechanisms to cope with the inhumane condition of life in Okinawa.

In the next section of the film, the narrator refutes Okinawa's edenic reputation by depicting various sectors of the island's economy as both primitive and provincial. The first image shown is of a cow and a man cultivating the land, followed by barefoot men and women plowing rough terrain (Fig. 4), with the narrator employing statistics to illustrate the scarcity of arable land. As the film depicts fishermen de-boning fish and women shaving dried bonito (Fig. 5), the narrator explains that only a small percentage of fish is exported, showing the limitation of fishery as an industry. Likewise, the film stresses that production of pottery, *shīsā* (Okinawan talismen), lacquerware, straw hats, and textiles are all done by hand. In general, the film notes, Okinawan industries export 5.5 million

Figure 3: Tug-of-war

Figure 4: Preindustrial agriculture

Figure 5: Women shaving dried bonito

Figure 6: Statistics

dollars worth of goods a year, while the island imports 60 million dollars worth of goods per annum (Fig. 6).

The film also portrays an even more serious problem for Okinawa—natural disasters.

There is an extensive account of typhoons (Fig. 7) and droughts, followed by a description of the overpopulation that led pre-war Okinawans to emigrate:

> Our homeland Ryukyus is far from a dreamland. It is rather an ever suffering island because of such a fate. If at all the Ryukyus was completely free from natural disasters such as typhoons and droughts and could fully develop as many industries as it could under desirable conditions, the estimated capacity for inhabitation in the entire Ryukyus would still be 370,000 at the most. (USCAR & GRI, 1953)

Yet the film notes that 920,000 people live in Okinawa (Fig. 8), with the poor disproportionately having large families. This overpopulation,[14] dating to the prewar era, was made worse by the termination in 1938 of the program started by Kyuzo Toyama, the father of overseas emigration, who sent many Okinawans to live in Hawaii in 1899.

Thus the film argues that the primitive state of Okinawa's economy, its vulnerability to natural disasters, and its overpopulation belie the island's reputation as a paradise. *Rising Ryukyus* seems to promote Okinawa's virtue and culture, but these assets are merely employed to fit this argument.[15]

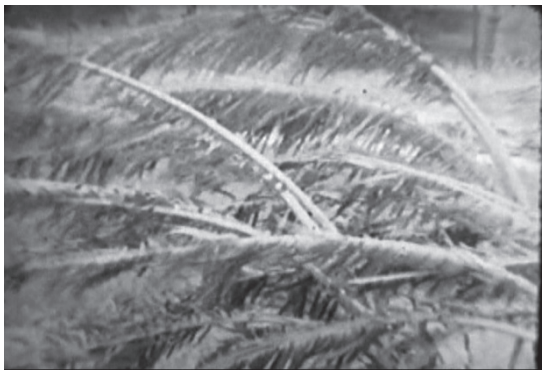

Figure 7: Trees during a typhoon

Figure 8: Overpopulation

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Rising Ryukyus continues to employ this pattern of editing and the mixture of objective and subjective narration in the following section. After a brief explanation of the aftermath of World War II, the narrator discusses the restoration of the Ryukyus. He also pays homage to the Americans and refers to the achievements of GRI and the island's people:

> It was the Americans who came to rule at the end of the [devastating] war . . . to restore the beloved homeland. The Americans are the civilized; they give as much support as possible for the islanders' recovery regardless of the differences of race, culture, and language. (USCAR & GRI, 1953)

This is another example of third-person, objective narration emphasizing the significance of the U.S. support and disguising the land confiscation caused by the military base construction. While repeatedly and excessively praising Americans for their contributions to the restoration of Okinawa on the sound track, the film shows the rebuilt capital city, Naha, including the new government building, recently constructed roads, houses, department stores, movie theaters, a healthcare center, and recuperation facilities, emphasizing modernity (Figs. 9–11). Thus, this portion of the film both aurally and visually contrasts

Figure 9: Restored Naha 1

Figure 10: Restored Naha 2

Figure 11: A movie theater

with the previous depiction of Okinawa's rural past. This section also reveals USCAR's general intention in making documentary films—to inform people of the accomplishments of USCAR and to make them understand the importance of what the organization has been doing in Okinawa.

