

Ishiuchi Miyako, Tōmatsu Shōmei, and Yokosuka

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Abstract

This paper discusses Ishiuchi Miyako (石内都 1947–), one of the most significant postwar Japanese photographers. In particular, the study focuses on Ishiuchi's photographs of Yokosuka, which mostly date from the 1970s. In the realm of photography, the 1960s and 1970s is a period that is often associated with *Provoke*, the legendary Japanese photography magazine first published in 1968. The study illustrates how Ishiuchi's work resonates with other photographers of the *Provoke* era in two aspects. First, both Ishiuchi and other photographers of the *Provoke* period are often discussed in terms of a photographic style that places emphasis on its “subjectivity” of the artist. The new generation of Japanese photographers who emerged in the 1960s sought to explore various possibilities of the photographic expressions that go beyond the traditional subjective-objective dichotomy. It was part of an initiative to break away from the conventional mode of representation followed by the previous generation of photographers. Second, like some of her contemporaries, Ishiuchi challenged the new image of postwar Japan that was largely promoted by the state. This paper's narrative will unfold by discussing Ishiuchi's first major series *Yokosuka Story* in relation to Tōmatsu Shōmei's (1930–2012) *Occupation* series. Tōmatsu was Ishiuchi's collaborator and one of the most prominent photographers of the postwar period. Throughout the discussion, the paper highlights Japan's struggle with the shadows of the postwar. This study hopes to provide an opportunity to reflect on the question that might still be relevant to today's Japan; is the postwar condition in Japan truly over?

Keywords: Ishiuchi Miyako, Tōmatsu Shōmei, postwar, Japanese photography, U.S.-Japan relationship, *Anpo*, *are-bure-boke*

Ishiuchi Miyako (1947–) is one of the prominent photographers who has been most active since the 1970s. In Japanese photography, the 1960s and 1970s is a period associated with *Provoke*, the legendary Japanese photography magazine first published in 1968. However, Ishiuchi has been discussed relatively less compared to other *Provoke* era photographers. This paper aims to explore how Ishiuchi resonates with other photographers of the *Provoke* period in the following aspects. Ishiuchi and other photographers of the 1960s and 1970s experimented with various potential strategies for the photographic expressions that went beyond the traditional subjective-objective dichotomy. Furthermore, both Ishiuchi and the photographers of the new generation who emerged in the 1960s questioned the image of postwar Japan as “prosperous, sanguine, and severed from war and the prewar.”¹ This study will be pursued by discussing Ishiuchi in relation to Tōmatsu Shōmei (1930–2012), her collaborator and one of the most representative photographers of the *Provoke* era. Though Tōmatsu was not part of the *Provoke* collective, he had become associated with its signature style called *are-bure-boke* or grainy, blurry and out-of-focus style. In this sense, discussing Ishiuchi along with Tōmatsu would help one to see how the works of Ishiuchi align with those of *Provoke* generation photographers. More specifically, this paper will focus on Ishiuchi’s first major series, *Yokosuka Story* (1976-77) and one of Tōmatsu’s representative projects, the *Occupation* series. For these series both, Ishiuchi and Tōmatsu headed to Yokosuka, a port city south of Tokyo, the location of one of the largest U.S. naval bases in the Pacific since the 1950s. Ishiuchi, who spent her childhood in Yokosuka, went back to the city in 1976 and photographed it over ten months. She exhibited her 143 photographs from this period at Nikon Salon in 1977 and published them as a photobook in 1979. As for Tōmatsu, he traveled to and around the major U.S. bases in Japan throughout the late 1950s and 1960s. He compiled a collection of photographs that he took while visiting Naval bases at Yokosuka and Sasebo, Marine bases at Iwakuni, and the Airforce bases at Chitose, Misawa, and Yokota, and published it as a series called *Occupation*, which later came to be known as *Chewing Gum and Chocolate* (2014). While discussing these series, the paper will highlight how the two photographers engaged with Yokosuka and will consider the Cold War reality portrayed in the oeuvre of Ishiuchi and Tōmatsu produced there.

Ishiuchi was born in 1947 at Kiryū, a rural town in Gunma Prefecture. When she was six years old, her family moved to Yokosuka. Under *Anpo* or the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between the United States and Japan, the U.S. stationed one of its largest U.S. naval bases in the Pacific at Yokosuka. This base, which held nearly five thousand U.S. servicemen

¹ Amanda Maddox, *Ishiuchi Miyako: Postwar Shadows*, ed. Hiromi Itō (Los Angeles: Getty Museum, 2015), 16.

and twelve thousand Japanese employees, served as a key station during the Korean War (1950-1953) and Vietnam War (1955-1975). Ishiuchi's mother worked as a driver for the U.S. army base Camp McGill transporting U.S. soldiers back and forth between Yokosuka and Yokohama. It was through *Anpo* that the U.S. continued to station its military in Japan even after the end of the Occupation. *Anpo* was initially signed in 1951 after the Treaty of San Francisco, a treaty that officially marked the end of the American-led Allied Occupation of Japan. The purpose of the treaty was to provide the foundation for Japan's security relations with the U.S. Article six of *Anpo*, however, was in conflict with the sovereign power of Japan in that it contained a Status of Forces Agreement that allowed the U.S. military force and facilities to be stationed in Japan for combat purposes other than the defense of Japan. The presence of the U.S. military, unfortunately, had adverse effects on its citizens, physically and psychologically. Significant problems that involved the U.S. military included the constant noise of the jet fighters coming and going, pollution, crashing of planes on the residents, and GI crimes, which were never prosecuted because of extraterritoriality. It was in Okinawa where those problems were most visible. Under *Anpo*, Okinawa prefecture remained under the sovereignty of the U.S. even though the Occupation was over in 1952. In *Shashinshu: Okinawa, Okinawa, Okinawa*, Tōmatsu writes, "In Okinawa which is subject to extraterritoriality, atrocious crimes have been denied by the U.S. military. Crimes committed, such as the murder of hostesses, the robbery of taxi drivers, the brutal assault of young girls, and attacks with pistols, continue to be committed by the military even now."² The circumstances in Yokosuka were not so different from Okinawa. In one of her interviews, Ishiuchi recalls that she didn't dare to walk Dobuita Dōri (Gutter Alley) for fear of being raped.³ The Gutter Alley was the main street populated with bars, American soldiers, and prostitutes. She recalls the street being filled with the smell of semen.⁴ Ishiuchi grew up surrounded by the reminders of wartime and the effects of Americanization and Occupation. The city where she spent her youth was filled with "masculine and vulgar" energy from the American base and the Japanese Self-Defense Force.⁵

In 1966, Ishiuchi left Yokosuka to attend Tama Art University (Tamabi) in Tokyo and commuted from the new family house in Yokohama. Initially, she studied design. With the

² Jonathan M. Reynolds, *Allegories of Time and Space: Japanese Identity in Photography and Architecture* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2015), 157.

³ Oral History Archives of Japanese Art. "Ishiuchi Oral History." http://www.oralarthistory.org/archives/ishiuchi_miyako/interview_01.php.

