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George Nakamura, who with his bride, recently sailed for Manchuria to fill a position with the Japanese government, has been appointed an Ambassador of Friendship by the Pan-Pacific Union. Both are citizens of Hawaii.

Hijacked by Utopia: American Nikkei in Manchuria

JOHN J. STEPHAN

I am a nisei
And like my fellow-nisei
I'm wondering whether there's a place
A nisei Utopia?

Kay Tateishi (1937)¹

Dropped from atlases a half-century ago, the word "Manchuria" has something of the archaic, sinister ring of Transylvania. Few of those who know where Manchuria is (or was) would suspect that it once conjured up images of an earthly utopia. Even fewer would believe that Japanese Americans once sought a better life in what today are environmentally scarred provinces of the People's Republic of China.

For a millennium, Chinese, Koreans, Mongols, and Manchus mingled on lands drained by the Liao, Sungari, Amur, and Ussuri rivers. Referred to as the "Northeast" in China, this undemarcated expanse more than double the size of California came to be called "Manchuria" during the nineteenth century when it fell under the covetous gaze of Imperial Russia. Russian acquisition of the northern and eastern part of this territory in 1860 signalled that an ancient arena of multiethnic engagement was being drawn into the vortex of imperial rivalries. Seventy years, five wars, and four revolutions later, a truncated "Manchuria" was still nominally part of China though ruled by a warlord, exploited by foreigners, and infested with bandits who on occasion doubled as traders or constables.

Japan's interest in Manchuria surfaced in the 1890s and grew during the next four decades into a proprietary assumption. By generating resistance, involvement acquired

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an escalatory impetus. Victory over China in 1895 held up the prospect of a Manchurian beachhead until intervention by Russia, France, and Germany forced Tokyo to retrocede the Liaotung Peninsula. A successful war of revenge against Russia a decade later left Japan with the Kwantung Leasehold (tip of the Liaotung Peninsula) and the southern spur of the Chinese Eastern Railroad (renamed South Manchurian Railway or SMR), but these Manchurian trophies attracted American corporate raiders and frayed Chinese sensibilities. Japan's advances into adjacent regions generated movements that reconfigured and politicized Manchuria's demography. Annexation of Korea (1910) propelled thousands of exiles and refugees northward across the Yalu and Tumen rivers. Occupation of Shantung (1914) accelerated Han Chinese migration into the Kwantung Leasehold and Liao Basin. Manchuria's significance for Japan grew as exclusionist legislation blocked further emigration to North America and as an industrializing Soviet Union strengthened communist networks in Northeast Asia. External challenges interacted with domestic malaise to produce a series of initiatives by Japanese military personnel stationed in the Kwantung Territory and along the SMR: assassination of a Manchurian warlord in 1928, occupation of Manchuria after a staged provocation at Mukden in September 1931, and creation in March 1932 of the "Empire of Manchukuo," a puppet state presided over by a complaisant Manchu emperor redux and ruled by the Kwantung Army.

Manchukuo inspired comparisons with Texas. Both had reputations of being wide, untamed frontiers. Texas had more oil; Manchukuo—more beans and bandits. Whites predominated in Texas; Japanese remained a minority in Manchukuo. Between 1932 and 1945, the combined population of Manchukuo and the Kwantung Territory grew from thirty to forty-five million. Japanese civilian residents increased from 225,000 to over one million. Dairen, Manchuria's gateway to the world, had more Japanese inhabitants than Nagasaki. Manchukuo had no shortage of ethnic diversity. In 1939, there were thirty-seven million "Manchukuoans" (Han Chinese and Manchus), 1,130,000 Japanese (including about 300,000 Kwantung Army personnel), a million Mongols, a million Koreans, 38,000 "White Russians" (exiles or émigrés from the USSR), and communities of Germans, Jews, Ukrainians, Poles, and Crimean Tatars, not to mention British, American, French, and Italian expatriates.²

Manchukuo was something of a chimera.³ Borrowing from the Confucian lexicon, boosters called it a "paradise

of the kingly way” based on the principle of “harmony among five races.”⁴ But mellifluous phrases masked less uplifting realities. Kwantung Army officers were convinced that the Empire’s security rested upon economic autonomy maintained by military force. Although a few Japanese leftists worked inconspicuously in the South Manchurian Railway Company (SMR) Information Department, open dissent was not tolerated anywhere. “Anti-bandit” campaigns promoted attitudes and practices that found expression in Unit 731 that conducted medical experiments on POWs. Manchukuo precipitated Japan’s withdrawal from the League of Nations, facilitated rapprochement with Italy and Germany, hastened conflict with Nationalist and Communist Chinese, and led to confrontation with the USSR. Pre-occupied with Hitler and internal “enemies,” Stalin temporized in East Asia, selling the Chinese Eastern Railroad to Manchukuo in 1935 and concluding a Neutrality Pact with Japan in 1941. But he was only waiting for the right moment to settle scores. Germany’s surrender in May 1945 brought that moment. Three months later the Red Army put an end to Manchukuo and set about turning Manchuria into a revolutionary base from which the Chinese Communists swept to victory in 1949.

Among an estimated 100,000 Nikkei⁵ in the Japanese Empire at various times between 1895 and 1945, it appears on the basis of available evidence that about 2 percent or 2,000 set foot in Manchuria. For some Nikkei who went to visit, sojourn, or settle, Manchuria held out the promise of a multi-ethnic land of opportunity as distinct from white-dominated “lands of opportunity” such as Australia and North America. In Manchuria, whites as well as Asians worked for Asians as well as whites. Manchuria also promised freedom from social conformism and prejudice in the home islands. In Manchuria, all ethnic Japanese were Nikkei, regardless of their place of birth.⁶ Manchuria offered marginal people from both societies room to breathe, literally and figuratively.

Japanese Americans who stayed in Manchuria through World War II needed toughness, resiliency—and luck—to cope with isolation, cold, and hunger, not to mention the unsolicited attention of police and bandits. After World War II, most returned to Japan, Hawaii, and North America but only after delays that stretched into years for those interned in the USSR.

