National Park Service
U.S. Department of the Interior

A National Historic Landmarks Theme Study

Finding a Path Forward

ASIAN AMERICAN PACIFIC ISLANDER NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARKS THEME STUDY

Edited by Franklin Odo

Use of ISBN

This is the official U.S. Government edition of this publication and is herein identified to certify its authenticity. Use of 978-0-692-92584-3 is for the U.S. Government Publishing Office editions only. The Superintendent of Documents of the U.S. Government Publishing Office requests that any reprinted edition clearly be labeled a copy of the authentic work with a new ISBN.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Odo, Franklin, editor. | National Historic Landmarks Program (U.S.), issuing body. | United States. National Park Service.
Title: Finding a Path Forward, Asian American and Pacific Islander National Historic Landmarks theme study / edited by Franklin Odo.
Other titles: Asian American and Pacific Islander National Historic Landmarks theme study | National historic landmark theme study.
Description: Washington, D.C. : National Historic Landmarks Program, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 2017. | Series: A National Historic Landmarks theme study | Includes bibliographical references and index.
Identifiers: LCCN 2017045212| ISBN 9780692925843 | ISBN 0692925848
Subjects: LCSH: National Historic Landmarks Program (U.S.) | Asian Americans--History. | Pacific Islander Americans--History. | United States--History.
Classification: LCC E184.A75 F46 2017 | DDC 973/.0495--dc23 | SUDOC I 29.117:AS 4
LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2017045212

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Publishing Office
Internet: bookstore.gpo.gov Phone: toll free (866) 512-1800; DC area (202) 512-1800
Fax: (202) 512-2104 Mail: Stop IDCC, Washington, DC 20402-0001

ISBN 978-0-692-92584-3

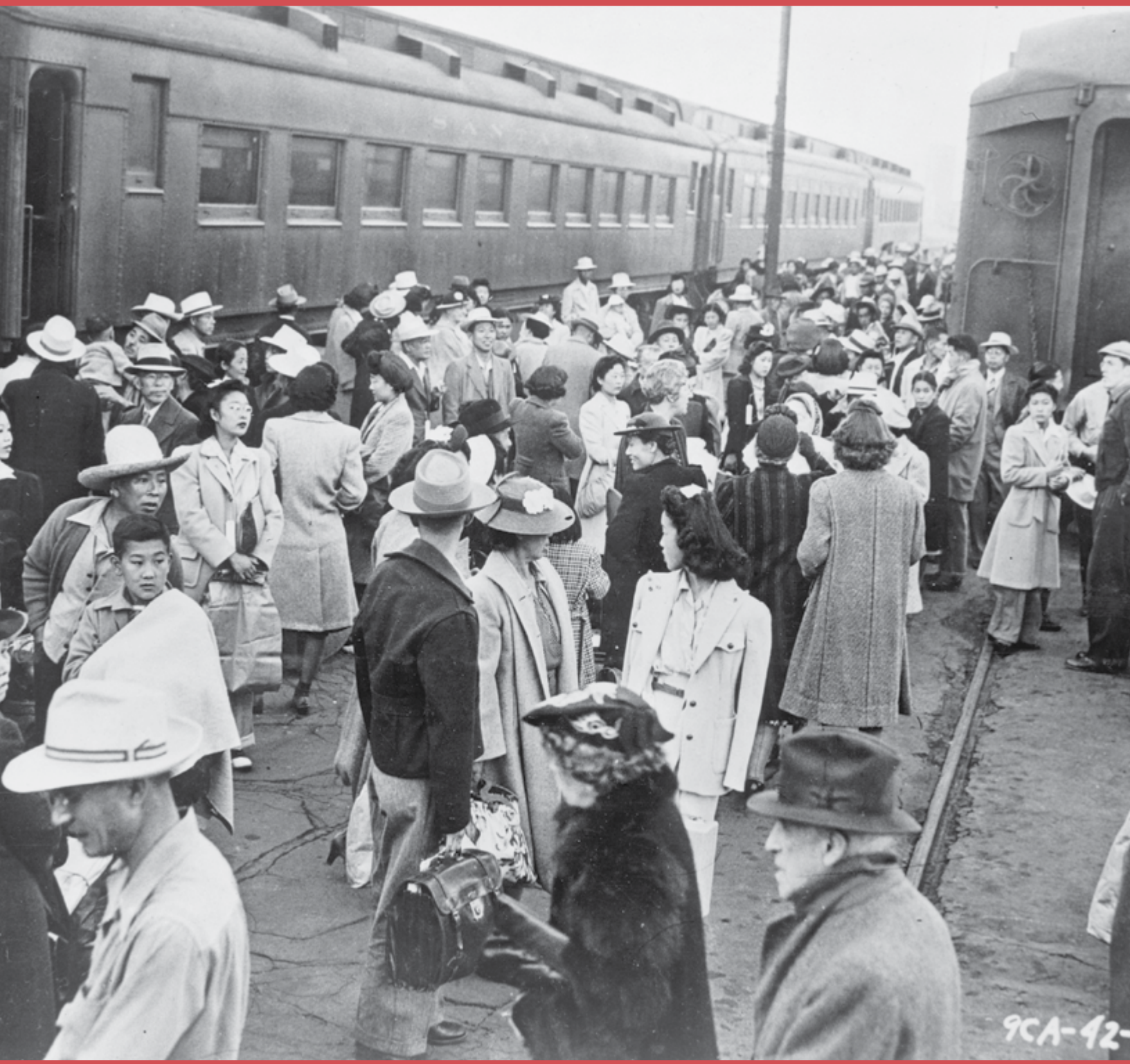
Essay 10

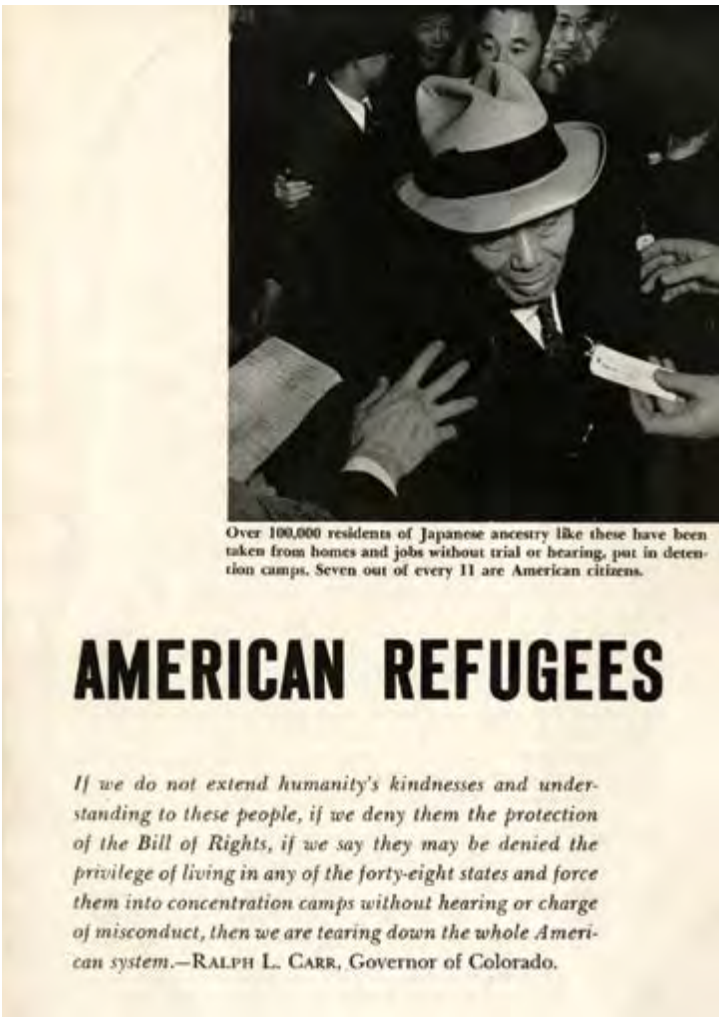
Asian Americans and World War II

Brian Niiya
Content Director, Densho: The Japanese American Legacy Project

When assessing the history of Asian American communities, it is difficult to escape the conclusion that World War II was a major turning point. The last "good war" had as one of its enemies a hated Asian nation, Japan, and one result was the mass removal and incarceration of immigrants from Japan and their American-born and U.S. citizen descendants. Other Asian nations were suddenly allies, and this led to a new image and new opportunities for immigrants from China, Korea, the Philippines, and India. But while there was initially a dramatic divide between the experiences of Japanese Americans and the other Asian American groups, that divide began to close over the course of the war, and a number of overarching themes of the Asian American experience in World War II apply to Japanese Americans as well. Events stemming from the war led to a dramatically changed Asian American community, the

Photo shows a group of excluded Japanese Americans assembled at a Los Angeles railroad station waiting to board a train for the Santa Anita Assembly Center. Photo by U.S. Army Signal Corps; courtesy of the Library of Congress.


9CA-42-



"American Refugees" pamphlet opposing the forced removal and confinement of Japanese citizens on the basis of race, 1942. Photo courtesy of the University of Washington, University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections, PNW 02370.

effects of which are still being felt to this day.