⁴ Maddox, Itō, *Ishiuchi Miyako: Postwar Shadows*, 16.

⁵ Ibid.

failure of her coursework, however, she transferred to the textiles department.⁶ This shift proved to have a significant and lasting implication for Ishiuchi, who began to work with a camera in 1975. With the photographic equipment (Pentax SV camera with a 28mm lens) that she received from her boyfriend, Ishiuchi began to experiment with photography.⁷ She installed a darkroom at her parents' home in Kanazawa Hakkei, Yokohama. Although Ishiuchi experimented with film while attending Tamabi and had friends from the University of Tama Gijutsu Gakuen (Tamagei), she had never worked with a camera before 1975. Figure 1 is one of the early photographs taken by Ishiuchi. In this image, Ishiuchi captured in black and white, a landscape near her parent's house. The photography is full of grains which vividly stand out. Ishiuchi submitted these photographs with some other photographs of Yokosuka for the exhibition *Shashin Kōka* 3, which was held in September 1975 at Gallery Shimizu. What is notable in Ishiuchi's early photographs is her effort to capture what "existed both around her and, in the case of the Yokosuka images, within her."⁸ Another aspect that stands out in these photographs is her emphasis of the grainy texture. When one takes a close look at figure 1 one can see how each image is composed of millions of tiny black and white grains. Before the digital revolution, film photography was a process of letting in light that caused a chemical reaction which imprints an image on film or photographic paper.⁹ Through the darkroom procedures, the photographic paper gets exposed to the light that causes tiny black and white light particles to appear on it and form an image. For Ishiuchi who majored in textile, grain had a special implication. Regarding

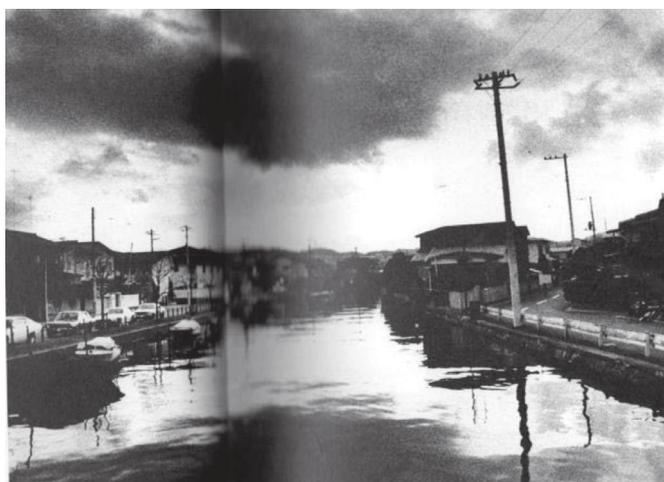


Figure 1.
Ishiuchi Miyako, *Kanazawa Hakkei, Yokohama #16*, 1975-1976, gelatin silver print,
19.0 x 24.2 cm, in *Grain and Image* (Tokyo: Adachi Kinya, 2017), 38-39, © Ishiuchi
Miyako, © Yokohama Museum of Art

⁶ Ibid, 17.

⁷ Ibid, 19.

⁸ Maddox, Itō, *Ishiuchi Miyako: Postwar Shadows*, 19.

⁹ Eriko Osaka, "Ishiuchi Miyako – Transcending the Limits of Time," in *Grain and Image*, Yokohama Museum of Art. (Yokohama: Yokohama Museum of Art, 2017), 26.

these grains, Ishiuchi says:

“But recently, photography has begun to fascinate me. I had no interest in photography, no inclination. I am still clumsy with even the most basic photography techniques, just like I am at loading film. And yet, I was able to stick with photography because of the darkroom. The process of developing film miraculously fused the two subjects I had learned as a student, resulting in concrete form of photographs. They were graphic design and textile dyeing. My grounding in these disparate disciplines founded the basis of my photography and because I knew nothing about it and started out self-taught, I was free to make photography my own. The process of developing film was just like the rinsing process in dyeing textiles and the photographic paper felt like fabric. Above all else, when I made the astounding discovery that the chemicals used to fix dyes and fix developing images are one and the same, it dawned on me that photographs are dyed paper. I print a photograph as though I’m dyeing or weaving it.”¹⁰

As one can see from this statement of Ishiuchi, the darkroom process is central to her photography. Ishiuchi took this process as a time to form a “concrete form of photographs” by combining graphic design and textile dyeing.¹¹ In describing the photographic paper as a fabric and photographs as dyed paper, Ishiuchi points out how the grain provided her a “welcome texture” similar to fabric or textile.¹² Finding an “unparalleled intimacy” in Ishiuchi’s darkroom process, Amanda Maddox, curator at the Getty Museum of Art, points to the grain, which is the product of the darkroom process, as the “form of personal expression, emotion, and individuality.”¹³ Such a subjective approach to photography places Ishiuchi next to other *Provoke* era photographers.

By the late 1950s and 1960s, there was an emergence of a new generation of photographers. These photographers— Tōmatsu Shōmei, Ikkō Narahara (1931–2020), Eikoh Hosoe (1933–), Daido Moriyama and others— challenged the documentary photographic style of the previous generation.¹⁴ They instead pursued highly individualistic sensibility creating

¹⁰ Ishiuchi in Yokohama Museum of Art, *Grain and Image*, 30.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Maddox, Itō, Ishiuchi Miyako: *Postwar Shadows*, 20.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Marco, Bohr. “Distortions in Late 1960s Japanese Cinema and Photography,” *Dandelion*, 2.2 (Autumn 2011). https://issuu.com/bintphotobooks/docs/japan_79-405-1-pb.

a new visual language that focused on experimental and conceptual imagery.¹⁵ In the process of deconstructing the previous generation's "objective" documentary photographic practices, the photographers of the new generation highlighted the subjective quality in their works.¹⁶ For the photographers of Ken Domon's (1909–1990) generation, who were disillusioned by the propagandist use of photography as seen during the war, realism, which only pursues the "objective" truth in the subject, was seen as a valid means of photographic expression.¹⁷ During the 1960s in Japan, however, the photographic expression moved "away from photographic objectivity or truths to a far more subjective and radical attitude toward the medium."¹⁸ Such shift was based mainly on the new generation of photographers' belief that outdated modes of representation such as Japanese pictorialism and reportage photography needed to be transformed. In his essay, "Distortions in Late 1960s Japanese Cinema and Photography," Marco Bohr, a professor at Loughborough University, notes that such a belief was indeed shared by numerous Japanese photographers and filmmakers of the 1960s.¹⁹

Amid such a milieu, Tōmatsu Shōmei established VIVO (1957-1961), one of the most influential Japanese photographic agencies that emerged during the postwar period. Being a loose cooperative of six photographers—Eikoh Hosoe, Tōmatsu Shōmei, Kikuji Kawada (1933–), Ikkō Narahara, Akira Sato (1930–2002), and Akira Tanno (1925–2015)—VIVO modeled itself on Magnum, which was founded in 1947 in Paris. In his essay "New Trends in Photographic Expression: Independence from the Colony of Painting" for the magazine *Asahi Camera*, critic Tsutomu Watanabe pointed out how VIVO's edgy and radical discourse on photography embodied the subjective quality of new Japanese photography.²⁰ According to Watanabe, members of VIVO shared a tendency to employ "free camera angles, and description based not on human vision but on the lens itself," which reflects highly individualistic sensibility.²¹ He writes, "Having been baptized by democracy there is a tendency to frankly voice one's opinions and emotions, and the increased desire to communicate, to express, and also to know the truth has an impact on the way one thinks about photography."²² As one can see from this comment

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Sandra S. Phillips, "Currents in Photography in Postwar Japan," *Shomei Tomatsu: Skin of the Nation*, eds. Joseph N. Newland and Q.E.D (San Francisco: Yale University Press, New Haven and London 2004), 46.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Bohr, "Distortions in Late 1960s Japanese Cinema and Photography."