The story of Japanese Americans in Manchuria, like that of American Nikkei in Japan proper, has yet to be told.⁷

Much if not most documentary evidence—government and corporate archives, private diaries and letters—has been lost or destroyed. Surviving materials are scattered and fragmentary. Witnesses are scarce and often silent. This article represents a preliminary attempt to identify individuals and relate retrievable portions of the widest possible range of experiences. Omissions there must be (those omitted will readily spot them). Generalizations and conclusions are tentative and subject to revision in the light of new information.

Forerunners

Early links between Japanese Americans and Manchuria can be traced to Issei who fought in the Sino-Japanese War (1894-95). The exact number of such veterans cannot be determined, but if biographical directories published in Hawaii and North America before 1941 are any indication, it is likely to have been several dozen. Some biographees appended photographs of themselves as young men in uniform, suggesting that continental campaigns lost none of their vividness and perhaps acquired luster with the passage of time.⁸ One of the most prominent of these veterans was Dr. Mōri Iga (1864-1951). After graduating from the Imperial Navy Medical School, Mōri came to Hawaii in 1890 as a physician in the Department of Immigration of the Kingdom of Hawaii. He returned to Japan in 1894 to serve as chief surgeon in field hospitals of the Imperial Army's First Corps in Korea and Manchuria during the war against China. Back in Honolulu from 1899, Mōri pursued a successful medical career and in time became a respected leader in the local Japanese community. He led the Hawaiian delegation to the Tokyo Conference of Overseas Japanese in November 1940 and was personally greeted by Foreign Minister Matsuoka Yōsuke whose ties with Manchuria and Japanese Americans are noted below.

More Issei reached Manchuria during the Russo-Japanese War (1904-5). Some interrupted sojourns in Hawaii and North America to serve in the army. Others came to North America or Hawaii after a stint in Manchuria. Among the former was the prominent Hawaii physician Tōfukuji Kōshirō. Among the latter were Jōdo missionaries Nago Ninryō and Fukuda Hiramasa, who in 1904 were attached to the Second Army in Manchuria. Nago was transferred to Hawaii after his demobilization in 1907 and led Jōdo missions at Honoka'a and Wainaku on the Island of Hawaii for thirty-five years.⁹ Fukuda remained in Port Arthur for

twenty-two years tending to the spiritual needs of Kwantung Garrison and South Manchurian Railway (SMR) personnel before his transfer to the Honolulu Jôdo Mission in 1927. Nago and Fukuda were not the only Buddhist missionaries to bring Manchurian experiences into Hawaiian educational work.¹⁰ Itô Yoshio and Yasukuni Shôen served in Manchuria during the 1920s before their transfer to the Hawaii Nishi Hongwanji Mission.¹¹

A North American Issei pioneer who found new challenges in Manchuria was Yamazaki Yasushi (1870-1947). Toyama-born Yamazaki sailed to San Francisco at the age of eighteen and as a steward on a American naval ship cruised about the Pacific, calling at Australia, New Zealand, Hawaii, Tahiti, and Alaska. He then fished off Victoria, prospected for gold in Alaska, and founded a newspaper in Seattle. Settling in Vancouver, he assumed the editorship of the *Tairiku Nippô* (1908), established the Japanese Association of Canada (1909), and volunteered for the Canadian Expeditionary Force in France (1916). Travelling from war-torn Europe to Japan across Russia in 1917, he entered Manchuria from Siberia. Manchuria's natural wealth, economic potential, geostrategic importance, and political ferment captivated Yamazaki. Resigning from posts in Vancouver, he settled in Mukden and joined the staff of Manchuria's leading Japanese newspaper, *Manshû Nichi Nichi*.¹²

Images

During the 1930s, Manchurian images cropped up ubiquitously in Hawaiian and North American Japanese communities, from songs (*Manshû Musume* ["Manchu girl"] *Manshû Tayori* ["Manchu tidings"], *Manshû Kôshin Kyoku* ["Manchurian march"]) to the Manshu Low Restaurant in L.A.'s Little Tokyo). Hawaii's largest vernacular newspaper, *Nippu Jiji*, serialized novels about Manchurian *rônin* ("adventurers").¹³ In Honolulu, thousands watched performances of a local musical review with a Manchurian theme.¹⁴ At least two sets of Issei parents named their American-born children "*Manshû*".¹⁵

Manchurian themes also animated the imaginations of children. In 1933, an eight-year-old Nisei's essay on Manchurian farmers was highlighted in a contest among thirty-six Japanese language schools in Southern California.¹⁶ Six years later, a Nisei student used the phrase "*akogare no Manshû*" [yearned-for Manchuria] in an essay published by a Los Angeles daily.¹⁷ A 1940 language textbook for Hawaii students devoted a chapter to Manchukuo and

called Hsinking “wonderful” and “not at all inferior to American cities.”¹⁸ These images were reinforced by lectures about Manchuria delivered in West Coast cities under the sponsorship of the Tokyo-based Society for Promotion of International Culture.¹⁹

After the Marco Polo Bridge Incident (July 7, 1937), images of Manchuria blended into those of China south of the Great Wall. “Comfort bags” of tinned goods, chocolate, and cigarettes were prepared by religious and community organizations not only for the China Expeditionary Force but for “our Kwantung Army.”²⁰ Criticism of Japan’s continental advance in the American press elicited defensive responses in the mainstream vernacular dailies, producing statements about Manchukuo such as the following by *Japan California Daily News* editor Fujii Sei:²¹

Think of what Manchuria is today compared to what she was before. Under Chinese domination, it was a province full of bandits and crooks. Under the new regime, it is an independent Manchurian empire. . . . People enjoy law and order and naturally feel safe and happy.