But who were the Asian Americans on the eve of war?[1] According to the 1940 Census, they numbered 565,327, just four-tenths of 1 percent of the total population. However, they were concentrated in particular regions, particularly the territory of Hawai'i, where 55 percent of Asian Americans lived and where Asian Americans made up 73 percent of the population. In the continental U.S., most lived on the west coast, with just under two-thirds living in California alone.[2]

Japanese Americans were the largest of the Asian American subgroups. There were nearly 300,000 in total, with slightly more in Hawai'i than on the continent. Of those on the continent, about 90 percent lived in the west coast states. Due to an influx of women immigrants in the 15 years before immigration from Japan was cut off in 1924, there was a substantial American-born generation of Japanese Americans—called "Nisei" vis-à-vis the immigrant generation who were called "Issei"—who made up about two-thirds of the total population. A subgroup of the Japanese Americans was those with ancestry from Okinawa, a group of islands far to the south of Japan proper. Okinawans had a distinct language and culture and were in many ways a conquered people, who were looked down on by other Japanese. About 15 percent of Japanese Americans in Hawai'i had Okinawan ancestry.[3]

Chinese Americans made up the next largest group, numbering a little over 100,000, three-quarters of whom lived in the continental U.S. A bare majority was American-born and thus citizens, and three-quarters were men. Filipino Americans numbered perhaps a little less than 100,000, with slightly more residing in Hawai'i. They were largely a male and immigrant population, and on the continent, at least, an older one; in her study of Filipino Americans in Los Angeles, Linda España-Maram writes that almost half were in their 30s. Korean Americans numbered less than 10,000, two-thirds of whom lived in Hawai'i. Those tracing their ancestry to India numbered about 2,400.[4]

FORCIBLY REMOVED AND INCARCERATED

There can be no doubt that the Japanese American group, descending as it did from what was now America's most hated enemy, faced the toughest challenges brought about by the war. They had been the subject of surveillance and suspicion for a decade prior to the attack on Pearl Harbor. Army and navy intelligence agencies and the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) had compiled a list of Japanese Americans who would be detained in the event of war. Almost before the smoke had cleared at Pearl Harbor, federal and local authorities had sprung into action and began arresting what were now "enemy aliens" on the list. Initially consisting

almost entirely of male immigrant community leaders, most were arrested based on organizations they belonged to or positions they held—Buddhist priests, for instance, or leaders of immigrant business and political organizations—as opposed to any specific individual accusations of misbehavior. Nearly 1,300 Issei men had been apprehended from Hawai'i and the continental U.S. within 48 hours of the attack, along with a smaller number of residents of German or Italian descent. These men were held in internment camps run by the army or Immigration and Naturalization Service. Arrests continued throughout the war; a year later, the INS held 5,534 Japanese, 4,769 Germans, and 2,262 Italians.[5]

The detention of community leaders—along with the closing of Japanese banks and the freezing of Issei bank accounts—destabilized and frightened Japanese American communities. But the worst was yet to come.

Despite the selective detention of those deemed problematic on the basis of prewar surveillance, calls for harsher measures against Japanese Americans were made in the weeks after Pearl Harbor. Influenced by agricultural interests and others who had been agitating against Japanese Americans for decades—as California Joint Immigration Committee member Charles M. Goethe bluntly told a February 6, 1942, meeting, "This is our time to get things done that we have been trying to get done for a quarter of a century"—politicians of all stripes from the west coast states in which most Japanese Americans resided pressed the federal government for a mass removal of all resident Japanese.[6] Among the most vigorous proponents of mass removal was California Attorney General Earl Warren, who was elected governor that fall due in part to his forceful stand on this issue.[7] Within the cabinet of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, there was disagreement, with the army and War Department coming to support mass removal and the Justice Department opposing it. In the end, perhaps succumbing to his own anti-Japanese biases, the President took the side of mass removal, issuing the infamous Executive Order 9066 on February 19, 1942.[8]

As California's attorney general (1941-42) and governor (1943-1953), Earl Warren advocated for the detention of Japanese Americans during World War II. Photo courtesy of the Library of Congress.

In a dramatic contrast, Japanese Americans in Hawai'i did not face mass removal and incarceration despite Hawai'i obviously being closer to the war front and despite more Japanese Americans there than in the entire continental U.S. There were many reasons for the different fate, though they fall into three broad categories. One was the imposition of martial law, which took effect in Hawaii shortly after the attack on Pearl Harbor. Under martial law, the military government could impose curfews and other limits on the enemy alien population and could summarily arrest and detain any who raised suspicions, which it did throughout the course of the war.[9] The second was both military and civilian leadership in Hawai'i that opposed any large scale incarceration and in fact forestalled calls by both the President and Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox for such measures. Locally based leaders in Honolulu also had direct ties with the Japanese American population, in contrast to leaders in Washington, D.C., who decided the fate of mainland Japanese Americans. A striking example of this is local FBI head, Robert Shivers, who had a Nisei live-in maid whom he and his wife came to consider a surrogate daughter. Local leaders also set up what would today be called race relations committees to anticipate any problems that might come up.[10] Finally, there were logistical and demographic factors. The 160,000 plus Japanese Americans in Hawaii made up 37 percent of the local population and provided vital labor in key industries. The political will to divert troops, transportation, and supplies to move and house that many people simply was not there, as it was in the case of Japanese Americans on the west coast. As on the continent, there was a roundup of mostly Issei community leaders. Interned initially in various camps on the islands, most were shipped to mainland internment camps. About 1,000 family members of these internees joined their husbands and fathers in mainland camps.

In total, around 2,500 Japanese Americans from Hawai'i were directly affected, less than 2 percent of the total Japanese American population on the islands.[11]

Executive Order 9066 did not actually mention Japanese Americans by name, instead authorizing the secretary of war or his designee "to prescribe military areas…from which any or all persons may be excluded." That designee turned out to be General John L. DeWitt, who headed the Western Defense Command, which was responsible for the defense of the western part of the country. One of those who had pushed for mass removal, DeWitt wasted no time in designating Military Areas 1 and 2 and indicating that all Japanese Americans would be removed from the former, an area that included roughly the western halves of Washington, Oregon, and California and a southern strip of California and Arizona, while encouraging "voluntary evacuation." (Military Area 2 comprised the rest of those states.) While some 5,000 Japanese Americans did manage to leave the area on their own in early March of 1942, it quickly became clear that most would not be able to do so, due largely to the hostility residents and leaders of neighboring states exhibited. As a result, the army organized a neighborhood-by-neighborhood "evacuation" of west coast Japanese Americans that took place through the spring and summer of 1942. To house those forcibly removed, the army quickly prepared 17 "assembly centers" or "reception centers," most in existing facilities such as fairgrounds and horse racing tracks near the area being "evacuated."

And so the sad eviction of a despised people began. Men, women, and children guilty of nothing more than having the wrong ancestors were forced out of their homes and businesses up and down the coast. The roundup went so far as to include orphans of Japanese descent pulled out of orphanages and mixed race persons with any amount of Japanese "blood."[12] The evictees had just a week to pack up their belongings and to make arrangements for their farms, businesses, homes, and other possessions they could not take with them. While some were able to find non-Japanese friends or neighbors to look after their possessions, most were not so fortunate. At the last minute, bargain hunters would appear, offering rock bottom prices for valuable goods knowing that the owners had few options. In her classic memoir of her family's wartime incarceration, Jeannie Wakatsuki Houston describes her mother's reaction when a man offers her pennies on the dollar for her heirloom china:

> She reached into the red velvet case, took out a dinner plate and hurled it at the floor right in front of his face.
>
> The man leaped back shouting, "Hey! Hey, don't do that! Those are valuable dishes."
>
> Mama took out another dinner plate and hurled it at the floor, then another and another, never moving, never opening her mouth, just quivering and glaring at the retreating dealer, with tears streaming down her cheeks."[13]

Similar scenes and stories took place up and down the coast as nearly 110,000 Japanese Americans were exiled.

The reaction of other Asian American groups to these developments varied, but it seems safe to say that most cheered them. Identifying with ancestral countries that had been conquered by Japan, Chinese, Korean, and Filipino Americans often transferred their hatred of Japan to Japanese Americans and were among those who were able to take advantage of their forced departure. For instance, many Chinese Americans had resented Japanese American merchants running curio shops in San Francisco's Chinatown from before the war and celebrated their departure while taking over their shops.[14] Filipino Americans were among those who took over Japanese American farms, allowing many to get a foothold in the truck farming niche that Japanese had dominated.[15] At the same time, many individuals had close Japanese American friends, lamenting the forced removal and doing what they could to help. For instance, Korean American Mary Paik Lee lived next door to a departed Japanese American family in Whittier, California, and her family looked after their property in their absence.[16] On Bainbridge Island, Washington, the Kitamoto family turned their farm over to employees Felix Narte and Elaulia Aquino, who looked after their property through the war years, allowing them to reclaim it after the war.[17] Others recognized that the vagaries of international relations could turn against them someday.