²⁰ Phillips in Joseph N. Newland and Q.E.D (eds.), *Shomei Tomatsu: Skin of the Nation*, 46.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid.

of Watanabe, VIVO attempted to break away from the outdated modes of representation that belonged to the photographers of the former generation. Ten years later, a group of photographers including Nakahira Takuma (1938-2015), Takanashi Yutaka (1935–), critic Taki Kōji (1928–2011), and poet Okada Takahiko (1939–1997) established *Provoke*, a self-published quarterly magazine which came to lead a new photographic expression. “The coarse, dynamic, or grainy style images which filled this magazine outspokenly challenged the dominant style and ideology of photographic art of the time (i.e., easily consumable images promoted by large advertising agencies such as *Dentsu*).”²³ *Provoke* came to be associated with a photographic style called *are-bure-boke*, or grainy, blurry, and out of focus. In particular, Daido Moriyama (1938–), who was inspired by William Klein’s works (1928–), was well known for *are-bure-boke* style. At the same time, however, a similar photographic style was also adopted by other emerging Japanese photographers of the 1960s. For instance, though Tōmatsu was not part of the *Provoke* collective, he becomes associated with *are-bure-boke*.

The following photograph of Tōmatsu (fig. 2) well illustrates the aesthetic promoted by him and other *Provoke* photographers of the time. In this particular photograph, Tōmatsu captured a student protester observed in the massive and violent protest of October 21, 1969, held at Shinjuku, then the center of the protests against the renewal of *Anpo*. A student protester throwing an object is captured in dramatic contrast against a dark, blurry background. Everything else except the man is blurred. Tōmatsu heightens the sense of imminence, disturbance, and insecurity through the use of *are-bure-boke*. Such a blurry, grainy, and out-of-focus image gives the student protester an appearance of floating in mid-air. The figure seems almost liberating, unfettered by his surroundings, and the surreal and unsettling power of the image evokes an otherworldly beauty. As Marco Bohr notes, *are-bure-boke*, which uses slow shutter speed and moves the camera, was a convenient way to portray the dynamism and political tension found in Shinjuku.²⁴ Since most of the protests took place in Tokyo’s dense urban landscape, it was often necessary to adopt a quick-handed approach to photography, operating under low light conditions and fast-changing events.²⁵ Also, by blurring the image of the student protestors, it was possible to protect their identities. Traditionally, the photographs that were used as visual evidence to detect someone often involved an asymmetrical power relationship between the detector and detected. The latter is subjected to classification,

²³ Hayashi, Michio. “The Fate of Landscape in Post-War Japanese Art and Visual Culture,” in *Consuming Life in Post-Bubble Japan: A Transdisciplinary Perspective*, eds. Cwiertka Katarzyna J. and Machotka Ewa (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018), 199.

²⁴ Bohr, “Distortions in Late 1960s Japanese Cinema and Photography.”

²⁵ Ibid.

identification, and surveillance by the former. In this context, one could say that in this particular photograph (fig. 2) Tōmatsu uses *are-bure-boke* as a visual device that denies such a power relationship. In the grainy, blurry and out-of-focus photograph, the police are deprived of the means to identify the protestor. Lastly, it should be noted how the aesthetic of the *are-bure-boke* is “reflective of the generation coming to terms with what it viewed as an economic, political, and social system that was itself distorted” under the unsettling context of postwar Japan.²⁶ When one compares such work of Tōmatsu to figure 1, one notices how Tōmatsu and Ishiuchi share the appreciation for monochromatic aesthetic, heavy grain, free camera angles, and emphasis on the surface of photography. Also, Ishiuchi’s photographic expression, which emphasizes individualistic sensibility, very much resonates with that of Tōmatsu. When she participated in *Shashin Kōka 3*, Ishiuchi was even mistaken as the student of Daido Moriyama. Many photographers, including Araki Nobuyoshi (1940–) and Tōmatsu Shōmei, attended this exhibition, and, looking at the oeuvre of Ishiuchi, Tōmatsu praised it as the best among those displayed.



Figure 2.
Shomei Tomatsu, *Untitled*, from the series *Protest, Tokyo (Shinjuku)*, 1969, printed 1974, gelatin on silver, dimension unknown, in *Chewing Gum and Chocolate* (New York: Aperture), 122, © Shomei Tomatsu-INTERFACE

It is not clear whether Tōmatsu and Ishiuchi met for the first time at this exhibition or had previous encounters. While Ishiuchi attended Tamabi, Tōmatsu served on the faculty at the affiliate of Tamabi, Tama Geijutsu Gakuen (Tamagei). The latter offered courses in photography, film, and performance art. Ishiuchi was somewhat involved in the Tamagei community. Both Tamabi and Tamagei were involved in the Zenkyoto coalition (All-Campus Joint Struggle League). During the late 1960s, the coalition organized protests, interrupted classes, and erected barricades at campuses across Japan. Maddox notes how the students involved in the Zenkyoto

²⁶ Bohr, “Distortions in Late 1960s Japanese Cinema and Photography.”

movement “mobilized against American ‘Imperialism’ in East Asia and Indochina and helped launch a grassroots campaign against the Vietnam War.”²⁷ She also writes that “they sought to assert political autonomy from the U.S.”²⁸ The Tamagei coalition, composed of students and several faculty members, including Tōmatsu Shōmei, occupied and barricaded the main building at Tama Art University, which served as the base for protest. Ishiuchi, however, was not deeply committed to protest efforts at Tamabi like those who lived inside the barricades. Instead, she occasionally joined demonstrations organized by fellow students. As one can see, Tōmatsu and Ishiuchi might have met during one of those days of the student protests, but it is not clear whether such encounters really occurred.

