

Refusing Loyalty

*Japanese American Incarceration, the U.S. Government's Racialized Construction of
Citizenship, and My Grandfather's Fight for Justice*

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Project Abstract and Intentions

My grandfather, Tadamichi “Joe” Tsuboi, was second-generation Japanese American, and born in Covina, California in 1921. He received formal education in Japan for middle school and part of high school, and he returned to the United States in 1940 at the age of nineteen. During World War II, he was incarcerated at age twenty-one at a series of “Assembly Centers” and incarceration camps; he went from the Santa Anita Racetrack “Assembly Center” to the Jerome, Arkansas “Relocation Center” and from there to the Tule Lake, California “Relocation Center,” where he was kept under surveillance because of his status as kibe. The United States government considered this category of second-generation Japanese Americans, who were predominantly men, to be considered significantly threatening to the U.S. simply because they received part of their education in Japan. Thus, the U.S. government claimed to be unsure about their loyalty to either the U.S. or Japan, despite their American-born citizen status.

Ultimately, at Tule Lake, my grandfather was forced to renounce his American citizenship because he failed to meet the standards of American “loyalty” on the Loyalty Questionnaire. He answered that he would neither 1) serve in the American armed forces nor 2) swear allegiance to the U.S. and forswear any allegiance to Japan. He was considered a “no-no boy” for these double-negative answers. After the war ended, my grandpa renounced his American citizenship and was “voluntarily” deported to Japan. When he went to Japan after the war, my grandfather met my grandmother in Kure, Hiroshima, a center of wartime production in Japan, where she was working as a typist in a shipyard office. In 1958, after my grandpa was able to regain his United States citizenship, my grandparents immigrated to Los Angeles, California primarily because my grandpa’s older sister was working at University of California Los Angeles alone and his parents wanted him to reunite with her. In 1973, at the age of 52, my grandpa passed away from a stroke, but my grandma and dad have said that they think his premature death was also due to the stresses of incarceration, deportation, and resettlement in California.

I grew up knowing very little about my grandfather’s life. Stories about him do not come easily into conversation within my immediate family, as they are filled with pain and sadness. It was not until I encountered more extensive, critical history in Asian American Studies courses at

Tufts University that I came to realize the importance of documenting and conducting critical interpretation and analysis of my grandfather's life. Specifically, my grandfather's story challenges the common dominant narrative about Japanese American incarcerated individuals as "demonstrating loyalty to and celebrating American democracy," a narrative that intentionally omits the personal and collective experiences of those who openly challenged and resisted forced assimilation within the camps. I believe that my grandfather's experiences can contribute to this much less-heard set of realities, which are needed for continued critical analysis of World War II, the Cold War, trans-Pacific history, and American racial policies and practices.

My primary goal for this project is to produce a history of my grandfather's life. More specifically, I focus on his experiences at the beginning, during, and after the incarceration of Japanese Americans in their own country for no other apparent reason than that of their race. As I began to learn about "no-no boys" in Asian American Studies classes, I found that they were branded as "unloyal" and "dissident" throughout wartime and afterwards, particularly within Japanese American communities. I do not know much about my grandfather's postwar life, but the stigmatization of the labels may reveal how he and fellow "no-no boys" lived and struggled to resettle in America postwar.

In many ways, my grandfather's actions, despite the rhetoric and sentiment around them, were done out of resistance. My grandfather, in answering "no-no" on the loyalty questionnaire and consequently becoming a "minority" in the camp environment, acted against the general trend of Japanese in America "proving their loyalty" by accepting or performing acts of forced assimilation. He had other reasons for answering in this way, including a desire to see his aged parents in Japan.

Through this project, I want to learn my grandfather's own narrative of his experiences—from birth, being kibe, being a "no-no boy," being deported, returning to the U.S., his experiences in California leading up to his death—because I just did not hear these stories growing up. I understand that his return to the U.S. was not wholeheartedly voluntary but an act of responsibility to his family. It is timely to investigate these questions to complicate and even reframe "my family's history," situated within Asian America. How do I go forward in my life knowing that at this age I could have been facing the same realities had I been in his position seventy-six years ago? I make sense of and voice my grandfather's story in hopes to find answers.

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Introduction

Coming Into My Own Racial Consciousness

In my hometown of Moraga, a majority White, affluent suburb of San Francisco, California, I was told from an early age that my parents decided to move here from San Francisco because Moraga's great public schooling system would benefit my younger sister and me. My father is third-generation Japanese American, or sansei, and my mother is White, European American. From an early age, I understood race as a concept observed phenotypically: skin color, hair color, eye color, and like features. Therefore, I was aware that my mother and father were of different racial identities because they looked differently from one another, and I was told that I looked *more* like my dad. I came to question why I did not look *more* like my mom and wished that I had features more similar to my majority White friends. Because my parents did not hold conversations with my sister and me about multiraciality, let alone race, I was often confused about how to identify and I grew a disdain towards looking more like my dad. I now recognize this as internalized racism towards my Japanese American ethnic identity. These invisible and untold White standards of my hometown translated to how I interacted with my father's family's culture. I tried my hardest to fit in on my soccer team, but failed to engage with or discover Japanese cultural traditions with which my father was raised. I do not recall any conversation before high school in which my parents, mainly my dad, asked my sister or me if we were interested in learning Japanese language. I was not forced to go to a weekend language school and my dad did not try to teach me any vocabulary.

As multiracial, fourth-generation Japanese American, I question how this move into suburbia and its White, heteronormative social standards shaped my self-appreciation for my family's history, specifically the stories surrounding my father's family's immigration and settlement experiences. It was not until my first critical ethnic studies course at Tufts University, in which my professor asserted that "race is pervasive in every space you walk into," that I began to retrace what my less-conscious conceptions of race were. It was the power of Moraga's Whiteness that worked to erase some of my family's histories.¹ Specifically, I felt disconnected from the ways in which my dad interacted with his Japanese-ness in my upbringing. He brought some cultural practices into my home, such as ensuring there was rice at most meals, speaking Japanese conversationally with my grandmother on the phone, and making sure we did not wear shoes in the house. However, these moments were few and not often. On my dad's side of the family, my sister and I are my grandmother's only grandchildren, as my father's older brother did not marry or have children. Thus, it was difficult to see representation of other mixed-race Japanese American family or friends my own age.

My grandmother is first-generation Japanese American, or issei, and was the first and only person of her family to come to the United States. She is a loving, warm, witty figure who has shown nothing but kindness to the family, rarely displaying signs of the hardships she may have faced settling in this country. I remember from a young age eavesdropping on phone calls between my dad and his mother in Japanese. My younger sister and I giggled at the sharp, quick sounds he made because they were so foreign to us. These phone calls never lasted that long, and then my dad would turn the home phone over to us. In English, my grandma would ask us how

¹ In this project, I define Whiteness within the United States as the historically constructed norm and embodiment of dominant culture and ideologies. Whiteness is constructed as neutral or invisible, given the fact that it is positioned as dominant. If one is White, they occupy a place of privilege that is backed by power, which is reified by legislature, such as immigration and citizenship policies.

we were, what we did that day, if we ate enough food, and when we would next see her. These talks were always full of kindness and laughter, but did not last long due to our limited ability to speak her primary and mother tongue, Japanese. My grandmother has lived in the Sawtelle neighborhood of West Los Angeles, a historically Japanese American enclave established by farm laborers and gardeners, for her entire life in the United States. At her home, I saw glimmers of Japanese culture when she prepared homemade, traditional Japanese dishes, made from ingredients grown in her backyard. My family would stay at her home for only a few days at a time, so in many ways, I saw her history, cultural practices, and my own Japanese American identity contained to this home. Yet, it was just contained here. After a couple nights at her home, my family would return to Moraga.

As I entered college at Tufts University, I came to realize that I had not attempted to engage with Asian American communities in Northern California because my connections to being Japanese were limited primarily to my interactions with my grandmother. In Boston, I found myself surrounded by even fewer peers of color than in California, and it was the first time I had been asked blatant microaggressions such as “What are you?” or “Where are you from?,” referring to my mixed-race identity, which some tried to locate racially. In those moments, I was frustrated and I internalized these seemingly curious questions. Yet, a motivation inside me stirred and I began to ask myself those questions once the frustration settled—“Where was I really from?” and “What is my family’s history?” It was in Asian American Studies courses at Tufts where I found voice and broke the silences of White normative standards that kept me from looking at myself clearly in the mirror. As much as I had wanted to claim White identities to fit into social groups growing up, I became aware I could not. My family has an important,

fascinating narrative that debunks many “post-racial truths,” especially regarding interracial families, that I came to believe in Moraga.

Specifically, I became aware that I did not actually know much about my father’s family’s history. In comparison to narratives surrounding European migration that are often glorified through monuments such as Ellis Island, an accessible site to trace mother’s European family’s history, my father’s family history is shrouded in silence. I do not have an earliest memory of my grandfather because he passed away before I was born, and my grandmother does not speak easily about her childhood. I believe my earliest memory regarding my grandfather was when my father viewed microfilm about wartime documents about my my grandpa’s incarceration experience at the Japanese American National Museum in Little Tokyo in Downtown Los Angeles. Though my dad tried to connect me to my grandpa, I could only think of him as a name or a record—a long lost ancestor. I look back now and recognize my dad’s attempt to discover my grandfather’s experience, even through the gloom of incarceration memories. I recognize my father’s attempt to try to shield me away from any pains of injustice or shame of prior decades. Yet, I still felt disconnected in that moment.

Since these early realizations in college, I have participated and led spaces that center Japanese American and Asian American narratives. I joined the Tufts Japanese Culture Club, and I saw a community of Japanese and Japanese American people who fostered a space to appreciate Japanese culture. Within this group, I have led annual Day of Remembrance events to commemorate the signing of Executive Order 9066 and the subsequent forced removal of over 120,000 Japanese Americans to incarceration camps during World War II. With fellow Japanese American students, some of whom have family members who were also incarcerated, we have hosted teach-ins and personal story sharing events to share histories of our own families’

Japanese American incarceration experiences. I have spoken about my grandfather's experience during war, as well as about the postwar hardships he experienced struggling to find grounding in America during pervasive anti-Japanese and Japanese American sentiment.

I have also devoted much time and energy into Tufts American Studies and Asian American Studies programs, in which I have been able to learn critical ethnic histories that were not available in previous education settings. I have learned historic and contemporary themes about what the concept of Asian America is and who falls in this category. I have done independent projects, including oral histories with my grandmother, research papers about Japanese American enclaves, and, importantly, recovering my grandfather's life.

Much of my work at Tufts, both in the classroom and in extracurricular spaces, has involved an exploration and interrogation of my Japanese American identity. Whether it is a direct connection, such as an oral history for an Asian American history course or bringing home Japanese language homework that I can show my grandmother, it has really been in the past couple of years that I have been able to connect with her deeply. Through critical ethnic studies courses I have been able to break silences in my family and uncover my family's histories. My grandmother and her stories about her and her family ground me in my studies and shape how I form communities, how I build my career, how I make friends, how I embrace my Japanese American identity. In my first Asian American Studies course almost four years ago, my teacher stated that race is pervasive in every space I enter. Although my family has had a long history in this country, I cannot ignore my Japanese American history because it defines each relationship I form and every space I enter.

I come into this project with hopes and desires to fill the voids of my childhood. I strive to break the silences from the intergenerational traumas of my Japanese American family's

experiences with immigration, settlement, war, resettlement, death, and survival. These greater themes will appear throughout this project as personal, visible sites that I saw growing up within a “post-racial” environment in which my parents did not present in-depth conversations about how these interconnected, structures and events impact contemporary racial and identity consciousness. I intend for this project’s biographical and historical characterization of my grandfather to nuance more-accessible narratives about Japanese American incarceration and settlement. Further, as third and fourth-generation Japanese American, I intend to disrupt narratives of forgetting these historical traumas in order to “move on”; instead, piecing together my grandfather’s story and giving it voice is a necessary measure to recognize more contemporary United States racial and citizenship constructions.

On Greater Japanese American History:

A starting point to think about my father's family is in the context of World War II, a landmark event for Japanese Americans. To many Asian Americanists, the incarceration of Japanese Americans during World War II remains the most extreme case of the United States government's construction of "alien" citizenship in this country's history. Between 1941 and 1945, the government did not fully strip all Japanese Americans of their citizenship, but it essentially nullified it on the basis of race and ethnicity by forcibly removing 120,000 Japanese Americans from their homes in the West Coast to United States concentration camps. Throughout California, Oregon, and Washington, military orders were posted on telephone poles that demanded the removal of "all persons of Japanese ancestry, both aliens and non-alien."² "Non-alien" was used to blur the legal, innate citizenship statuses of two-thirds of those incarcerated, who were U.S. citizens, many of which were elderly, women, and children.²

In the context of public sentiment towards Asians in America, the "yellow peril" racial epithet played a crucial role in the World War II incarceration of Japanese Americans, but is traced back to a previous migrant group. During the late nineteenth century, Chinese labor migrants, who were mainly groups of young men, sought opportunities following the California Gold Rush. Many were recruited by the Central Pacific Railroad company for cheap labor, which native and foreign-born White men would not do, to begin construction of the western side of the first transcontinental railroad, and others found agriculture-related work, such as gardening and truck-driving in California. As scholar Shelley Sang-Hee Lee asserts, the participation of Chinese labor in these major developing West Coast sectors "cemented in the national

² Mae M. Ngai, *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America*. (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2004), 175

consciousness the stereotype that they were cheap and exploitable labor...”³ Their presence in these industries threatened the White working class, who believed that Chinese were “taking their jobs,” and dominant media began to depict this mostly male group as menacing, clawed, foreign creatures in the media to stir negative perceptions. They were declared inferior to Whites, but, at the same time, were thought to possess “Oriental” powers to overtake the agricultural and working-class industries in which they worked.⁴ In effect, the first Chinese in the United States were portrayed as “expendable” labor to fill unwanted White jobs, and their ability to partake in significant West Coast projects encouraged White nativists to slander Chinese as inherently “Other” and “untrustworthy.”

In the context of national immigration legislature, “yellow peril” racial logic played an immense role in the development of anti-Chinese, and anti-Asian, exclusionary laws. Built on previous anti-Chinese laws, such as the Page Act of 1875, the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 was pivotal because it outlawed Chinese migrant immigration and established a precedent for discriminatory race and class-based immigration laws and practices in this country. Chinese in the United States were the first and only ethnic group in early U.S. immigration to be excluded from immigration, and then naturalization, by reason of race.⁵ When Japanese migrants began to fill the labor gaps during the early twentieth century following the Chinese Exclusion Act, similar racial logic influenced the legal rights that issei could attain in this country. For instance, the Alien Land Law of 1913 prohibited the ownership of agricultural land by “aliens ineligible

³ Shelley Sang-Hee Lee, *A New History of Asian America*, (New York: Routledge Publisher, 2014), 63-65, 71

⁴ “Yellow Peril,” *Densho Encyclopedia*, 2010
http://nikkeijin.densho.org/legacy/reference_ch1_03_yellow_peril_en.html (Accessed November 14th, 2017)

⁵ Mieko Matsumoto, “Chinese Exclusion Act,” *Densho Encyclopedia*
<https://encyclopedia.densho.org/Chinese%20Exclusion%20Act/> (Accessed Apr 8th, 2018)

for citizenship,” or all of the first-generation issei population.⁶ This anti-Japanese fear arose from economic envy, as many issei farmers had become successful at growing crops on land deemed infertile by many White-owned farming projects. Yet, this “inferior” land were the only places Japanese were allowed to farm, and they were able to produce fruitful businesses by employing methods they carried from farming skills developed in Japan. Seven years later, the stricter Alien Land Act of 1920 prohibited the leasing and sharecropping of land to children of the issei who could own land, which was one of the loopholes through which second-generation Japanese Americans could ensure their family’s properties.⁷ Legally, the Alien Land Acts upheld the strategic enlistment of Japanese Americans for new agricultural labor needs, but simultaneously denied their opportunities to own the land on which they worked. In all, the early labor experiences of Chinese and Japanese migrants were not exceptional cases; rather, these often-overlooked narratives represent the United States’ *legal*, racist system to protect the citizenship and property rights of White immigrants.

A more discernable use of the “yellow peril” strategy was used when the United States was preparing to militarize for imminent war during the late 1930s and 1940s. Politicians, journalists, and labor unions relied on racist cartoon depictions and slurs to warn White America that hordes of Japanese would invade the United States if war were to break out. Newspapers alleged that issei male workers could survive worse living conditions than White populations, and greatly exaggerated the birth rate among issei women. In drawings and posters, Japanese men were depicted as clawed creatures, suggesting their conniving behaviors and foreign ties

⁶ These land laws never named Japanese in their rhetoric, but it was surely used to target Japanese immigrants and their potential to settle down roots via owning property. Legally, these laws prevented issei from owning land and setting down roots, which is why the issue placed the names of the nisei, who were citizens by birth on land that they bought.

⁷ *National Park Service*, “A Brief History of Japanese American Relocation During World War II,” April 1st, 2016 <https://www.nps.gov/articles/historyinternment.htm> (Accessed November 14th, 2017)

with Japan, while also relying on logic that Asians in America were unassimilable and “Other.”⁸ Detailed scholarship expands on this early twentieth century, prewar history, focused on the intersections of race, gender, forced labor, and citizenship opportunities of these Asian migrant groups; I present briefly these “yellow peril” origins to suggest the immediacy by which nativists claimed that even American-born Asians were “dangerous” and “suspect” in the months right before World War II.

To determine as precisely as possible the degree of loyalty among Japanese Americans, the Office of Naval Intelligence completed an investigation led by Curtis B. Munson, Special Representative of the State Department. Eighteen months before the Pearl Harbor attack, Munson began the intelligence study of the “Japanese situation” in the West Coast at the president’s secret command.⁹ In November 1941, Munson completed a twenty-five-page report that certified a “remarkable, even extraordinary degree of loyalty” among Japanese Americans. In that same month, the Munson Report was circulated to the highest levels of the government, including President Roosevelt.¹⁰ To assert more clearly, it was checked and double-checked that there was no “Japanese problem” in the United States, and, issei and nisei, were indeed loyal to the United States. The Munson Report contained all of the conclusive answers about the question of Japanese American loyalty that the government was looking for. However, it was to become one of World War II’s best kept secrets, because the report was classified and did not come to light until the end of the war during the Pearl Harbor hearings of 1946.¹¹

⁸ “Yellow Peril,” *Densho Encyclopedia*, 2010
http://nikkeijin.densho.org/legacy/reference_ch1_03_yellow_peril_en.html (Accessed November 14th, 2017)

⁹ Eric L. Muller, *American Inquisition: The Hunt for Japanese American Disloyalty in World War II*, (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 15

¹⁰ Ngai, 176

¹¹ Weglyn, 34

Regardless of this report, the U.S. government carried out its original intention to incarcerate Japanese Americans on the West Coast, which was solidified by the bombing of Pearl Harbor. In viewing the truth that Japanese in America were in fact loyal, key members of the administration, most importantly President Roosevelt, should have prevented the incarceration. Yet, this truth did not matter: Munson's definitive answer was irrelevant to the decision to expel all Japanese Americans from the West Coast. Instead, Japanese Americans were deemed "suspect" and "disloyal," and this false narrative was circulated to the public.¹²

When the Japanese navy launched a surprise attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7th, 1941, these racist policies and practices were further unleashed. Within hours of the bombing, FBI agents arrested 1,395 "dangerous" Japanese Americans, classified as "enemy aliens," across the country.¹³ This figure totaled 2,192 Japanese "aliens" after a couple of days, and included the entire political, social, cultural, and business leadership of Japanese American communities.¹⁴ This group included Buddhist priests, martial arts instructors, Japanese language instructors, chamber-of-commerce leaders, employers of Japanese companies, and editors of the Japanese language press, as well as leaders of Japanese Association of America and patriotic organizations.¹⁵ Within these occupations, there were political organizations comprised of people who were involved in Japanese politics in Japan, but there were also priests and language

¹² In this introduction to the Munson Report, I recognize Curtis Munson's efforts to debunk these deceitful, perpetuated stereotypes about Japanese Americans. Throughout this project, and specifically in Chapter Two, I will elaborate further the implications of the Munson Report to build a critical analysis about how, even with conclusive special intelligence, the U.S. government decided to expel and incarcerate innocent Japanese Americans on the premise of "yellow peril."