The "assembly centers"—really temporary detention centers—set the tone for what for some would be three-and-a-half years of incarceration. Housing was a mixture of newly and quickly built military type barracks combined with the repurposing of existing structures. The three largest such centers—Santa Anita in Southern California, Tanforan in Northern California, and Puyallup outside of Seattle, Washington—all had horse racing tracks, and the existing structures used to house inmates included former horse stalls, an apt symbol of the literally dehumanizing experience. One family shared a single room or stall. Meals were communal and served in mess halls. Bathroom and laundry facilities were also communal. Lack of privacy is one of the core themes of inmate recollections, whether due to barracks partitions that did not go to the ceiling, allowing everyone in the barrack to hear everyone else, to unpartitioned latrines. In his memoir, Minoru Kiyota wrote,

> For the first time in my life, I was forced to relieve myself on the toilet in the presence of total strangers. Or rather, to make the attempt. I don't believe anyone, no matter how thick-skinned, would find it easy to use a toilet that is just one long plank of plywood with holes in it—with no semblance of privacy and with maggots swimming in the tank below.[18]

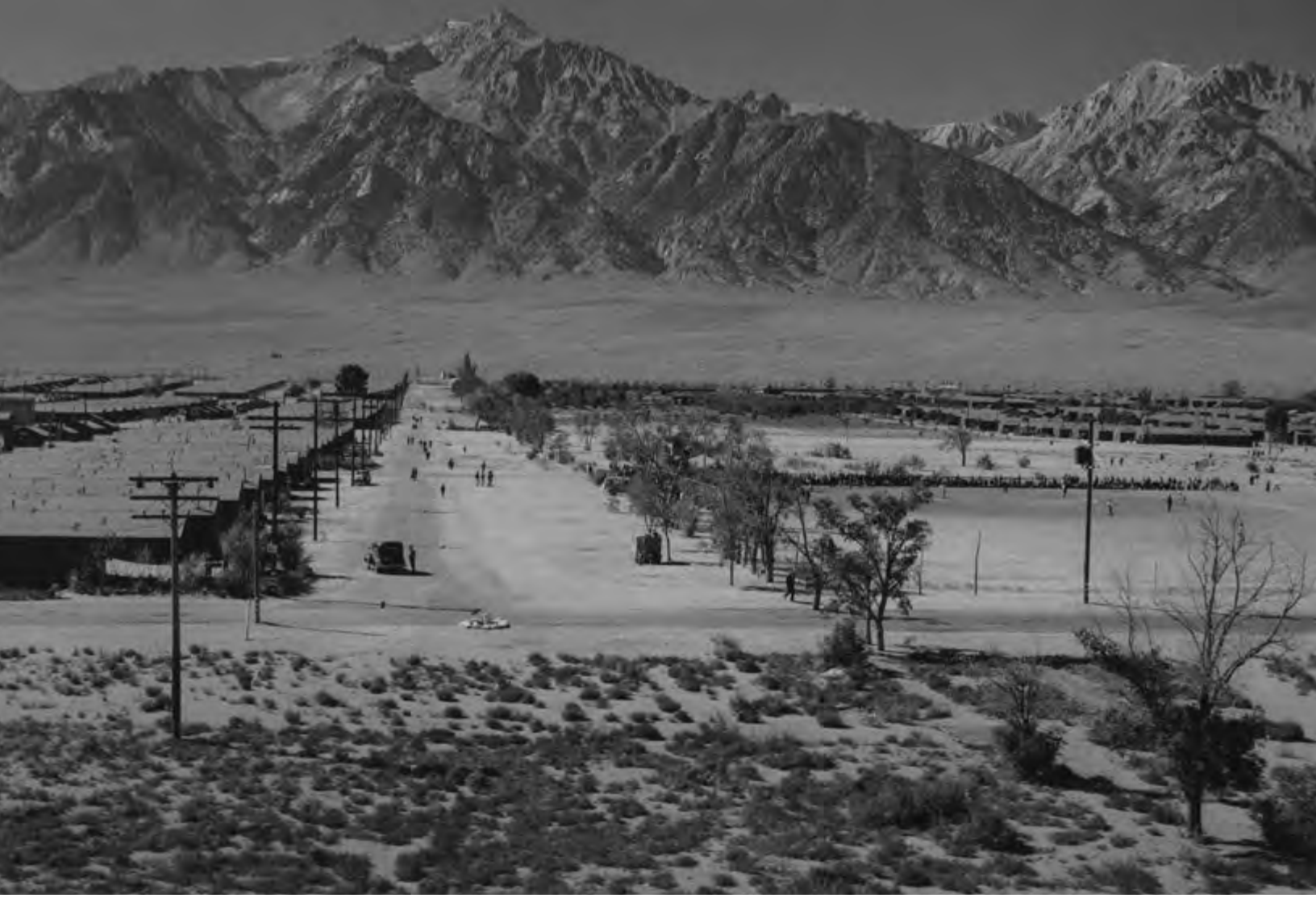
Bewildered inmates pondered their fates while sleeping on straw mattresses and staring at the single bare light bulb hanging from the ceiling. But their journey was just beginning.[19]

After anywhere from a few weeks to a few months in the "assembly centers," inmates were transferred to newly constructed concentration camps euphemistically called "relocation centers," located, as historian Roger Daniels observed, "in Godforsaken spots in alien climes where no one had lived before and no one has lived since."[20] The federal government also created a new agency, the War Relocation Authority (WRA), to administer these 10 camps, which ranged in size from around 7,000 people to nearly 20,000.

Living conditions in the WRA administered camps was similar in concept to those in the temporary detention centers. Given the speed with which these new camps had been built, they were in many ways unfinished when the first inmates arrived, with the inmates themselves often drafted to finish the construction, adding such things as partitions or wall panels. The sites of these camps were mostly in desert or swamp (in the case of two Arkansas camps) areas and presented many physical problems, most notably extreme heat and cold and incessant dust storms. "Everyone seemed to be wearing white shoes or boots. Later I found out that my shoes looked just like theirs," recalled Kumiko Ishida of her time at the Topaz, Utah, camp. "It was the powdery dust of the desert's sandy, clay-like soil that turned into blinding, painful sand, and dust storms that left a coating of dust on everything in the barracks room and classrooms. The dust and sandstorms made breathing so hard."[21]

The WRA was run largely by New Deal liberals who believed the incarceration to be wrong, and who encouraged inmates to make the best of things. They sought to make the concentration camps like small towns, complete with newspapers, schools, churches, recreational activities, and even an elected representative government. While undoubtedly well-intentioned, such institutions were at best fettered: newspaper content was controlled (largely through self-censorship), for instance, and the "self-government" was largely a farce, immediately delegitimized for most inmates by excluding Issei from holding office and limited in power regardless, given the veto power held by WRA administrators. The WRA's privileging of Nisei over Issei, given the former's U.S. citizenship and fluency in English, helped to exacerbate rifts and distrust between the generations, and the serving of meals in communal dining halls helped to weaken the nuclear family, as children and parents generally began eating meals with their peers rather than with each other.

In November and December of 1942, large-scale uprisings took place at the Poston, Arizona, and Manzanar, California, camps. Both incidents stemmed from the beatings of inmates suspected of being informers to the administration. The "riot" at Manzanar climaxed with military police firing into a crowd of protestors, killing two.[22] Due in part to these episodes and to the army ending its ban on accepting Japanese American enlistees with the formation of the 442nd Regimental Combat Team, a segregated unit to be made up of Nisei, in February 1943, the WRA redoubled efforts to divide



Bird's-eye view of the grounds of Manzanar from the guard tower in 1943. The view west shows buildings, roads, and the Sierra Nevada Mountains in the background. Photo by Ansel Adams; courtesy of the Library of Congress.

the inmates into "loyal" and "disloyal" categories. The former would be encouraged to leave the camps for "resettlement" in parts of the country away from the still off-limits west coast or to join the army; the latter would be segregated at a separate camp for the duration of the war so as not to be a bad influence on the "loyal." The mechanism for this determination was a clumsily worded and administered questionnaire that all inmates over the age of 17 were required to fill out. On the basis of answers to two questions—one concerning willingness to serve the U.S. on combat duty or in other ways for women, the other asking individuals if they could swear allegiance to the U.S. and forswear allegiance to the Japanese emperor—"loyalty" would be determined, with anything other than unqualified "yes" answers to both constituting "disloyal" status. As might be expected, asking such questions to a diverse population imprisoned in concentration camps led to many unintended consequences. Nonetheless, most Japanese Americans eventually answered "yes" to both questions. However, about a quarter answered the first question negatively or refused to answer and about 17 percent did the same for the second question.[23]

Many of those who supported the protests at Poston and Manzanar noted above or who answered "no" to the key questions on the loyalty questionnaire did so as a means of protest over the treatment they had faced as Japanese Americans. They were not alone. Though most Japanese Americans did comply with orders to leave their homes and businesses and report for incarceration, a number challenged some aspect of their treatment, with several taking their challenge to the courts. Four of those court challenges went all the way to the United States Supreme Court: challenges of the curfew set for Japanese Americans in the cases of *Hirabayshi v. United States;* and *Yasui v. United States*; of exclusion in

Korematsu v. United States, and of incarceration in *Ex parte Endo*. All but the last were decided in favor of the government's position, effectively upholding the racially based curfew and exclusion.[24] Later, when the draft was instated for Japanese Americans—including those in the concentration camps—in 1944, a significant number of draftees in the camps registered their protests by refusing to report for induction or physicals until their civil rights were restored.[25]

Meanwhile, the WRA pushed ahead with the release of "loyal" inmates. There were two precursors of these releases. Starting the fall of 1942, thousands of Japanese Americans were given short-term leave to help to alleviate labor shortages in agricultural areas. Over 8,000 Japanese Americans left the camps to pick sugar beets and other crops, mostly in states in the near west, such as Idaho, Colorado, and Utah, along with the eastern portions of Washington and Oregon.[26] A similar effort took place in the fall of 1943. Some Japanese Americans who left on agricultural leave were able to settle in these areas and reestablish themselves as farmers. Also starting in the summer of 1942 was a private program that helped Nisei resume or start their college educations. The National Japanese American Student Relocation Council eventually placed more than 4,000 Japanese American students in colleges, mostly in the east or Midwest.[27] "Resettlement," as the WRA called the permanent release of approved Japanese Americans for new homes outside the restricted area, greatly increased after the loyalty questionnaire. Less than 1,000 had left by the end of 1942, but the number grew to over 17,000 by the end of 1943 and nearly 36,000 by the end of 1944.[28] Chicago proved to be the most popular destination, though sizable communities formed in other Midwestern cities, as well as Denver, Salt Lake City, New York City, and many other cities outside the restricted area.

A Chinese American WAC is taking the oath for service.
Photo HWRD 0735, Hawaii War Records Depository; courtesy of the University Archives & Manuscripts Department, University of Hawai'i at Manoa Library.