What seems certain is that Ishiuchi, who was still not confident about pursuing photography as her career, was encouraged by the words of Tōmatsu, who by then was already an established photographer. In 1977, Ishiuchi published her first major series, *Yokosuka Story*. In this photobook, which consists of over a hundred black and white photographs, the photographer continues with the grainy photographic style shared by many *Provoke* era photographers. In October 1976, Ishiuchi returned to Yokosuka to embark on *Yokosuka Story*. She went back to her hometown “motivated by grief, trauma, anger, and confusion.”²⁹ Ishiuchi says, “The natural choice is to photograph what you like. I chose what I hated.”³⁰ Between October 1976 and March 1977, Ishiuchi repeatedly returned to the city. The project was clearly a personal one in that it was revisiting her personal history.³¹ She visited Oppamahonchō, a neighborhood on the edge of Yokosuka, which Ishiuchi remembers as a “slum.”³² She also visited other familiar areas from her childhood. It was exploring “her Yokosuka” in this sense. However, as one can see from the map of Yokosuka on which Ishiuchi marked the locations she visited during this six-month period (fig. 3), Ishiuchi covered considerable ground beyond her home grounds.³³ Figure 4 and 5 are some of the photographs that Ishiuchi took for *Yokosuka Story*. As one notices, the U.S. army is a significant subject of this photobook. Often employing close-ups, Ishiuchi captured numerous signifiers of the US in grainy, coarse, black and white photographs. In the back of *Yokosuka Story*, Ishiuchi explains how those millions of “grains” in her photographs represent her mixed emotions and perspectives regarding Yokosuka: “it (the Yokosuka project)

²⁷ Maddox, Itō, *Ishiuchi Miyako: Postwar Shadows*, 17.

²⁸ Maddox, Itō, *Ishiuchi Miyako: Postwar Shadows*, 17.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 22.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² *Ibid.*, 16.

³³ *Ibid.*, 22.

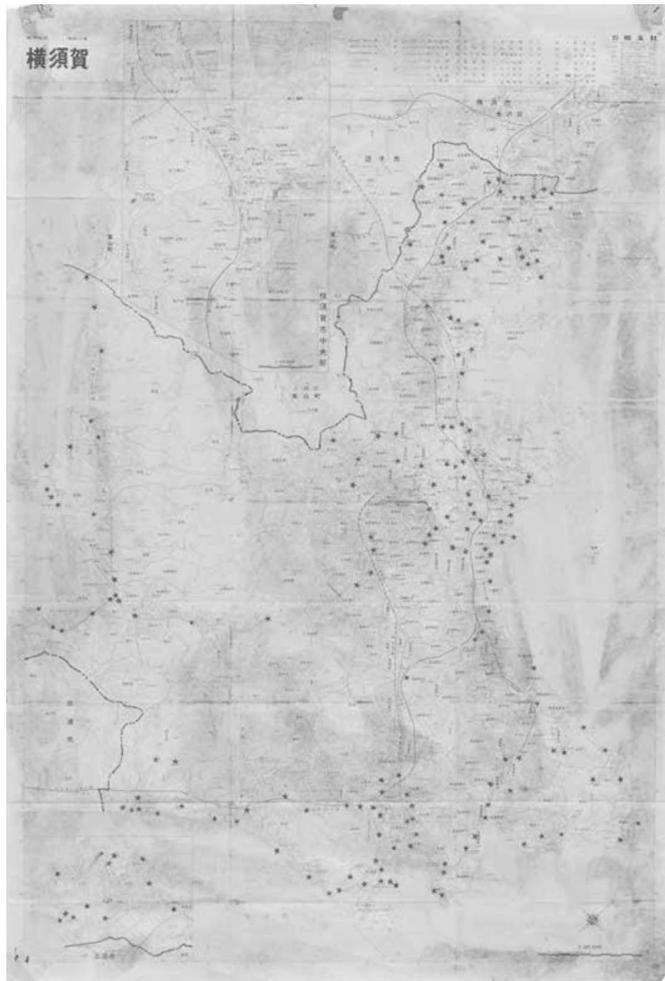


Figure 3.
Ishiuichi's map of Yokosuka, with star stamps, 1976-1977, Offset lithograph with ink,
94 x 63.5 cm, © Ishiuchi Miyako/Courtesy of The Third Gallery Aya

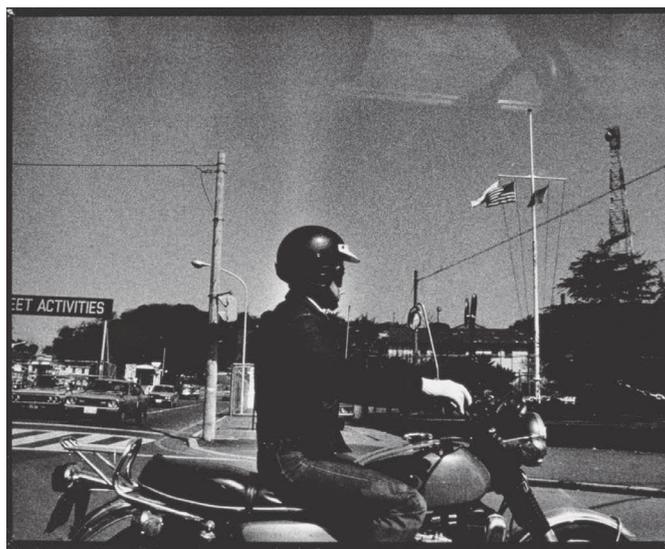


Figure 4.
Ishiuchi Miyako, *Yokosuka Story #34*, 1976-1977, gelatin silver print, 45.2x55.7 cm,
©Ishiuchi Miyako/ Courtesy of Yokohama Museum of Art

shattered my profoundly skewed visceral experiences which I coughed up like black phlegm onto hundreds of stark white developing papers.”³⁴ At Yokosuka, Ishiuchi vividly felt the strong influence of America. For Ishiuchi, this perspective was shaped not only by her childhood experience of growing up in Yokosuka but also by her experiences in the city while undertaking this project. Ishiuchi recalls how she was “questioned by the police three times; told five times not to shoot what she was shooting; and was trailed once by the Japanese Self-Defense Force.”³⁵ She also commented, “When I walked to the sea, nearly always I ran up against signs saying ‘Keep Out’ ... almost all of the roads to the sea were shut off by one of the two bases (i.e., U.S. bases, Japanese Self-Defense Force). These experiences must have reinforced in Ishiuchi a sense of the remoteness that she felt while growing up in Yokosuka.”³⁶



Figure 5.
Ishiuchi Miyako, *Yokosuka Story #72*, 1976-1977, gelatin silver print, 80 x 107 cm, ©
Ishiuchi Miyako, Courtesy of Yokohama Museum of Art

This experience is well reflected in Ishiuchi’s oeuvre. Take figure 5, for instance. Here, Ishiuchi captured an American flag fluttering in the wind. What instantly grabs the viewer’s attention is the odd angle from which the flag is hanging or captured. Ishiuchi could have taken this photograph at such an angle by tilting her camera. Or it might be possible that the flag had been initially hung in that angle. Either way, a tilted flag gives a sense of instability. Also, by including what seem to be parts of tree branches or some unidentifiable plants pointing toward the flag at the corner of the right foreground, Ishiuchi further imbues this photograph with a sense of vulnerability. The flags which are partly shadowed and the sharp outreaching

³⁴ Maddox, Itō, *Ishiuchi Miyako: Postwar Shadows*, 23.