Yet, the film does not end here, and the narrator continues to refer to dire conditions:

> With the aim to establish a self-sustained economy and with the support from the Americans, the islanders got motivated and have continued to make every effort for the past eight years for restoration; however, it is still far from achieving the self-sustained economy. It is doubtful that we can support ourselves no matter how hard we keep on making efforts. Or it is rather equal to hoping for a miracle, as I have been explaining. (USCAR & GRI, 1953)

By employing the word "miracle," the narrator is declaring that Okinawa cannot support itself without aid from the outside world. This reflects the biannual report's statement that the film emphasized "the great amount of aid required to keep Okinawan economy stable" (*Civil*, 1952, p. 203). A regular newsreel or "propaganda" film about USCAR's policies would show the "rising Ryukyus" part without making such a comment.

The narrator then turns to the issue of overpopulation caused by repatriation from China, exacerbating the difficulty of self-support: "These unfortunate people must be warmly welcomed no matter what (Fig. 12). But is it really possible to give them a decent job and to ensure a happy life in the homeland?" (USCAR & GRI, 1953). He goes on to explain that people need to migrate as settlers within Okinawa and that the government officials are planning to promote overseas emigration (Fig. 13).

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At the end of the film, the image of the vessel appears again, bringing the audience back to the first setting. As the ship sails away, the young narrator makes a final statement:

> Fortunately, I was able to join the emigration group and can now go forth into the great big world where all of us in this group can expect a fair reward for the labor we offer. In order for my fellow citizens to lead decent lives of their own, thousands of them need to migrate over-

Figure 12: Repatriation from China

Figure 13: American and Okinawan officials discussing overseas emigration

> seas and follow our example. However, this dream cannot be realized if there is no warm understanding of our plight by the citizens [of Okinawan origin] of our newly adopted countries. We will make every effort to tell them of the distressed conditions within Okinawa and to ask them to accept us emigrants from the Ryukyus. We are prepared to do our utmost to uphold the reputation of the Ryukyuan people as honest, diligent, and polite, which our ancestors instilled as basic values. In addition, we pledge to not let our new neighbors down. Everyone who is staying, please do not give up hope for the future, no matter how hard life is. (USCAR & GRI, 1953)

Here the point of view is again first-person plural, and the narrator seems to represent all emigrants. But this "we" also suggests that this is the voice of the delegates of USCAR/GRI who are bringing the film to South America and Hawaii. In addition, the phrase "thousands of them" stands for the emigrants USCAR/GRI was planning to send over the decade.

Although the narrator does not clearly state it, what USCAR/GRI wants from the Okinawans abroad is not just "warm understanding" but financial assistance. Both Tigner

and USCAR/GRI knew that pre-war Okinawan emigrants were relatively well-off financially and were thus able to make financial contributions; Tigner describes that Okinawans abroad "have vast reservoirs of funds which could be utilized for rehabilitation on Okinawa and for emigration purposes" (1954, p. 522). He continues: "It is believed that an emigration program sponsored by the U. S. government, given adequate publicity, will contribute materially toward 'enlightenment' and a resumption of a normal flow of remittances to Okinawa" (1954, p. 522). Clearly, the film is a tool to prod diaspora Okinawans to contribute funds to USCAR/GRI's emigration program.

5. Conclusion

Although *Rising Ryukyus* seemed to be a promotional film about emigration targeting Okinawans who lost their land or jobs, the main purpose of producing this film was to induce financial support from Okinawans overseas. This film was a gift for former emigrants, introducing the gallantry of a recovering Okinawa as the title suggests; however, it could not just show that all was going well in Okinawa's recovery. Therefore, the narrator explained to the audience the distressed condition of the island. The ulterior motives behind the production of *Rising Ryukyus* make it a self-contradicting film about the postwar recovery of Okinawa.

The emigration mission of USCAR/GRI seemed to yield results, for Hawaiian immigrants both handed donations to the emigration mission delegates and sent money to the Emigration Bank ("Hawaiian," 1954, p. 2). The first emigrants under the USCAR/GRI program left for Bolivia on June 19, 1954. The program was off to a good start,[16] and Chief Executive Shuhei Higa even wrote a thank-you letter to President Dwight D. Eisenhower (Tigner, 1963, pp. 223–224; Higa, 1954). However, considering the fact that pre-war Okinawan emigrants had been supportive before this program was proposed, how much this ambiguous documentary film contributed to bringing financial support to the program has yet to be determined.