From about 1938, upbeat reports about Manchukuo began reaching Hawaii and North America over the airwaves. NHK Overseas Service featured “Manchurian Sight-seeing” on the program “Nisei Hour.” On July 20, 1939, Radio Hsinking began broadcasting its own menu of Manchukuo highlights to Hawaiian and North American audiences.²²

It should be noted that white Americans were also susceptible to the lure of Manchukuo. Short-term visitors were impressed by the appearance of law and order, purposeful optimism, economic dynamism, and multiracial harmony.²³ Will Rogers favored United States recognition of the Hsinking regime.²⁴ A former president of California Institute of Technology authored a book praising Manchukuo.²⁵ A few whites openly served the Manchukuoan regime. George W. Gorman took leave from the *London Daily Telegraph* to edit the English edition of the Kwantung Army-controlled *The Manchuria Daily News* in Dairen.²⁶ Baltimorean George Bronson Rea resigned the editorship of a Shanghai newspaper to take up the post of counsellor to the Manchukuoan Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Hsinking.²⁷ Henry Walsworth Kinney, a former Hawaii newspaper editor and Territorial government official, took up residence in Dairen and handled public relations for the South Manchurian Railway Company.²⁸

Visitors

Issei editors, teachers, and businessmen started touring Manchuria during the 1920s if not earlier.²⁹ Sôga Yasutarô, editor of *Nippu Jiji*, went in 1924 and recorded his impressions in a book.³⁰ Standard itineraries included Mukden, Hsinking, Harbin, Fushun, and Dairen. Visitors generally went by train through Korea and returned by steamer from Dairen. Some of these tours call to mind contemporaneous "political pilgrimages" to Moscow. One of the first Nisei to reach Manchuria was Californian Karl Goso Yoneda, who in 1922 at the age of sixteen slipped away from school in Hiroshima and set out for Peking to study Esperanto under the blind Russian poet Vasily Eroshenko. En route, Yoneda tarried in Mukden, covering expenses by working as a delivery boy for a tobacconist.³¹

Within a month of the creation of Manchukuo in March 1932, *Nippu Jiji* instructed its readers how to get there.³² Procedures were comparatively simple, for Japanese subjects could enter Manchukuo without a passport.³³ The Reverend Takie Okumura, pastor of the Makiki Church, toured Manchukuo in 1933 and met a number of his former parishioners from Honolulu.³⁴ Sôga returned in 1934 after ten years and found Hawaii friends in Dairen, Mukden, and Hsinking.³⁵ Buddhist priests among others acted as guides, led by Honolulu Jôdo Mission head Fukuda Hiramasa who conducted a Hawaii group tour through his former Port Arthur parish in 1934.³⁶ After the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937, Hawaii "comfort missions" to military hospitals began to reach Manchukuo, such as that led by Hawaii Sôtô Mission priest Toda Yasuo.³⁷ Manchukuo also lured Issei businessmen looking for commercial and investment opportunities, such as Ichiki Masaji of Honolulu and Kawakita Yasaburô of Calexico, California.³⁸ One of the most publicized Issei tours took place in November and December 1940 following the Overseas Japanese Conference in Tokyo celebrating the 2,600th anniversary of Empire. Twenty-nine Hawaiian and North American delegates³⁹ visited Harbin, Hsinking, and Mukden guided by Major General Suzuki Yoshiyuki.⁴⁰

Nisei study tours arrived in Manchukuo throughout the 1930s.⁴¹ Most were organized in North America and Hawaii by Christian and Buddhist priests,⁴² Japanese language school teachers, or travel agents.⁴³ The Nisei Club of Hawaii awarded Manchukuo tours to winners of a Japanese language oratorical context.⁴⁴ Others originated in Japan, being made up of Nisei students at Nichi-Bei Acad-

emy, Takushoku College, Senshû College, Mizuho Academy, and Waseda International Academy. Several Nisei went to Manchukuo following the Fifth America-Japan Student Conference at Keio University in the summer of 1938.⁴⁵ For American students a trip to Manchukuo, especially if appended to a tour of Japan, was comparatively inexpensive. A 1940 tour originating in Los Angeles cost each member \$190 with transportation, food, and lodgings *tout compris*. Manchukuo and China could be included for an extra \$50.⁴⁶

Sports provided another avenue for Nisei groups to visit Manchukuo. In August of 1937, the Kono All-Stars from Alameda played exhibition matches in Dairen. Two players, Tut Iwahashi of Alameda and Shiro Kawakami of Fresno, signed contracts with a local team and stayed in Manchuria.⁴⁷ The Hawaii Asahis followed suit in 1940.⁴⁸ Twelve Hawaii Nisei judoists toured Manchukuo in the summer of 1938, led by Tachibana Tetsuo of the Nishi Hongwanji Hilo Betsuin, followed in 1940 by Southern California judoists led by Yamada Yajû.

Family and careers brought individual Nisei visitors to Manchukuo. Two months after graduating from Maui High School in June 1941, Nobuaki Iwatake showed up in Mukden and Hsinking to see his uncles.⁴⁹ *Nippu Jiji* editor Sôga Yasutarô's son Shigeo and *Honolulu Star Bulletin* reporter George Sakamaki looked over Dairen in 1932 to check out local opportunities for Nisei journalists.⁵⁰ San Francisco banjoist Shigeru ["Shinglin"] Omoto, who had gone to Japan in 1930 and led an orchestra at Tokyo's Florida Ball Room, accepted a two-year contract with Mukden's Broadway Ball Room.⁵¹ Pianist Miwa Kai, daughter of a San Francisco art dealer, performed with the Harbin Symphony in 1937 en route to the Chopin Concours in Warsaw.⁵²

How did Nisei visitors feel about Manchukuo? In a word—variously. Scenery along the South Manchurian Railway between Dairen and Mukden reminded Yukiko Tajima of her native California.⁵³ Kay Miyakawa remarked that Hsinking's new residential homes recalled the "bungalows in sunny California."⁵⁴ Harold Jiro Nakahara of Hilo, Hawaii wrote home in 1938 that Hsinking could someday catch up to Tokyo.⁵⁵ Another visitor from Hawaii summed up his feelings: "Manchukuo captured my heart."⁵⁶ Columnist Larry Tajiri's published impressions of Dairen dwelt on the Korean dancing beauty Sai Shoki.⁵⁷

Race relations in general and the apparent absence of racial prejudice made an impression on visiting West Coast

Nisei. The white elevator boys in Harbin hotels caught the attention of a San Francisco writer.⁵⁸ Bill Hosokawa was struck by "the sight of a white man working for less than a yellow man."⁵⁹ To one study group member, Manchukuo offered not only a career but self-respect and personal identity: "I think that here [in Manchukuo] a solution has been found to the problem of racial discrimination that afflicts us *Nisei*. By seeking employment in Manchukuo. . . with its bright future free of racial tensions, we can forever cherish the pride of being Japanese."⁶⁰

The image of multiracial harmony was designed to convey a political message. In the words of Waseda International Academy Deputy Principal Natori Jun'ichi, *Nisei* on Manchukuo study tours were expected "to witness Japan's righteous objectives in the [China] Incident and Holy War, Japan's status in the East, and the moving sight of Imperial Army heroes building peace in East Asia."⁶¹ Accordingly post-1937 itineraries stressed Shinto shrines, mass rallies, military hospitals, and war monuments.