¹³ Emily Roxworthy, *The Spectacle of Japanese American Trauma: Racial Performativity and World War II*, (Honolulu, Hawai'i: The University of Hawai'i Press, 2008), 57

¹⁴ The racial profiling was selective and entirely race-based. The government's wartime policy towards the people of German and Italian descent together with Japan, who were all enemy powers," was based on individual selection and interrogation. This does not mean that there was no discrimination towards German Americans and Italian Americans, but the Justice Department arrested 1,393 German, 264 Italian nationals, compared to 2,192 Japanese, under authority of the Alien Enemy Act.

¹⁵ Ngai, 176

teachers who were simply trying to maintain Japanese culture within Japanese communities within the United States. This detention of those suspected of having intent for sabotage or espionage sparked fear of the potential “Japanese takeover” of the West Coast, setting the groundwork for the incarceration of all Japanese Americans three months later.

At regional detention facilities of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, the arrested “aliens” were forced to undergo individual loyalty hearings. Nisei, American-born Japanese, were lumped in with “aliens” as “non-aliens,” to shroud the fact that they were legal U.S. citizens.¹⁶ Ultimately, the Justice Department released most of the German and Italians, descendants of the other enemy powers.¹⁷ What made Japanese Americans, those born in this country and most without ties to the Japanese government or military, more suspect than Americans of German and Italian descent, former nationals of the other Axis powers? As stated by Earl Warren, the attorney general of California at the time, in regard to the differing treatment, “We believe that when we are dealing with the Caucasian race we have methods that will test the loyalty of them... But when we deal with the Japanese we are in an entirely different field and cannot form any opinion that we believe to be sound.”¹⁸ Warren presented loyalty as racialized, despite all three countries considered enemies. In doing so, Warren perpetuated the thought, and subsequent practices and policies, that even though non-White immigrants can come to the United States and settle or be born here, and have no connection to other countries, their “racial strain” remains a high risk to the purity and security of White America.

On February 19th, 1942, President Roosevelt issued Executive Order 9066, authorizing the Secretary of War to establish “military areas” from which people without permission to enter

¹⁶ Michi Nishiura Weglyn, *Years of Infamy: The Untold Story of America's Concentration Camps*, (Seattle, Washington: The University of Washington Press, 1996,) 135

¹⁷ Ngai, 175

¹⁸ Ngai, 176

or remain could be excluded as a “military necessity.” This was the legal basis for the forced mass removal of Japanese Americans. General John L. DeWitt, commanding general of the Western Defense Command, had urged the removal of all Japanese Americans from the West Coast on grounds of “military danger.” He cited shore-to-ship signaling, arms and contraband found during FBI raids, and the location of Japanese American farm near military areas. DeWitt argued that “the Japanese race is an enemy race,” and that even amongst the most assimilated citizens, “the racial strains are undiluted.”¹⁹ Ultimately, the Federal Communications Commission and the FBI found the charge of signaling to be completely fabricated. The FBI also discounted the arms and contraband in question as non-threatening.²⁰ Beyond ignoring the research and conclusive loyalty of Japanese Americans by Curtis Munson, key military figures lied about Japanese American activity altogether. Dewitt effectively lied about the “Japanese race” being enemy by conjuring up false stories about Japanese American suspicion on West Coast shores.

Eventually, West Coast Japanese Americans were pulled from their homes and forced into detention centers and camps. They were first sent to short-term detention facilities, euphemistically termed “Assembly Centers,” run by the army until the larger incarceration camps were built and prepared. Most of these “Assembly Centers” used facilities such as horse racing tracks and fairgrounds, where inmates lived in inhumane conditions in recently cleared horse stalls. After staying at these facilities for weeks to a few months, Japanese Americans were forced to move to ten major concentration camps run by the newly created federal agency, the War Relocation Authority (W.R.A.). These “Relocation Centers” were located in deserts and swamplands, many on designated and inhabited indigenous lands, throughout the West and in

¹⁹ Ngai, 176

²⁰ Ngai, 176

Arkansas. They were surrounded by barbed wire and guard towers with guns pointed inward. Inmates lived in blocks of barracks with communal bathrooms, laundry facilities, and dining halls.²¹ The reality of American concentration camps cannot be denied. Japanese Americans were held against their will in substandard conditions in places far from home and unfamiliar to them and stripped them of their livelihoods.

Within the incarceration camps, everyday life involved both Japanese and Japanese American culture and politics. To fill time and to create some semblance of familiar environments, many Japanese Americans took up activities such as planting gardens and making furniture and decorations. People took part in activities such as flower arranging, sock hops, cutting trees for Christmas, and playing baseball. Those incarcerated observed Lincoln's, Washington's, and the Emperor's birthdays. They paid respects to fallen American soldiers on Memorial Day and to Japanese soldiers on the Emperor's birthday. There were also farewell parties in the blocks whenever an individual or family departed from camp, whether to serve the army, repatriate to Japan, resettle in the Midwest, or taken to other incarceration camps.²² Thus, various degrees of Japanese and American "nationalisms" were allowed to exist within the camp environment, representative of not only incarcerated people investing in the maintainance of their cultural values but also camp governance allowing these practices to present a humane picture to the outside world.

As war was closing, there were growing pressures from the government to those within the camps to "pick a side" – the U.S. or Japan – as the future state of the country and the security of Japanese Americans were nebulous and disconcerting. The WRA required all incarcerated adults to fill out a loyalty questionnaire, officially called the "Application for Leave Clearance,"

²¹ "American Concentration Camps," *Densho Encyclopedia*, 2017 <https://densho.org/american-concentration-camps/>, (Accessed March 5th, 2018)

²² Ngai, 180-181

a lengthy registration form to ascertain loyalty to the United States. To determine the loyalty of prospective volunteers and to initiate their release from incarceration camps, the War Department developed a questionnaire for male individuals within the age range for military service.²³ With this questionnaire, there were two aims. First, the WRA wanted acted to categorize people based on “loyalty,” an ambiguous and stressful conception, to determine their place in the United States postwar. Second, there was an agenda from the WRA to use some of the bodies to fight. Thus, the key reason of the Loyalty Questionnaire was to create some kind of toothless symbolic act to induce Japanese Americans to think they could prove that they were “American,” be patriotic, and serve their country. For many of those incarcerated, however, this questionnaire was interpreted to get out of the prison environment by “proving they were loyal.”

The Loyalty Questionnaire, comprised of about eighty questions regarding educational and occupational background and religious affiliation, was long and tedious. Questions concerned cultural knowledge and practice, indicating the WRA’s use of culture as a measure of loyalty. Questions were stated as such: “Will you conform to the customs and dress of your new government?” “Do you think you are ‘losing face’ by cooperating with the U.S. government?” “Do you believe in the divine origin of the Japanese race?” More directly aiming for one’s loyalty, there were questions such as “What would you do if you found a shortwave [radio] set... in your neighbor’s apartment?” and “Give five references of people who can vouch for your conduct in the center other than members of your family. Include at least two representatives of the administration.”²⁴ What these questions boiled down to was culture: the wording aimed to equate cultural value with loyalty. The ways in which Japanese in America either practiced their

²³ Ngai, 182-183

²⁴ Ngai, 183

Japaneseness or if they did not at all were employed to be measures of loyalty to the United States.

Ultimately, the two most controversial questions for Japanese Americans were numbers 27 and 28. Question 27 asked of all males of military age, “Are you willing to serve in the armed forces of the United States on combat duty, wherever ordered?” Question 28 asked of all incarcerated adults, “Will you swear unqualified allegiance to the United States of America and faithfully defend the United States from any and all attack by foreign or domestic forces, and forswear any form of allegiance or obedience to the Japanese emperor, or any foreign government, power or organization?”²⁵ In total, thirteen percent the incarcerated either refused to register for the questionnaire or answered “no” to one or both of the two questions. Following the questionnaire registration, the WRA employed Tule Lake as the “segregation center” for “disloyal” Japanese Americans, defined as those who answered “no” to the two questions, because they were blamed for the source of “non-cooperation” with the assimilationist questionnaire project and were responsible for any disturbances in the camps. In the fall of 1943, the WRA transferred all “disloyals” to Tule Lake, and sent all of those “loyal” former Tule Lake people to other camps.²⁶ General scholarship about the incarceration often omits the history of Tule Lake becoming a detention center specifically for the “disloyals” once of the rest of the “loyal” Japanese American population were released from the prison camps.

My project asks what factors enabled the government to construct this Tule Lake group, who were mostly second-generation men in their twenties, as “dissidents,” “disloyal,” and “unpatriotic” to this nation’s government. My grandfather, who I never met, was one of these people at Tule Lake who was segregated from the rest of the Japanese American population. This

²⁵ Ngai, 183

²⁶ Ngai, 184-185

project includes three main chapters. In chapter one, I analyze early twentieth century ship manifests to understand my grandfather's family's active movement between the United States and Japan, as well as their reasons behind my grandfather's biculturalism. In chapter two, I evaluate the constructions of the kibeï and "no-no boy" identities by focusing on the implications of the aforementioned Munson Report and Loyalty Questionnaire. Lastly, in chapter three, I present a timeline of my grandfather's postwar attempts to regain his United States citizenship.

On Language and Euphemisms:

To downplay the activity of the U.S. government during the war and to make Japanese American incarceration more acceptable to the public, popular press and media accounts used euphemistic terms for race-based incarceration. The ubiquitous use of euphemistic terms, such as “evacuation” and “assembly centers,” made the government’s actions seem benign and justifiable in the context of a country at war and even “of benefit” to those incarcerated.²⁷ In the decades following the war, as progressive and race scholars, political analysts, and historians began to probe the realities of Japanese American incarceration, what emerged was collective understanding that this familiar vocabulary of the war era did not adequately or accurately describe what happened. In what follows are analysis and critique of these terms from the Japanese American Citizens League (J.A.C.L.)’s “Power of Words Handbook,” which provides correct terminology to describe accurately the realities of incarceration.

Evacuate/evacuation:

Evacuation is defined as “the process of temporarily moving people away from an immediate or real danger, such as a fire, flood, shoot-out, or bomb threat.”²⁸ Its usage to describe the forced removal by the federal government of Japanese and Japanese Americans from their homes on the West Coast and Arizona is not just inaccurate, but also an outrage. Japanese Americans were not “evacuated” to protect them from a disastrous environment; the disaster they encountered was designed and created by their government. There was not a natural or an unavoidable disaster, as they were targeted by government sanctioned and executed

²⁷ “Power of Words Handbook: A Guide to Language about Japanese Americans During World War II,” National JACL, Power of Words II Committee, April 27th, 2013, 1

²⁸ “Power of Words Handbook,” 9

disastrous methods. By using the words “evacuate” and “evacuation,” the government wanted to portray the action of forced mass incarceration of a population by race as a benevolent and protective move for Japanese Americans.²⁹

Instead of “evacuate” or “evacuation,” I will use the words *forced removal* to describe how Japanese Americans were ordered at gunpoint to leave their homes and all their possessions.

Relocate/relocation:

These terms suggest that people moved from one location, their private homes, to another place, WRA camps, voluntarily. Their usage obscures the fact that the U.S. military forced “all Japanese persons, both alien and non-alien” to leave their homes and many of their belongings behind, often with less than a week’s notice.³⁰

Instead, I will use the phrase *forced removal*.

Internment:

“Internment” has a legal definition that refers to the confinement of foreign enemies in a time of war. Most of the several tens of thousands of people of Japanese ancestry that were incarcerated in WRA camps during World War II were United States citizens; thus, the term does not apply. A few thousand men, mostly issei, were held in the Army and Department of Justice (D.O.J.) incarceration camps, and with the family reunification program and Nikkei from Latin American countries, the total exceeded 17,000 men, women, and children.

Rather than internment, I will use the word *incarceration* to describe more accurately those held in WRA camps. “Incarcerate” is generally defined as to confine or imprison, typically

²⁹ “Power of Words Handbook,” 9

³⁰ “Power of Words Handbook,” 10

as punishment for a crime. This reflects the prison-like conditions faced by Japanese Americans, as well as the view that they were treated as if “guilty of sabotage, espionage, and/or suspect loyalty,” and without due process nor evidence.³¹

Assembly Center:

When many Japanese and Japanese Americans were initially forced to leave their homes, they were sent to live temporarily in “Assembly Centers,” officially “Wartime Civil Control Administration” camps. These makeshift detention facilities were often crudely fashioned from animal stalls at racetracks and fairgrounds, still emitting the stench of animal waste and surrounded by barbed wire and searchlights with armed soldiers. The euphemistic nature of this term hid the degrading lack of amenities and extremely crude living spaces in these facilities.

The more accurate term is *temporary detention center*, describing a place where prisoners are held pending some further disposition, which in the case of Nikkei civilians was to be shipped to WRA concentration camps.³²

Relocation Center:

This term was used by the government to give an impression to the general public that the forced removal of Japanese and Japanese Americans was a movement into pleasant summer camp-like facilities. This innocuous imagery was in stark contrast to the reality which was crude tar-papered wood barracks located in harsh, desolate climates in compounds surrounded by barbed wire fences with guard towers where the sentries pointed their weapons toward prisoners.

³¹ “Power of Words Handbook,” 10

³² “Power of Words Handbook,” 11

The recommended more accurate term is *United States concentration camp, incarceration camps, and illegal detention center*.³³

Nikkei:

Nikkei describes Japanese emigrants and their descendants living outside, and sometimes inside, Japan. This term is inclusive of Japanese diaspora, such as in Brazil and Canada, and has come to be used as an alternative to “Japanese American” to some.³⁴ Nikkei is the umbrella term to describe the various generations of Japanese Americans: issei, nisei, sansei, yonsei, and gosei; or, respectively, first, second, third, fourth, and fifth generation Japanese American. Kibei is a term for second-generation American-born Japanese, nisei, who were raised and/or educated in Japan.³⁵

No-No Boys:

This is the colloquial term for those who answered “no” to questions 27 and 28, the so-called “loyalty questions,” on the Application for Leave Clearance, or the loyalty questionnaire. As part of the segregation of the “loyal” and the “disloyal,” the no-no group was moved to Tule Lake. Though constructed and stigmatized as “disloyal,” no-no boys had a variety of reasons for answering in the way they did.

In the winter of 1943, the WRA launched their loyalty questionnaire in an attempt to segregate the “loyal” from the “disloyal.” Though the majority eventually answered the key loyalty questions affirmatively, a significant number either refused to answer, gave qualified

³³ “Power of Words Handbook,” 11

³⁴ “Nikkei,” *Densho Encyclopedia*, <http://encyclopedia.densho.org/Nikkei/> (Accessed September 19th, 2017)

³⁵ “Nisei,” *Densho Encyclopedia*, <http://encyclopedia.densho.org/Nisei/> (Accessed September 19th, 2017)

answers, or answered negatively. This number totaled 12,000 out of 78,000 people over the age of seventeen to whom the questionnaire was administered. People who answered in any of these manners were considered “disloyal” and were ultimately segregated to Tule Lake. Though not all of them technically answered “no” to questions 27 and 28, the adult male portion of what the WRA called “segregees” became synonymous with “no-no boys” in the years following war.³⁶

Naturalization:

Naturalization is the legal process by which a foreign citizen or national can become a U.S. citizen.³⁷ This country’s first Naturalization Act of 1790 restricted citizenship to “any alien, being a free White person” who had been in the U.S. for two years.³⁸ It excluded indentured servants, slaves, and most women, implying that Black enslaved people, and anyone not White, were not eligible to be naturalized. The Act said nothing about the citizenship status of non-White people born in the United States. In 1870, Congress created a second racial category, and gave “aliens of African nativity and persons of African descent” access to citizenship. Yet, this amendment was not meant for Asian immigrants because it was determined that Asian immigrants still could not naturalize at the end of the nineteenth century, after Black emancipation, and through the first half of the twentieth century.³⁹ From the first act of 1790 and through twentieth century anti-Asian legislature, the process of naturalization has always privileged White ethnic immigrants in this country, and as I will present in later chapters, I

³⁶ Brian Nijiya, “No-no noys,” *Densho Encyclopedia*, June 25th, 2012, http://encyclopedia.densho.org/No-no_boys/ (Accessed September 19th, 2017)

³⁷ “The Basics of Naturalization,” *FindLaw Online*, 2018, <http://immigration.findlaw.com/citizenship/the-basics-of-naturalization.html> (Accessed April 3rd, 2018)

³⁸ “The Basics of Naturalization”

³⁹ Shiho Imai, “Naturalization Act of 1790,” *Densho Encyclopedia* <https://encyclopedia.densho.org/Naturalization%20Act%20of%201790/> (Accessed April 3rd, 2018)

contend that the process of naturalization depends on assimilation to White societal ideals, an impossible feat for Japanese Americans.

Loyalty:

Contained in the pages of newspapers that were issued within the incarceration camp environment were strong messages of national loyalty to the United States. Early issues of these newspapers were filled with notices of flag-raising ceremonies, opportunities to assist the war effort, advertisements for buying war bonds, and, above all, rhetoric that encouraged loyalty to the nation. In one article of the *Manzanar Free Press* published June 18th, 1942, it states, “The national emergency demands great sacrifices from every American... By our active participation in defense projects, we must prove our unquestioned loyalty.”

Throughout this project, I will be using the concept of loyalty to describe the ways in which Japanese Americans “proved” themselves as patriotic members of the nation in a time when that allegiance was questioned by the government. To do so, the majority of Japanese Americans adopted the mentality contained in the aforementioned newspaper articles. Generally, “to prove one’s loyalty” to the United States meant to show the government that one would do whatever necessary to be patriotic, the most significantly way being to enlist in the Armed Forces. In 1943, President Roosevelt allowed Japanese Americans to serve in an entirely male and able-bodied Japanese American battalion, the 442nd Infantry Regimental Combat Team, which served primarily in Europe in the enemy countries of Italy and Germany. The 442nd Regiment is the most decorated unit in the history of United States warfare, suffering 9,476 casualties. Combined with the 442nd’s predecessor, the 100th Battalion, the 100th and 442nd

received 9,486 Purple Hearts. Their motto was “Go For Broke,” as these men risked everything to show they were indeed American and loyal to their country.

In many ways, the “Go For Broke” mentality is still pervasive within Japanese American communities. The number of deaths and subsequent awards are thought to be emblematic of Japanese American loyalty to the nation, resulting in great pride that Japanese Americans have for their parents and grandparents. Yet, I contend there were other forms of loyalty at play within the World War II context. Why did these men give up everything to fight for the nation while leaving behind their families in the incarceration camps or abroad? Through my grandfather’s experiences, I analyze the ways in which he did not see this national loyalty as the only form to embody. I assert that there was another form of loyalty that he could not overlook: some Japanese Americans, including my grandfather, placed incredible value in the roots their parents had grounded in both the United States and in Japan to ensure their children’s futures. In this project, I aim to bolster *familial loyalty*: the actions many second-generation Japanese Americans took to be with their families, particularly their first-generation parents who did not have U.S. citizenship or a sense of home in the States.

Project Methods and Methodology:

This process of searching for my family's immigration records started two summers ago when I interned at the National Japanese American Historical Society in Japantown, San Francisco, California. While I did not know then that I would be embarking on a family history project, I learned a variety of archival skills that have been greatly useful for this larger project. I shadowed the lead archival project director and assisted him in digitizing relics, mainly photographs and newspapers from the incarceration era. In addition, I recorded each item's information, including who created it, when it was created, where it was created, its condition, and a basic summary of the item. In all, I discovered an appreciation for the archive, a site of historical discovery for people, and artifacts that cannot be found in mainstream U.S. history books.