Those who gave the wrong answers on the loyalty questionnaire—dubbed "no-no boys"—were segregated at the Tule Lake camp, which officially became a "segregation center" on July 15, 1943. The 12,000 moved there from other camps joined approximately 6,000 "loyal" Tule Lake residents, who didn't want to move to one of the other camps, creating a sharply divided community. A truck accident in October 1943 led to a mass strike that led to the camp being taken over by the army and ruled by martial law, as well as the construction of a stockade, a prison within a prison. Turmoil there led to growing disaffection and rising anti-American feeling that culminated in a rash of renunciations of U.S. citizenship by Nisei and Kibei (those born in the U.S. but educated in Japan and returned to the U.S.), totaling 5,589. Many of these actions were later repudiated. Through the heroic efforts of lawyer Wayne Collins, all but a few were eventually able to get their citizenships restored, though it took over 20 years in some cases. Tule Lake did not close until March 20, 1946.

In December 1944, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled on the Endo case noted above, ruling that the government had no right to continue to detain "citizens who are concededly loyal." As a result, the exclusion was lifted, and Japanese Americans were allowed to return to the west coast, starting at the beginning of 1945. By the end of the war a little over half of the incarcerated Japanese Americans had left the concentration camps. Those who had left were disproportionately younger and Nisei; those left in the camps included many elderly Issei, families with many young children, and others who would have difficulty supporting themselves upon release. Determined to avoid long-term guardianship, the WRA pushed to close the camps by the end of 1945. Many of the remaining inmates did not want to leave, fearful of

the hostile world they presumed awaited them on the outside. In the end, they were forced out of the camps as they had been forced out of their homes, three-and-a-half years earlier, returned to where they had come from, and issued $25. Back on a west coast that had seen its population dramatically rise in their absence, many were forced to live in hostels or in surplus army barracks and trailer parks supplied by the WRA that bore a strong resemblance to the camps they had just left.

COMMON IMPACTS

While the travails of Japanese Americans were unique among Asian American groups, there were many elements common to all the groups—even including Japanese Americans, especially when one includes those from Hawai'i or from the free zones of the continent—brought about by the war. These common elements—which are also all inter-related—include increased nationalism and support for the "home" country, American military service, a turning back of anti-Asian laws, and new opportunities in employment and housing.

Chinese, Korean, Filipino, and Okinawan Americans shared the commonality of having "home" countries that had been conquered by Japan.[29] The entrance of the United States into the war against Japan allowed these communities to express their American patriotism by supporting their home countries and vice versa. In some ways, they would become more American in pursuing nationalist activities, learning how to work the American political system and to garner support among mainstream Americans. Chinese Americans mobilized to support China following the initial Japanese incursion into China in 1931. They formed the Chinese War Relief Association in 1937, after another Japanese offensive, to raise money for China. Mass demonstrations, mass fund raisers, and boycotts of Japanese goods followed, all of which enjoyed widespread support by mainstream Americans who largely supported the Chinese cause.[30] The war also boosted Korean nationalist organizations in Hawai'i (where the majority of Korean Americans resided) and the continental U.S., with the United States' entry into the war providing real hope of an independent Korea.[31] Many Filipino Americans and Okinawan Americans fought to help free their homelands from Japanese rule and, particularly in the case of the Okinawan community in Hawai'i, played a major role in rebuilding their war-torn homelands after the war.[32] And Japanese nationalism found expression in many of the concentration camps and internment camps that held Japanese Americans as well, particularly in post-segregation Tule Lake. In Hawai'i, Japan victory societies (*kachigumi*) formed, some of which continued to believe Japan had won the war for years after the war had ended. In both cases, the apparent military strength of Japan served as a salve for disappointments and indignities for some Japanese Americans.[33]

Military service became a tangible means to express support for both the U.S. and the home country. This held particular resonance for Chinese, Filipino, and Okinawan Americans, who in some cases, fought in battles that directly impacted their home countries. Twelve thousand to 15,000 Chinese Americans, about 20 percent of all Chinese American men, served in the armed forces in both segregated and non-segregated contexts. The largest segregated unit was the 14th Air Service Group, which included about 10 percent of all Chinese Americans who served. Made up largely of immigrants, the 14th ASG was sent to China, where it serviced airplanes and did other support work over the course of the war. Many Chinese Americans from Hawai'i served in Europe in some of the heaviest fighting of the war.[34] Although Filipino Americans were initially banned from military service due to their status as "nationals", as opposed to aliens or citizens, they fought to have that

A company officer of the 442nd Combat Team corrects the saluting technique of a rookie from Hawai'i in June 1943. The unit began training with remarkable speed after its arrival at Camp Shelby in Mississippi. Photo courtesy of the Library of Congress.

status changed—which it was less than a month after the attack on Pearl Harbor—and subsequently signed up in large numbers. Most fought as part of the First and Second Filipino Infantry Regiments, which were formed in California in 1942 and had a peak strength of about 7,000. Both were sent to the Pacific, where, among other things, they did mop up work in the Philippines starting in February 1945. Other Filipino Americans served in non-segregated units.[35]

Although a tiny population, Korean Americans in California organized the Tiger Brigade of the California National Guard in late 1941, made up of Korean immigrants. Many individual Korean Americans served as well, the best known likely being Young Oak Kim, a much-decorated second-generation Korean American from Los Angeles who served with Japanese Americans in the 442nd Regimental Combat Team.[36] Okinawan Americans served with other Japanese Americans in segregated units and in the Military Intelligence Service (MIS) in the Pacific. Brothers Takejiro and Warren Higa were among the MIS soldiers who took part in the Battle of Okinawa. Because Takejiro had been raised in part in Okinawa and spoke both Japanese and Okinawan fluently, he took part in the planning of the invasion. Later, he used his language skills to talk many Okinawan civilians out of hiding and to interrogate captured soldiers. On one occasion, he even interrogated former grammar school classmates from Okinawa, a bittersweet occasion for all.[37]

Because the land of their ancestors was the enemy, Japanese Americans had somewhat different motivations for joining the U.S. armed forces, with many viewing military service as a chance to "prove" their loyalty and Americanism. Some 5,000 Japanese Americans were in the army prior to the attack on Pearl Harbor; after the attack, their fates varied, with some kicked out, others sent to non-segregated units, and a group in Hawai'i formed into what would become the segregated 100th Infantry Battalion. For the next year, Japanese Americans were in limbo, as the armed forces refused to accept them. Things changed when the segregated 442nd Regimental Combat Team formed in February 1943. Thousands of Nisei from Hawai`i flocked to volunteer; predictably, many fewer volunteered out of the concentration camps on the continent. The 442nd and the 100th, which became a part of it—served in some of the bloodiest battles in Europe and became among the most famous and decorated units in the war.[38] Some 6,000 Nisei also served as linguists in the Pacific war as part of the MIS. Some also served in the postwar occupation of Japan.[39] In all, some 33,000 Japanese Americans served in World War II.

Though they served in smaller numbers, Chinese and Japanese American women also volunteered to join the armed forces and took an active role in supporting the male soldiers. Some served in the Women Accepted for Volunteer Emergency Service (WAVES) and Women's Army Corps (WAC); once Japanese American women became eligible to join the WAC, 142 volunteered by October 1945. Two Chinese American women even became pilots for the Women Airforce Service Pilots (WASP), ferrying aircraft across the United States. Members of the Chinese Young Women's Society established community centers for Chinese American servicemen who might be excluded from existing U.S. clubs in the San Francisco Bay area. Similarly, Japanese Americans from the Jerome and Rohwer concentration camps in Arkansas volunteered to host social events for Japanese American soldiers of the 442nd training in Camp Shelby, Mississippi. Legendary activist Yuri Kochiyama began a girl's club called the Crusaders while she was incarcerated at the Santa Anita Assembly Center. The group wrote letters to Nisei soldiers and members dispersed to several camps; the Jerome branch alone wrote to some 3,000 soldiers.[40]

The war years also brought the first easing of decades old anti-Asian laws that had severely limited Asian Americans' life chances in the U.S. This easing was due in part to the new positive image of Chinese Americans and the other "good" Asians, as well as to the widespread military service of the Asian American groups. But a larger factor may have been the impact such codified anti-Asian sentiment had on both the current war effort and on the Cold War looming on the horizon. In its appeals to Chinese and other Asian peoples, Imperial Japanese propaganda cited American anti-Asianism as a reason to join Japan's war. The fact that the Allies were fighting Nazi Germany that glorified a "master race" and that sent minorities to death camps made it all the more important to modify the harshest elements of anti-Asian racism. For perhaps the first time, anti-racism was equated with patriotism.