Extracts from *Nisei* travel diaries published in the mainstream Japanese American press should not always be taken at face value. Nonetheless, they do provide clues. "In Manchukuo," one essayist wrote, "I came to understand how much the Japanese Empire has contributed to peace in the Orient."⁶² One member of a 1939 Southern California tour group wrote: "Born a Japanese, I thought that at least once in my life I should go to Port Arthur. I could not keep from weeping at the thought of hero-gods defending their homeland."⁶³ Having been received by Kwantung Army Commander Umezu Yoshijirô and lectured to by Amakasu Masahiko,⁶⁴ a group of Southern California judoists visited a military hospital and presented the patients with "comfort bags."⁶⁵ Three of the young sportsmen recorded their feelings jointly: "When we saw the condition of these wounded soldiers, our emotions were stronger than tears. Because soldiers with amputated legs said that they had been honored to serve their country, we too thought that we must do something for the nation too."⁶⁶

Manchukuo's most rhapsodic *Nisei* booster was George Kazumaro ("Buddy") Uno, a China correspondent whose columns were carried in several Hawaiian and North American Japanese American newspapers.⁶⁷ In a *Rafu Shimpô* column, Buddy Uno called Manchukuo "the miracle of the Twentieth Century." Manchukuo's very existence, Uno asserted, exposed the false sirens of nationalism and communism in China and challenged "Occidental aggres-

sion on the Far East continent." In helping Manchukuo to declare independence from China, Japan had been instrumental in "freeing 34,000,000 inhabitants from the yoke of the worst tyranny known to modern civilization." In a comment calculated to touch Nisei sensibilities, Uno declared that "Manchukuo is Japan's fearless challenge to the world heralding a new era of racial equality for Orientals."⁶⁸

Networks

A variety of networks linked Japanese Americans and Manchukuo. Some were specifically tied to Hawaii, such as the Manchuria Missionary Society whose Honolulu representative doubled as secretary of the Nuuanu YMCA.⁶⁹ Sôga used the expression "Hawaii party" [*Hawai-tô*] to refer to Manchukuo officials with Hawaii connections and to Hawaii Nikkei in Dairen, Mukden, Hsinking, and Harbin.⁷⁰ Corporate networks reached further afield. A number of Yokohama Specie Bank and Sumitomo Bank employees had worked in both Manchukuo and American branches. The South Manchurian Railway hired American-educated Issei such as Roy Hidemichi Akagi (1892-1943). Born in Okayama, Akagi had been taken by his parents as a teenager to California where he graduated from Alameda High School and the University of California, Berkeley. After marrying the third daughter of social reformer Abe Isoo, he pursued graduate studies at Chicago, Harvard, and the University of Pennsylvania, where he took a Ph.D. in American history. Akagi worked for six years in Los Angeles as executive secretary of the North American Japanese Students Christian Federation. He then moved to New York and taught political economy at Columbia University. Even before the Mukden Incident, Akagi was defending Japan's continental policies in lectures and a book called *Understanding Manchuria*. Akagi joined the South Manchurian Railway Company and in 1934 proceeded to Dairen from where lecture tours took him to Honolulu and mainland cities. Appointed head of the company's New York office in 1939, Akagi developed extensive contacts with Nisei university graduates and Issei community leaders in Hawaii and North America.⁷¹

Prefectural affiliations provided a natural network for Japanese Americans in Manchukuo, notably in the cases of Hiroshima and Yamaguchi from where thousands had sought their fortunes not only in Hawaii and North America but in Manchuria.⁷² Prefectural organizations in Manchukuo maintained close ties with the Kwantung Army.⁷³ When

the California Issei educator Niisato Kan'ichi toured Manchukuo in 1937, he was hosted in Hsinking by the Iwate Prefectural Society and just missed meeting another son of Iwate, Kwantung Army Chief of Staff Tôjô Hideki.⁷⁴

Another set of networks linked Japanese Americans with diplomats whose career trajectories passed through Manchuria and the United States. Ôhashi Chû'ichi, the senior Japanese diplomat in Manchukuo for most of the 1930s, had developed contacts among West Coast Japanese during his tenure as consul in Seattle (1923-25) and Los Angeles (1925-27).⁷⁵ Tsurumi Ken was a popular consul in Portland and Los Angeles before his appointment in 1937 as consul-general in Harbin.⁷⁶ Morishima Shigeto rotated among American posts before assuming consular duties in Mukden (1928-32) and Harbin (1932-35).⁷⁷

Few officials had more extensive ties with Japanese Americans in Manchuria than Kawasaki Torao (1890-1982). Born in Okayama, Kawasaki came to Hawaii at the age of seventeen, attended schools in Honolulu, and in 1916 graduated from Springfield College in Massachusetts. He returned to Hawaii and for three years served as secretary of the Nuuanu YMCA, acting simultaneously as secretary of the Manchuria Missionary Society and befriending Dr. Môri Iga, the former Imperial Army surgeon with Manchurian service. Kawasaki entered the Foreign Ministry in 1920 and was at the San Francisco consulate until 1931, when he returned to Japan and assumed duties at the Mukden consulate-general in October, shortly after the Mukden Incident. The following year he was seconded to the Manchukuo Imperial Council General Affairs section, from which he assumed the directorship of the Information Section of the Manchukuo Ministry of Foreign Affairs and (in 1934) the Information Bureau of the Manchukuo General Affairs Board. Before being posted to the Manchukuoan Embassy in Tokyo in June 1935, Kawasaki assisted at least a dozen Hawaii and West Coast Nisei in Manchukuo.⁷⁸