In the summer between my junior and senior years of college in June through August 2017, I conducted research about my grandfather's incarceration experience through document analysis of the Wayne M. Collins Papers Collections at the Bancroft Library Archives at the University of California, Berkeley.⁴⁰ Initially, I requested access to these files, which former San Francisco-based attorney Collins handed over to the library before he passed away. Throughout the summer, I spent a few days per week traveling to the library and accessing these archives in a private room, which was observed carefully by staff members. There, I perused a file labeled "Tadamichi Tsuboi," which was just one of hundreds of names in this collection, and I browsed correspondence between my grandfather and Collins, who were in contact when Collins was preparing renunciant cases for the U.S. Justice Department. I read closely these records to find

⁴⁰ "Finding Aid to the Wayne M. Collins Papers 1918-1974," *Online Archive of California*, 2009, <http://www.oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/tf3r29n6q9/> (Accessed March 10th, 2018)

out where and when my grandfather was during the years of his incarceration, and any materials that may suggest his personal reflections and thoughts on social and political issues during that time. I was able to take pictures on my phone of each letter, and I created a Microsoft Excel file containing the archival materials in the folder labeled “Tadamichi Tsuboi.” Because I had worked in a historical society the previous summer, I was familiar with how to itemize, describe, and analyze these materials, which contained letters, affidavits, and questionnaires. At the end of the summer, I made a formal request to turn these materials into research-quality PDFs, which I use in this project and some of which I include in my appendix.

In addition to these findings at the Bancroft Library at U.C. Berkeley, I created an Excel spreadsheet for materials found on Ancestry.com. This genealogy and family history site contains primary documents specific to my father’s family’s migration and settlement: ship manifests that list the names of my family members and the years in which they came to the United States, censuses that list their current addresses at the time, and the WRA’s “Final Accountability” documents that list where and when my grandfather and great-grandfather were in incarceration camps. This process of uncovering individual, old, and fascinating records of my family members—those names on my family tree that were foreign to me—has been rewarding and complete the gaps or correct the imbalance of mainstream, published White European migration narratives. This project’s archival analysis is the beginning of my life’s journey of searching for the names and stories that were not readily available to me in conversation with family members, and, larger Japanese and Japanese American narratives.

I take this opportunity to include critique and to present the limitations in both the Collins Papers Collection and Ancestry.com archival research. There are two related but distinct limitations in this research process: 1) there may be actual gaps in the archives, and 2) there is

some uncertainty regarding the information that *is* present. For instance, the ship records that I will reference in this chapter provide great detail about my Japanese family's movements. These manifests list names, ages, and various personal details that present exact information about when they came to this country, a vital resource about my understanding of their settlement and "home." These manifests are generally centered on "arrival" into the United States; they list when and where the ships departed Japan, and the entry points into the United States. Therefore, the movements from Japan and to the United States have been made available in these archives, but the movements from the United States back to the Japan are missing. I am not able to find ship manifests of my family members going back to Japan, as these are probably in Japanese archives. This lack of information leads me to think about the ways in which United States records of immigration often center on moments of arrival to the U.S., specifically in the case of Asian American narratives, exemplified by common microaggressions towards Asian Americans, "When did your family come?" "What year did they come?" Moreover, within the archival ship records, there is significant focus on immigrant arrival, which erases the emotion and struggle it may have taken to settle and find grounding in this country. Overall, the archives leave me with some difficulties: I am often excited by all of the new findings that archives provide, but I must think more about how these documents, often made to track and locate diasporic subjects, are not the be-all and end-all to understand the full picture, especially in the context of my father's family.

Thus, it was important for when I was completing the archival research to go to other sources that could confirm my findings. Over my winter break between my fall and spring semester of my senior year, I conducted an informal interview with my family members who share or hold memories of my grandfather's experiences. I spoke with my father, who is third-

generation Japanese American and who has tended towards silence on matter and memories of his father and also about the stories about incarceration, deportation, and return to the United States. I also spoke with my grandmother, who is first-generation Japanese American, ninety-years-old, and whose mother-tongue is Japanese. Since she and my grandfather met in Japan after the war, I believe she would have different frames of reference from a U.S.-based perspective, such as my father's. I conducted the interview at my grandmother's house in Sawtelle, Los Angeles at her dining room table with both my father and my grandmother over a cup of tea. I decided to frame the majority of the questions in English to my father, who could answer them as best as he could in English. I allowed my grandmother time to hear the questions in English and try to make sense of them. She did not answer every question, but my father would ask her more specific versions of the questions if he did not know the answer as well as she could. She answered the majority of questions and gave her input to the presented topics in Japanese, the language she is most comfortable speaking. I decided that there would be less pressure on my interviewees if the three of us spoke together, instead of speaking to my father and grandmother separately. In this way, I saw my grandmother give more nuanced answers at her own pace, instead of trying to answer in English "correctly" for me.

Beyond document interpretation and analysis, I must consider my grandfather's life through my father's and grandmother's eyes, words, memories and interpretations. With these different categories of data, I argue for critical reframing of aspects of Japanese American incarceration during World War II. These interviews gave me a much richer context by which to look at my grandfather's life, both in filling in gaps in the life timeline I am trying to create for him and also in my father's and grandmother's emotions surrounding his memory

I

Making Sense of My Family Timeline

How does one think about their family's immigration timeline? In the third or fourth grade I was assigned to make a family tree, and I recall creating a neon-green poster board in the shape of a cartoon tree with names, dates, and black and white pictures. I enlisted the help of my mom, who could easily recall and trace her White European American family's migration and settlement in the United States. She gave me many names of family members who she had talked about often on the phone. From an early age, I got the impression that my mother's family was fairly connected because my mom seemed to know which cousin was getting married and upcoming birthdays, for example. However, when it came to my dad's side of the family for that specific project, I called my grandmother about family members whom I had never met, had never seen photos of, and had never heard stories about. As mixed-race Japanese American, I felt the two poles clearly: how Ellis Island's European immigration narratives were accessible in the classroom and in my mother's memory because there was chatter and ease at which my mother could talk about her relatives. Moreover, I was left wondering who the individuals behind these Japanese names were because my father and grandmother do not speak often about my grandfather and his family. As I venture into this project years later, I hope that "speak" turns to "spoke," as I already feel their walls come down gradually through the process of conversation and oral history.

Throughout United States history, a dominant assimilation narrative for immigrants is the melting pot model. In 1908, Israel Zangwill wrote a stage play titled *The Melting Pot*, which came to be the popularized term for a metaphor of how the United States accommodated various

ethnic immigrant groups.⁴¹ The idea that the United States is a melting pot has been in public ideology since Zangwill's play, and it has constituted the most prominent perspective on immigrant group mobility since waves of European migration during the 1910s and 20s. In essence, this classic assimilation theory suggests that ethnic immigrant groups follow a linear progression to become "American," and that translates to becoming "like" White English-speaking immigrants by adopting norms, values, behaviors, and characteristics. Further, over time, immigrants who have stayed in the "host society" the longest, as well as the members of later generations, will show greater similarities with the majority group compared to recently immigrated groups.⁴² More specifically, assimilation into mainstream culture for my Japanese American family meant adopting a set of dominant norms and ideals: heterosexuality, middle-class values, Christianity, and Whiteness, the latter an impossible act. Therefore, the melting pot theory and its steady, permanent settlement process does not apply to Asian and other non-White immigrants.

The nature of my family's migration and settlement did not align exactly with the seamless melting pot model. My family's immigration history begins with my great-grandfather, Joe Tsuboi's father, Hidekichi Tsuboi. Hidekichi was born on January 5th, 1881 in Hiroshima, Japan, and according to ship manifest records, Hidekichi was the first person from my father's family to come to the United States. Hidekichi's father's name was Yonezo Tsuboi and his mother's name was Taka Tsuboi.⁴³ Hidekichi Tsuboi received his education in Hiroshima, where

⁴¹ Julia Higgins, "Immigration: The Myth of the Melting Pot," *Newsweek*, December 26th, 2015, <http://www.newsweek.com/immigration-myth-melting-pot-408705> (Accessed March 5th, 2018)

⁴² Susan K. Brown and Frank D. Bean, "Assimilation Models, Old and New: Explaining a Long-Term Process," *Migration Policy Institute Online*, October 1st, 2006, <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/assimilation-models-old-and-new-explaining-long-term-process> (Accessed February 26th, 2018)

⁴³ I list the names of my great-great-grandparents, because Hidekichi's parents' name on an "Individual Record" for the W.R.A. in the incarceration camps is the first time I have seen anything related to my

he attended grammar school for just two years from 1888 to 1890 from the ages of seven to nine. He remained in Japan until April 22nd, 1902 when, at the age of twenty, he departed from Yokohama, Japan on the S.S. Peru for Honolulu, Hawaii, where he arrived on May 2nd, 1902.⁴⁴ This particular ship record includes one other passenger with Hidekichi: a teenager at the age of fourteen listed as “Mutsatsu” Tsuboi. Mutsatsu was listed as Hidekichi’s wife.^{45, 46} Following the Gentlemen’s Agreement of 1907, labor migration from Japan was essentially eliminated, but relatives of immigrants were still allowed visas. Thus, a small number of family members and “picture brides,” women who had agreed to marry male immigrants they had “met” only through exchanging photographs, continued to arrive to the U.S. until 1924, when all Japanese immigration was halted.⁴⁷ Thus, I believe this marriage between Hidekichi and Mustatsu may have been an arranged marriage, supported by their age difference: he was twenty and she was fourteen. In the research I have conducted, the trail of Mustatsu’s records stops at this 1902 ship manifest, but I mark this manifest record as the first time a direct family member departed Japan at the young age of twenty. Though I cannot be completely sure of his reasons, my grandfather’s first departure out of Yokohama is the earliest moment of my Japanese lineage outside of Japan.

A decade later, on February 9th, 1912, at the age of thirty-one, Hidekichi Tsuboi stepped aboard the S.S. China and arrived in Honolulu, Hawaii on February 28th, 1912. This second ship

great-great-grandparents. Citing their names in this process is a means to reform personal connection to them, as I have felt emotional detachment from my family tree in the past.

⁴⁴“Individual Record for Hidekichi Tsuboi,” 1/5/1943, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.: Microfilm publication M1965, 10 rolls, Records of the War Relocation Authority, Record Group 210

⁴⁵ Due to the poor penmanship of the S.S. Peru ship manifest, I cannot read very well the name of Hidekichi Tsuboi’s wife. For now, I am leaving her name as “Mustatsu” until I can find other sources that may suggest otherwise.

⁴⁶ “Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at Honolulu, Hawai’i, compiled 02/13/1900 - 12/30/1953,” National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), Washington, D.C., National Archives Microfilm Publication: A3422, Roll: 001, Record Group Title: Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1787 - 2004, Record Group Number: RG 85

⁴⁷ Emily Anderson, "Immigration," *Densho Encyclopedia* <https://encyclopedia.densho.org/Immigration/> (Accessed March 13th, 2018)

manifest record states that Hidekichi was married, but indicates that he traveled alone from Kobe, Japan to his intended destination of San Francisco. He carried two pieces of luggage, which is a sign of movement and willingness to adapt in the new country.⁴⁸ This lightness also indicates that Hidekichi was anticipating the possibility of going back to Japan. From this record and the previous one, I infer that sometime between 1902 and 1912, Hidekichi went back to Japan, movement that is not indicated by these arrival-centric documents. Moreover, I cannot find record of Hidekichi leaving Hawaii or the continental United States in that decade in American databases. Because Hidekichi was traveling but is listed as being “married,” I wonder what the reasons were that brought him to Hawai’i. He even stated he intended to go to San Francisco, but what happened to Mutsatsu? Some of these answers are found in the stories and memories my grandma Aiko shares. She states that Joe Tsuboi’s mother was born in Hawai’i, and that his parents met through an arranged marriage. From this story and from the archival materials, I infer that the arranged marriage or “retrieval” of Hidekichi’s new wife, my paternal great-grandmother, occurred in Hawai’i and perhaps before that 1912 voyage.

While the aforementioned records are proof of the initial movements of my grandfather’s family, I aim to contextualize the reasons for departing Japan. My grandma states that my great-grandparents were from farming families and did anything related to the operations of the farmland in Japan. At the end of the nineteenth century, when these industries in the United States were looking for new labor after the Chinese Exclusion Act, there were many agricultural projects that tried to recruit Japanese laborers, as my dad explains. My grandmother remembers her husband’s family being of the distant samurai class, which was left disenfranchised when

⁴⁸ “Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at Honolulu, Hawai’i, compiled 02/13/1900 - 12/30/1953,” National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), Washington, D.C., National Archives Microfilm Publication: A3422; Roll: 032; Record Group Title: Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1787 - 2004; Record Group Number: RG 85

Japan's feudal system broke apart and put many farming and agricultural people out of work.⁴⁹ My family has had a connection to land throughout many decades and centuries, and my great-grandparents decided to come to the United States to search for ways in which they could continue working in agriculture.

My grandmother's words resonate because immigration from Japan to the Territory of Hawai'i and the continental United States between the 1880s and 1924 occurred after 250 years of Japan's self-imposed isolation, until Japan was forced into diplomatic and trade relations with the United States in the 1850s. The period that followed, in short, was of internal conflict, culminating in the 1868 overthrow of the Tokugawa shogunate and the instituting of a new government structure, the Meiji Restoration. The new government aimed to reform Japan into a modern, Westernized nation-state so that Japan would avoid direct and indirect colonization.⁵⁰ These sudden changes meant that many rural Japanese people who were tied to their land in the feudal system had to seek opportunities and immigrated to Hawai'i and the United States.⁵¹

My great-grandfather's early twentieth century migration coincides with changing racialized and labor conditions in the United States, especially in California. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the number of Chinese in America fell drastically because of federal exclusion. Meanwhile, Japanese migration was allowed to increase and Japanese laborers gradually replaced most Chinese low-skilled work, as agricultural production in California transformed into intensive fruit and vegetable cultivation for export and demanded continuous work. The first group of Japanese farm laborers came to California's Vaca Valley, in the North

⁴⁹ Aiko and Ken Tsuboi, Interview by Joseph Tsuboi, December 29th, 2017, transcript

⁵⁰ Anderson, "Immigration"

⁵¹ It is also important to note that Japanese Americans wanted to seek new opportunities because Western Imperialism precipitated the changes in Japan, but also Japanese could not have just immigrated had they not been recruited as labor on Hawai'i sugar plantations and for agricultural projects on the West Coast.

Bay of the San Francisco area, during the late 1880s.⁵² From that time, Japanese flocked to farming regions on the West Coast, and in 1906, approximately one-fourth of their numbers was in Southern California after many evacuated to Los Angeles from San Francisco following the city's devastating earthquake.⁵³ In that decade, agriculture was the leading area of Japanese immigrant employment, above domestic service and railroad construction. Issei intended to work in occupations with less manual labor, and turned to agricultural practices because many came from farming backgrounds in Japan, where farming was independent and not centrally controlled.^{54, 55} Moreover, early male Japanese immigrants, including my great-grandfather, Hidekichi Tsuboi, came to California with hopes beyond performing manual labor: they intended to establish businesses through agriculture in order to attain social mobility and perhaps bring family members to the United States to settle.

At this point, there is a gap in the ship manifest records, and the absence of migration records leaves me thinking about what happened after 1912. Did Hidekichi and Shigeyo Tsuboi leave California or did they try to settle there? I cannot locate any documents that trace how my great-grandfather settled, but there are some key indicators that presented their futures in this country. According to Los Angeles County birth records, my great-aunt, Joe Tsuboi's older sister, was Nobuko Tsuboi. Nobuko was born on December 14th, 1917, making her three years and one month older than Joe.⁵⁶ Then, my grandfather, Tadamichi "Joe" Tsuboi was born in Covina,

⁵² Charles McClain, *Asian Americans and the Law: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*, (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1994), ix

⁵³ Huang, etc., *Sawtelle Japantowns: The Trajectory of Japanese American Neighborhoods*, Asian American Studies at the University of California, Los Angeles, 2015, 10

⁵⁴ Lee, 84

⁵⁵ Further information about the ethnic succession of agricultural labor on the West Coast is found in the chapter, "Work and Class Relations," in Lee's *A New History of Asian America*.

⁵⁶ Ancestry.com, "California Birth Index, 1905-1995," Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2005

California on January 21st, 1921.⁵⁷ Thus, within five years of landing in Honolulu, Hawaii in 1912, and making it to his intended destination of San Francisco, Hidekichi Tsuboi put down roots in Southern California and decided to raise a family in this country.

My great-grandmother's identity is finally confirmed on a third ship record. On November 23rd, 1928, the entire family traveled from Yokohama, Japan to Los Angeles, California. Hidekichi Tsuboi, my great-grandfather, Shigeeye Tsuboi, my great-grandmother, Nobuko, my great-aunt and Joe Tsuboi's older sister, and Tadamichi Joe Tsuboi set aboard the S.S. Korra Maru. My grandfather was six-years-old and his older sister was eleven.⁵⁸ Here, the family's names and identities are confirmed. Again, the lack of intermediary records—travel from the United States to Japan—suggests that between 1921 and 1928, the entire family went back to Japan. In a later affidavit that my grandfather filled out in 1954, he stated that he was in Japan from September to November 1928 when he was seven years old for a temporary visit with family.⁵⁹ This ship record is proof that they neither stayed in California nor went back to Japan permanently once Nobuko and Joe were born, which implies there was still value for them to maintain cultural and familial ties in Japan.

Joe Tsuboi's family moved back and forth from Southern California to Hiroshima, Japan. The most significant movement was when my grandfather was sent to Japan for educational purposes from 1933 to 1940 in Hiroshima. I first assumed that he was alone, but my grandmother explained that he, his parents, and his older sister all went back to Japan. My grandma believes

⁵⁷ Tadamichi Tsuboi, "Letter to Wayne Collins, May 27th, 1948," Wayne M. Collins Papers Collection, BANC FILM 2162, reel 18, box 14, folder 13 for WW2 renunciant Tadamichi Tsuboi, Bancroft Library Archives, University of California, Berkeley

⁵⁸ "Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at San Pedro/Wilmington/Los Angeles, California," The National Archives at Washington, D.C., NAI Number: 4486355; Record Group Title: Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1787-2004; Record Group Number: 85

⁵⁹ Tadamichi Tsuboi, "Handwritten Affidavit to Wayne Collins," July 30th, 1954, Wayne M. Collins Papers Collection, BANC FILM 2162, reel 18, box 14, folder 13 for WW2 renunciant Tadamichi Tsuboi, Bancroft Library Archives, University of California, Berkeley, 1

that they probably made a bit of money and went back to visit family members. My grandma stated that at an earlier time, my great-grandparents left their first-born son in Japan. He was a pilot in Japan, and they came back to Hiroshima in 1933 to visit him. The education system was relatively good over there, she recalls; it was competitive and women were able to go up to high school.⁶⁰

Within the time my grandfather was receiving his education in Japan, my great-aunt was also traveling back and forth from Hiroshima to Los Angeles County. According to ship manifests of “alien” travelers, Nobuko Tsuboi stepped aboard the M.S. Chichibu Maru in Yokohama, Japan on June 19th, 1937. She was nineteen-years old and her listed occupation was “student.”⁶¹ Thus, sometime between 1928 and 1937, Nobuko returned to Japan, and then returned to California, this time as a student at the age of nineteen.