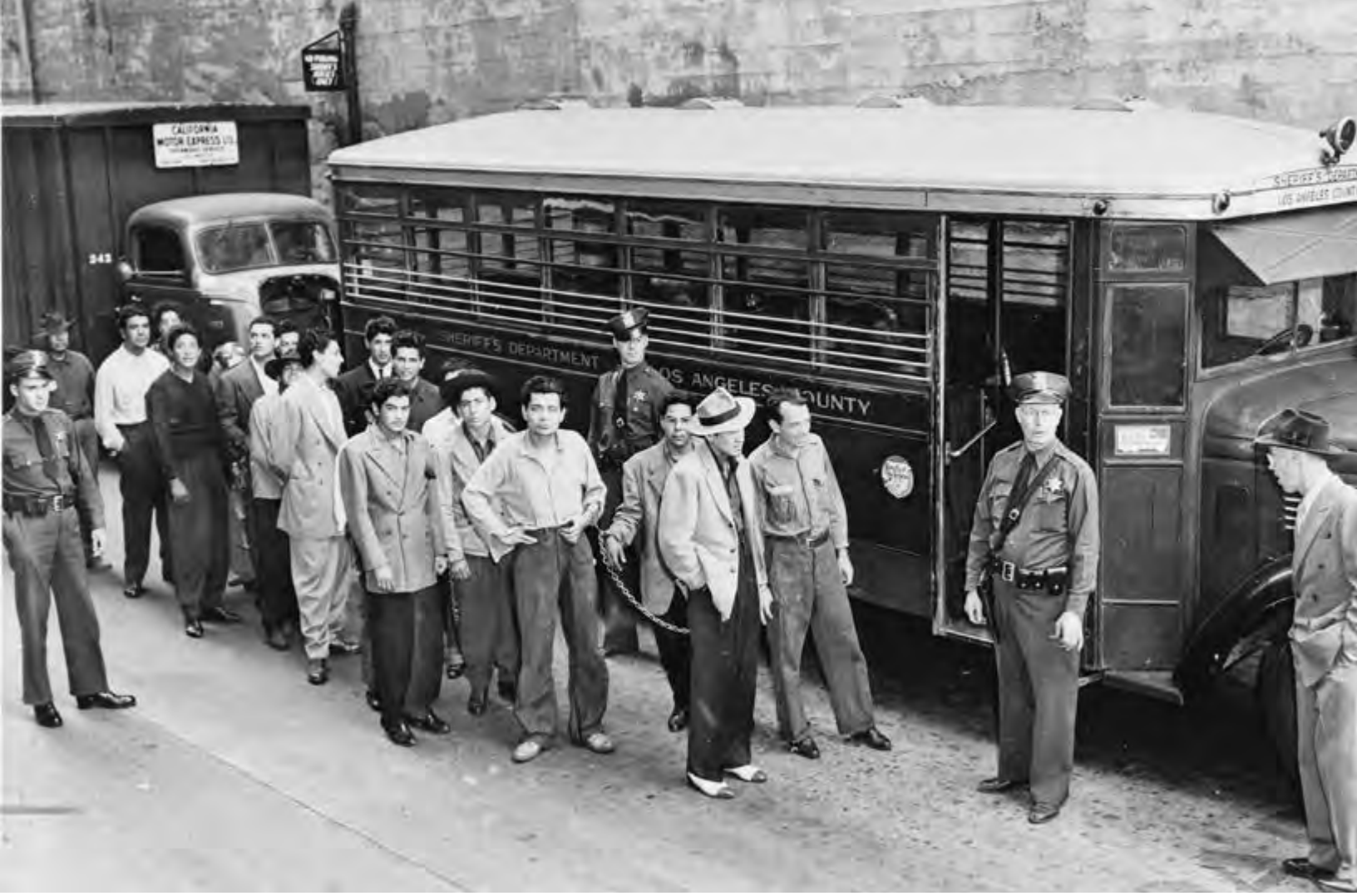
As we've seen, both Filipino and Japanese Americans were initially prohibited from enlisting in the U.S. Army, bans that were lifted quickly for the former and more slowly for the latter. In Hawai'i, Korean Americans fought with mixed success, their designation as "enemy aliens" subject to the same restrictions as Japanese immigrants. They were eventually exempted from curfew restrictions at the end of 1943 and designated as "friendly aliens" in May 1944.[41] But the most significant anti-racist push for Asian Americans was the repeal of Chinese exclusion, a fact of life for Chinese Americans since 1882. Though Chinese Americans supported the repeal movement, it was led by the largely white Citizens Committee to Repeal Chinese Exclusion (CCRCE), led by Richard J. Walsh, the editor of *Asia* magazine and husband of Pearl Buck, a writer whose sympathetic writing about the Chinese played a large role in reshaping the image of China among Americans. With widespread support from across the political spectrum, The CCRCE was able to shepherd a repeal bill through Congress in seven months. It was signed by President Roosevelt on December 17, 1943. Though the legislation had minimal impact initially—while ending exclusion and allowing naturalization, it allotted China a tiny immigration quota of just 105 per year, did not allow Chinese wives of U.S. citizens to enter outside the quota, and required an English proficiency test as part of the naturalization process, thus putting naturalization beyond the reach of many Chinese immigrants—the repeal did serve as the "wedge" that its opponents feared. Though it did not happen until 1946, legislation for Filipinos and East Indians granted those groups naturalization rights and extended immigration quotas. Eventually, Chinese wives of American citizens were allowed to come as non-quota immigrants.[42]

Beyond immigration and naturalization, alien land laws that prohibited the purchase of land by Asian immigrants were among the most significant and powerful elements of anti-Asian racism. Filipino Americans in Washington State had successfully challenged its alien land law in 1939 in the Pio DeCano case, which was upheld by the Washington State Supreme Court in 1941. In April of 1943, California Attorney General Robert Kenny stated, "Filipinos have earned the right to own and lease land here with their undimmed loyalty to this country"; the *Alfafara v. Fross* case made the Filipino exemption from the land laws official.[43]

Even for Japanese Americans, things changed quickly over the course of the war and shortly after. Barely a year after the end of the war, California voters weighed in on Proposition 15 in the November 1946 election, an initiative that would make the state's alien land law part of the state constitution. California voters rejected the initiative by a 60–40 margin. In the next few years, many other explicitly Anti-Asian laws fell by the wayside.[44]

The war years also brought greater opportunity in employment. The booming war economy created large numbers of defense industry jobs in major west coast cities. With many men in the military, there was also a labor shortage that created opportunities for women and minorities who had previously been locked out of such jobs. Chinese Americans were best positioned to benefit from these opportunities; by 1943, 5,000 Chinese Americans worked in San Francisco Bay area defense industry jobs, making up about 15 percent of shipyard workers.[45] As we've seen, some opportunities were created by the eviction of Japanese Americans, as in the case of Filipino American truck farmers. Asian American businesspeople, whether in Honolulu or in west coast Chinatowns, often enjoyed a booming business catering to war workers and servicemen. To cite one extreme case, all 33 tattoo artists on Hotel Street were Filipino American; during the peak of the war years, they did 300 to 500 tattoos a day.[46] The war also created some odd occupational niches. The boom of Hollywood war films, along with the removal of Japanese American actors, created opportunities for other Asian American actors to play both virtuous "good" Asians and "bad" Japanese.[47] And some Korean immigrants used their fluency in Japanese to serve as translators and interpreters during the war, including a group who interpreted at internment camps holding Japanese Americans.[48] Even Japanese Americans leaving the concentration camps to resettle in cities such as Chicago found they were sometimes able to get jobs they could not have gotten on the west coast before the war.

But despite all the gains, racism directed at the visually distinct Asian Americans wasn't going away anytime soon. Young Filipino American men were among those attacked in the notorious Zoot Suit riots of 1943 in Los Angeles, when servicemen indiscriminately attacked



Zoot suiters lined up outside the Los Angeles jail, en route to court after a feud with sailors, June 9, 1943. Photo courtesy of the Library of Congress.

the largely ethnic minority men who wore them.[49] Early Japanese American returnees to the west coast often faced a hostile reception, with dozens of terrorist incidents reported, including shots fired into houses and the torching of Japanese American properties.[50] Senator Daniel Inouye, a war hero who lost an arm in combat in Europe, often told a story of walking into a barbershop in Oakland, in full uniform with three rows of ribbons, only to be told by the barber, "We don't cut Jap hair."[51] Even Chinese Americans, who had benefited from the positive image enjoyed by China in the 30s and 40s, would suddenly become suspect themselves when the 1949 Chinese Revolution saw the Chinese Communist Party come into power.

AFTER THE WAR

The events of World War II and their aftermath led to a dramatically changed Asian American community. The biggest change came as a result of immigration-related legislation that came after the repeal of Chinese exclusion. In addition to the legislation already noted, there was also the War Brides Act of 1945, the Chinese Alien Wives of American Citizens Act (also passed in 1945), and the Fiancee's Act of 1946 that combined to dramatically shift the demographics of the Chinese, Filipino, and Korean American community, in each case, bringing in more women to help equalize the skewed gender balance. Although the Asian war brides who came as a result of the War Brides Act of 1945 were married to men of all races, many were married to Chinese and Filipino American soldiers who married women from their "home" countries during and after their service there. In the three years the War Brides Act was in effect, 5,132 Chinese women entered the country, with another 2,317 coming under the Chinese Alien Wives of American Citizens Act. In the Filipino American community, just 6.5 percent of the population were women in 1930; that figure rose to 27 percent by 1950 and 37.1 percent by 1960.

Fourteen thousand Koreans arrived in the 1950s and early 1960s, most of whom were non-quota war brides, adoptees, and students, more than doubling the Korean American population. Between 1947 and 1964, 45,853 Japanese women arrived, many of them war brides. This influx of women led to an Asian American baby boom and with the many war brides married to non-Asians, to the first large generation of mixed-race Asian Americans. The seeds of a very different Asian American community had been planted.

Asian American contributions to the war effort through military service and in other ways produced a generation who felt a new sense of ownership in postwar America and that would no longer settle for a return to the old normal. This was most manifest in Hawai'i, where Asian Americans led a dramatic change in labor relations and local politics through the rise of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union and of the Democratic Party, the latter still dominant in the islands to this day. In both the continental U.S. and Hawai'i, returning war veterans took advantage of the G.I. Bill to go to college and pursue careers that would have been off limits to them before the war. Twenty years later, some were hailing them a "model minority."

At the same time, the war left its scars. Japanese American former inmates suppressed the trauma of their wartime incarceration, only to have it surface in unexpected ways years later. Those who "succeeded" left behind many others too old, too sick, and too damaged by the war. Overt racism had gone underground, replaced by juvenile delinquency, admission quotas, and glass ceilings.