Incentives and Recruitment

Various Japanese American publications during the 1930s carried reports of career opportunities for Nisei in East Asia in general and Manchukuo in particular. Los Angeles scoutmaster Susumu Igauye touted Manchurian horizons after a 1937 summer trip to Japan with Boy Scout Troop 379.⁷⁹ In 1939, a group of Nisei students at the Keisen Girls' School opined: "If a Nisei is well prepared

and has a definite purpose in mind, and has some pioneer spirit, probably he could 'make a go of it' in China or Manchukuo."⁸⁰ In a 1940 poll asking 153 Hawaii Nisei "community leaders" where they saw the best opportunities, thirty-five answered East Asia for those who had a "strong character" and "pioneer spirit."⁸¹ California Christian educator Niisato Kan'ichi foresaw the day when Manchurian-born Nisei would build a New Asia.⁸²

Nisei interest in Manchurian career possibilities rested on hopes of professional fulfillment rather than financial rewards. College graduates of all ethnic backgrounds had trouble finding good jobs in Depression-era America, but Nisei encountered additional barriers to finding employment that utilized their training and talents. Manchuria held out the prospect of what the United States could not provide. As recalled in 1993 by the brother of a gifted young man who emigrated from Honolulu to Dairen, "they [Nisei] all felt that jobs commensurate with their college education were not plentiful in Hawaii or on the mainland, thus going into a new field like Manchuria was a new challenge."⁸³

For others, the prospect of release from white domination loomed prominently among incentives to go to Manchuria and China. In a Nisei symposium held in Tokyo under the auspices of *Nippu Jiji* in 1940, Satoru Tôfukuji, fourth son of the prominent Maui physician and Manchurian army veteran Tôfukuji Kôshirô, saw personal liberation in Japan's continental advance:

I want to succeed as a Japanese. I want to be active for Japan as it advances on the continent. I am an American by citizenship but because my face is Japanese I am held down. So I want to stand up as a Japanese. The path is broader, and I believe that I'll have a better chance to succeed as a human being. I don't like being held down by whites . . .⁸⁴

Hawaii Nisei Sute'ichi Wakabayashi energetically promoted Manchurian opportunities. Wakabayashi taught agronomy at the University of Hawaii and advised the Territory's Agricultural Extension Service. He left for Japan in 1939 to study colonization and by year's end was filing reports from Hsinking urging Nisei to come to Manchukuo. There was a strong demand, he wrote, for electricians, welders, machinists, draftsmen, truck drivers and auto mechanics. Nisei with these skills would be welcomed and treated decently. Wakabayashi conceded that

Manchukuo was still a rugged frontier but added: "A rough life with hope has more meaning than a cultured life without hope."⁸⁵

Wakabayashi's exhortations echoed themes that resonated in lecture halls during the 1930s. From 1932, South Manchurian Railway Company spokesmen Kotani Sumiyuki and Takeda Taneo, later joined by Roy Akagi, spoke at clubs and campuses in Hawaii and North America about employment opportunities in Manchukuo.⁸⁶ Takeda went so far as to call Manchuria and China the "key" to the solution of the problem of the Nisei future.⁸⁷ These words were reinforced by the prestige and popularity of Matsuoka Yôsuke (who passed through California and Hawaii in 1933)⁸⁸ and the affectionate respect enjoyed by Kawasaki Torao.

Opportunities for higher education in Manchukuo attracted a small number of Nisei. At a meeting of East Asian writers in Tokyo in 1940, the California-raised Harvard alumnus Tanigawa Noboru urged Nisei in Japan to study in Manchuria to imbibe the spirit of tenacious, selfless endeavor.⁸⁹ If Tanigawa's words planted the ideas, the South Manchurian Railway Company prompted action by offering vocational training and employment. Ken Ogata, son of a Honolulu Japanese Language school principal, enrolled in the Fushun Industrial School in 1938, intending to stay in Manchukuo after graduation and work for the Manchuria Heavy Industries Company.⁹⁰ Compton-born judoist Yôrô Omoto followed Ogata's example two years later.⁹¹ In June 1940, the SMR established a school in Mukden to prepare Nikkei youth for living and working in Manchukuo. American Nisei in Japan were targeted for recruitment, for they were thought to have better career prospects in Manchukuo than in the home islands.⁹²

Employment

While touring Manchukuo in 1937, Niisato Kan'ichi declared that Hsinking's downtown was "more prosperous than Los Angeles."⁹³ Making allowances for enthusiasm, the remark offers insight into the hopes of Japanese Americans who went to Manchukuo searching for—and sometimes finding—jobs.

Nisei going to Manchukuo found positions in a variety of trades and professions. After graduating from the University of Hawaii in 1932, Kauai-born Kei'ichi Funata attended Rikkyô and Keio, then passed up a job in Japan for a managerial post in a Manchukuo firm.⁹⁴ Hailing from

Penryn, California, Shinobu Matsuda graduated from Nagoya Commercial College in 1940 and found work in a Manchukuo mining company.⁹⁵ Sansei Hayashi of Honolulu found a desk job in the Manchurian Life Insurance Company at Antung near the Korean frontier.⁹⁶ A Fresno-born youth by the name of Furuya secured commissions as an architect in Manchukuo's "boom town"—Hsinking.⁹⁷ San Franciscan Yoshio Kai, elder brother of aforementioned pianist Miwa Kai, was hired as an interpreter for American engineers at the Manchukuo Machine Works in Mukden.⁹⁸ Foreign firms with branches in Manchukuo employed a number of Nisei. Fresno-born Shiro ("Doc") Kawakami went to Dairen in 1937 with the Kono All-Stars, stayed to play baseball with a local team, then accepted a position in the Dairen office of General Motors.⁹⁹

Sute'ichi Wakabayashi's remark that Nisei would find rewarding work in Manchukuo as auto mechanics was not based on speculation. Since 1933, Sacramento-born Shiro Tatsumi had been operating a thriving auto repair shop in Mukden.¹⁰⁰ Hanzô Nishida of Kula, Maui, left an agricultural job in Hawaii in 1936 and headed straight for Manchukuo. He settled in Hunchun (population 30,000) near the USSR frontier and opened an auto and truck repair shop patronized by the Kwantung Army. Nishida reported that Nisei mechanics would find a "warm welcome" in Hunchun. Late in 1939, Nishida was visited by Sute'ichi Wakabayashi, who reported him doing well.¹⁰¹