My great-grandparents, from the family stories I have heard, placed great value in education. As issei, Hidekichi and Shigeeye could not “naturalize” to become citizens in this country, but there was potential for Nobuko and Joe, as U.S.-born, to gain educational and financial security for their parents’ immigrant, working-class statuses. My grandfather stated in a later affidavit that he was in Japan from October 1933 to May 1940 for schooling and visits with family. In this time period, he attended Yamamoto Elementary school in Hiroshima from November 1933 to March 1935, and then attended Hiroshima Commercial School from April 1935 to March 1940. My grandma reiterates that Hiroshima Commercial School was known as an elite high school that allowed my grandfather to learn a variety of subjects in hopes of him continuing into the professional world. My grandfather learned subjects such as algebra, geography, chemistry, physics, bookkeeping, commercial law, and English in the Japanese

⁶⁰ Aiko and Ken Tsuboi, Interview by Joseph Tsuboi, transcript

⁶¹ “Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at San Pedro/Wilmington/Los Angeles, California”

schooling system.^{62, 63} For someone who grew up biculturally and whose first language was English, my grandfather had a unique experience of attending a prestigious high school in Japan. My grandma attributes this to his good, raw intelligence, and then at some point, his background prevented him from going on to the next level of education. Joe Tsuboi's sister, too, was also being educated. At nineteen, she was listed as a student, and my grandmother believes that she too had raw intellectual abilities and that she was trying to find the best educational opportunities in either Japan or the United States.⁶⁴

What these constant movements suggest to me is that the melting pot assimilation model did not work for or did not apply to my family. Aside from the national and dominant rhetoric that framed Asian people in the United States as threatening and unwanted (as I present “yellow peril” racial logic in my introduction), my family had the realization that the United States did not allow them the proper means of settlement through education, owning land, etc.^{65, 66} In “A Racial Dialogue on Racial Melancholia,” scholars David Eng and Shinhee Han argue:

To the extent that ideals of whiteness for Asian Americans... remain unattainable, processes of assimilation are suspended, conflicted, and unresolved... This suspended assimilation—this inability to blend into the ‘melting pot’ of America—suggests that, for Asian Americans, ideals of whiteness are continually

⁶² Aiko and Ken Tsuboi, Interview by Joseph Tsuboi, transcript

⁶³ Tadamichi Tsuboi, “Handwritten Affidavit to Wayne Collins,” 1

⁶⁴ Aiko and Ken Tsuboi, Interview by Joseph Tsuboi, transcript

⁶⁵ A text that expands further on “yellow peril” racial logic and its influence on Chinese American, and other Asian American, assimilation is scholar Erika Lee’s “The Chinese are Coming: How Can we Stop Them?” (2010).

⁶⁶ For my family members, specifically Nobuko and Joe Tsuboi, travel between the United States and Japan was possible because they were in a category not included in the Asian Exclusion Acts. They were able to list their occupations as “students,” thus attaining higher socioeconomic status than their parents, and were allowed more frequent travel.

estranged. They remain at an unattainable distance, at once a compelling fantasy and a lost ideal.⁶⁷

Until World War II with both the United States and Japan engaged in war, Joe Tsuboi and his immediate family migrated back and forth from Hiroshima-ken, Japan to Southern California. Their mobility challenges the portion the melting pot model that assumes that all immigrants want and strive to remain in their new host society for a long-period of time to assimilate. Instead, the ship manifests indicate that at various points from my great-grandfather's initial arrival in Honolulu, Hawaii in 1902 to World War II, my family traveled back and forth from the United States to Japan. My great-grandparents still believed there was a home base in Japan—that despite the potential of melting into the pot of new immigrants in the United States, there was still security and roots in Japan they did not want to leave behind. Their mobility suggests they had the financial capacity, whether from previous work saved up or from family members back in Japan, to move back and forth. It also means that the family never felt full belonging in the United States, explaining Joe Tsuboi's long education period in Japan, a place where my great-grandparents saw a stable means of bicultural learning outside of American institutions. For them, the United States could not be seen as a permanent place for them, and they aimed to make sure that their ethnic and cultural base would not disappear in Japan. Overall, my family was pragmatic and adaptable and these methods of travel were means of surviving anti-Asian sentiment, but this meant they also felt a feeling of suspension in the context of their potential “full assimilation” in the United States.

My family's movements stopped suddenly with the imminence of war in both the United States and in Japan. My dad and grandma explain that in 1940, Joe Tsuboi and his father,

⁶⁷ Eng and Han, 57

Hidekichi Tsuboi, came back the United States. Their reason to come back to the United States was to avoid the military draft in Japan, when the country was going through a major military overhaul to prepare for potential war. Kure, Hiroshima was also a major location of war material production, so this fear of getting called for the draft was imminent and close to my family's home.⁶⁸ On May 4th, 1940, Joe Tsuboi set aboard the S.S. Tatuta Maru headed from Yokohama, Japan.⁶⁹ At this time, the family was split apart. According to the Los Angeles County Census of 1940, which was reported at the end of that year and after Joe Tsuboi travelled on the S.S. Tatuta Maru. Hidekichi, Nobuko, and Tadamichi Tsuboi were reported as being in the United States in the census, which means that Shigeeye Tsuboi, my great-grandmother was back in Kure, Japan.⁷⁰

Back in California in 1940, my grandfather and his dad struggled to find work. My dad believes they were working on a farm in Covina, and were living day-to-day and that they did not own much property, as their last address before the war was a P.O. Box.⁷¹ These conditions suggest that they did not have the financial means for the kinds of travel that I have mentioned, so resources may have come from family in Japan. In the years before World War II in Southern California, farming-related work was the way my great-grandfather and grandfather made money. At the age of nineteen and to avoid Japan's male draft, my grandpa dropped out of school, putting his dreams of baseball and college on hold forever, to find low-paying and strenuous agricultural labor.

When Executive Order 9066 was signed and sanctioned, my grandfather's life changed forever. My grandfather, Joe Tadamichi Tsuboi, and his father, Hidekichi Tsuboi, were first forced to Santa Anita Assembly Center. They had just about a two weeks notice of their forced

⁶⁸ Aiko and Ken Tsuboi, Interview by Joseph Tsuboi, transcript

⁶⁹ "Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at San Pedro/Wilmington/Los Angeles, California"

⁷⁰ United States of America, Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940*, Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, 1940. T627, 4,643 rolls.

⁷¹ Aiko and Ken Tsuboi, Interview by Joseph Tsuboi, transcript

removal from the West Coast, and were allowed to take only what they could carry. They were forced to leave behind their property, work, and any personal belongings. There was no prior information as to where they were going, how long they would be gone, and what the government was going to do with them. These uncertainties amplified the trauma. Japanese Americans faced two distinct moments of displacement when Executive Order 9066 was implemented: first from their homes to inhumane temporary detention “Assembly Centers,” which were set up in horse track stalls and livestock pavilions while the main incarceration camps were being built, and then once more to the more permanent incarceration centers.⁷² Then, Joe and Hidekichi were forced to Tule Lake incarceration camp on September 25th, 1943.⁷³

Conditions at the ten main incarceration camps were not more humane than the temporary detention centers. Japanese Americans were confined in hastily constructed army-type barracks in areas surrounded by barbed wires, armed guards with guns pointed inwards. Most of the camps were on deserts or swamplands, many located on Native lands, and incarcerated lived with entire families and most often several other families in a single room. Incarcerated ate and bathed in communal facilities, conditions that erased any privacy as well as traditional Japanese family relationships. Issei mothers could no longer cook or care for their homes, and nisei youth socialized more with peers in the open mess hall and barrack living conditions.⁷⁴ While this project focuses primarily on prewar and postwar constructions of citizenship, these incarceration circumstances, which can be read about in other scholarship, were crucial in how survivors of incarceration reflected on their experiences to their family members.

⁷² Donna K. Nagata, Jackie H. J. Kim, and Teresa U. Nguyen, “Processing Cultural Trauma: Intergenerational Effects of the Japanese American Incarceration,” *Journal of Social Issues*, Vol. 71, No. 2, 2015: 356-370, 358

⁷³ “Final accountability rosters of evacuees at relocation centers,” 1944–1946, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C., Microfilm publication M1965, 10 rolls. Records of the War Relocation Authority, Record Group 210

⁷⁴ Nagata, etc., 358

Generally, there was little discussion between my grandparents about what happened to incarcerated during the incarceration period. My grandma recalled only the happier moments that she and my grandpa once shared. She stated that within the camp, people tried to restore life as best as they could and to make it similar to what they had prewar. She stated my grandfather attended organized schools, joined clubs, and played sports, even within the confined camp compounds. She stated that people tried to speak Japanese, and there were art classes such as ikebana flower arranging, singing classes, and cooking lessons. In terms of the negative memories, she stated there were stories of guards watching from the periphery with their guns pointed inwards. She recalled stories of people getting shot if they tried to escape the premises. There were also fights and disagreements about the various political and cultural views within the Japanese American community.⁷⁵ Overall, the cramped conditions of the incarceration camp limited freedoms and placed many Japanese people who had various political views within the same compound. Naturally, people tried their best to recreate their communities of the West Coast in these facilities, preserving Japanese cultural activities and sports. At the same time, there was hostility—anger towards the government and the nation for forcing Japanese Americans into these conditions, and within the community.

What incarceration also meant was a huge displacement for an entire ethnic group. Before being incarcerated, my grandfather and his immediate family struggled to find one “home” in either California or Hiroshima, Japan. At many times, the family—Hidekichi, Shigeyo, Tadamichi, and Nobuko Tsuboi—were separated based on various occupational and educational opportunities. In many ways, I see their ability to move around and to find new ways of providing for both the self and for the family as sheer adaptation. The stories about my grandfather’s educational potential means that the family saw being educated in Japan as a

⁷⁵ Aiko and Ken Tsuboi, Interview by Joseph Tsuboi, transcript

chance for Joe Tsuboi to achieve in school and potentially bring that skill elsewhere. There was also a value placed on biculturalism, for him to gain understanding in both American and Japanese customs. These moments leave me thinking about survival and mobility—Joe Tsuboi’s being a Japanese American meant that his experiences were not included dominant narratives that assumed just being in the United States meant complete protection and assurance of higher quality educational and job opportunities. Instead, he went back and forth from Japan to the United States for his family, and refused to let go of his Japanese heritage and home base. He did not choose buy into the idea of full assimilation in the U.S. and rid himself of Japanese cultural values in Southern California. What I do know, though, is that my grandfather and his family kept pushing to find chances of survival; they saw education as a means of providing for the family, and had doubt that permanent settlement in the United States would guarantee them the “American Dream.”

II

Life Under Siege

As scholar Ronald Takaki states, Asian people have qualities we cannot change or hide—the shape of our eyes, the color of our hair, and the complexion of our skin. In the eyes of the state, Japanese Americans are constructed with the controlling image of perpetual foreigner—this is our “racial uniform,” a term coined by sociologist Robert E. Park. In 1913, White American values were that “the Jap is not the right color... The trouble is not with the Japanese but with the Japanese skin,” and unlike White European immigrants, Asian Americans cannot become “mere individuals, indistinguishable in the cosmopolitan mass of the population.”⁷⁶ Regardless of any educational or occupational merits we earn, Asian Americans fail to attain complete acceptance into the larger dominant White United States society and, thus, no complete assimilation. As exemplified in early twentieth century history during which issei tried to purchase the land on which they worked for White agricultural projects, it has been clear that Japanese in America have been judged by our phenotypic appearance, rather than the content of our character.

Throughout World War II, two defining moments solidified Japanese American identity, specifically for young kibeis adults as “disloyal” and “enemy alien.” Firstly, in my initial reading of the 1941 Munson Report, I believed that Curtis Munson worked in all Japanese Americans’ favor to define correctly the varied generational differences between Japanese Americans and to ultimately insist that Japanese Americans as a group were, in fact, loyal. This summary should have closed the books and prevented incarceration, as the highest members in the administration,

⁷⁶ Ronald Takaki, “The Centrality of Racism in Asian American History,” in Lon Kureshige and Alice Yang Murray, *Major Problems in Asian American History: Documents and Essays*, (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2003,) pp. 9-15, 11-12

including President Roosevelt, read and reviewed Munson's report. Yet, it did not. Kibei, including my grandfather, were defined as potentially dangerous, even before they were locked away. Secondly, and more clearly, the Loyalty Questionnaire within the incarceration camp environment worked to tear families apart, in order to "prove loyalty" to the U.S. nation-state. In this chapter, I present how the government defined my grandfather as "suspect," "unpatriotic," and "un-American." Ultimately, his identity as both kibei and "no-no boy" were results of controlling images and government policies and practices of which he had no control.

As I stated in the previous chapter, my grandfather was in Japan for educational and familial reasons before his incarceration experience during World War II. In July 1954, while he was in Japan and almost a decade after the war ended, my grandfather completed an affidavit for the purposes of Wayne Collins' renunciator cases that would be used as evidence in court. My grandfather confirmed that he was in Japan on two main occasions before World War II. His two-month trip in 1928 when he was seven years old was a temporary visit with family in Hiroshima. Then, from ages twelve to nineteen he attended Yamamoto Elementary school, and then Hiroshima Commercial School until 1940.⁷⁷ From ages twelve to nineteen, my grandfather was educated in the Japanese schooling system, learning subjects that would allow him to attain jobs afterwards.

My grandfather's educational background was not unique. It is estimated that about 15 percent of school-age nisei, or around eleven thousand people, were kibei at the time of Pearl Harbor. Scholar Eric Muller states that this is only a rough estimate because no comprehensive records exist. Therefore, there may be exponentially more people who received education in Japan, despite being born in the U.S. Likewise, the reason why some issei parents chose to send some of their children, particularly men, to Japan is significantly under-researched. Muller

⁷⁷ Tsuboi, "Handwritten Affidavit to Wayne Collins, July 30th, 1954"

suggests that a reason could be that issei parents were unsure and concerned about how long they would remain in the United States, so it would be helpful for their children to try to study in Japan in hopes of becoming culturally adept in both American and Japanese contexts.

Additionally, Muller calls attention to the pragmatism of these actions: Many issei lived close to the economic edge in retail or farming, and they needed both parents to work full-time to survive in America. Sending a child to Japan to stay with family for some of their education allowed both parents to work and was less expensive than trying to raise that child in America.⁷⁸ In regard to my grandfather's family, Muller's analysis affirms my beliefs that there was more financial flexibility for my grandfather to receive education in Japan. Issei were barred from citizenship and thus could never rest in the idea that there was a guaranteed permanence of life in the US. Thus, their children, the nisei, had to be prepared to make a living in Japan, just in case the whole family was stripped of American citizenship. And even if not, issei could be deported and children would need to be able to function in both societies.

Around the same time my grandfather was finishing his secondary education in Japan, Curtis B. Munson was compiling his investigation on Japanese American loyalty. In his November 1941 report, Munson disaggregated the essentialized "Japanese," or more derogatory, "Japs." He was cautious to point out there were four generational divisions of Japanese in America at the time: issei, nisei, kibe, and sansei. The issei were first-generation Japanese who were not legally naturalized citizens, but would have become American if the government allowed them citizenship. However, they could not given the *Ozawa vs. United States* precedent that denied eligibility to citizenship for issei; this would not be overturned until 1952.⁷⁹ This

⁷⁸ Muller, 9

⁷⁹ *Ozawa v. United States* (1922) was the landmark Supreme Court case that denied eligibility for citizenship to issei. Along with the passing of California's Alien Land Law in 1920, the *Ozawa* decision spurred the anti-Japanese movement and set the stage for the Immigration Act of 1924 that barred all

group was largely older, between the ages of fifty-five and sixty-five. The nisei, second-generation Japanese Americans who were educated in the United States, showed “a *pathetic* eagerness to be Americans,” describing the state of mind of a large number of draft-age Japanese Americans who wanted to prove that they were “Americans” by answering their nation’s call to arms. Sansei, third-generation Japanese Americans, were babies at the time and were disregarded for the purpose of the report.⁸⁰ Within these classifications, specifically between the issei and nisei, Munson discerned factors of assimilation and generalized that issei would have become Americans if legally possible. He also debased nisei who showed their “pathetic” loyalty to the state. The report concluded that “there [was] no Japanese ‘problem’ on the Coast. There [would] be no armed uprising of Japanese,” and Munson’s final report went to F.D.R. on November 7th, 1941.^{81, 82, 83} Thus, the Munson Report could have and should have proved that Japanese in America were not a monolithic racial group; they did not have the same intentions and political beliefs, and were certainly not deserving of mass incarceration via “national threat.”

From Munson’s categorizations, there was one small group that was left outside of the “loyalty” conclusion. As Munson stated, kibeï, a special classification of nisei, received part of their education in Japan, and, at that time, should be considered “the most dangerous element and

further immigration from Japan. It was not until the passage of the McCarran-Walter Act of 1952 that issei were allowed to become U.S. citizens.

⁸⁰ Weglyn, 41-42

⁸¹ Weglyn, 45

⁸² Brian Niiya, "Munson Report," *Densho Encyclopedia*

<https://encyclopedia.densho.org/Munson%20Report/> (Accessed March 6th, 2018)

⁸³ Unfortunately for Japanese Americans, presidential envoy John Franklin Carter sent the report to F.D.R. with his own one-page summary of some fabricated key points. This summary managed to largely obscure Munson's conclusions and may have inadvertently had the effect of alarming the President further. Among the points highlighted by Carter: while stating that "There is no Japanese 'problem' on the coast," he followed that up with "There will be the odd case of fanatical sabotage by some Japanese 'crackpot'" "There are still Japanese in the United States who will tie dynamite around their waist and make a human bomb..."

closer to the issei with special reference to those who received their early education in Japan.”⁸⁴

What was so threatening about a bicultural upbringing for kibeï? My grandfather falls into this category because he received seven years of education in Hiroshima, Japan, and while my grandmother and father did not state directly that there was discrimination against Japanese Americans in public education in the United States, my grandfather was part of a trend. The kibeï group, some eight-thousand native-born Americans, went to Japan for education because their parents, issei, believed that even high educational preparation could not break down bias and White employment barriers on the West Coast.⁸⁵ Thus, issei parents had an awareness within Japanese American communities that educational opportunities in the States might not guarantee the same employment opportunities as White people. Yet, their choice to send their second-generations to Japan for education defined kibeï “as the most dangerous element” of Japanese Americans, to Munson.

Today, the Munson Report is *the* counter-narrative to Japanese “disloyalty” in the United States leading up to World War II. As I state in the introduction, this report that should have disproved the statements from the FBI and ONI, and it should have prevented incarceration fully, despite its qualification regarding kibeï. John Franklin Carter, director of the secret White House intelligence team that hired Curtis Munson to report on Japanese American communities, agreed with Munson’s findings, stating that while a “few Japanese in the United States” were dangerous, “[f]or the most part the local Japanese are loyal to the United States, or at worst, hope that by remaining quiet they can avoid concentration camps or irresponsible mobs.”⁸⁶ In other words, high officials in the government agreed with Munson and his findings – that despite the kibeï qualification, there was immense cultural loyalty of Japanese in the United States.

⁸⁴ Weglyn, 41-42

⁸⁵ Weglyn, 42

⁸⁶ Muller, 15

Yet, I argue that the Munson Report was not enough, especially in the context of the kibeï experience. While relieving most Japanese in America of being “disloyal,” there are significant issues in claiming that there were problems within kibeï communities. By labeling the kibeï as the most “dangerous group,” suddenly all of the conceptions of potential disloyalty were concentrated on these some eight-thousand people. It is impossible to generalize and say there is one kibeï, or one kibeï experience. The experiences of kibeï, both in Japan and, for those who returned, in the United States varied greatly. Some kibeï remained in Japan after their education or time with extended family and stayed in the country permanently. Other kibeï reported that they felt like outsiders or foreigners in Japan, having not been fully accepted within Japan’s relatively conservative social standards. Another group of kibeï felt that they were outsiders when they returned back to the United States because they were not fully “American” due to their Japanese education and their weakened English skills. Because they spoke Japanese well, there were kibeï who were selected to be a part of a team of linguists who served in Japanese-colonized areas in the Pacific as a part of the U.S. Army’s Military Intelligence Service (MIS).⁸⁷ There was not one kibeï experience, and the only binding factor to the label “kibeï” was that this group has more familiarity with Japanese language and culture than other nisei. In all, while Munson categorized an ethnic population in a neutral, “objective” fashion people, his work also presents the shorthand damage of essentializing groups without proper consideration of kibeï bicultural upbringing.

Ultimately, Munson’s work did not matter, and was not allowed to matter by the government, in the face of incarceration. At the time of forced removal during the early months of 1942, the average ages of issei and nisei were sixty-years-old and eighteen-years-old,

⁸⁷ Muller, 14

respectively.^{88, 89} Two-thirds of those incarcerated were young, U.S. born teenagers who had not entered college and most not old enough to vote. At the same time, there was an abundance of elderly issei men and women who were hardly capable of carrying out vicious attacks against the government, and they already faced exclusionary policies regarding land and citizenship that rendered them legally powerless. How could Japanese Americans have truly caused a problem to “national security?” The government still decided to incarcerate 120,000 Japanese Americans against their will, and this should be known as one of the most significant “absurdities” about the incarceration. Further, it was intentionally planned and made every sense for those making the decision to forcibly remove Japanese Americans from the West Coast for their land because as surely loyal and small in number, Japanese Americans were essentially powerless in the government’s intent to move them around. Thus, it is imperative to state that the incarceration was not “absurd”; it was carefully and strategically planned symbolism to appease an enraged U.S. nationalist population and government who were enraged at any Japanese person who could have bombed Pearl Harbor.