³⁵ Ishiuchi Miyako, Ken Bloom. *Yokosuka Story* (Shashin Tsūshin Sha), 112.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

branches which seem to pierce the flags emit an ominous air. What is more, Ishiuchi captures the American flag covering the second one behind it. Even though the second flag is covered and thus unidentifiable, it is likely a Japanese or a service/regiment flag. As Ishiuchi mentioned, at Yokosuka, there was a Japanese Self-Defense Force alongside the American naval base. However, at U.S. bases, the regiment flag and the U.S. flag are often hung next to each other. In the case of the former, it might be feasible to propose that in capturing the moment when the Japanese flag is covered, Ishiuchi refers to Japan's postwar reality that is heavily shaped by Japan's geopolitical relationship with the United States in the form of *Anpo*.

What is notable in such portrayals of the postwar reality of Japan is that Ishiuchi challenges the image of postwar Japan as – “prosperous, sanguine, and severed from war and the prewar era.”³⁷ This image or the idea of Japan appeared in 1947 when Japan issued a new constitution renouncing war.³⁸ Throughout the 1960s, the above-noted image of Japan was further solidified through several events that followed. First, in 1964, Tokyo hosted the Summer Olympics, which marked Japan's successful reentry into the international sphere. Second, with achieving the Income Doubling Plan of 1960, launched by 38th prime minister Ikeda Hayato, Japan attained the world's second-largest Gross National Product within just two decades after the Second World War. It should be noted that Japan's economic growth has particular relevance to the postwar reality delineated in figure 5. From the inception of the Cold War, America's policy toward Japan shifted to drawing Japan into the leading alliance of the Western camp in Asia.³⁹ It became necessary to construct Japan as a military bulwark against communism in East Asia. To this end, stabilizing the Japanese economy became vital. In order to avoid any drag on the speed of Japan's economic recovery, America decided to push the military facilities to the outskirts of Tokyo, like Yokosuka or to Okinawa from more central areas such as Harajuku or Roppongi.⁴⁰ In this way, Tokyo's central areas were allowed to concentrate their energy on economic growth.⁴¹ As a result of this strategy, American military facilities became more and more invisible in the central areas of Tokyo by the end of the 1960s. In this way, “the presence of American military ceased to be part of people's everyday lives consciousness.”⁴² At the same time, humiliating, painful, and sorrowful memories associated with the presence of the American military also waned. This memory, which was a collective one in that it was shared by many Japanese at

³⁷ Maddox, Itō, *Ishiuchi Miyako: Postwar Shadows*, 16.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ Yoshimi, “What does ‘American’ Mean in Postwar Japan?” 86.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² *Ibid.*, 84.

the time, was forgotten both intentionally and unintentionally. It was intentional in that both America and Japan took strategic steps to sever the Japanese from such memories. As noted above, the Japanese government highlighted the image of Japan as— “prosperous, sanguine, and severed from war and the prewar era.”⁴³ In his writing, “What Does ‘American’ Mean in Postwar Japan?” Yoshimi Shunya illustrates how America promoted various cultural policies and censorship as part of the occupation policy to present itself as a “seducing” presence to Japanese.⁴⁴ As a result, as Yoshimi writes, “the ‘America’ embodied in such places as Roppongi and Harajuku, and the ‘America’ of Yokosuka and Okinawa came to seem like entirely different things.”⁴⁵ Yoshimi also comments, “Japanese people can be pro-American because America is not present as the military power.”⁴⁶ The intentional forgetting of such collective memory may be described as “organized forgetting” as borrowed from Milan Kundera (1929-1975).⁴⁷ In his 1979 novel *The Book of Laughter and Forgetting*, Kundera discusses the nature of forgetting in political, historical and general contexts. Kundera writes about how “forgetting” painful events is sometimes strategically organized by the state and its leaders.⁴⁸ He refers to such forgetting as “organized forgetting.”⁴⁹ The photographs of Ishiuchi, which challenge the new image of Japan and recall in the minds of the viewers the collective memory that was beginning to fade at the time, maybe considered the image of remembrance. It is not to say that the photographs of Ishiuchi are a “vessel of memory in which memory passively resides” but a “technology of memory through which memories are shared, produced, and given meaning.”⁵⁰

In challenging the new image of Japan, Ishiuchi is similar to Tōmatsu. Before further delving into this point, though, it would be helpful to discuss Tōmatsu Shōmei. Tōmatsu was born in 1930 and, like Ishiuchi, spent his childhood near a U.S. military base. In his case, it was the base at Nagoya. From early on, the presence of the American army was engraved in the mind of Tōmatsu. In fact, the Occupation became the major inspiration for his major works. Tōmatsu says: “Since then [1945], I have been obsessed with the “Occupation.” America weighs heavily on my mind, the invisible country it was my fate to encounter, the alien nation that made its concrete appearance in the form of an army. It is not possible for me to turn my

⁴³ Maddox, Itō, *Ishiuchi Miyako: Postwar Shadows*, 16.

⁴⁴ Yoshimi, “What does ‘American’ Mean in Postwar Japan?,” 84.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 85-86.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 87.

⁴⁷ Milan Kundera, *The Book of Laughter and Forgetting*, (New York: Penguin Books, 1981), 235.

⁴⁸ Kundera, *The Book of Laughter and Forgetting*, 235.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ Marita Sturken. *Tangled Memories the Vietnam War, the AIDS Epidemic, and the Politics of Remembering* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 9.



Figure 6.
Tomatsu Shomei, *Untitled* (Yokosuka), 1966,
gelatin silver print, dimension unknown, in *Chewing Gum and Chocolate* (New York:
Aperture), 66-67, © Shomei Tomatsu-INTERFACE

eyes from our Occupation by the American military.”⁵¹ Like his contemporaries, Tōmatsu was also haunted by the subject of postwar Japan, which was silenced but not gone. After graduating from Aichi University as an economics major, Tōmatsu moved to Tokyo and formally began his career as a photographer. As mentioned above, for his major project Tōmatsu traveled to and around the major U.S. bases in Japan. He went to Yokosuka during the late 1950s and shot some of his iconic works, which he first published through *Asahi Camera* in April 1959. Figure 6 is one of the well-known works that Tōmatsu made at Yokosuka. In this photograph, he captured from below the imposing presence of the two black sailors. The huge, bulky body of a sailor at the forefront seems to bespeak his physical might. Both of them, who glare at the viewer and also at the photographer, seem to be full of suspicion. The two irritated-looking sailors seem ready to “kick one’s balls across the street at any time.”⁵² The body of the sailor in the foreground can be hardly distinguished from the dark background behind him. At the same time, his white hat also melds with the white building at the back. Such an effect brings the viewer’s attention to his blazing eye. The second figure at the back, the lower half of whose face is not shown, adds to the unsettling air. His white hats and white eyeballs draw striking contrast to the dark buildings around him. In such a portrayal of American military personnel, Tōmatsu seems to convey his uneasy engagement with the U.S. servicemen, which resonates with Ishiuchi. He further reinforces this aspect through visual devices such as monochrome. Regarding his use of black and white, Tōmatsu says, “American can be glimpsed in monochrome photography, but its presence is not felt in color.”⁵³ As can be seen here, Tōmatsu deliberately used monochrome to reduce the appearances to abstract figures and even to an inscription. For Tōmatsu, American

⁵¹ Rubinfiem in Joseph N. Newland and Q.E.D (eds.), *Shomei Tomatsu: Skin of the Nation*, 22.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Reynolds, *Allegories of Time and Space*, 185.

force was an existence that is not felt in color. The same might be said of Ishiuchi, who worked entirely in black and white for *Yokosuka Story*. To Tōmatsu and Ishiuchi, the postwar Japanese society, which was marked by the strong influence of the U.S., might have felt like monochrome.