The early career of John Fujio Aiso (1909-1987) illustrates how aforementioned networks shaped employment opportunities. Born and raised in Burbank, California, he graduated from a local high school, Brown University, and Harvard Law School. His Japan connections came into play as early as 1927 when Foreign Ministry official Sawada Setsuzô wrote the president of Brown University recommending Aiso's admission.¹⁰² Aiso seems to have come to Japan in 1936 or early 1937. In March 1937, he was introduced by another Foreign Ministry official, Hosono Gunji to Matsumoto Shigeharu, Shanghai manager of Dômei, who invited the young attorney to Shanghai. Aiso was retained as legal counsel to a Hong Kong subsidiary of British-American Tobacco Company, reincorporated as a Manchukuoan firm. That summer, Aiso moved from Shanghai to Mukden after making arrangements with Ôhashi Chû'ichi, through whom he met Kishi Nobusuke (then head of the Manchukuo Patent Office), Hoshino Naoki (head of the Manchukuo General Affairs Board), and

South Manchurian Railway Company President Matsuoka Yôsuke. A year later roving *Rafu Shimpô* correspondent Sakai Yoneo reported from Mukden that Aiso was “active” in the SMR.¹⁰³

South Manchurian Railway Company (SMR)

During its thirty-eight-year existence (1907-1945), the South Manchurian Railway Company employed dozens of Japanese Americans in the Kwantung Territory, Manchuria, Japan, and the United States. The SMR was more than a railroad. It owned and operated factories, farms, mines, ships, colleges, and hotels. It was the major instrument of Japanese economic penetration of Manchuria long before the Kwantung Army burst out from the SMR zone in September 1931 and occupied China's three northeastern provinces. From 1935 until 1940, the president of the SMR was Matsuoka Yôsuke, whose ties with Japanese Americans have already been noted.

Nikkei at the SMR had different backgrounds and fulfilled a variety of functions. Tetsuo Scott [“Scotty”] Miyakawa joined the SMR New York office in 1931 and went to Dairen in 1934 to work as an economic researcher and public relations officer.¹⁰⁴ Tomiko Okura of Wilmington, California, younger sister of Los Angeles JACL secretary Kiyoshi Okura, worked in the Hsinking office as “reputedly one of the highest paid secretaries.”¹⁰⁵ Tôru Nishimura, born in Hamakua Poko, Maui, son of the principal of Hamakua Japanese Language School, moved with his family to Korea at the age of six and nineteen years later, in 1938, joined SMR as a translator and researcher.¹⁰⁶

Nikkei also found employment in SMR subsidiaries. Hawaii-raised Issei Masuda Yoshio (younger brother of the soprano Kishimoto Tsuruko) became president of the Dairen Steamship Company in 1934.¹⁰⁷ Berkeley-born George Ryôzô Negishi worked as a researcher at the SMR Central Chemical Laboratory in Dairen.¹⁰⁸ Hawaii-born Seiko Shirota, a graduate of McKinley High School, Heian Middle School and Waseda University, was hired by SMR Engineering Department as electrical engineer in Dairen.¹⁰⁹ Several Nisei translated and/or wrote for the SMR monthly *Contemporary Manchuria*.

Lying on the rail route connecting the Far East with Europe, Manchukuo was crossed by thousands of foreigners each year. Afficionados called the SMR “Asia Express” between Dairen and Hsinking the best train in the world. Travel through Manchukuo was affected but not dis-

rupted by war with China, border clashes with the USSR, or the outbreak of World War II in September 1939. Optimism persisted as late as May 1941, when the SMR opened a Travel Bureau in Berlin in anticipation of a new age of transcontinental tourism. A year earlier, Honolulu-born Katsunori Iwakoshi had been hired by the SMR's Harbin Tourist Bureau to serve an English-speaking clientele (at that time largely Americans).¹¹⁰

Growing international tourism possibly underlay employment of Japanese Americans in SMR-operated Yamato hotels. Honolulu-born Yoshie Oda (McKinley High School, class of 1932) was hired as tour guide at the Yamato Hotel in Port Arthur.¹¹¹ While fluency in English seems to have loomed prominently in Miss Oda's qualifications, administrative skills recommended two Issei hoteliers, San Franciscan Chiba Chiyokichi and Honolulu Kogure Tora, who managed Yamato hotels in Hsinking, Harbin, and Dairen.¹¹²

Journalism

Journalism offered Nikkei professional opportunities unmatched by any other field in Manchuria. Nearly all Nikkei journalists in Manchukuo were affiliated with the *Manshû Nichi Nichi*, the country's largest paper, established in Dairen in 1908 and relocated to Hsinking in 1939. Run by Kwantung Army officers,¹¹³ the *Manshû Nichi Nichi* had an English-language edition, *The Manchuria Daily News*, edited in the early 1930s by a British subject, George W. Gorman. Assisting Gorman were some talented Hawaii Nikkei: city editor Harry Shiramizu,¹¹⁴ Dairen branch chief Sônoshin Inoue,¹¹⁵ Norikazu Muramaru,¹¹⁶ Noboru Hidaka,¹¹⁷ and Masaharu Masuda.¹¹⁸ These were joined in June 1939 by Peter Shinobu Higashi, editor of a Nisei-operated Vancouver newspaper, *The New Canadian*.¹¹⁹

The most visible Nisei on the staff of the *Manchuria Daily News* was George Sakamaki (1903-1967). Born in Olaa on the Island of Hawaii, George and his younger brother Shunzo (1906-1973) distinguished themselves at the University of Hawaii (George edited the student paper *Ka Leo*) from where they graduated in 1926 and 1927 respectively. The brothers went to Japan in 1928, and George returned to Honolulu around 1930 to join the staff of the *Honolulu Star Bulletin*. In January 1933 he married Gertrude Kadota and set off for Dairen as assistant editor of *The Manchuria Daily News*. He had been offered the job through the good offices of *Nippu Jiji* editor Sôga Yasutarô and international

affairs commentator Kawakami Kiyoshi.¹²⁰ In 1934, George Sakamaki took over as acting editor when George W. Gorman returned to England on extended leave. Sakamaki contributed some mildly pro-Japanese pieces to the *Honolulu Star Bulletin* and was described as “prominent in Manchukuo” in the University of Hawaii alumni magazine.¹²¹ To get Nationalist Chinese bulletins past Kwantung Army censors, Sakamaki deleted “so-called” before “Empire of Manchukuo” and “puppet” before “Emperor of Manchukuo.”¹²²