Another site of the U.S. government’s construction “loyalty” is within the incarceration camp environment. In 1943, the WRA attempted to separate the “disloyal” from the majority “loyal” Japanese Americans, specifically the second-generation group, and to also reintegrate and “assimilate” Japanese Americans back into to the “mainstream” of American life as economically inefficient as possible.⁹⁰ The plan was to pull the “loyal” group out of camp through “voluntary-leave clearance” by which those determined as “loyal” could move outside

⁸⁸ Weglyn, 42

⁸⁹ This large age gap was the result of both early issei male immigration to America who waited for years to save up from inadequate wages and then sending back for a wife in Japan, and anti-miscegenation laws. Thus, there were many factors that prevent early issei men from settling and setting roots in this country.

⁹⁰ Scholar Lisa Yoneyama states that Japanese Americans in incarceration camps were used as population to test out and also to demonstrate an "Americanization" project.

the West Coast via personal sponsorship, offers of employment, or education. By the end of 1942, only 866 people had taken this opportunity, and these were mostly nisei college students and young adults who wanted to work to provide for their families.⁹¹ There was immense economic strain on keeping people alive in these camps, and the government wanted to gradually allow people to “relocate,” again. The government perhaps did not anticipate people wanting to stay together like they did. Perhaps out of fear, lack of options, and/or possibility of being displaced again, Japanese Americans did not readily leave the camps as the WRA wanted. The form of loyalty that seems to be the most pervasive was familial bonds. While some people took the opportunity to leave the camps for educational and work opportunities, most stayed in the camp environment with their immediate family members.

In the fall and winter of 1942, the WRA proposed segregating the camps by class and social group: kibeis, aliens, old bachelors, parolees, repatriates, etc. This constant categorization seems to be done so that the “disloyals” could be weeded out. The act of defining the “disloyal” and having them bear all of the weight of being “dissident” would free the “loyals.” Naturally, Japanese Americans could not fall easily and seamlessly into these categories, so the WRA decided that a loyalty questionnaire would provide a rational basis to identify individuals’ “loyalty.” Registration for this form was obligatory, but the WRA did not anticipate the confusion that followed.⁹²

In the winter of 1943, the War Relocation Authority launched their Loyalty Questionnaire in an attempt to locate the “disloyal.” Of eighty some questions that both indirectly and directly asked about loyalty to the United States, two particular questions produced immense anxiety and confusion within the incarceration camp environment. Question

⁹¹ Ngai, 182

⁹² Ngai, 182-183

27 asked of all men of military age, “Are you willing to serve in the armed forces of the United States on combat duty, wherever ordered?” and question 28 asked of all incarcerated adults, “Will you swear unqualified allegiance to the United States of America and faithfully defend the United States from any and all attack by foreign or domestic forces, and forswear any form of allegiance or obedience to the Japanese emperor, or any foreign government, power or organization?”⁹³ In short, question 27 asks if respondees would pick up a gun for their country. This language suggests that Japanese Americans could “prove their loyalty” to the U.S. only if they were willing to join the armed ranks and enlist in various combat groups. This question also gestures to the disposability of bodies during the incarceration period. It was not enough that 120,000 some people were locked up in dry deserts unable to flee. They were also expected to serve the American military as if they had no feelings of injustice, shame, or humiliation about being incarcerated.

In regard to question 28, there was much ambiguity and thus dilemma about the wording and implications of the question. To first-generation Japanese Americans who were barred by exclusionary laws from obtaining American citizenship, forswearing allegiance to Japan would put them in a limbo between two countries: a stateless people. Moreover, answering “no” to question 28 would have suggested that they were loyal to Japan to begin with, whether they were or not. Yet, answering “yes” to the same question would declare disloyalty to the country of their birth, the only country in which they had citizenship.⁹⁴

In a personal questionnaire Wayne Collins distributed to renunciants postwar in 1957, Collins asked questions regarding the application for repatriation to Japan. On his personal questionnaire, my grandfather answers that during the incarceration period he was taken to Santa

⁹³ Ngai, 182-183

⁹⁴ Ngai, 183

Anita Assembly Center, then to the Jerome, Arkansas WRA Center, where he lived in Block 18 with his father. At Jerome incarceration camp, my grandfather answered a version of the Loyalty Questionnaire in July 1943, and faced the dilemma of questions 27 and 28. My grandfather answered negatively to both questions 27 and 28, and states that he was pressured by his father to answer in this way. My grandfather states that his father had urged him to answer “no-no” because his mother and sister were living in Japan and because of “fear that they might get in trouble with Japanese government.” He states that a friend in camp named Mr. Sawada, who was also nisei and lived in Block 40 at Jerome, pressured the negative answers as well, because of “being force[d] to live in camp for not having the freedom like other citizen race.” In this personal questionnaire, there is a question that asks if my grandfather answered “no” because he “resented being evacuated, confined to a WRA Center and treated like an alien,” to which he answers yes.⁹⁵

Question 103 reads, “Did the hearing officer tell you that you did not have to renounce your citizenship in order to go to Japan?”

My grandfather answered “no.”

“Did you fear to tell the hearing officer the real reasons why you were renouncing your citizenship?”

“Yes.”

“What did you think would happen if you had told him the real reasons?”

“I did not know what would happen.”

Question 104 reads, “Did you fear that if you did and your renunciation was not accepted that you would get in trouble with your parents?”

⁹⁵ Tadamichi Tsuboi, “Personal Questionnaire,” June 22nd, 1957, Wayne M. Collins Papers Collection, BANC FILM 2162, reel 18, box 14, folder 13 for WW2 renunciants Tadamichi Tsuboi, Bancroft Library Archives, University of California, Berkeley, 4-5

“Yes.”

“... who were in Tule Lake?”

“Yes.”

“Were you then in fear of being forcibly relocated in a dangerous area?”

“Yes.”⁹⁶

How did fear affect my grandfather’s answering of the questionnaire? In these responses, it is clear that he was afraid of the people administering the forms and he was afraid of the authority figures shuffling him around. His parents were split up so he was hyper-aware of further separation. He was afraid that the possibility of his being loyal to the United States, despite it being the place of his birth, would affect and produce negative consequences for his mother and his sister in Japan.

My grandfather’s answers to the Loyalty Questionnaire cemented his already suspect position of being disloyal by being kibe. By answering “yes” to either question, he would have had to stay in the United States alone without any family connections. He would have had to face initial postwar racial discrimination towards Japanese in America, and he would have had to prove his “Americanness” just to live and survive. He would have continued to be treated like an alien in the country in which he was born. In answering “no” to both questions, my grandfather intended to be back in Japan with both of his parents and his sister. He thought that they would get in trouble with the Japanese government and to his Japanese family knowing that he was still in the United States, and potentially “disloyal” to their country of birth. These constructions of loyalty were outside of my grandfather’s control: he was damned if he answered “yes-yes,” the

⁹⁶ Tadamichi Tsuboi, “Personal Questionnaire,” 27

“right” and “patriotic” thing to do in America, but he was also damned if he answered “no-no,” securing U.S. “distrust” and the “rejection” of him despite his U.S.-born citizenship status.

In all, 87 percent of eligible respondents answered “yes” to both loyalty questions. Eventually, the WRA reworded question 28 to “Will you swear to abide by the laws of the United States and take no action which would in any way interfere with the war effort of the United States?” This resulted in more “yes” answers from the issei. Those who answered “yes” represented an array of motivations and beliefs, so it should not be assumed that everyone who answered this way did so for the same reasons. Many welcomed the opportunity to state their loyalty to the U.S., while others believed that the path of least resistance was answering “yes” to shield them from any further stigmatization. During 1943 and 1944, about 15 percent of the total population of the incarceration camps left to resettle in the Midwest and East Coast.⁹⁷

Thirteen percent either refused to register for the questionnaire or answered “no” to one or both of questions 27 and 28. Refusal to answer or “no” responses were highest at Tule Lake at 42 percent, and at Manzanar and Jerome, each at 26 percent. In the fall of 1943, the WRA transferred all “disloyals” to Tule Lake, and sent the remaining “loyals” to other camps. The transfer of individuals was not ideal because family members accompanied those deemed disloyal to Tule Lake, and some 1,100 “loyal” Tule Lake incarceratedees refused to “relocate” again. “Segregues” and prospective repatriates totaled about twelve thousand people. Another four thousand people at Tule Lake were family members of “segregees.”⁹⁸ Though the majority eventually answered the key loyalty questions affirmatively, a significant number either refused to answer, gave unqualified answers, or answered negatively. This number totaled 12,000 out of 78,000 people over the age of seventeen to whom the questionnaire was distributed. People who

⁹⁷ Ngai, 184

⁹⁸ Ngai, 184-185

chose any of these ways of responding were considered “disloyal” and were ultimately segregated to Tule Lake.⁹⁹ Throughout the scholarship I have read so far about renunciants, the adult male portion of these “segregrees” became synonymous with “no-no boys,” a stigmatized term to criticize their failed “loyalty” in the years after war. Further research is necessary to acknowledge that not all of them technically answered “no” to questions 27 and 28 and also that women renounced their citizenship as well.¹⁰⁰

In the context of this assimilation project, the War Department attempted to gradually pull out the young and able-bodied male “loyals” from the incarceration camp environment to serve the Armed Forces. It had hoped for about five thousand volunteers for the nisei combat team, but fewer than 1,200 signed up, indicating that a significant number employed a refusal to enlist as a symbol of resistance to the government’s standards for loyalty. However, what did occur was about three thousand people applying for repatriation or expatriation during the Armed Forces registration period. The low rate of gradual removal from the camps, and subsequent resettlement, was a disappointment to the WRA. Following the questionnaire registration, the WRA employed Tule Lake as the “segregation center” for disloyal Japanese Americans because they were believed to be the source of the “non-cooperation” and were responsible for the disturbances in the camps.¹⁰¹ Tule Lake became known as the site for the “disloyals” and a stigmatized place. Tule Lake was where many decided, for a variety of reasons, to succumb to the convoluted and paradoxical meanings of loyalty that were forced on them. It

⁹⁹ Nijiya, “No-no boys”

¹⁰⁰ Last month, I attended the national Association for Asian American Studies conference, where I had the opportunity to speak about this project with Karen Korematsu, Fred Korematsu’s daughter. She advised me to think about the women who also renounced their U.S. citizenship, a topic that leads me to further research.

¹⁰¹ Barbara Takei, “Tule Lake,” *Densho Encyclopedia* https://encyclopedia.densho.org/Tule_Lake/ (Accessed April 16th, 2018)

was where many decided the pressures were too much, and maybe it was time to not buy into the American system that placed them into these camps in the first place.

Following the Loyalty Questionnaire, my grandfather was one of those people who applied for repatriation to Japan. This alone was confusing to me upon first viewing the word because “repatriate” implies going back to one’s home country. For those who had no citizenship or belonging in the U.S., this would mean returning to the sending country of Japan. My grandfather’s home country was the United States. How was he even allowed to even apply for such an act? He should have been exempt because he was already “home.” These movements underscore a case of deep contradiction and betrayal to Japanese Americans by their own country. For them, the fact that they were citizens already “at home” did not hold any meaning to the state. Their U.S. citizenship was indeed something thin as paper and rendered meaningless in that moment, and their citizenship rights were not guaranteed because of the government’s racist act to define all Japanese in America as “enemy.” What was “home” was denied to them, as they had always been and could always be designated as “foreign.” For Japanese Americans, and for all Asian Americans, U.S. citizenship does not mean what it can mean for other United States citizens; our legal citizenship can be rendered entirely meaningless without any hesitation because, as exemplified by the precedent set in place by this Renunciation Act, our government can declare all Asian Americans “disloyal” based on race and can manipulate Asian Americans to “repatriate” to our Asian “home countries.”

On the 1957 personal questionnaire sent by Collins, my grandfather states that his father pressured him to repatriate to Japan. The reasoning was that his father had always pressured him as the only living son in the family. My great-grandfather wanted my grandfather to be alongside

him to assist with his family members in Japan and also take care of him when he got older.¹⁰²

Within these answers on this personal questionnaire, which was answered more than a decade postwar, my grandfather attributed a lot of control about what he was supposed to do to his father. A huge part of answering the Loyalty Questionnaire was about family: because my grandfather was already split up from his mother and sister, who were in Japan at the time, there were great fears about the impossibility of reunion. Thus, my grandfather's double negative "no-no" answer and his subsequent application for repatriation were not directly about serving the United States or being "loyal." Rather, he was thinking about his family situation and if he would ever see his mother and sister again.

Again, this history reveals a tension about how the individual, specifically a kibe man in his early twenties, defines loyalty. Is it loyalty to a nation? Or is it loyalty to family? The Loyalty Questionnaire was a symbol and a lived reality of this tension, and represents how the U.S. government did not allow for a "both" option. The Questionnaire did not see that the laws should have guaranteed Japanese American existence and permanence in this country because it is their country. It underscores that Japanese American experiences were not allowed to be the same as other immigrant groups, who did not have to "prove their loyalty" to the nation-state without relinquishing loyalty to family. Japanese Americans were summarily designated as "foreign" regardless of their naturalization status. My grandfather read these questions as relating to family first, even if that meant giving up what he and his father had worked for in California. However, in the context of the Japanese American household, in which issei parents did not have the legal status of U.S. citizenship, the value of loyalty to family was not considered a legitimate form. Only for White, heteronormative families could familial loyalty align with national loyalty because their citizenship statuses are protected and allegiance to this country are uncontested.

¹⁰² Tsuboi, "Personal Questionnaire," 3-4

I cannot help but think of Asian American scholar Lisa Park's essay, "Letter to My Sister," a letter written shortly after Park's sister's suicide and a letter that breaks silences about the high rates of depression and suicide among Asian American women. This piece, and like pieces, are often forgotten when thinking about Asian America, but something to bring forward is that Lisa Park's sister dealt with mental health and suicide and race and gender.. She was not crazy, even for committing suicide. As Asian American scholar Mimi Khúc writes, "the madness that drove her [Park's sister] to suicide is a madness born of violence, madness as a condition of *life under siege* as a second-generation Asian American woman, madness that is evidence not of her personal failure but of the failure of the world around her to keep her safe. A world that shaped her immigrant parents into both 'accomplices and victims,' investing in the *civilizing terror* that is Americanization, model minoritization, driving themselves and their daughter(s) to shattering heartbreak. All in the name of the American Dream."¹⁰³ My grandfather was told to "prove his loyalty" within a context of not knowing where his home was and or where he was allowed to feel belonging. This was the "madness" that was imposed on him, and I assume these thoughts swirled in his head: "Why do you belong here?" "Are you really American?" His life in America, specifically up to the time of his citizenship renunciation, was constantly under siege. The Loyalty Questionnaire was not the sole act that confirmed his threatened position as a United States citizen who had received education in enemy Japan. Instead, the Questionnaire was the paradigmatic moment of his life that made explicit how his Japanese American identity and status that had always been under siege.

How does one make sense of this? Perhaps answering "no-no" was a rejection to the controlling images he already realized when coming back to America in 1940. Perhaps his

¹⁰³ Mimi Khúc, "Living Under Siege," *Black Girl Dangerous Blog*, September 23rd, 2013, <https://www.bgdblog.org/2013/09/living-under-siege/> (Accessed March 6th, 2018)

refusal to even abide by this loyalty-disloyalty framework was an act of resistance. Perhaps going back to family was a means of comfort and security, a way to regain a mentality that he was not the “enemy” to Japan. During the incarceration period, the government was looking for a particular definition of “loyalty”: it was a loyalty that asked the individual to put aside all personal and emotional commitments and stand with the nation, even if that nation betrays the individual and would never allow full belonging for the individual. For those who decided to join the military and serve the U.S. Armed Forces, they, by a narrow degree of margin, escaped the scrutiny of failing “American loyalty.” However, the 442nd unit and 100th Battalion suffered inordinately high rates of casualties compared to other units within the Armed Forces because they were used as cannon fodder.¹⁰⁴ Thus, for Japanese Americans, it did not matter that those in the Armed Forces tried to do whatever necessary to show complete American patriotism; they became pawns of war. For Japanese Americans, the only way to prove loyalty to the U.S. in that moment was to demonstrate their own disposability.

My grandfather could have, in fact, gone into one of the all-Japanese military units, but even in performing this “patriotic” act to the U.S. that he would still have come back to the United States to “you damn Jap,” rhetoric that Japanese American G.I.s came back to after the war.¹⁰⁵ Perhaps my grandfather realized the double-edged sword that all racialized Japanese Americans face: that they are the “enemy,” even if they yield to the pressures to prove their patriotism. Thus, I choose to understand that my grandfather interpreted loyalty as a question of family—when times got hard and the future was uncertain, he chose to listen to his father, even if he did not know if this was right, and chose his family.

¹⁰⁴ Franklin Odo, “442nd Regimental Combat Team,” *Densho Encyclopedia* <https://encyclopedia.densho.org/442nd%20Regimental%20Combat%20Team/> (Accessed April 16th, 2018).

¹⁰⁵ My father stated that my grandfather did, in fact, try to enlist in the Armed Forces, but he was not allowed to due to his kibe status.

Through the Renunciation Act of 1944, the United States government for the first time in its history allowed people physically present in the U.S. to renounce their citizenship when the country was in a state of war by making an application to the Attorney General. The point of this act was to encourage Japanese American incarceratedees to renounce their American citizenship so that they could legally be deported to Japan from their home country. This Act is also called the Denaturalization Act of 1944, another attempt to code and make benign the intentions of this Act.¹⁰⁶ Ultimately, my grandfather lost his battle with the United States government and all of the standards he was expected to meet to be an “American.” He applied for repatriation, he renounced his United States citizenship, and he was deported to Japan.

¹⁰⁶ Cherstin Lyon, "Denaturalization Act of 1944/Public Law 78-405," *Densho Encyclopedia* <https://encyclopedia.densho.org/Denaturalization%20Act%20of%201944/Public%20Law%2078-405/> (Accessed March 11th, 2018)

III

Loyalty to Family Above All

My grandfather's next migration back to the United States was in 1958, twelve years after the war ended. On October 4th, 1958, Tadamichi Joe Tsuboi, his wife Aiko Tsuboi, and their son, Hidenori "Johnny" Tsuboi set aboard the S.S. Argentina Maru No. 80893, sailing from Yokohama, Japan to Los Angeles, California.¹⁰⁷ My uncle was just three years old at the time, and this departure was my grandparents' first venture as a nuclear family to the United States. As I critiqued various ideological positions of family and home previously, this final settlement in the states signals an ironic, drawn-out process of American assimilation. This 1958 movement is the one that I was most familiar with entering this project, as it is the moment that my grandmother and father spoke about most readily as my grandmother's first venture into the United States. Similar to how the arrival-centric ship records present migration as the first time a person steps foot in the continental United States, this 1958 journey was once my first conception of my father's family "arrival," because, given the traumas of my grandfather's war and renunciation experience, it was easier to claim 1958 as the family's arrival in the States and to leave behind the past horrors.

But, what happened exactly after Tule Lake?

What occurred within those twelve years between 1946 and 1958?

Why did my grandfather go back to the United States when this nation's government stripped him of his American-born citizenship status?

¹⁰⁷ "Passenger and Crew Lists of Vessels and Airplanes Arriving at San Pedro, California, October 16th, 1958," The National Archives at Washington, D.C., NAI Number: 2945735; Record Group Title: *Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1787-2009*; Record Group Number: 85

Despite the injustices of the incarceration era and its aftermath, my grandfather and his family decided to come back to California with the hope to settle again. In this chapter, I evaluate the postwar era and I analyze ship manifest records, Californian censuses, and the Wayne M. Collins Papers Collection, which consists of the correspondence between former San Francisco-based American Civil Liberties Union attorney Wayne Collins and Japanese American incarcerated who renounced their American citizenship at Tule Lake. This chapter aims to understand the process it took for my grandfather to regain his American citizenship, as well as the ramifications of once again attempting to attain the government's exclusive vision of "Americanism," and to restore the intermediary history between the end of war and 1958 in hopes to bring forth the arduous process renunciants like my grandfather had to go through to regain their citizenship that had been stripped from them.