Tōmatsu took most of his photographs from Yokosuka at Dobuita Dōri or Honchō, areas that Ishiuchi avoided altogether.⁵⁴ Like other photographers such as Daido Moriyama and Nakahira Takuma, who also worked on the base, Tōmatsu was particularly drawn to those neighborhoods around the bases riddled with English-language signs, prostitutes, and the U.S. military.⁵⁵ There, he took photographs of Americans who “ramble, drink, haggle, hunt for women, and sometimes brawl.”⁵⁶ In one of his interviews, Tōmatsu provides his reason for focusing on those areas around the base instead of the base itself. Before 1970, Tōmatsu did not have access to the bases. Also, he says, entering the base would not have been profitable for him because being an outsider was essential to the character of his work.⁵⁷ This interplay between being an outsider and an insider provides an avenue to better understand the work of both Tōmatsu and Ishiuchi. Dobuita or Honchō had different implications for Tōmatsu, who was an outsider in Yokosuka, and Ishiuchi who is from inside the city. As noted above, for Ishiuchi, Dobuita Dōri was a street that was associated with fear. Recalling the experience of photographing the street for *Mūko no Yami*, a series which became the foundation for *Yokosuka Story*, Ishiuchi said: “I could barely walk through there, let alone raise my camera. I ran out of there for home.”⁵⁸ When selecting images for the book *Yokosuka Story*, Ishiuchi decided not to include many photographs made in the areas close to Honchō or Dobuita Dōri.⁵⁹ This choice of Ishiuchi’s, according to Maddox, can be seen as an acknowledgment of her long-held fear of the street that she had successfully avoided for more than twenty years.⁶⁰ Also, it can be seen as an expression of her strong emotional reaction against the presence of the American military in Yokosuka.

Tōmatsu writes in *Tiyo no Empitsu* (1975);

“When I first went to Okinawa early in 1969, I was of course interested in the

⁵⁴ Maddox, Itō, *Ishiuchi Miyako: Postwar Shadows*, 16.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Rubinfiel in Joseph N. Newland and Q.E.D (eds.), *Shomei Tomatsu: Skin of the Nation*, 21.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Maddox, Itō, *Ishiuchi Miyako: Postwar Shadows*, 24.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

American bases and the towns around them. However, to be honest, I was seized by complex feelings of hatred and awe, mixed with a kind of nostalgia when I saw the bases. It may sound strange for me to say ‘a kind of nostalgia.’ But in fact photographers are not free from the tendency to fetishize their subjects. Sometimes I face a subject I feel antipathy. When that happens, I usually don’t release shutter. Regardless of one’s public stance, the act of taking photograph means affirming the subject, whether consciously or unconsciously. They say the separation between love and hate is paper-thin. Truly, for me, ‘occupation’ is a unity of contradictions.”⁶¹

In this statement, Tōmatsu shows that he had constantly been affirming the presence of the U.S. military in Japan by taking photographs of it. He notes that taking such an approach was possible because his engagement with the U.S. in his work was not entirely based on antipathy. Instead, he approached the subject with a mixture of contradictory feelings. In *Shōmei Tōmatsu: The Skin of the Nation*, Leo Rubinfien points out such a “contradiction, which cannot be solved,” was central to Tōmatsu’s work: “they were invaders, and one hated them, but one hated the self-glorifying martinets of the war years even more, so it was impossible not to love the Americans too, for breaking their grip.”⁶² Indeed, Tōmatsu took a number of photographs that conveyed a more affectionate tone toward Americans. For instance, in figure 7, Tōmatsu captured an officer and his wife walking down the cold, sunny alley surrounded by a quiet, graceful atmosphere. In figure 8, Tōmatsu portrays the goofy, humorous side of a U.S. soldier who is wearing a girl’s wig and costume.⁶³ In figure 9, the photographer presents an American soldier who is standing alone in the cold weather waiting for a taxi. From the soldier’s white breath and the collar of his uniform, which is turned all the way up, one can almost feel the icy, wintery air. Even though one cannot see the front of the serviceman’s face, one can feel the eagerness in his gaze directed toward the coming taxi. There is a certain feeling of loneliness in this scene. One might claim that a set of photographs such as figure 7, 8, and 9 does not necessarily reflect Tōmatsu’s warmer gaze toward U.S. soldiers in that he took photographs of many things around him, including things that occasionally seem random. These shots might be just some of those shots. However, such a claim is discredited by *Chewing Gum and Chocolate*, which includes photographs not only like figure 7, 8, and 9, but also like figure 10, 11, and 12, which depict negative, ugly sides of the occupation force. These photographs are strategically arranged in a way that shows Tōmatsu’s ambivalence toward the U.S. soldiers. What’s more,

⁶¹ Tōmatsu, Shōmei, *Chewing Gum and Chocolate*, eds. Leo Rubinfien, John Junkerman (New York:Aperture, 2014), 65.

⁶² Rubinfien in Joseph N. Newland and Q.E.D (eds.), *Shomei Tomatsu: Skin of the Nation*, 23.

⁶³ Ibid.



Figure 7.
Tomatsu Shomei, *Untitled* (Iwakuni), 1960, printed 1980, gelatin silver print, dimension unknown, in *Chewing Gum and Chocolate* (New York: Aperture),15, © Shomei Tomatsu- INTERFACE

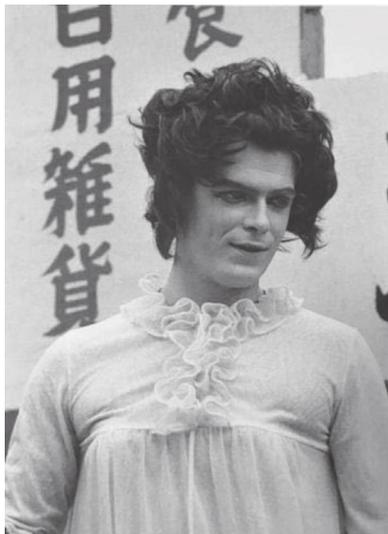


Figure 8.
Tomatsu Shomei, *Untitled* (Kin, Okinawa), 1969, printed in 2003, gelatin silver print, dimension unknown, in *Chewing Gum and Chocolate* (New York: Aperture),152, © Shomei Tomatsu-INTERFACE



Figure 9.
Tomatsu Shomei, *Untitled* (Yokosuka), 1966, gelatin silver print, dimension unknown, in *Chewing Gum and Chocolate* (New York: Aperture),8, © Shomei Tomatsu- INTERFACE

this photobook includes many texts by Tōmatsu that describe his complex engagement with American soldiers. In his decision to include photographs that do not always portray the U.S. soldiers as menacing, threatening, and hostile, Tōmatsu shows that his relationship with the U.S. is not entirely based on bitterness or anger. For Tōmatsu, Yokosuka was a place where he explored not only the postwar reality that did not align with the image of Japan that was being promoted by the state, but also his ambivalence toward the occupation forces.