Although not affiliated with *The Manchuria Daily News*, John Yutaka Matsumura (1899-1984) was the most experienced Nisei journalist and probably the most prominent Nisei in Manchukuo. Born on the Island of Hawaii, Matsumura grew up in the Kohala District. Coming to Honolulu to attend school, he met Kawasaki Torao, then secretary of the Nuuanu YMCA, who was to have a profound influence on the young man’s future. Entering the University of Hawaii in 1919, Matsumura excelled academically, edited the newspaper (*Ka Leo*) and yearbook (*Ka Palapala*), and won the Berndt Extemporaneous Speaking Contest. Matsumura’s literary talents attracted the attention of Sôga Yasutarô who in June 1922 began publishing the undergraduate’s essays as a column (“Reader Thoughts”) in the English section of *Nippu Jiji*. While writing for *Nippu Jiji*, Matsumura assisted Kawasaki at the Nuuanu YMCA. After graduation in 1923, Matsumura wanted to study journalism on the mainland, but his plans were (in his own words) “nipped at the bud.” Instead, he went to Japan, provided with a letter of introduction from University of Hawaii Visiting Professor (and former Dôshisha University president) Harada Tasuku to the editor of the English-language edition of *Osaka Mainichi*. In 1925, Matsumura was sent to Peiping by the *Mainichi* to cover the unfolding drama of warlord politics and nationalism. He deepened his knowledge of China during the next six years, working in Peiping, Tientsin, Shanghai, and Tsingtao. Now recognized as a China expert, Matsumura in 1931 was offered and accepted a position with the *Japan Times and Mail*, working with Nitobe Yoshio, son of the celebrated author of *Bushido*, Nitobe Inazô. Later that year he went to Shanghai under the auspices of the South Manchurian Railway Press Union and covered hostilities there during January 1932. Matsumura’s work for the SMR in Shanghai caught the attention of his old Honolulu teacher and mentor Kawasaki Torao, who in May 1932 offered him a position in the Manchukuoan government.¹²³

Government

It is no secret that during the 1930s Japanese authorities retained the services of foreigners to upgrade Manchukuo's international image. The most prominent among these "hired pens" was George Bronson Rea, who held the title of Councillor in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It is not generally known that Japanese Americans were also on the Manchukuoan government rolls. They fulfilled a variety of functions. Some served as translators, interpreters, radio announcers, and secretaries; others as experts in economics and international affairs. One rose to ambassadorial rank in the Manchukuoan diplomatic corps. In an interview in Hsinking with Prime Minister Cheng Hsiao-hsu in 1934, Sôga Yasutarô brought up the subject of Hawaii Nikkei in Manchukuo state service, a matter about which the *Nippu Jiji* editor felt solicitous pride.¹²⁴

Japanese Americans were no strangers to official responsibilities in Japanese government organs. Ashikari Sueyuki, former editor of the *Rafu Nichi-Bei*, sat on Dairen's Municipal Council.¹²⁵ David Koh Chiba, eldest son of a San Francisco journalist who brought his family to Dairen, joined the Foreign Ministry and began a long diplomatic career by lecturing in Manchuria on educational issues.¹²⁶ Kay Miyakawa (1908-1965), born in Sacramento, brother of the celebrated soprano Agnes Yoshiko Miyakawa, joined the Foreign Ministry in 1936 and was posted to Hsinking where he rose to the rank of consul.¹²⁷ The Foreign Ministry established the Heishikan in 1939 to train Nisei for short-term employment in government and semi-government agencies such as Dômei News Agency, the Society for Promotion of International Culture, and the South Manchurian Railway Company. One member of the Heishikan's first class (1939-41), Kazuma ["Kaz"] Uyeno, had just finished his sophomore year at University of British Columbia when recruited in the summer of 1939. Uyeno proceeded to Hsinking in the summer of 1941 as a bilingual news editor for the Manchurian Broadcasting Corporation.¹²⁸

The Central Bank of Manchukuo employed a Hawaii Nisei, Samuel Tokitarô Suzuki, a boyhood friend of John Yutaka Matsumura. Born in Aiea in 1898 and graduated from McKinley High School in 1918, Suzuki studied at the universities of Hawaii and Wisconsin before coming to Japan in 1924 on a Prince Fushimi Scholarship. When his stipend expired, Suzuki joined the Mitsubishi Trading Company. His interest in Manchuria, traceable to the late 1920s, found expression in 1931 in a series of lectures de-

livered in his native Hawaii. On the recommendation of John Matsumura, the Central Bank of Manchukuo hired Suzuki in 1932 and assigned him to the Foreign Products Section of the Research Department in Hsinking. The young man from Aiea loved sports and was a talented, versatile athlete. He had quarterbacked the 1919 undefeated University of Hawaii football team, had played first base for Palama in the AJA league, and had wrestled for the University of Wisconsin. In Manchuria, while teaching rugby and gymnastics, he led the Bank of Manchukuo baseball team to an All-Manchukuo championship in 1933. Suzuki fell victim to stomach cancer and died in Dairen before his fortieth birthday in 1938. Bank employees organized a special calisthenics event in his honor.¹²⁹

Hawaii Nisei were well represented in the Information Section of the Manchukuo Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which in 1934 was absorbed into the Information Bureau of the Manchukuo General Affairs Board. The Information Section was at first put under Lieutenant Colonel Miyawaki Jôji, formerly in the Imperial Army Press Department and an old acquaintance of Sôga Yasutarô.¹³⁰ From 1932 until 1935, the Information Section/Bureau was led by Kawasaki Torao, whose protégés included former *Nippu Jiji* reporter Mitsushige Matsuzawa,¹³¹ Shôtarô Hikida,¹³² Noboru Nakano,¹³³ and John Matsumura, who in 1933 was called "prominent in Manchukuo" in the University of Hawaii alumni magazine.¹³⁴