Decades later, World War II continues to cast its shadow over Asian America. After the unlikely success of a movement to seek reparations for the forced mass expulsion and incarceration, Japanese Americans continue to wrestle with the multiple legacies of the war while also devoting much time and money toward the preservation of memories of those events. Asian American war veterans remain in the news as revered figures. While Japanese American units received the Congressional Gold Medal in 2012, Filipino veterans fought to gain U.S. citizenship and the right to have family members join them in the U.S. Korean Americans were among those who fought for recognition for the so-called "comfort women," Korean women forced into prostitution by the Japanese military. In each case, other Asian Americans were among those who lent their support to these movements. As we approach the 75th anniversary of World War II, Asian Americans continue to live its effects.[52]

Endnotes

1 Though used here for convenience, it should be noted that the term "Asian American" was not used at that time, having been coined by historian Yuji Ichioka in the late 1960s.

2 1940 Census figures from Campbell Gibson and Kay Jung, *Historical Census Statistics on Population Totals By Race, 1790 to 1990, and by Hispanic Origin, 1970 to 1990, For the United States, Regions, Divisions, and States*, Working Paper No. 56 (Washington, DC: U.S. Census Bureau, 2002), Tables C-7 and 26.

3 Campbell Gibson and Kay Jung, *Historical Census Statistics*. Estimate of the Okinawan population comes from Mitsugu Sakihara, "A Brief History of Thought Activities of Okinawans in Hawai'i," 234 and Yukiko Kimura, "Social-Historical Background of the Okinawans in Hawai'i," 51, both in Ethnic Studies Oral History Project/United Okinawan Association of Hawai'i, *Uchinanchu: History of Okinawans in Hawai'i* (Honolulu: Ethnic Studies Program, University of Hawai'i at Manoa, 1981).

4 Campbell Gibson and Kay Jung, *Historical Census Statistics*; Roger Daniels, *Asian America: Chinese and Japanese in the United States since 1850* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1988), 69; Linda España-Maram, *Creating Masculinity in Los Angeles's Little Manila: Working-Class Filipinos and Popular Culture, 1920s–1950s* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 140.

5 Figures from Tetsuden Kashima's *Judgment Without Trial: Japanese American Imprisonment during World War II* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002), 50–51. There were a handful of women among those interned, most of whom were Buddhist priestesses. For an account of two such women, see Amy Nishimura's "From Priestesses and Disciplines to Witches and Traitors: Internment of Japanese Women at Honouliuli and Narratives of 'Madwomen.'" *Social Process in Hawai'i* (2014), 199–216.

6 Quote from Morton Grodzins, *Americans Betrayed: Politics and the Japanese Evacuation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949), 20.

7 After twice winning reelection as governor, Warren became chief justice of the U.S. Supreme Court in 1953, presiding over a court renowned for its decisions expanding civil rights, most notably *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954. Warren remained mostly silent on his role in Japanese American incarceration in his lifetime, but expressed regret over his role in his posthumously published memoirs. Earl Warren, *The Memoirs of Earl Warren* (New York: Doubleday, 1977), 149. For an assessment of the impact of his WWII actions on his subsequent life and career, see G. Edward White, "The Unacknowledged

Lesson: Earl Warren and the Japanese Relocation Controversy," *Virginia Quarterly Review* (Autumn 1979), 613–29.

8 The details of how this decision came to be are complicated. The best accounts of this process are likely found in Roger Daniels' *Concentration Camps, U.S.A.: Japanese Americans and World War II* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971) and Peter Irons' *Justice at War: The Story of the Japanese American Internment Cases* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993). For FDR's role in the decision, see Greg Robinson, *By Order of the President: FDR and the Internment of Japanese Americans* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001).

9 For martial law in Hawai'i, see Harry N. Scheiber and Jane L. Scheiber, *Bayonets in Paradise: Martial Law in Hawai`i during World War II* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2016) and J. Garner Anthony, *Hawaii Under Army Rule* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1955).

10 For more on local leadership see Tom Coffman's *The Island Edge of America: A Political History of Hawai'i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2003). For an interview of Sue Isonaga, the woman who worked and lived with the Shiverses, with video and photographs, see the University of Hawai'i's *Hawaii Nisei Story* website at http://nisei.hawaii.edu/page/sue.

11 On internees of Hawai'i, see Gary Y. Okihiro, *Cane Fires: The Anti-Japanese Movement in Hawai'i, 1865-1945* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991); Tetsuden Kashima, *Judgment Without Trial: Japanese American Imprisonment during World War II* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002); Yasutaro [Keiho] Soga, *Life behind Barbed Wire: The World War II Internment Memoirs of a Hawai'i Issei*, translated by Kihei Hirai (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008); and Suzanne Falgout, and Linda Nishigaya, guest editors, *Breaking the Silence: Lessons of Democracy and Social Justice from the World War II Honouliuli Internment and POW Camp in Hawai'i*, *Social Process in Hawai'i* (2014), 45.

12 The Manzanar Children's Village, an orphanage within one of the longer-term concentration camps, housed these orphans. See Catherine Irwin, *Twice Orphaned: Voices from the Children's Village of Manzanar* (Fullerton: California State University Fullerton, Center for Oral & Public History, 2008). The army eventually eased requirements on mixed race persons, allowing some to avoid confinement; see Paul R. Spickard, "Injustice Compounded: Amerasians and Non-Japanese Americans in World War II Concentration Camps," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 5 (Spring 1986), 5–22; and Jennifer Ann Ho, *Racial Ambiguity in Asian American Culture* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2015).

13 Jeanne Wakatsuki Houston and James D. Houston, *Farewell to Manzanar* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1973), 13.

14 K. Scott Wong, *Americans First: Chinese Americans and the Second World War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005), 83–84; Charlotte Brooks, "The War on Grant Avenue: Business Competition and Ethnic Rivalry in San Francisco's Chinatown, 1937–1942." *Journal of Urban History* 373 (2011): 311–30.

15 Linda España-Maram, *Creating Masculinity in Los Angeles's Little Manila: Working-Class Filipinos and Popular Culture, 1920s–1950s* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 152; Manuel Buaken, *I Have Lived with the American People* (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers), 324.

16 Cited in España-Maram, *Creating Masculinity*, 145.

17 Interview with Frank Kitamoto by John DeChadenedes, Segments 8 and 13, April 14, 2007, Densho Digital Archive. Accessed on March 21, 2015, at http://archive.densho.org/Core/ArchiveItem.aspx?i=denshovh-kfrank-02-0008 and http://archive.densho.org/Core/ArchiveItem.aspx?i=denshovh-kfrank-02-0013.

18 Minoru Kiyota, *Beyond Loyalty: The Story of a Kibei*, translated from Japanese by Linda Klepinger Keenan (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997), 68.

19 There is no study that specifically focuses on the "assembly centers" as a group, though any number of books include descriptions of life in these centers, including *Personal Justice Denied: Report of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1982; Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997) and Yoshiko Uchida's *Desert Exile: The Uprooting of a Japanese American Family* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1982) among many others. *The Kikuchi Diary: Chronicle from an American Concentration Camp*, edited by John Modell (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1973; Illini Books edition, 1993) is a diary of one very perceptive inmate from his months at Tanforan. There are two worthwhile studies of individual assembly centers, Louis Fiset's *Camp Harmony: Seattle's Japanese Americans and the Puyallup Assembly Center* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009) and Francis Feeley's *A Strategy of Dominance: The History of an American Concentration Camp, Pomona, California* (New York: Brandywine Press, 1995).

20 Roger Daniels, *Asian America: Chinese and Japanese in the United States since 1850*. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1988), 225.

21 Kumiko Ishida, in Darrell Y. Hamamoto, ed. *Blossoms in the Desert: Topaz High School Class of 1945* (San Francisco: Topaz High School Class of 1945, 2003), 59–60. For an overview of the various camps that held Japanese Americans, see Barbara Wyatt, ed., *Japanese Americans in World War II: A National Historic Landmarks Theme Study* (Washington, D.C.: National Historic Landmarks Program, National Park Service, August 2012).

22 Among the many accounts of the Poston and Manzanar incidents, see Arthur A. Hansen, "Cultural Politics in the Gila River Relocation Center, 1942-1943," *Arizona and the West* 27 (Winter 1985), 327-62; Gary Y. Okihiro, "Japanese Resistance in America's Concentration Camps: A Re-evaluation," *Amerasia Journal* 2.1 (1973), 20-34; Richard Nishimoto, *Inside An American Concentration Camp: Japanese American Resistance at Poston, Arizona*, ed. Lane Ryo Hirabayashi (Tucson: University

of Arizona Press, 1995); Arthur A. Hansen and David A. Hacker, "The Manzanar Riot: An Ethnic Perspective," *Amerasia Journal* 2.2 (1974), 112-57; Harlan D. Unrau, *The Evacuation and Relocation of Persons of Japanese Ancestry During World War II: A Historical Study of the Manzanar War Relocation Center*, Historic Resource Study/Special History Study, 2 Volumes (Washington, DC: United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1996); Lon Kurashige, "Resistance, Collaboration, and Manzanar Protest," *Pacific Historical Review* 70.3 (August 2001), 387–417; and Eileen H. Tamura, *In Defense of Justice: Joseph Kurihara and the Japanese American Struggle for Equality* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2013).

23 Figures from Brian Masaru Hayashi, *Democratizing the Enemy: The Japanese American Internment* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 144.

24 For more on what have become known as the "Japanese American cases," see Peter Irons, *Justice at War* and *Justice Delayed: The Record of the Japanese American Internment Cases* (Middletown, CT.: Wesleyan University Press, 1989) and Roger Daniels' *The Japanese American Cases: The Rule of Law in Time of War* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2013).

25 On draft resistance, see Eric L. Muller, *Free to Die for Their Country: The Story of the Japanese American Draft Resisters in World War II* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001). John Okada's classic novel *No-No Boy* (originally published in 1957 and republished several times, most recently by the University of Washington Press, in 2014) has served as the introduction for generations of students to Japanese American dilemmas of "loyalty" and resistance, though it conflates the story those who answered "no" to the loyalty questionnaire and those who later resisted the draft, two distinct populations.