Reading along this line, Ishiuchi's decision to take out the photographs of Honchō and



Figure 10.
Tomatsu Shomei, *Untitled* (Koza, Okinawa), 1969, printed in 1980, gelatin silver print, dimension unknown, in *Chewing Gum and Chocolate* (New York: Aperture),57, © Shomei Tomatsu- INTERFACE



Figure 11.
Tomatsu Shomei, *Untitled* (Iwakuni), 1960, printed in 1983, gelatin silver print, dimension unknown, in *Chewing Gum and Chocolate* (New York: Aperture),9, © Shomei Tomatsu-INTERFACE



Figure 12.
Tomatsu Shomei, *Untitled* (Henoko, Okinawa), 1976, gelatin silver print, dimension unknown, in *Chewing Gum and Chocolate* (New York: Aperture),94, © Shomei Tomatsu- INTERFACE

Donbuita Dōri might be understood, to a certain extent, as her refusal to affirm the presence of American soldiers. Unlike Tōmatsu, who took various photographs of the U.S. military officers, Ishiuchi rarely captured either the base or the U.S. soldiers. This aspect of Ishiuchi’s work may be read as a “protest against previous representations of Yokosuka.”⁶⁴ As noted above, many

⁶⁴ Maddox, It. *Ishiuchi Miyako: Postwar Shadows*, 24.



Figure 13.
Daido Moriyama, *Kariudo*, 1972, gelatin silver print, dimension unspecified, in *Ishiuchi Miyako Postwar Shadows* (Los Angeles: Getty Publications), 24, © Moriyama Daidō

photographers from outside of Yokosuka, such as Tōmatsu, Moriyama and Nakahira, paid much attention to Dobuita Dōri or Honchō. In their oeuvre, these photographers reduced the entire Yokosuka to those neighborhoods even though those areas are just small parts of Yokosuka.⁶⁵ For instance, in one of the photographs that he took at Yokosuka (fig. 13), Moriyama captured the night scene of a Honchō street that was filled with American soldiers and prostitutes. As seen above, Tōmatsu also depicted Yokosuka in a similar way. In his numerous works discussed so far, he does not provide a full picture of the city. For Tōmatsu, Yokosuka more or less equated with an American base, America. However, it should be noted that Tōmatsu did not take the same approach to other places he went to. For example, his works produced in Okinawa provide a much more comprehensive view of the prefecture even though his first photobook on the subject focused on the U.S. presence there and related protest. Tōmatsu did not reduce Okinawa to just America in Japan, even though his early works on the prefecture did focus on the subjects relating to the U.S. bases there. Instead, throughout his stay in Okinawa during the 1970s, Tōmatsu explored various aspects of the prefecture in relation to the theme of the national identity of Japan. In her interview with Kokatsu Reiko, former chief curator at Tochigi Prefectural Museum of Fine Arts, and Nakajima Izumi, a scholar at Hitotsubashi University, Ishiuchi said that this approach of Tōmatsu's was understandable.⁶⁶ After all, Tōmatsu's focus was not solely on Yokosuka. Ishiuchi, who is from Yokosuka, keenly felt that those photographers failed to present 'real' Yokosuka.⁶⁷ Even though she knew that the presence of America is vividly felt in Yokosuka, she also knew that the city is more than that.⁶⁸ In the same

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Oral History Archives of Japanese Art "Ishiuchi Oral History."

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

interview, Ishiuchi says:

“Oh, that’s right, I saw Yokosuka of Mr. Tōmatsu Shōmei and Mr. Daido Moriyama, and I thought, ‘It’s not right.’ Yes. It’s not it. I thought my Yokosuka is not like this. Even if everyone shot Yokosuka, they shot Dobuita Dōri. That’s not Yokosuka. That is America. Because I grew up saying ‘that place is the United States,’ I thought that those people who say that Dobuita Dōri is Yokosuka are wrong. As for Mr. Tōmatsu, he is ok because his theme is ‘occupation.’ It is not like Mr. Tōmatsu is taking Yokosuka as part of the theme; rather, Yokosuka, for him, is within the larger flow, it’s good. Mr. Moriyama is also photographing Yokosuka, but it is probably different. I forgive these two people. However, their Yokosuka is different from mine. It’s neither of them. So, I thought it is only me who can photograph Yokosuka.”⁶⁹

As to reflect such awareness, Ishiuchi included in *Yokosuka Story* images that seem to be of faraway landscapes such as images of Nobi Beach (fig.14) and clouds taken at Iriyamazucho (fig.15). In *Yokosuka Story*, Ishiuchi opens the series of plates with the picture of Nobi Beach (fig. 14) and closes it with Nagasawa Beach.⁷⁰ This arrangement is significant in that people tend to remember the first and last item the best according to the serial- position effect. By presenting her photos in this order, Ishiuchi is deliberately making various aspects of Yokosuka more memorable for the audience so that they can remember the city as more than just Dobuita Dōri or Honchō. When she exhibited her photographs of Yokosuka at Nikon Salon in 1977, Ishiuchi made sure to include those images that seem irrelevant to the typical images of Yokosuka. From the photograph, which shows parts of hanging walls of this exhibition (fig. 16), one can see a handful of images that seems to have nothing to do with the U.S. bases or the neighborhoods around the bases.

Lastly, as mentioned above, one should not forget that *Yokosuka Story* has a personal aspect as this project is the product of Ishiuchi’s return to her childhood hometown and her childhood memories associated with it. It is in this sense that the image of the American flag discussed above (fig. 5) maybe be read in the backdrop of the following childhood memory of Ishiuchi:

“In 1966, invited by a friend who was engaged to an American soldier, I visited the EM Club for the first time. The EM Club was an establishment that one could not

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Maddox, Itō, *Ishiuchi Miyako: Postwar Shadows*, 22.