Record of my grandfather's movements and whereabouts, as well as his overall mentality concerning his incarceration, are traced through his correspondence with Wayne Collins, the principal legal representative for the Tule Lake Defense Committee from 1945 to 1960.¹⁰⁸ A month before the war ended, Collins affiliated with the ACLU of San Francisco, visited Tule Lake, and met with the parents of some renunciants who desired to reinstate their citizenship. As previous scholars state, Collins was personally outraged that Japanese Americans had been manipulated to renounce their citizenship. He took on "no-no boy" cases in what would become a thirteen-year-long legal battle to restore the United States citizenship to some five-thousand Japanese Americans.

Many renunciants heard about Collins' work and reached out to the attorney on their own accord. Two years after my grandfather renounced his citizenship and was deported to Hiroshima,

¹⁰⁸ "Finding Aid to the Wayne M. Collins Papers 1918-1974"

Japan, he contacted Collins. Mention of my grandpa's citizenship status lies in a letter that he wrote to Collins on May 27th, 1948. Joe Tsuboi writes:

Sir,

I was informed recently that the renunciation case which was pending for 2 years at the San Francisco District Court made it[sic] decision in favour of the renunciants. I did not know about this case... therefore I have not previously applied as party plaintiff of the said case. I am very anxious to have my U.S. citizenship reinstated and return to the United States so please include me as a party plaintiff [...] My renunciation was approved by the Attorney General.

I greatly appreciate what you are doing for us and please advise us of further advise[sic] and action necessary.

Yours sincerely,
Tadamichi Tsuboi¹⁰⁹

In this letter, my grandfather initiated correspondence with Collins, which suggests that he had been paying close attention to the state of Japanese American renunciants in the United States. The letter also confirms my grandpa's date of birth, place of birth, place of renunciation, Tule Lake Center, and his then-current address in Gion, Hiroshima, Japan.¹¹⁰ Naturally, following the government's stripping of his American citizenship, my grandpa was "very anxious" about potentially going back to the United States. His ability to understand and speak English enabled his correspondence with Collins, and in retrospect, I commend his instinct to reach out and be proactive about this difficult situation. His decision to reach out to Collins was

¹⁰⁹ Tsuboi, "Letter to Wayne Collins, May 27th, 1948"

¹¹⁰ Tsuboi, "Letter to Wayne Collins, May 27th, 1948"

of his own volition, I believe, fed by an ever-increasing panic about the loss of his status as U.S. citizen; there was no system or rules in place that guided him towards these measures.

The following piece of correspondence occurs years later. On July 30th, 1955, my grandfather once again contacts Collins:

Dear Sir,

On the following question concerning renunciation[sic] of citizenship, I am not sure if I had request for the form which to renounce my citizenship. I wish at this time that if it is possible for you to check and find out if I had renounce my citizen.

I do not recall when I had send for the form to Justice Department or not. And also in the renunciation[sic] hearing I do not recall having hearing in front of a hearing officer.

Up to now which I always thought I was a renounsee which I might be yet. So you could please let my know my status so I could answer the rest of the questions.

Yours truly,
Tadamichi Tsuboi¹¹¹

What exactly happened in those eight years? Due to the fact that are no other intermediary documents, I am not sure if Collins responded to my grandfather. It may be the case that Collins sent a letter to my grandfather, but it would not be included in this collection because it was most likely in Japan sometime in 1948. Whatever the case, my grandfather's emotions remained anxious and uncertain: my grandfather literally states that he does not know his own citizenship status. He questions what occurred during those eight years, having no contact with

¹¹¹ Tadamichi Tsuboi, "Letter to Wayne Collins, July 30th, 1955," Wayne M. Collins Papers Collection, BANC FILM 2162, reel 18, box 14, folder 13 for WW2 renunciant Tadamichi Tsuboi, Bancroft Library Archives, University of California, Berkeley

the case he mentioned in the 1948 letter and the results of those hearings. Compared to my grandfather's first letter to Collins, the second one consists of a greater amount of confusion, among grammatical mistakes, on my grandfather's part. Unlike the 1948 letter, in which he more directly asks Collins to please include him in correspondence about the renunciant cases, this 1948 letter displays moments in which my grandfather seems to forget about what happened during the war, specifically the details of appropriately asking to renounce his American citizenship in front of a Justice Department hearing officer.

My grandfather had been in Japan for almost ten years at this point, and it should be noted that his first language was English. Within the seven year period between these two letters, there are obvious spelling and grammatical mistakes that suggest a decrease in facility with written English due to his being in Japan during this time. I question what the impacts of incarceration were on his English education. On top of these visible errors, it is also clear that my grandfather had forgotten or was not clear about certain events during the renunciation process, another clear sign of his duress and time out of the United States. Moreover, these moments in which my grandfather clearly had trouble with his English capabilities and recalling prior incarceration moments were not a failure on his part. Rather, they highlight how the United States justice system punished my grandfather and other renunciants for not "being American enough," but then failed to support the maintenance of their American values in Japan. Therefore, these two letters symbolize great persistence of renunciants, who were shunned by the U.S. government and were trying their best from abroad to figure out the legal processes to restore their citizenship.

Two months later on August 5th, 1955, Wayne Collins responded to my grandfather:

Dear Mr. Tsuboi:

In reply to your letter of July 30, 1955, which accompanied your questionnaire form, please be informed of the following particulars relative to your renunciation of U.S. citizenship.

The Justice Department asserts that it has documentary evidence showing that you are a Kibei who received your education and formal schooling Japan and that after you renounced U.S. citizenship at Tule Lake you voluntarily returned to Japan. It contends that these things tend to prove that your renunciation was voluntary and that you also indicate that you may have been loyal to Japan and not the United States [...]

Very truly yours,
Wayne M. Collins¹¹²

In addition to confirming that my grandfather did indeed renounce his citizenship and therefore was not a U.S. citizen, Collins also affirms that the Attorney General, referenced in the May 1948 letter, did approve the renunciation. What is significantly concerning is that Collins reiterates the Justice Department's attitude that my grandpa renounced "voluntarily" and that he was loyal to Japan, and thus not loyal to the United States. While I believe that Collins just adopted the severe language of the Justice Department, an immediate reaction is anger and frustration – in me, but also, I believe, to a renunciant in that moment. The Justice Department maintained that the government's stripping of my grandfather's renunciation and subsequent deportation to Japan was "voluntary." Further, the Department insists on the idealistic vision that Japanese Americans, particularly those who had bicultural upbringings like kibei, needed to either choose Japan or the U.S. Additionally, Collins mentions a questionnaire that he received from my grandfather with his prior letter suggesting there is correspondence that is not included

¹¹² Wayne Collins, "Letter to Tadamichi Tsuboi, August 5th, 1955," Wayne M. Collins Papers Collection, BANC FILM 2162, reel 18, box 14, folder 13 for WW2 renunciant Tadamichi Tsuboi, Bancroft Library Archives, University of California, Berkeley

in the archive. I acknowledge this moment as one that indicates that despite the organized, chronological nature of these letters, there may be items that were lost along the way or were not a part of this particular Collins' collection.

The next year, my grandfather sent Collins an application to re-naturalize as a U.S. citizen. On July 18th, 1956, my grandfather agrees to the following conditions:

To preserve my rights I hereby apply for re-naturalization as a U.S. citizen under the provisions of Public Law 515 which was approved by Congress July 20, 1954.

I hereby offer to take the oath of allegiance to the United States as prescribed by Public Law 515.

I demand that the said oath of allegiance to the United States be administered to me before July 20, 1956, when said Public Law expires, and that I be re-administered as a U.S. citizen before said July 20, 1956.

Name: Tadamichi Tsuboi

Address: 127, Higashi Tatsukawa-cho

Kure-shi, Hiroshima¹¹³

In this re-naturalization statement, the language to regain citizenship, something my grandfather was born with, is also concerning. While Collins is indeed assisting fellow “no-no boys” and renunciants in their fight to regain their citizenship, he still presented my grandfather and those alike with a legal process that contained similar framework as the Loyalty Questionnaire. This application contains rhetoric that describes “no-no boys” as inherently disloyal, and that they needed to regain the nation’s trust to be a U.S. citizen again. At this

¹¹³ Tadamichi Tsuboi, “Re-naturalization Statement, July 18th, 1956,” Wayne M. Collins Papers Collection, BANC FILM 2162, reel 18, box 14, folder 13 for WW2 renunciant Tadamichi Tsuboi, Bancroft Library Archives, University of California, Berkeley

moment, it is clear that it was not a given that my grandfather could receive his U.S. passport, the symbol for his U.S. citizenship, by simply asking for it. Instead, he had to once again prove his “Americanism.” Thus, this particular re-naturalization petition demonstrates the underlying sentiment of the U.S. government that renunciants had to “earn” back their U.S. citizenship status, something with which they were born.

The next year in 1957, Collins sent my grandfather an affidavit for the purposes of using his testimony to gain back his citizenship. On August 21st, 1957, Collins stated that the affidavit forms that my grandpa returned to Collins were examined and compared with the records in Collins’ office. The forms appeared to Collins to be in “good order,” and Collins then delivered them to the U.S. Attorney’s office for processing through the Justice Department. In February 1957, Collins communicated he was assured by Assistant U.S. Attorney General George C. Doub that the Justice Department would view renunciant cases with “more liberality in granting administrative clearance...”¹¹⁴ Collins then stated that there were a large number of affidavits of other “no-no boy” renunciants that were being processed, which would take several months before a final decision was made by the Justice Department. Collins suggested to my grandpa that he should “wait patiently” for the decision. Here, I read into the procedural conditions from Collins to the U.S. Justice Department, which was ultimately responsible for my grandfather’s citizenship affirmation. Doub’s statement that these cases may be viewed with “more liberality” insists that there is still uncertainty about the outcome. Additionally, Collins attempts to alleviate any anxieties my grandpa may have been feeling by telling him to “wait patiently,” language that fails to recognize the constant stress and concern of my grandfather’s 20s and 30s.

¹¹⁴ Wayne Collins, “Letter to Tadamichi Tsuboi, August 21st, 1957,” Wayne M. Collins Papers Collection, BANC FILM 2162, reel 18, box 14, folder 13 for WW2 renunciant Tadamichi Tsuboi, Bancroft Library Archives, University of California, Berkeley

In October 1957, my grandfather's name was the subject from a letter from Assistant Attorney of the General Civil Division, George Doub, to Lloyd Burke, Esquire. The main point of this letter was to point out that there was evidence that "the subject," my grandpa, voted in a political election in Japan, which could put him at risk of not being able to naturalize.¹¹⁵ More details about this mentioned elections were found in a January 1958 letter, which my father received from Collins:

Dear Mr. Tsuboi:

The Justice Department has concluded that your renunciation of U.S. citizenship was caused by fear and coercion and is willing to be canceled.

Until you hear from me by special letter I suggest that you should not apply yet to the U.S. Consul for U.S. passport because, at least temporarily, the Consul will deny you a passport because you voted in a Japanese election unless you can prove to his satisfaction that your voting was caused by duress.

The U.S. Supreme Court within the next two months probably will make a final decision on the question whether voting in a foreign election constitutes an act of expatriation causing a U.S. citizen to lose his U.S. citizenship. If the Supreme Court decides that voting in a foreign election does not cause a person to lose U.S. citizenship you will not have to explain the circumstances under which you voted.

Therefore, until the Supreme Court of the United States decides this question and you receive a special letter from me you should not apply to the U.S. consul for a U.S. passport because until and unless the Supreme Court holds that voting in a foreign election does not deprive a U.S. citizen of a U.S. citizenship the U.S. Consul may make a ruling against you unless you can prove to him your voting was caused by duress.

¹¹⁵ George C. Doub, "Copy of Department of Justice Civil Division, to Lloyd Burke, Esquire, October 9th, 1957," Wayne M. Collins Papers Collection, BANC FILM 2162, reel 18, box 14, folder 13 for WW2 renunciant Tadamichi Tsuboi, Bancroft Library Archives, University of California, Berkeley

Very truly yours,
WMC¹¹⁶

Finally, the fate of my grandfather's re-naturalization battle was confirmed in this letter from Collins. This Supreme Court decision legally revoked the Renunciation Act of 1944, which, as I stated previously, allowed people physically present in the U.S. to renounce their citizenship when the country was in a state of war by making an application to the Attorney General.¹¹⁷ In addition to this news that my grandfather could naturalize and become American again, Collins presented concerning news regarding my grandfather voting in a political election in Japan, a factor that could have disrupted the naturalization process. On May 2nd, 1958, Collins writes to my grandfather:

Dear Mr. Tsuboi:

On March 31, 1958, the U.S. Supreme Court held in the case of Peres v. Brownell that an American citizen who votes in a "political election" in a foreign country loses his U.S. citizenship if he voted voluntarily even though he did not know he would lose his citizenship by so voting. However, if the voting was caused by duress, coercion or undue influence it was involuntarily and would not cause him to lose U.S. citizenship [...]¹¹⁸

¹¹⁶ Wayne Collins, "Letter to Tadamichi Tsuboi, January 10th, 1958," Wayne M. Collins Papers Collection, BANC FILM 2162, reel 18, box 14, folder 13 for WW2 renunciant Tadamichi Tsuboi, Bancroft Library Archives, University of California, Berkeley

¹¹⁷ Cherstin Lyon, "Denaturalization Act of 1944/Public Law 78-405," *Densho Encyclopedia* <https://encyclopedia.densho.org/Denaturalization%20Act%20of%201944/Public%20Law%2078-405/> (Accessed March 11th, 2018)

¹¹⁸ Wayne Collins, "Letter to Tadamichi Tsuboi, May 2nd, 1958," Wayne M. Collins Papers Collection, BANC FILM 2162, reel 18, box 14, folder 13 for WW2 renunciant Tadamichi Tsuboi, Bancroft Library Archives, University of California, Berkeley

Collins informs my grandfather about the consequences of voting in an election in Japan, leaving his case in uncertainty, despite the U.S. Supreme Renunciation Act repeal. In effect, my grandfather still was not guaranteed a positive answer about regaining his citizenship.

Then, my grandfather received this letter from the American Consulate General in Kobe, Japan:

Sir,

The passport application which you made here on March 17, 1958 has now been approved. It will be valid for one year after the date of the execution. A passport will be issued to you when you have paid the required passport fee of \$9 (or its Yen 3,258.00) and completed arrangements for your transportation to the United States...

Very truly yours,
Maida F. Scotts
American Vice Consul¹¹⁹

This letter from the Consulate General confirms that my grandfather's application process for a passport was approved.

In a May 9th, 1958 letter to Collins, my grandfather wrote:

Dear Sir;

Reference to your letter dated 2 May 1958, says that I have to make a statement whether the voting was involuntary or not. Does this letter concern whether I'm cleared from Consulate or not?

I have already applied for my passport and it will be hand over to me 2 or 3 days prior to my departure to U.S.

Very truly yours,

¹¹⁹ Maida F. Scotts, "Letter to Tadamichi Tsuboi, April 8th, 1958," Wayne M. Collins Papers Collection, BANC FILM 2162, reel 18, box 14, folder 13 for WW2 renunciant Tadamichi Tsuboi, Bancroft Library Archives, University of California, Berkeley

Tadamichi Tsuboi¹²⁰

In response, Wayne Collins informed my grandfather on May 12th:

Dear Mr. Tsuboi:

Because the U.S. Consul has informed you that your passport will be delivered over to you it is my opinion that he is convinced that your voting in Japan was involuntary and does not hold that voting against you...

Very truly yours,
WMC¹²¹

The last letter that Collins sent to my grandfather was sent on July 25th, 1958, and asked my grandfather to notify Collins by mail whether or not my grandpa had applied for a passport and what the decision was. Collins reassured my grandfather that the U.S. Consuls and the State Department were willing to issue U.S. passports to those who voted in Japanese elections from 1945 to 1952, “the reason being that until then Japan was an occupied country and persons were kept under pressure or compulsion of that Allied occupation forced to vote and feared punishment...”¹²² This letter again is Collins way of informing my grandfather that he did not have to worry. After this letter from Collins, their correspondence ceased.

On October 16th, 1958, Tadamichi Joe Tsuboi, Aiko Tsuboi, and their son, Johnny, arrived by ship in San Pedro port in Los Angeles, California, twelve days after their departure

¹²⁰ Tadamichi Tsuboi, “Letter to Wayne Collins, May 9th, 1958,” Wayne M. Collins Papers Collection, BANC FILM 2162, reel 18, box 14, folder 13 for WW2 renunciant Tadamichi Tsuboi, Bancroft Library Archives, University of California, Berkeley

¹²¹ Wayne Collins, “Letter to Tadamichi Tsuboi, May 12th, 1958,” Wayne M. Collins Papers Collection, BANC FILM 2162, reel 18, box 14, folder 13 for WW2 renunciant Tadamichi Tsuboi, Bancroft Library Archives, University of California, Berkeley

¹²² Wayne Collins, “Letter to Tadamichi Tsuboi, July 25th, 1958,” Wayne M. Collins Papers Collection, BANC FILM 2162, reel 18, box 14, folder 13 for WW2 renunciant Tadamichi Tsuboi, Bancroft Library Archives, University of California, Berkeley

from Yokohama, Japan. My grandfather and uncle are listed as United States citizens and my grandmother is listed as a Japanese citizen.¹²³ After the twelve-year process of trying to regain a passport and the citizenship status with which he was born, my grandfather finally was able to come back to Los Angeles. This time, he came with two others: my grandmother, who met my grandfather working as a typist in the Kure shipyards, and my uncle, only three years old at that time.

My biggest takeaway from these letters is how incredible my grandfather's persistence was. Despite the multiple moments of uncertainty and confusion that was buried in the legal policies and practices of this country's Justice Department, my grandfather did not give up. He was told multiple times that he was not enough—he was too Japanese during the war, and that's why he was suspicious. And, here in these letters again, he had to once again earn something that he was born with and should have guaranteed him. The one obstacle that the Justice Department said that prevented him this assurance was the one time he mistakenly voted in an election in Japan. Moreover, in its words, the Justice Department claimed that this election really was the main factor that could have prevented him from citizenship. Yet, it was more than that—what is hidden in these messages is the Justice Department's failure the many ways in which the government had denied Japanese Americans their basic rights with which they were born. I feel immense frustration just reading this process six decades later, so I can hardly fathom exactly how my grandfather was feeling at that time. However, I recognize by his actions to board a ship three months later in October 1958, on top of the twelve years he had just spent trying to figure this whole situation out, that there was immense desire to take his family to the United States again.

¹²³ "Passenger and Crew Lists of Vessels and Airplanes Arriving at San Pedro, California, October 16th, 1958"

From what my grandmother said, the main reason for my grandfather's wish to return to the U.S. – and that was not stated in my grandfather's correspondence with Collins – was that my grandfather's older sister was in California alone for over a decade. Joe Tsuboi's parents wanted him to go to the United States with his new family to look after her. After World War II, my great-aunt Nobuko Kano was working at the Atomic Bomb Casualty Commission (A.B.C.C.), established in March 1947. Within days of the bombing of Hiroshima on August 6th, 1945 and of Nagasaki on August 9th, the Japanese sent in medical and scientific teams to research the effects of the atomic bombs¹²⁴ My dad also stated that my great-aunt was in California, working in a hospital for people who were affected by radiation. The doctor she was working under was asked to come to UCLA, and my great-aunt came with him.¹²⁵ This moment was another one in which the bilingual capabilities of Japanese American children were used in a cross-cultural context to serve the United States: my great-aunt could bring her English skills, as well as her apparently bright science research, to California for atomic-bomb survivor research.