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Notes

1) I will use the words "(the) Okinawans" and "(the) Okinawan people," and "the Ryukyus" and "Okinawa" interchangeably in this paper. The translation of Japanese texts, including the narration, is mine.
2) *Leaders for Tomorrow* was screened at Taihokan Theater from September 4 to 10, 1953, and *Ryukyu News No.1* at Orion Theater and others starting on November 5, 1953. These titles appear in the *Civil Affairs Activities in the Ryukyu Islands*, a restricted biannual security information report, as USCAR-produced works.

3) According to Lessard, USCAR made three 35mm prints for commercial exhibition and three 16mm prints for exhibitions in "schools, cultural centers, civic gatherings and other assemblies" (1954).
4) Although it was screened for the public at the emigration rally held in December 1953, the print didn't seem to be the final version, for the recording and editing were completed after the rally.
5) Later, with the implementation of the Treaty of Peace with Japan and Japan's recovery of sovereignty on April 28, 1952, Okinawa got officially separated from Japan.
6) Although he did not yet hold a doctorate at that time, the Okinawan press referred to him as Dr. Tigner (Amemiya, 2002). The U.S. officials addressed him as Mr. Tigner.
7) Senaga returned to Okinawa on March 29, but Inamine stopped in Washington, D.C., before coming back to Okinawa on April 13, 1954, to discuss the emigration plan with government officials.
8) These films also use the same image of Shureimon, the gate of Shuri Castle, for the opening title shot.
9) GRI prepared a copy of the film for each country that the mission visited (Inamine, 1988, p. 341). It's a four-reel film (about 40 minutes), so the total number should be at least 20 reels. A number of prewar Okinawan emigrants gathered and enthusiastically received the mission from Okinawa. In July of the same year, USCAR was preparing a print with an English sound track upon the request of the Department of the Army in Washington (Lessard, 1954). Whereabouts of that version is unknown.
10) Tigner also wrote that screening for non-Communists was an important process when choosing emigrants (1954, p. 195).
11) Newsreels and films that adopt this type of narration are categorized in the expository mode of documentary. See Nichols (1991), for example, for details.
12) Because the narration refers to events that took place much later than the time the script was completed, it is uncertain who wrote the final script or if Nakaima rewrote it. However, Nakaima implied in an interview that he would be involved in directing and editing ("Rising Okinawa," 1952, p. 3).
13) The phrase "home country" (*kokoku*) connotes USCAR's intention of separating Okinawa from Japan (Nakazato, 2003, p. 40).
14) For details about the rhetoric of linking overpopulation and emigration, see Amemiya (2002).
15) In *Ryukyu News*, Okinawan culture is featured using the same footage; however, it describes it "as is."
16) The original plan was to send 3,000 families for a total of 12,000 people in 10 years. In actuality, it sent 3,238 people (Ishikawa, 2010, p. 56). The lower number is attributed to the outbreak of an unknown disease, the lack of well-thought-out planning, preparation, and vision.

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起ちあがる琉球？
――『起ちあがる琉球』（1953 年）制作への思惑――

名 嘉 山 リ サ

戦後の米国による沖縄統治時代に、米国民政府（USCAR）はメディアを利用した情報教育、広報活動の一環として、ニュース映画、ドキュメンタリー映画、テレビ番組などを制作し、統治政策を沖縄住民にアピールした。『起ちあがる琉球』（1953 年）は、米国民政府と琉球政府が共同で制作した「郷土紹介映画」や「移民促進映画」などと称されてきたが、他の民政府制作映像と違い、海外の沖縄の人々を対象に作られた作品で、当時民政府と琉球政府が推進していたボリビア移民政策と深く関わっている。本稿では、民政府の計画移民の資料や沖縄の新聞報道などから移民政策や本作制作の背景を明らかにし、その意図や思惑が映画テキストへ与えた影響や関係性を探る。