Figure 14.
Ishiuchi Miyako, *Yokosuka Story #5*, 1976-1977 gelatin silver print, 43.7 x 54 cm, ©
Ishiuchi Miyako/ Courtesy of The Third Gallery Aya



Figure 15.
Ishiuchi Miyako, *Yokosuka Story # 10*, 1976-1977, gelatin silver print, 80 x 107 cm, ©
Ishiuchi Miyako/ Courtesy of The Third Gallery Aya



Figure 16.
Fujisaki Koichi, *Yokosuka Story* exhibition at Nikon Salon, Ginza, 1977, gelatin silver
print, 13 x 18 cm, © Fujisaki Koichi/ Courtesy of The Third Gallery Aya

enter unless accompanied by someone from the U.S. military. ...Despite the fact that I don't remember what movie we saw, I do remember well the footage that showed just prior to the movie. The image which stirred such unease in me that it quite disturbed me was of the American flag, filling the entire screen, rippling. When the music began, the audience stood and saluted the screen. Lately I've begun to feel that the distaste I felt then, along with an awkwardness which was a new sensation to me, melded together in a mass of images and perhaps formed the energy that propelled me toward photography."⁷¹

The huge rippling American flag in figure 5, which is taken at an awkward angle, might seem, to Ishiuchi, not so different from the one she saw at EM Club when she was eighteen. As one can see, *Yokosuka Story* is a collection of photographs of Ishiuchi's Yokosuka. What is notable is that the title of the project, *Yokosuka Story*, is identical to that of the hit song by Momoe Yamaguchi (山口百恵 1959–). In 1976, when Ishiuchi embarked on *Yokosuka Story*, Yamaguchi, one of the most successful singers in Japan, produced the single “Yokosuka Story,” which became her biggest hit. This song, which sold more than 600,000 copies helped Yamaguchi to rise to stardom. It should be noted that during the postwar, there was a strong link between American bases and postwar popular music in Japan.⁷² Many popular Japanese singers began their careers by entertaining the American occupation force.⁷³ Yamaguchi was not one of them, but the title of the song, which inevitably reminds one of the American military base at Yokosuka, reflects that the army of Occupation was “very much a part of the mass-cultural scenery of postwar Japan.”⁷⁴ What is significant in Yamaguchi's chart-topping song, which talks about two lovers in the backdrop of Yokosuka, is that it has a personal aspect in that Yamaguchi, like Ishiuchi, spent her childhood at Yokosuka. In his interview, Ryūdo Uzaki, who is the composer of the song, says that it was Yamaguchi's background of growing up in Yokosuka that he wanted to draw out from her.⁷⁵ He says that he wanted to imbue this song with a scene that only exists in Yokosuka. In *Yokosuka Story*, Ishiuchi writes how she was inspired by the title of Yamaguchi's song.⁷⁶ Although it is not clear to which aspect of this song Ishiuchi was drawn, it might be the personal quality of the song that appealed to Ishiuchi. Yamaguchi's song and Ishiuchi's *Yokosuka Story*

⁷¹ Ishiuchi Miyako. *Club & Courts Yokosuka Yokohama*, trans. Ito Haruna (Tokyo: Taiyo Printing, 2007).

⁷² Yoshimi, “What does ‘American’ Mean in Postwar Japan,?” 84.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Yoshimi, “What does ‘American’ Mean in Postwar Japan,?” 84.

⁷⁵ 君と聴く山口百恵 . “山口百恵夢のあとさき 1980/06/15 2~宇崎竜童が語る横須賀と百恵ちゃん.” <https://momoe117.com/talk-23/2443/>

⁷⁶ Ibid.

are both about their personal Yokosuka. Yamaguchi says, “‘If I run up a steep slope, can I still see the sea? This is Yokosuka.’ When I sing this phrase, it’s really the slope where I grew up. And, when I ran up the hill of the slope there and looked forward while being out of breath, I could see the horizon from between the mountains, and a white boat crossing the sea. It is a song through which I could see such scenery.” Similarly, Ishiuchi says, “So, even though this is Yokosuka, after all I am borrowing Yokosuka. I chose Yokosuka as the starting point when I wanted to do something, and of course there is no such grainy Yokosuka. There is no such dark/black Yokosuka anywhere.”⁷⁷ As Ishiuchi notes here, the grainy Yokosuka that she portrays in her photography is not real in the sense that it does not exist. It is Yokosuka in her memory and mind. And in pointing out certain fictional qualities in this series through the word “story” in the title, Ishiuchi seems to reveal the fragility of the memory. What one remembers (i.e., memory) tends to be highly selective. No memory is entirely faithful to the original experience. Such personal, nostalgic, and dark visions of Yokosuka differentiate Ishiuchi’s oeuvre from other photographers, including Tōmatsu. For Ishiuchi, Yokosuka was a hometown that cannot be reduced to Dobuita Dōri or Honchō.

This paper discussed Ishiuchi Miyako as one of the leading *Provoke* era photographers. This narrative was pursued by discussing Ishiuchi in relation to Tōmatsu Shōmei. In particular, the paper explored how Ishiuchi’s works resonate with Tōmatsu’s in the following two aspects. Both Ishiuchi and Tōmatsu pursued a photographic style that highlighted the subjective quality of new Japanese photography. They both also challenged the image of postwar Japan that was being newly constructed by the state. Like Tōmatsu, who headed to Yokosuka for his *Occupation* series, Ishiuchi also took Yokosuka as the subject of her first major series, *Yokosuka Story*. Both photographers depicted in their works the postwar reality of Yokosuka, employing a photographic style that challenged that of the previous generation. Ishiuchi and Tōmatsu shared monochrome aesthetics, free camera angles, appreciation for grain, emphasis on the surface of the photograph, and preference for heavy printing. It was pointed out, however, that while Ishiuchi’s interest in grain largely stemmed from her background of majoring in textile design, the grainy style of Tōmatsu has largely to do with *Provoke* or the social and aesthetic milieu from which *are-bure-boke* was born. Also, Tōmatsu was using some of these effects even before *Provoke* was published.

Such photographic styles provided Ishiuchi and Tōmatsu with an effective means to capture Yokosuka. Tōmatsu, an outsider in Yokosuka, focused on Dobuita Dōri and Honchō, neighborhoods around the U.S. base. For him, Yokosuka was one of the bases which he

⁷⁷ Oral History Archives of Japanese Art “Ishiuchi Oral History.”

approached with a sense of ambivalence. Tōmatsu, who pursued *Occupation* as his theme, naturally gravitated toward these areas where he could clearly witness the influence of the U.S. occupation force. Dobuita Dōri and Honchō more or less represented Yokosuka in the eyes of Tōmatsu. Ishiuchi, who is from Yokosuka, refused such a representation of the city. She felt the necessity to go beyond the typical presentation of Yokosuka, which is often connected to the red-light districts around the U.S. bases. Indeed, in *Yokosuka Story*, Ishiuchi included many photographs of the landscapes that seem to be not of Yokosuka, and she did not include many photos from either Dobuita Dōri or Honchō. In addition, her background of growing up in Yokosuka allowed her to take a more personal approach to Yokosuka and portray “her” Yokosuka in this photobook. The paper highlighted how the oeuvre of Ishiuchi and Tōmatsu in their respective ways challenged the image of Japan that was being promoted by the state at the time. In the photographs discussed in this paper, Japan is neither “sanguine” nor “severed from war and the prewar.”⁷⁸ On the contrary, both Ishiuchi and Tōmatsu show how Japan had been still struggling with the shadows of the postwar. They bring back to the consciousness of the audience the fading memories, the memories associated with America, Occupation and war. In this way, they seem to pose questions that may still be valid in today’s Japan; is the postwar condition in Japan truly over? Is Japan free from the shadow of the postwar?

⁷⁸ Maddox, Itō, *Ishiuchi Miyako: Postwar Shadows*, 16

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