Eleven years after my great-aunt's re-arrival in California, my grandfather and his family joined her. They settled in the Sawtelle community in West Los Angeles, where in the early twentieth century, issei settled in the Sawtelle Avenue area of West Los Angeles because of open fields south of Pico Boulevard and numerous gardening opportunities north of Santa Monica Boulevard.¹²⁶ This neighborhood originated from a nursery and supply center for the network of Japanese American gardeners who worked on properties in the growing White, affluent neighborhoods on the westside of Los Angeles, specifically Westwood, Beverly Hills,

¹²⁴ “Atomic Bomb Casualty Commission, 1945-1982,” *National Academy of Sciences*, 2018, <http://www.nasonline.org/about-nas/history/archives/collections/abcc-1945-1982.html?referrer=https://www.google.com/> (Accessed March 23rd, 2018)

¹²⁵ Aiko and Ken Tsuboi, Interview by Joseph Tsuboi, December 29th, 2017, transcript

¹²⁶ Jack Fujimoto, *Sawtelle: West Los Angeles's Japantown*, (Charlestown, South Carolina: Arcadia Publishing, 2007), 7

Brentwood, and around the University of California, Los Angeles campus.¹²⁷ Sawtelle became an integral center for working-class Japanese American gardeners, and right before war in 1941, the Sawtelle area had several nurseries and florist shops, and various service industries in which Japanese Americans could find work.¹²⁸ Furthermore, Sawtelle was part the core of horticultural industries that became a center for trade commerce for these early issei gardeners and their children. Additionally in the postwar era, Sawtelle symbolized a place of security and opportunity for people such as my grandfather to settle and bring his family in a network environment that previous farming and gardening generations established.

Along with Sawtelle's institutions and networks from which my grandfather and grandmother were able to benefit, the drive for my grandfather to reunite with his sister was the greatest motivation for my grandparents 1958 arrival back in California. Despite incarceration and my grandfather's drawn-out, exhausting undertaking of proving, again, to the Justice Department that he was an American, my grandfather pushed through. He did it for his older sister, his wife, and toddler son. I have to pause to think for a moment how if it were not for these efforts, as well as those by Collins and his legal team, I would not be writing this project; I would not even be here. My grandfather could have given up and stayed in Japan, and that is where my family tree would have stopped. I am grateful for his persistence and drive to come to this country, and to recreate time after time "home."

I must end this chapter with a thank you, the least I can do to acknowledge the efforts put into the postwar fight for justice:

¹²⁷ Fujimoto, 9

¹²⁸ "Preserving California's Japantowns," *California Japantowns*, <http://www.californiajapantowns.org/preserving.html> (Accessed March 5th, 2018)

Thank you nisei and sansei, or the children of the incarceration camps, who stood up for their parents and grandparents. Thank you Wayne Collins and the Tule Lake Defense Committee for fighting for the rights of Japanese Americans, specifically “no-no boys” who understandably gave up on the U.S. government’s justice system and were barred from ever feeling at home in the U.S.

Above all, thank you, grandpa, for resisting the urge to back down. Thank you for breaking down all of the obstacles in front of you to fight for your dignity, so much greater than a passport, an inadequate physical object that is supposed to guarantee you freedom and equal rights.

Thank you, grandpa, for continuing to look past the immigration and citizenship system that was set up to be broken, that was set up to exclude you.

You give me the passion to tell your story so that I will also know where I came from—from a family who never stopped thinking about the next generation. I hope that these words are enough to carry on your legacy.

Conclusion

Processing Cultural Trauma

Psychologist and professor of Asian American Studies Donna Nagata states that cultural trauma “occurs when members of a collectivity feel they have been subjected to a traumatic event that leaves indelible marks upon their group consciousness, marking memories forever and changing their future identity.”¹²⁹ Japanese Americans had a short two-week notice via the public postings of Executive Order 9066 to prepare for departure to incarceration camps. Allowed to take only what could be carried, they were forced abruptly to leave behind homes, businesses, and belongings. Lack of information about where they were going, how long they would be gone, or what the government planned to do with them, amplified the trauma. Responses from Nisei project interviewees’ recollections revealed predominant emotions of “shock,” “worried,” and being “scared” for this time, validating my grandfather’s emotional state during the incarceration era.¹³⁰ Thus, most nisei faced two separate dislocations, first from their homes to humiliating temporary detention centers hastily set up in horse track stalls and livestock pavilions, then once more to the more permanent camps. On top of these two forced removals, renunciants like my grandfather also faced another forced removal in their deportation to Japan, a country where they may or may not have had familiar connections.

Japanese American incarceration was a race-based personal and collective trauma that had lasting effects on individual and community levels. The incarceration had critical impacts on kibeis, like my grandfather, their spouses, and their children, who all had to cope with the silences

¹²⁹ Nagata et al., 357

¹³⁰ Nagata et al., 358

of incarceration for decades after the “end” of war. My grandfather was perhaps one of the luckier ones because he was able to speak English, despite the apparent losses in language abilities when he was in Japan postwar, and he was able to write to Collins about his citizenship status. There may have been people who did not reach out to Collins from Japan due to the shame of incarceration or an overall lack of desire to come back to a country that stripped them of their rights from their earliest migration to this country. My grandfather was able to migrate back to Los Angeles with my grandmother and uncle, and they were able to find community connections within the larger Los Angeles Japanese American community. Now, more than four decades after my grandfather’s premature death, I see how his legacy and his heartbreak still live in my family. Through my grandmother’s, my father’s, and my own interpretation of my grandfather’s life, I claim that the incarceration caused intergenerational traumas that defined the Japanese American community, even for the lives of spouses and children who did not endure confinement directly.

To reiterate, my grandfather’s educational background growing up before war in a bicultural context shaped how the United States saw him, among other kibeis, when war broke out. Executive Order 9066 and the incarceration proved that Japanese American lives had always been under siege, and American-born citizenship status did not guarantee their rights would be protected during war. Instead, the government and White America assumed that all Japanese in America were traitorous, and specifically looked at kibeis and the “no-no boys” as the most disloyal and dissident subgroups. Yet, despite these systemic classifications of Japanese Americans as un-American, and thus suspect, and the ramifications that occurred in the creation of Tule Lake Segregation Center and the stripping of thousands of Japanese American citizenship statuses, some people fought against all odds to preserve their dignity and humanity.

In the legal saga to regain citizenship, my grandfather proved that these injustices could not prevent him from trying to bring his family to the United States. My grandfather's persistence—a psychic persistence—is what needs to be most recognized in this project. While I praise Wayne Collins and his work for Japanese Americans, I also critique the ways in which Japanese American renunciants were still expected to “prove their Americanism” through the rhetoric of the legal system of the postwar era. Therefore, my grandfather's voice and his fight to restore what was truly his is what ultimately won back his citizenship.

My grandfather fought his way back to the United States for the primary reason of reuniting with his older sister, who was working at UCLA for a decade and living without other extended family members at that time. In 1958, once my grandfather was told that his citizenship was restored, he went to meet her in Los Angeles. What is told in my family about my great-aunt is also sad and painful. Nobuko Kano married and had one son, but she and her son both died prematurely, before I could meet them. Nobuko and her husband divorced early after their marriage and I am not completely sure what happened to him. What I do know is this tragic situation is just another loss of family in this country, and a story that was buried in the silences of sadness and perhaps shame. However, my great-aunt and my grandfather both tried their damn hardest to provide for their families and claim their place in this country. If it were not for these pushes to be here after incarceration, my dad would not be here, and I would not be here.

My father's family's story was not talked about too much growing up. When preparing for the oral history portion of this project, I was quite nervous going into the main interview with my father and grandma, as that was the first time we sat down together in a more formal setting to talk about my grandfather's life. I felt guilty in the fall semester of my senior year, when I was preparing questions and topics that I would bring up in the conversation. I thought that by

recalling some of the following dates and times, my grandma would get sad and would not want to continue speaking because I would be forcing these memories back onto her. Because I have seen the happier, goofier, and warmer sides to her growing up, I realize that my grandmother did not present the sadness and losses from my grandfather's life too easily. How could she?

In order to survive and provide for her family.

In order to find joy in the small things that she does daily.

In order to show her grandchildren the most love she could provide.

She buried these awful moments. My father buried them, too. Initially venturing into this project, I felt frustration because of the lack of conversations we had before, and the imminent pressure of trying to talk about and come to terms with my grandfather's life and subsequent intergenerational silences. I was frustrated and somewhat resentful, mostly at my dad, for not sharing these moments and leaving me in the dark growing up. Yet, as I finish this project, I know that I cannot separate these initial negative feelings from the reasons why my father and grandmother kept these stories away from me, and I saw how the three of our lives are so intertwined in this history. I understand why this narrative was not readily shared growing up. There is no happy ending or smile or laugh at the end of the story. These moments are the constant movements that my grandpa, Joe Tsuboi, and his immediate family took in their lives. They were trying their best to find stability in times of war and anti-Asian sentiment in the United States, and their stories, those that my grandma and dad share, recount how the "American Dream" cannot and does not work for all immigrant families, or for all United States "citizens". Their words, and lack of words to describe their emotions, also reveal the violence constitutive of this idealized dream. They tried to hide the sadness and pains from me so that I did not have think about it, and that somehow my life could be happier and not pained.

After sitting with them and speaking about my grandfather's life directly for the first time, I know my father and grandmother's words are true, and I take their memories as concrete evidence with which I trace my grandfather's life. That conversation, more so than an interview, was monumental: I saw my dad open up and show emotions about his dad that I ignored before. These questions of course made my grandmother sad about my grandpa's life, and at one point she said the five years prior to coming to the United States with my grandpa were the best ones in her ninety years. It hurts and tears at me because I pushed her to a point of sadness in which she called the interview off to make dinner. However, I know that it is never too late to ask about our family's lives. I am so grateful to my dad and grandma for opening up and for sharing. Here is how I make sense of their stories.

My dad says his world changed after his dad died. The routine of the family fell apart. His older brother, my uncle Johnny, had to take over my grandfather's gardening route around West Los Angeles, doing half days after school and then on Saturdays. My dad also helped with the work for a year and a half until he was fifteen, when he found work in a supermarket. My uncle continued to do the gardening route alone. I realized through speaking with my grandma and dad that many of these decisions were out of their control. They had to take on more work to make money and to survive when my grandpa died. Through the trauma and years of silence, their timeline is still clear. After years of not talking to me about my grandpa, which I now realize was most likely a decision they thought would protect me from the hurt and anger that surrounded my grandpa's life, they let their memories flow. I had to push them a little to find these answers and make sense of the dynamics of my grandpa's life.

My dad says that when his father died when my dad was thirteen, his world changed. Everyone's world changed. I cannot imagine what this loss looks or feels like.

Losing my own father at thirteen years old.

Losing all feeling of groundedness, of home.

How do I even describe this loss and pain and death?

My dad stopped going to Japanese language school when he was thirteen after attending it for six or seven years each Saturday morning. I thought maybe he stopped because he was trying to rid himself of his family's culture to assimilate around peers, yet now I think about the ways in which I try to oversimplify my father's upbringing. Moreover, I resented the fact that he stopped learning Japanese through language school, because I wish that I had been pushed by my parents to go to Japanese language school when I was a kid. I wish they pushed me more to speak my grandmother's mother-tongue. I expected to question why he would give up the chance to learn another language that he could embrace and pass on to his family. I expected my father to shut down and deny that he was trying to assimilate. These conclusions I have built up in my head have prevented these conversations from happening, and I have come to realize that talking about my grandfather is not one-sided. I, as his grandson and as my father's son, need to push to break silences, as well.

To Asian Americans, what are the stakes of naturalization? As set up by immigration policies that dedicated the ways in which immigrants could "naturalize" into good American citizens, this system reveals how to naturalize means to assimilate into White standards that erased Japanese American communities of their ethnic and cultural identities. My dad stopped attending Japanese classes at the age of thirteen. As sad as it was, he and his brother and his mother had to adapt. They had to take on odd jobs to make ends meet.

The legal framework set up by the United States justice system attempted to settle the wrongs of incarceration. Because he saw the injustice of incarceration, Wayne Collins took on

these cases and recognized that many families who lived in postwar silences or who were not even in the country did not know how to navigate the restorative process for regaining citizenship. Collins reinstated citizenship to a couple thousand renunciants, but he could not solve all of the incarceration's horrors. How does the U.S. government mitigate cultural traumas that are transmitted to the next and subsequent generations? There was a fundamental disconnect between the rhetoric of the legal cases and the actual emotional and psychological states of renunciants. The legal system did not and has not alleviated these silences and pains, and my grandfather died holding onto the internal stresses of trying to resettle in a country that continuously rejected him.

In the 1970s and 80s, Japanese Americans declared it was finally time for a public apology for what happened decades before. The Civil Liberties Act of 1988, signed by President Reagan, "officially" cleared the damage done by granting surviving incarcerated twenty-thousand dollars per person.¹³¹ This Act did not mitigate the emotional labor and cultural trauma of surviving incarcerated and their families. Instead, the government assigned a monetary value to the property losses and physical and emotional trauma of the incarceration era, and attempted to settle this case by defining incarceration as a "mistake" of the past. My grandfather did not live to see the "formal" reparations of incarceration and my family did not receive any of the reparation money. In the eyes of the state, the case of incarceration is closed because of legal knowledge, via the Collins case and the Civil Liberties Act, for example, that attempts to bury cases of injustice to "move on." In effect, I, as third and fourth generation mixed-race Japanese American have lived in the silences of incarceration and have had to retrace my family's historical traumas in order to truly grasp what anti-Japanese American injustice looks like. It is

¹³¹ Sharon Yamato, "Civil Liberties Act of 1988," *Densho Encyclopedia*, http://encyclopedia.densho.org/Civil_Liberties_Act_of_1988/ (Accessed April 9th, 2018)

easier for us later generation Japanese Americans to forget what happened to our incarcerated family members, so that we do not have to face the past traumas and so we are able to settle into our own lives without those burdens. Yet, through understanding my grandfather's life and the strains he endured, I know now more than ever that I must bring forward his story and this country's cruel standards of "Americanism" for its Peoples of Color.

Project Reflections:

As I end my final day of undergraduate classes this May, I sit with immense anxiety about what will happen. Although I know that I will be working in San Francisco Japantown this summer at a non-profit, youth program development organization that I have been a part of for the past couple years, there still feels like a lot that is unsettled here at Tufts.

What do I do with this project? How do I circulate the findings of this project?

When do the edits stop? I feel like I could be making these edits forever.

How do I make sense of this all to my family, who are central to this thesis?

How do I bring home all I have worked towards and how will I not retreat back into silence on these matters?

I defended my thesis publically last week in front of a relatively large group of friends. My parents flew in from California to watch me speak and I had sent them a copy of my thesis draft the previous per their request. It feels like a blur - the overall presentation, the last week of talking about “being done” with this project, and the deliberations with my thesis committee about their comments and critiques about the project.

I guess I needed to push away the thoughts and emotions and stresses of the moment to just do it. Until the actual morning of the defense, I really did not feel any anxieties or stresses about defending my project, sharing it publically, or letting my parents see it and react to it. It was a major moment for me to let them in after some years of me feeling frustrated and even resentful that they, particularly my father, had not been vocal about his family’s history before. That I had to be the one to initiate family history research and dig up his family’s records in the archives. I pushed aside any trace of these sentiments to let my family enjoy this moment. As

much as this project is mine—from my initial proposal last spring to the actual research and writing of it over the course of this year—it is also about them.

I am thinking about and reflecting on the process of oral history and how integral it was for this project, both in the actual words that I wrote and also in the breakthroughs that have occurred and are occurring within my family. Beyond analysis of Japanese American incarceration scholarship and the archival sources I utilized for this project, I am grateful for oral history to allow me to sit with my father multiple times under the guise of a “formal interview.” An American Studies approach, in which I learned about the necessity of interviews to reclaim the narratives I did not learn in earlier history class contexts, was integral to this process because after so many years of letting not speaking about my father’s family’s history, I was able to unlock topics that have distanced my father and me. In other words, it is now clear how the silences and traumas of grandfather’s life defined how I interacted with my father in every context.

The sadness he has buried that prevented him from uttering memories or stories about my grandfather’s.

The pains of my grandfather’s life that shaped how my dad presents his hardened masculinity.

My father’s looming pain and untapped emotions that shape how I see ideal Asian American masculinity.

In this moment, it makes complete sense that my grandfather’s story and these newfound emotions are inherently intertwined. For we later generation Asian Americans who have lived in and adapted to the silences of traumatic events, the process of talking about this project, sharing the product to my parents, and presenting on it is truly disruptive.

I have seen my father open up and support me through this journey, which I am gradually realizing is relieving. I have conceptualized through all of these years that he would deem this work as weak and unimportant compared to his investment in STEM-related fields. I do not know really how to handle and grasp these feelings of being supported because I did not know that he could show this much compassion for this project. I did not know how much my investment in our family history would unlock strong emotion. After my thesis readers shared their comments with me and my parents and friends came back into the room in which I held my defense presentation, my dad said he had a few things to say. He told my friends and my advisors how proud he was of what I did, choking up while doing so. The only other time I have seen my father cry was when my family visited my grandfather's grave close his former home in Hiroshima.

My research about my father's family does not stop with this thesis. As I enter my post-college life, I realize that I must break the father-son or parent-child mold that has kept me relying on my parents, especially my dad, to unlock these stories and memories. While, yes, I was initially frustrated and resentful at the fact that I had to be the one to dig up these histories on my own and think about the times in which my dad did not share his family's stories or language, I have to move past that. I am named after my late grandfather and, in many regards, I have held his history and legacy for all of these years. It is finally time to let this work bond and reshape my relationship with my father. It is not easy for us to let down our walls to relate to my grandfather's life and reflect on his traumas. But, above all, I know that oral history has given us words and time to speak together about my grandfather. This process has provided us compassionate for each other, a crucial component of Asian American Studies that has to be done outside of the classroom.

I must continue to keep pushing fellow sansei and yonsei to think about our family's incarceration narratives. I must also ask shin-nikkei, or those Japanese American families who came after World War II in major waves from the Immigration Act of 1965, to invest time and knowledge on these matters. I must ask fellow Asian Americans to acknowledge this history and I must also find parallel experiences of injustice in their narratives. These stories are not over nor are the cultural traumas that are gradually being recognized within the Japanese American community and in other public realms. As later generations of Asian Americans, who may now have financial stability or may live in mindsets in which we assume we do not face systemic oppressions, we must look to our family's stories and remember their stories of injustice. In doing so, we must act in the present, we must think about our present political landscape and how we will support other Asian American and marginalized ethnic groups who face similar experiences of government misconduct. Above all, and one of the most difficult tasks this work presents, we must bring our stories home.