26 Frank Clay Cross, "Japanese-Americans Form Pool of Farm Labor in 1943," *Western Farm Life*, January 1943, summarized in *Pacific Citizen*, January 14, 1943, 5.

27 For more on the college program, see Robert W. O'Brien, *The College Nisei* (Palo Alto, Calif.: Pacific Books, 1949); Thomas James, "Life Begins with Freedom: The College Nisei, 1942-1945," *History of Education Quarterly* 25 (Spring/Summer 1985), 155-74; Gary Y. Okihiro, *Storied Lives: Japanese American Students and World War II* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999); Leslie A. Ito, "Japanese American Women and the Student Relocation Movement, 1942–1945," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 21.3 (2000), 1–24; and Allan W. Austin, *From Concentration Camps to Campus: Japanese American Students and World War II* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004).

28 Figures from *The Evacuated People: A Quantitative Description* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1946), Table 10, p. 30.

29 I use "home" country for the sake of convenience here to refer to China, Korea, the Philippines, and Okinawa recognizing that (a) the last three weren't actually "countries" at this time and (b) that some immigrants from these lands, along with their American-born descendants, might consider the U.S. to be their "home" country. It seems clear, however, that member of these ethnic communities in the U.S. mostly did consider their ancestral lands to be their "home" countries or at least co-home countries with the U.S., caught up as they were in the emotions brought on by the war, and that they wanted nothing more than for their home lands to become independent countries as an outcome of the war.

30 Wong, *Americans First*, 33–40.

31 On the Korean Americans and the Korean Independence Movement, see Anne Choi, "Border Crossings: The Politics of Korean Nationalism in the United States, 1919–1945" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Southern California, 2003) and "'Unity for What? Unity for Whom?: The United Korean Committee of North America, 1941–1945," in *From the Land of Hibiscus: Koreans in Hawai'i, 1903–1950*, edited by Yong-Ho Ch'oe (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007), 220–55; and Richard Kim, *The Quest for Statehood: Korean Immigrant Nationalism and U.S. Sovereignty, 1905–1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

32 On Okinawan Americans, see Ethnic Studies Oral History Project/Hawai'i United Okinawa Association, *Uchinanchu: History of Okinawans in Hawai'i* (Honolulu: Ethnic Studies Program, University of Hawai'i at Manoa, 1981).

33 On nationalism in the camps, see the various works on the Poston and Manzanar uprising and on Tule Lake cited above. On *kachigumi*, see Yukiko Kimura, "Rumor Among the Japanese," *Social Process in Hawai'i* 11 (May 1947), 84-92 and John Stephan, *Hawai'i under the Rising Sun: Japan's Plans for Conquest after Pearl Harbor*. (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1984).

34 Wong, *Americans First*, 58–60, 150–57, 162–92.

35 On the 1st and 2nd Filipino Infantry, see Linda Revilla, ed., *History, Heroes, and Untold Triumphs: Filipino Americans and World War Two: A Viewer's Guide to Accompany An Untold Triumph: The Story of the 1st and 2nd Filipino Infantry Regiments, U.S. Army* (2003) and Revilla's "'Pineapples,' 'Hawayanos,' and 'Loyal Americans': Local Boys in the First Filipino Infantry Regiments, US Army." *Social Process in Hawai'i* 37 (1996), 57–73.

36 Shelley Sang-Hee Lee, *A New History of Asian America* (New York: Routledge, 2014), 226. Knowing of the animosity between Koreans and Japanese, Kim was given the option of joining the 442nd. But having grown up with Nisei friends in Los Angeles, he had no issues with serving with Nisei. See Masayo Duus, *Unlikely Liberators: The Men of the 100th and the 442nd* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1987).

37 Takejiro Higa, *The Hawai'i Nisei Story: Americans of Japanese Ancestry During World War II* website, University of Hawai'i. Accessed on March 21, 2015 at http://nisei.hawaii.edu/page/takejiro.html.

38 There is an extensive literature on the 100th and 442nd. Among the best works are Duus, *Unlikely Liberators*; Chester Tanaka, *Go for Broke: A Pictorial History of the Japanese American 100th Infantry Battalion and the 442nd Regimental Combat*

Team (Richmond, Calif.: Go for Broke, Inc., 1981, Novato, Calif.: Presidio Press, 1997); Robert Asahina, *Just Americans: How Japanese Americans Won a War at Home and Abroad* (New York: Gotham, 2006); and Linda Tamura, *Nisei Soldiers Break Their Silence: Coming Home to Hood River* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2012).

39 On the MIS, see James C. McNaughton, *Nisei Linguists: Japanese Americans in the Military Intelligence Service during World War II* (Washington D.C.: Department of the Army, 2007).

40 Wong, *Americans First*, 46–48, 55–56; Brenda L. Moore, *Serving Our Country: Japanese American Women in the Military during World War II* (Piscataway, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2003); John Howard, *Concentration Camps on the Home Front: Japanese Americans in the House of Jim Crow* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 121, 124–49; and Diane C. Fujino, *Heartbeat of Struggle: The Revolutionary Life of Yuri Kochiyama* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), 48.

41 Lili M. Kim, "How Koreans Repealed Their 'Enemy Alien' Status: Korean Americans' Identity, Culture, and National Pride in Wartime Hawai'i," in *From the Land of Hibiscus: Koreans in Hawai'i, 1903–1950*, edited by Yong-Ho Ch'oe (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007), 195–219.

42 Wong, *Americans First*, 109–23; Daniels, *Asian America*, 193–98; and Ellen Dionne Wu, *The Color of Success: Asian Americans and the Origins of the Model Minority* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 46–49.

43 Veta R. Schlimgen, "Neither Citizens Nor Aliens: Filipino 'American Nationals' in the U.S. Empire, 1900–1946" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Oregon, 2010), 420–33; quote from 423.

44 On Proposition 15, see Kevin Allen Leonard, "'Is That What We Fought For'? Japanese Americans and Racism in California, the Impact of World War II." *Western Historical Quarterly* 21.4 (Nov. 1990): 463-82; on turning back other postwar laws, see Wu, *The Color of Success*; Greg Robinson, *After Camp: Portraits in Midcentury Japanese American Life and Politics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012); and Frank F. Chuman, *The Bamboo People: The Law and Japanese-Americans* (Del Mar, Calif.: Publisher's Inc., 1976).

45 Lee, *A New History of Asian America*, 228.

46 Beth Bailey and David Farber, *The First Strange Place: The Alchemy of Race and Sex in World War II Hawai'i* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 105.

47 Wong, *Americans First*, 85–87; España-Maram, *Creating Masculinity*, 15–60.

48 Hyung-Ju Ahn, *Between Two Adversaries: Korean Interpreters at Japanese Alien Enemy Detention Centers during World War II* (Fullerton: Oral History Program, California State University, Fullerton, 2002).

49 España-Maram, *Creating Masculinity*, 135–36.

50 Audrie Girdner and Anne Loftis, *The Great Betrayal: The Evacuation of Japanese-Americans during World War II* (New York: Macmillan, 1969), 399–402.

51 "Daniel Inouye: Returning to Prejudice," *The War*, PBS.org, accessed on March 21, 2015 at http://www.pbs.org/thewar/detail_5281.htm.

52 On what historian Karen M. Inouye calls the "the long afterlife" of wartime incarceration, see Alice Yang Murray's *Historical Memories of the Japanese American Internment and the Struggle for Redress* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2008); Alexandra L. Wood's "After Apology: Public Education as Redress for Japanese American and Japanese Canadian Confinement" (Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 2013); and Inouye's own *The Long Afterlife of Nikkei Wartime Incarceration* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2016).

References

Ahn, Hyung-ju. *Between Two Adversaries: Korean Interpreters at Japanese Alien Enemy Detention Centers During World War II*. Fullerton: Oral History Program, California State University, Fullerton, 2002.

Anthony, J. Garner. *Hawai'i under Army Rule*. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1955.

Asahina, Robert. *Just Americans: How Japanese Americans Won a War at Home and Abroad*. New York: Gotham, 2006.

Austin, Allan W. *From Concentration Camps to Campus: Japanese American Students and World War II*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004.

Bailey, Beth, and David Farber. *The First Strange Place: The Alchemy of Race and Sex in World War II Hawai'i*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992.

Brooks, Charlotte. "The War on Grant Avenue: Business Competition and Ethnic Rivalry in San Francisco's Chinatown, 1937–1942." *Journal of Urban History* 37.3 (2011): 311–30.

Buaken, Manuel. *I Have Lived with the American People*. Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers, 1948.

Choi, Anne. "Border Crossings: The Politics of Korean Nationalism in the United States, 1919–1945." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Southern California, 2003.

_____. "Unity for What? Unity for Whom?: The United Korean Committee of North America, 1941–1945." In *From the Land of Hibiscus: Koreans in Hawai'i, 1903–1950*. Ed. Yong-Ho Ch'oe. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007. 220–55.

Chuman, Frank F. *The Bamboo People: The Law and Japanese-Americans*. Del Mar, CA: Publisher's Inc., 1976.

Coffman, Tom. *The Island Edge of America: A Political History of Hawai'i*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2003.

Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians. *Personal Justice Denied: Report of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1982. Foreword by Tetsuden Kashima. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997.

Cross, Frank Clay. "Japanese-Americans Form Pool of Farm Labor in 1943," *Western Farm Life*, January 1943, summarized in *Pacific Citizen*, January 14, 1943.

Daniels, Roger. *Concentration Camps, U.S.A.: Japanese Americans and World War II*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971.

_____. *Asian America: Chinese and Japanese in the United States since 1850*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1988.

_____. *The Japanese American Cases: The Rule of Law in Time of War*. Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2013.

Duus, Masayo. *Unlikely Liberators: The Men of the 100th and the 442nd*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1987.