THE PASSENGER ACT 1882
(Act 17 172 Consol. Act of 1882)
 A- A- by Order No. 6 of 1882

PACIFIC MAIL STEAMSHIP COMPANY
 HAWAII PASSENGER LIST

NAME	No. ON LIST	AGE		SEX	MARRIED OR SINGLE	or a Citizen of the United States	PORT OF EMBARKATION	No. of Pieces of Baggage	INTENDED DESTINATION IF AN ALIEN IN TRANSIT	Location of Compartment occupied by passenger, other than Cabin Passengers	Date, age and cause of Death of Passengers who died on the Vessel
		Yrs.	Mos.								
<i>Asiatic Japanese for San Francisco from Nagasaki - Feb. 7/12.</i>											
<i>List No. 9.</i>											
4647 Hido Ononida	1	43		F			manied Japan Nagasaki	2	San Fran Storage		
445 Masae Hara	2	21	5	✓	✓	✓	✓	2	Junction	✓	WYOMING
449 Shimomurasana	3	23	1	✓	✓	✓	✓	2	San Fran	✓	
THIS LINE NOT USED											
THIS LINE NOT USED											
THIS LINE NOT USED											
<i>Asiatic Japanese for San Francisco from Kobe, Feb. 9/12.</i>											
<i>List No. 10.</i>											
87953 Hidekichi Tsuboi	1	32		M			manied Japan Kobe	2	San Fran Storage		
87954 Tatsuzo Kuwabara	2	31		✓	✓	✓	✓	1	✓	✓	
87955 Ischi Ohta	3	20		F	✓	✓	✓	2	Watsonville	✓	
87956 Iona Nakamura	4	23		✓	✓	✓	✓	3	Redley Cal.	✓	
THIS LINE NOT USED											
THIS LINE NOT USED											
THIS LINE NOT USED											

Item 2: My great-grandfather's 1912 arrival in Honolulu, Hawai'i, "Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at Honolulu, Hawaii, compiled 02/13/1900 - 12/30/1953"

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
 LIST OR MANIFEST OF ALIEN PASSENGERS FOR THE UNITED STATES
 List 898
 ALL ALIENS arriving at a port of continental United States from a foreign port or a port of the insular possessions of the United States, and all aliens arriving at a port of said insular possessions from a foreign port, a port of continental United States (this white sheet is for the listing of)

Baham + Co
N.Y.K. S.S. KORRA MARU Passengers sailing from YOKOHAMA, NOV. 23RD, 1928

No. on List	HEAD-TAX STATUS (This column for use of Government officials only)	NAME IN FULL		Age	Sex	Calling or occupation	Able to—		Nationality (Country of which citizen or subject)	Race or people	Place of birth		Immigration Visa Number	Issued at—	Date	Last permanent residence		
		Family name	Given name				In.	Ma.			Had not longer in U.S. at time of entry	Yes				Country	City or town	Country
1		Endo	Tori	30	F	M	Yes	Yes	Japanese	Yes	Japan	Shimokakeh	H.P. 39977E	Washington	7-6-1928	Calif.	Wilmington	
2		Fukuda	Shujiro	70	M	Missionary						Iberagiken			10-11-1928	Japan	Tokyo	
3		Katsuneta	Matsuyo Kubota	20	F	M					U.S.A.	Okandale	H.P. 41393B	Washington	8-25-1928	Calif.	Hollywood	
4		Katsuneta	Yukiko	4	F	S	None	No		No		Los Angeles	B.C. 1213B	Los Angeles	8-19-1924			
5		Katsuneta	Takeshi	3	M	S							B.C. 1567B		10-26-1928			
6		Ozawa	Shingo	21	M	F	Farmer	Yes	Japanese	Yes	Japan	Shimokakeh	H.P. 39977E	Washington	6-10-1928		Los Angeles	
7		Ozawa	Rin	29	F	M							H.P. 39977E		6-10-1928			
8		Ozawa	Mitsuo	29	F	M	Farmer				Verified for Registry No.		H.P. 39977E		6-6-1928			
9		Ozawa	Mitsuo	29	F	M	Farmer				Verified for Registry No.		H.P. 39977E		6-6-1928			
10		Ozawa	Yoshio	8	M	S	None	No		No	U.S.A.	Los Angeles	B.C. 5714B	Los Angeles	5-24-1928			
11		Sakuma	Masane	25	F	M		Yes	Japanese	Yes	Japan	Nicken	Kawaradamura	H.P. 34528E	Washington	3-25-1928		
12		Shigemura	Shima	27	F	M		Yes	Japanese	Yes	Japan	Yamaguchiken	Yurifumura	H.P. 45586B	Washington	7-27-1928		Browley
13		Shigemura	Yoshio	8	M	S	None	No		No	U.S.A.	Browley	61615E	Washington	7-17-1928			
14		Tsuboi	Hidekichi	45	M	M	Farmer	Yes	Japanese	Yes	Japan	Hiroshimaken	Shimura	H.P. 41393B	Washington	8-25-1928		Los Angeles
15		Tsuboi	Shigeyo	37	F	M						Hiroshimaken	Yamanotomura	H.P. 41393B	Washington			
16		Tsuboi	Nobuko	10	F	S	None				U.S.A.	Los Angeles	B.C. 1568B	Baldwin Park	12-18-1917			
17		Tsuboi	Tadamichi	7	M	S	None						B.C. 8	Los Angeles	1-26-1921			

Item 3: My grandfather's family – Hidekichi, Shigeyo, Nobuko, and Tadamichi Tsuboi – arriving together in Los Angeles in 1928, "Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at San Pedro/Wilmington/Los Angeles, California"

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
 LIST OR MANIFEST OF ALIEN PASSENGERS FOR THE UNITED STATES
 List 12
 ALL ALIENS arriving at a port of continental United States from a foreign port or a port of the insular possessions of the United States, and all aliens arriving at a port of said insular possessions from a foreign port, a port of continental United States (this white sheet is for the listing of)

U.S. S.S. "TATUTA MARU" Passengers sailing from YOKOHAMA, JAPAN, MAY. 4th, 1940

No. on List	HEAD-TAX STATUS (This column for use of Government officials only)	NAME IN FULL		Age	Sex	Calling or occupation	Able to—		Nationality (Country of which citizen or subject)	Race or people	Place of birth		Immigration Visa Number	Issued at—	Date	Last permanent residence	
		Family name	Given name				In.	Ma.			Had not longer in U.S. at time of entry	Yes				Country	City or town
1	HSC	Tsuboi	Tadamichi	19	M	S	None	Yes	Japanese	Yes	U.S.A.	Dovina	US.PP 60394	Wash. D.C.	6-12-1935	Japan	Osaka
2	HSC	Yamaguchi	Yasuyasu	20	M	S	Student		U.S.A.		U.S.A.	Los Angeles	US.PP 51095	Wash. D.C.	6-5-1935		
3	HSC	Yamaguchi	Yasuyasu	41	M	M	Farm Hand		U.S.A.		Japan	Kumamoto	AP 127484	Wash. D.C.	12-19-1939		
4	HSC	Yamaguchi	Yasuyasu	25	M	M	House		U.S.A.		Japan	Kumamoto	AP 127484	Wash. D.C.	12-19-1939		
5	HSC	Yamaguchi	Yasuyasu	14	F	S	Student		U.S.A.		U.S.A.	Los Angeles	US.PP 45633	Wash. D.C.	12-8-1939		
6	HSC	Yamaguchi	Yasuyasu	13	M	S	None		U.S.A.		U.S.A.	Los Angeles	US.PP 45633	Wash. D.C.	12-8-1939		
7	HSC	Yamaguchi	Yasuyasu	9	M	S	None		U.S.A.		U.S.A.	Los Angeles	US.PP 45633	Wash. D.C.	12-8-1939		
8	HSC	Yamaguchi	Yasuyasu	6	F	S	None		U.S.A.		U.S.A.	Los Angeles	US.PP 45633	Wash. D.C.	12-8-1939		
9	HSC	Yamaguchi	Yasuyasu	4	F	S	None		U.S.A.		U.S.A.	Los Angeles	US.PP 45633	Wash. D.C.	12-8-1939		
10	HSC	Yamaguchi	Yasuyasu	23	F	S	Student	Yes	U.S.A.		U.S.A.	Los Angeles	US.PP 45633	Wash. D.C.	7-14-1937		Los Angeles
11	HSC	Yamaguchi	Yasuyasu	37	F	M	Wife		U.S.A.		Japan	Kumamoto	AP 127484	Wash. D.C.	3-22-1940		Tokyo
12	Ex(b)	Yamaguchi	Yasuyasu	5	F	S	None	No	U.S.A.		Japan	Yokohama	US.PP 45633	Wash. D.C.			

U.S. Immigration & Naturalization Service
 Honolulu, Hawaii
 MAY 12 1940
 SHORE LEAVE GRANTED

Item 4: My grandfather's arrival in Los Angeles in 1940, "Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at San Pedro/Wilmington/Los Angeles, California"

REPORT AND SUGGESTIONS
REGARDING HANDLING JAPANESE QUESTION
ON THE COAST
Los Angeles, Calif.
December 20, 1941
(C. B. MUNSON)

This report should be read in conjunction with your observers' pre-war report on the "Japanese on the West Coast," and his report entitled "Report on Hawaiian Islands." Our report on "Hawaiian Islands" should be attached to and become part of our report on "Japanese on the West Coast." We did not repeat many basic statements originally embodied in the first report ("Japanese on the West Coast") in the later report ("Report on the Hawaiian Islands") as these statements had already been made and held good in both cases.

We desire respectfully to call attention to a statement of the Secretary of the Navy evidently made to some reporter on his return to Washington after the Pearl Harbor attack as printed in the Los Angeles Times of December 15th and the Los Angeles Herald and Express of December 16th, (marked in red, clipping enclosed.) This release was a U.P. and A.P. release.

We quote, "I think the most effective Fifth Column work of the entire war was done in Hawaii with the possible exception of Norway," Secretary of the Navy Enox said. We suggest that this paragraph creates the wrong impression in that it uses the term "Fifth Column." This term is loose and has been widely abused. Should not the term "complete physical espionage" have been used instead? "Physical espionage" is supplied unwittingly by the gabble of Navy wives, by the gabble of loyal second generation Japanese, by the gabble of the postman and the milkman and classified by definite agents of a foreign government. To this may be added years of photographing, sounding and "look seeing" by disloyal and paid agents of this same foreign government due to the abject laxity of the

Item 5: The Munson Report¹³²

¹³² "C.B. Munson's "Report and Suggestions Regarding Handling the Japanese Question on the Coast," Dec. 20, 1941." *Densho Encyclopedia*, <https://encyclopedia.densho.org/sources/en-denshopd-i67-00005-1/> (Accessed April 18th, 2018)

1195 Higashi Yamamoto
Gioncho, Asa-gun
Hiroshima Japan.
May 27, 1948.

Wayne M. Collins,
Attorney at law,
Mills Tower,
220 Bush Street,
San Francisco 4, Calif.

Sir,

et I was informed recently that the renunciation case which was pending for 2 years at the San Francisco District Court made its decision in favour of the renunciants. I did not know about this case (Equity suit No. 25294-G) therefore I have not previously applied as party plaintiff of the said case. I am very anxious to have my U.S. citizenship reinstated and return to United States so please include me as a party plaintiff.

My particulars are as follow.

Name: TADAMICHI TSUBOI
Present Address: 1195 Higashi Yamamoto Gioncho Asa-gun
Hiroshima Japan
Date of Birth: January 21, 1921
Place of Birth: Covina, California
Place of Renunciation: Tule Lake Center

My renunciation was approved by the Attorney General.

I greatly appreciate what you are doing for us and please advise me of further advice and action necessary.

I remain

Yours sincerely

Tadamichi Tsuboi

ACTIVE LIST

Item 6: My grandfather's letter to Wayne Collins inquiring about his renunciation status, May 27th, 1948.

WAYNE M. COLLINS
Attorney at Law
Mills Tower, 220 Bush Street
San Francisco 4, California

August 5, 1955

Mr. Tadamichi Tsuboi
No. 127, Higashi Tatsukawa cho
Kure City, Japan

Dear Mr. Tsuboi:

In reply to your letter of July 30, 1955, which accompanied your questionnaire form, please be informed of the following particulars relative to your renunciation of U.S. citizenship.

The Justice Department asserts that it has documentary evidence showing that you are a Kibei who received your education and formal schooling in Japan and that after you renounced U.S. citizenship at Tule Lake you voluntarily returned to Japan. It contends that these things tend to prove that your renunciation was voluntary and that they also indicate that you may have been loyal to Japan and not to the United States.

Furthermore, in answer to question 9 (A) of the affidavit forms you filled out and returned to my office in August of 1954, you state that you "consider the time to be around 1944" when you applied for the forms upon which to renounce. The first communication received from you in May of 1948 states that your renunciation was approved by the Attorney General. The foregoing would seem to indicate that you did renounce your U.S. citizenship.

I would thank you therefore to complete the questionnaire form which was sent to you previously and return it to me as soon as possible. Upon receipt of the remainder of the questionnaire, I will be able to prepare proposed answers to the affidavit forms.

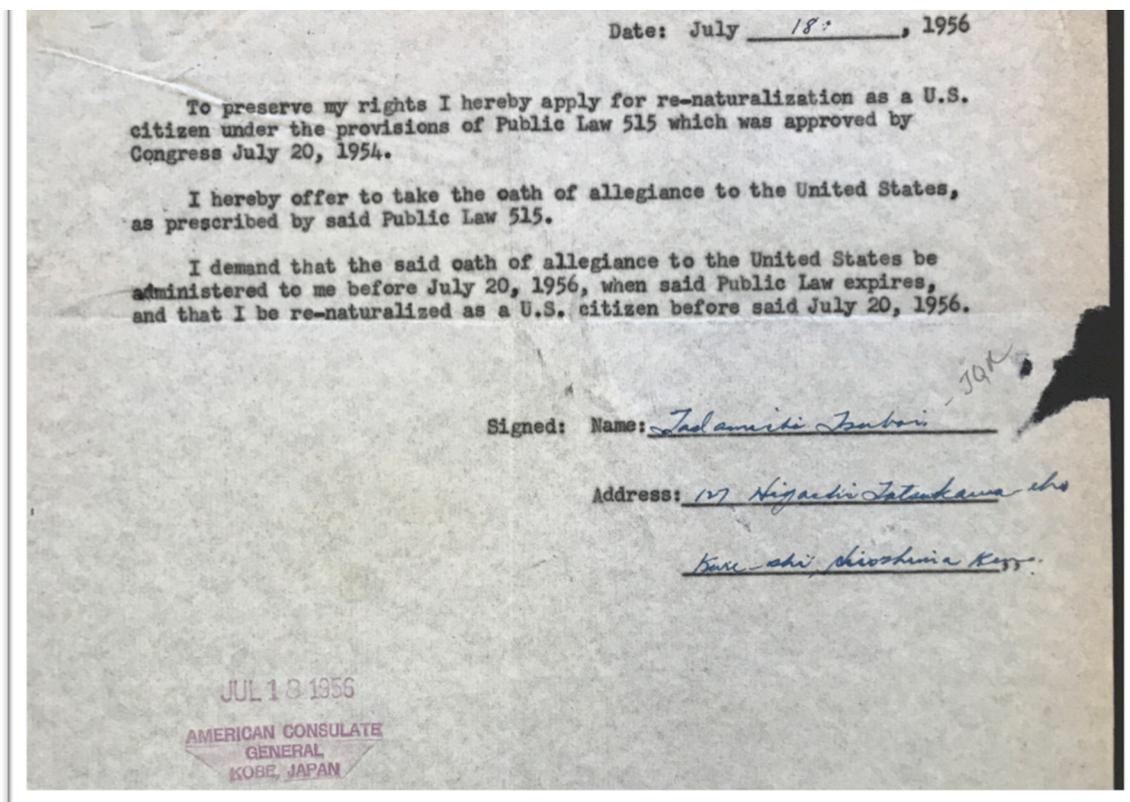
Very truly yours,

Secretary to Wayne M. Collins

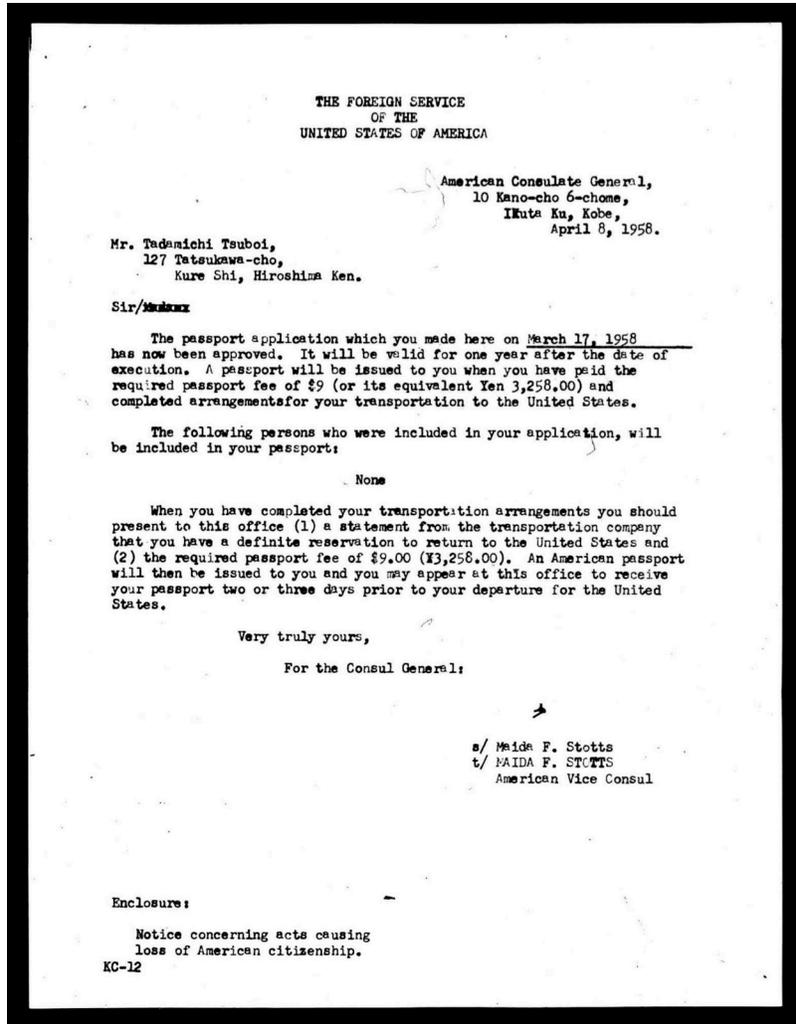
Item 7: Wayne Collins' letter to my grandfather on August 5th, 1955 confirming his renunciant status.



Item 8: My grandparents' wedding photo, taken in Hiroshima, Japan around 1953.



Item 9: My grandfather's re-naturalization statement, July 18th, 1956



Item 10: The American General Consulate, Kobe, Japan's letter to my grandfather approving his U.S. passport application, April 8th, 1958.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT
UNITED STATES CUSTOMS SERVICE
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
Immigration and Naturalization Service

Form Approved
Budget Process No. 43R 300

PASSENGER AND CREW LIST
(Cross out one)

Sheet No. _____
Third Class

CARRIER **Japanese s.s. "ARGENTINA MARU" No. 80893** Class _____
(First, Cabin, Tourist or Other)

Date of arrival **October 16, 1958** Port of arrival **Los Angeles, California, U.S.A.**
(Cross out one) *(Cross out one)*

Last foreign port before arrival in United States **Yokohama, Japan** Date of arrival **October 4, 1958**
(Place and Country) *(Date of arrival)*

	(1) NAME IN FULL		2) Nationality and passport number	3) CREW		4) Crew (departing U.S. Flag Vessels only) USCG Z or C.D.B. No. and Name and Address of Next of Kin	5) This column for use Government officials only (except when carrying certain passengers. See instructions)
	Family Name	Given Name and Middle Initial		Position	Where shipped or engaged		
26.	SATO	Akira ✓	Japanese 259546				M-2
27.	SATO	Yoko ✓	Japanese 259546				M-2
28.	SATO	Tadai	U.S. 107681				✓
29.	SUZUKI	Takako ✓	Japanese 260195	KBO 487			F
30.	TANJI	✓ Goro	U.S. 107682				✓
31.	TANJI	✓ Yoko	U.S. 107682				✓
32.	TANJI	✓ Kiyowhi	USS. 107682				✓
33.	TAKAHASHI	Hideko ✓	Japanese 248767				M-1
34.	TSUBOI	✓ Aiko ✓	Japanese 253841				M-1
35.	TSUBOI	✓ Tadamichi	U.S. 66979	See No. 49			✓
36.	TOMITA	✓ Shizuo	U.S. 66975				✓
37.	UENISHI	✓ Chitomi ✓	Japanese 246835				M-1
38.	YOSHIZUMI	Masahiro ✓	Japanese 253759	KBO 532			J
39.	YOKOYAMA	✓ Shigeo ✓	Japanese 256681				M-1
40.	YOKOYAMA	✓ Koji ✓	Japanese 256681				M-2
41.	YOKOYAMA	✓ Izumi ✓	Japanese 256681				M-2
42.	YAMAMOTO	Shosuke ✓	Japanese 257094				U
43.	YAMAMURO	Kentaro ✓	Japanese 256627	KBO 488			F
44.	YAMAMOTO	Ren ✓	Japanese 257093				U
45.	FUJII	Yoshinori	U.S. 66976				✓
46.	OSHIRO	✓ Tsutomu ✓	Ryukyu 9326				M-2
47.	TSUBOI	✓ Hidenori	U.S. 66979				✓

*David W. Adamson
Imm. Inspr.
Louis C. Schwarz
Sup. Imm. Inspr.
Oct. 16, 1958*

47/47 Total Number
I-418

Item 11: My grandparents' and uncle's – Tadamichi Joe, Aiko, and their son, Hidenori Tsuboi – arrival in Los Angeles in 1958, "Passenger and Crew Lists of Vessels and Airplanes Arriving at San Pedro, California, October 16th, 1958"

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