España-Maram, Linda. *Creating Masculinity in Los Angeles's Little Manila: Working-Class Filipinos and Popular Culture, 1920s–1950s*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2006.

Ethnic Studies Oral History Project/United Okinawan Association of Hawai'i. *Uchinanchu: A History of Okinawans in Hawai'i*. Honolulu: Ethnic Studies Program, University of Hawai'i at Manoa, 1981.

The Evacuated People: A Quantitative Description. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1946.

Falgout, Suzanne, and Linda Nishigaya, eds. *Breaking the Silence: Lessons of Democracy and Social Justice from the World War II Honouliuli Internment and POW Camp in Hawai'i. Social Process in Hawai'i*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Department of Sociology, 2014.

Feeley, Francis. *A Strategy of Dominance: The History of an American Concentration Camp, Pomona, California*. New York: Brandywine Press, 1995.

Fiset, Louis. *Camp Harmony: Seattle's Japanese Americans and the Puyallup Assembly Center*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009.

Fujino, Diane C. *Heartbeat of Struggle: The Revolutionary Life of Yuri Kochiyama*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005.

Gibson, Campbell and Kay Jung. "Historical Census Statistics on Population Totals By Race, 1790 to 1990, and by Hispanic Origin, 1970 to 1990, For the United States, Regions, Divisions, and States, Working Paper No. 56." Washington, DC: U.S. Census Bureau, 2002. Tables C-7 and 26.

Girdner, Audrie, and Anne Loftis. *The Great Betrayal: The Evacuation of the Japanese-Americans during World War II*. Toronto: Macmillan, 1969.

Grodzins, Morton. *Americans Betrayed: Politics and the Japanese Evacuation*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949.

Hamamoto, Darrell Y., ed. *Blossoms in the Desert: Topaz High School Class of 1945*. San Francisco: Topaz High School Class of 1945, 2003.

Hansen, Arthur A. "Cultural Politics in the Gila River Relocation Center, 1942-1943." *Arizona and the West* 27 (Winter 1985): 327-62.

_____., and David A. Hacker. "The Manzanar Riot: An Ethnic Perspective." *Amerasia Journal* 2.2 (1974): 112-57.

Hayashi, Brian Masaru. *Democratizing the Enemy: The Japanese American Internment*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004.

Higa, Takejiro. "The Hawai'i Nisei Story: Americans of Japanese Ancestry During World War II", University of Hawai'i website. Accessed on March 21, 2015 at http://nisei.Hawai'i.edu/page/takejiro.html

Ho, Jennifer Ann. *Racial Ambiguity in Asian American Culture*. New Bruswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2015.

Houston, Jeanne Wakatsuki, and James D. Houston. *Farewell to Manzanar*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1973.

Howard, John. *Concentration Camps on the Home Front: Japanese Americans in the House of Jim Crow*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008.

Inouye, Karen. *The Long Afterlife of Nikkei Wartime Incarceration*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2016.

Irons, Peter. *Justice at War: The Story of the Japanese American Internment Cases*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1983. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.

_____, ed. *Justice Delayed: The Record of the Japanese American Internment Cases*. Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1989.

Irwin, Catherine. *Twice Orphaned: Voices from the Children's Village of Manzanar*. Preface by Paul Spickard. Fullerton: California State University, Fullerton, Center for Oral & Public History, 2008.

Ito, Leslie A. "Japanese American Women and the Student Relocation Movement, 1942–1945." *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 21.3 (2000): 1–24.

James, Thomas. "Life Begins with Freedom: The College Nisei, 1942-1945." *History of Education Quarterly* 25 (Spring/Summer 1985): 155-74.

Kashima, Tetsuden. *Judgment Without Trial: Japanese American Imprisonment during World War II*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002.

Kikuchi, Charles. *The Kikuchi Diary: Chronicle from an American Concentration Camp*. John Modell, ed. and introd. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1973. Illini Books ed., 1993.

Kim, Lili M. "How Koreans Repealed Their 'Enemy Alien' Status: Korean Americans' Identity, Culture, and National Pride in Wartime Hawai'i." In *From the Land of Hibiscus: Koreans in Hawai'i, 1903–1950*. Ed. Yong-Ho Ch'oe. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007. 195–219.

Kim, Richard. *The Quest for Statehood: Korean Immigrant Nationalism and U.S. Sovereignty, 1905–1945*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Kiyota, Minoru. *Beyond Loyalty: The Story of a Kibei*. Translated from Japanese by Linda Klepinger Keenan. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997.

Kimura, Yukiko. "Rumor Among the Japanese." *Social Process in Hawai'i* 11 (1947): 84-92.

Kurashige, Lon. "Resistance, Collaboration, and Manzanar Protest." *Pacific Historical Review* 70.3 (August 2001): 387–417.

Lee, Erika. *The Making of Asian America: A History*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2015.

Lee, Shelley Sang-Hee. *A New History of Asian America*. New York: Routledge, 2014.

Leonard, Kevin Allen. "'Is That What We Fought For?' Japanese Americans and Racism in California, the Impact of World War II." *Western Historical Quarterly* 21.4 (Nov. 1990): 463-82.

McNaughton, James C. *Nisei Linguists: Japanese Americans in the Military Intelligence Service during World War II*. Washington, DC: Department of the Army, 2006.

Moore, Brenda L. *Serving Our Country: Japanese American Women in the Military During World War II*. Piscataway, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2003.

Muller, Eric L. *Free to Die for Their Country: The Story of the Japanese American Draft Resisters in World War II*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001.

Murray, Alice Yang. *Historical Memories of the Japanese American Internment and the Struggle for Redress*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2008.

Nishimoto, Richard. *Inside An American Concentration Camp: Japanese American Resistance at Poston, Arizona*. Ed. Lane Ryo Hirabayashi. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1995.

O'Brien, Robert W. *The College Nisei*. Palo Alto, CA.: Pacific Books, 1949.

Okada, John. *No-No Boy*. Rutland, VT: Charles E. Tuttle, 1957. San Francisco: Combined Asian American Resources Project, Inc., 1976. Introd. Lawson Fusao Inada. Afterword by Frank Chin. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1979. Foreword by Ruth Ozeki. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2014.

Okihiro, Gary Y. "Japanese Resistance in America's Concentration Camps: A Re-evaluation." *Amerasia Journal* 2.1 (1973): 20-34.

_____. *Cane Fires: The Anti-Japanese Movement in Hawai'i, 1865-1945*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991.

_____. *Storied Lives: Japanese American Students and World War II*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999.

Revilla, Linda, ed. "History, Heroes, and Untold Triumphs: Filipino Americans and World War Two: A Viewer's Guide to Accompany *An Untold Triumph: The Story of the 1st and 2nd Filipino Infantry Regiments, US Army*." [N.pub.], 2003.

_____. "'Pineapples,' 'Hawayanos,' and 'Loyal Americans': Local Boys in the First Filipino Infantry Regiments, US Army." *Social Process in Hawai'i* 37 (1996): 57–73.

Robinson, Greg. *By Order of the President: FDR and the Internment of Japanese Americans*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001.

_____. *A Tragedy of Democracy: Japanese Confinement in North America*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2009.

_____. *After Camp: Portraits in Midcentury Japanese American Life and Politics*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012.

Scheiber, Harry N., and Jane L. Scheiber. *Bayonets in Paradise: Martial Law in Hawai'i during World War II*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2016.

Schlimgen, Veta R. "Neither Citizens Nor Aliens: Filipino 'American Nationals' in the U.S. Empire, 1900–1946." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Oregon, 2010.

Soga, Yasutaro (Keiho). *Life behind Barbed Wire: The World War II Internment Memoirs of a Hawai'i Issei*. Translated by Kihei Hirai. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008.

Spickard, Paul R. "Injustice Compounded: Amerasians and Non-Japanese Americans in World War II Concentration Camps." *Journal of American Ethnic History* 5 (Spring 1986): 5–22.

Stephan, John. *Hawai'i under the Rising Sun: Japan's Plans for Conquest after Pearl Harbor*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1984.

Tamura, Eileen H. *In Defense of Justice: Joseph Kurihara and the Japanese American Struggle for Equality*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2013.

Tamura, Linda. *Nisei Soldiers Break Their Silence: Coming Home to Hood River*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2012.

Tanaka, Chester. *Go for Broke: A Pictorial History of the Japanese American 100th Infantry Battalion and the 442nd Regimental Combat Team*. Richmond, CA: Go for Broke, Inc., 1981. Novato, CA: Presidio Press, 1997.

Uchida, Yoshiko. *Desert Exile: The Uprooting of a Japanese American Family*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1982.

Unrau, Harlan D. *The Evacuation and Relocation of Persons of Japanese Ancestry During World War II: A Historical Study of the Manzanar War Relocation Center*. Historic Resource Study/Special History Study, 2 Volumes. Washington, DC: United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1996.

Warren, Earl. *The Memoirs of Earl Warren*. New York: Doubleday, 1977.

Weglyn, Michi. *Years of Infamy: The Untold Story of America's Concentration Camps*. New York: William Morrow & Co., 1976. Updated ed. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1996.

White, G. Edward. "The Unacknowledged Lesson: Earl Warren and the Japanese Relocation Controversy." *Virginia Quarterly Review* (Autumn 1979): 613–29.

Wong, K. Scott. *Americans First: Chinese Americans and the Second World War*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005.

Wood, Alexandra L. "After Apology: Public Education as Redress for Japanese American and Japanese Canadian Confinement." Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 2013.

Wu, Ellen. *The Color of Success: Asian Americans and the Origins of the Model Minority*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014.

Wyatt, Barbara, ed. *Japanese Americans in World War II: A National Historic Landmarks Theme Study*. Washington, DC: National Historic Landmarks Program, National Park Service, 2012.