When Kawasaki Torao was transferred to the Manchukuoan Embassy in Tokyo in 1935, John Matsumura assumed responsibility for translating Manchukuo's laws, rules, and official edicts into English. Editorial talents led to his appointment as chief of the First Section of the Research Bureau of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In that capacity he contributed a preface to a book on Soviet-Manchukuo border problems written by fellow Hawaii Nikkei Noboru Hidaka.¹³⁵ Early in 1939, Matsumura took up the post of chargé d'affaires at the Consulate of Manchukuo in Burgos, Spain. He conducted negotiations that culminated in September 1941 in a Manchukuo-Spanish Commercial Treaty and his promotion to minister plenipotentiary in Madrid.¹³⁶

Afflictions and Consolations

Reflecting in 1993 on a childhood divided between New York and Mukden, a Hawaii resident reminisced: "Manchukuo was open and cosmopolitan. Anybody who wanted to could fit in easily."¹³⁷ This recollection is not an off-

spring of nostalgia. Positive testimonials from Nisei about life in Manchukuo abounded during the 1930s. "For a while I was homesick but now that I've gotten used to life in Manchukuo I'm grateful to be here," remarked Yoshie Oda in 1938, after working as a tour guide in Port Arthur for several months.¹³⁸ Manchukuo was in some ways easy on Nisei sensibilities. Racial discrimination did not exist (at least as practiced in North America), and discrimination encountered in Japan's home islands was muffled by the rubric *Nikkei* that embraced all Japanese regardless of their place of birth.¹³⁹ Manchukuo did not, however, deprive Nisei of afflictions. It only deprived them of utterable grievances.

As a strategically sensitive imperial outpost, Manchukuo imposed restrictions that were likely to be onerous to Nisei raised in the United States and Canada. Unsettled conditions in rural areas and proximity to Soviet Russia fueled vigilance against spies and "bandits." Watched in Japan proper for involvement in leftist movements and smuggling, American Nisei came under even closer scrutiny in Manchukuo.¹⁴⁰ One Nisei suspected of transporting contraband from Dairen committed suicide when cornered by police in a Kobe restaurant.¹⁴¹ The Kwantung Army and police lurked ubiquitously, constraining displays of irreverent humor or cosmopolitanism. Any information emanating from abroad was strictly controlled. According to Sôga Yasutarô, even the Honolulu daily *Nippu Jiji* could not be bought or sold in Manchukuo and was subject to confiscation by customs.¹⁴²

No survey of Japanese Americans in Manchuria would be complete without mention of religious consolation. In addition to Buddhist links alluded to earlier, there were Christian organizations such as the Manchuria Missionary Society with representatives in Hawaiian and North American Japanese communities. It will be recalled that successive secretaries of Honolulu's Nuuanu YMCA, among them Kawasaki Torao, also represented the Manchuria Missionary Society. At least five Japanese American Christian missionaries worked in Manchuria: Koga Yasukazu in Antung, Koga Ei'ichi and Tanaka Moha in Mukden, Saitô Suematsu in Dairen, and Sakai-Mikasa Tsukako in Hsinking.¹⁴³ Kishimoto Tsuruko, elder sister of Dairen Steamship Company President Masuda Yoshio mentioned earlier, was active in the Christian Youth Association of Dairen.¹⁴⁴

Marriage and Colonization

Marriage and colonization constituted an integral part of Japan's efforts to consolidate control over Manchuria, where uncontrolled waves of immigrants from Shantung and Hopei had created an unsettling preponderance of Han Chinese and Koreans.¹⁴⁵ Japanese girls, particularly in rural areas of heavily populated southwestern prefectures and impoverished enclaves of northern Honshû were encouraged to show filial piety and patriotism by joining the ranks of "continental brides" to populate Manchukuo. Under slogans such as "propagate and prosper," prefectural authorities set up "continental bride schools," conducted collective marriage ceremonies, and dispatched "bride contingents" to Manchukuo.

The mainstream Japanese American press, particularly the *Rafu Shimpô*, carried stories about Manchukuo-bound brides and published announcements that urged "for the sake of the nation, for the sake of a happy family, bear at least one more child!"¹⁴⁶ Of the 11,317 Nisei in Hiroshima Prefecture in 1932 more than half (5,747) were female, and it is possible that some went to Manchukuo as brides, particularly when it is borne in mind that prefectural authorities were concerned about improving Nisei marriagability and regenerating emigration.¹⁴⁷

Of the known cases of Nisei women who went to Manchuria as spouses, none fall into the category of "continental brides." In 1933, Gertrude Kadota (University of Hawaii, '29) was prepared to join her fiancé George Sakamaki when he was appointed assistant editor of *The Manchuria Daily News*. The newlyweds settled in Dairen's fashionable Hoshigaura district, where Gertrude set up house and gave birth to a son.¹⁴⁸ Edith Sueko Higashi left her native Hawaii and married a professional baseball player on the Hanshin Tigers team. When her husband signed a contract with a Manchukuo team in 1939, Edith and their infant daughter joined him in Dairen.¹⁴⁹ Vancouver-born Nobu Ishizaki, who had married *The New Canadian* founding editor Peter Shinobu Higashi in 1937, accompanied her husband when he took a job with *The Manchurian Daily News* in 1939, bringing along their infant daughter Yuriko. Nobu contracted tuberculosis shortly after their arrival in Dairen and died within a year. Her younger sister Setsu came from Vancouver to take care of little Yuriko, but the child fell ill and died in 1941, becoming the first and perhaps only Sansei casualty of the Manchurian dream.¹⁵⁰

A number of Nisei went to Manchuria as a result of "international marriages." A Los Angeles photographer named Terashima married a White Russian in Manchukuo and settled in Mukden.¹⁵¹ Seattle-born Hannah Hatsuyo Kosaka, an accomplished pianist who performed in Tokyo during 1939-40, married a White Russian and moved to Manchuria just before the outbreak of the Pacific War.¹⁵² The most publicized international marriage united Yukiko Tajima of Hollister, California with Cheng Tzu-kuan, son of the mayor of Mukden Cheng Yu and grandson of Manchukuo's Prime Minister Cheng Hsiao-hsu. "Charles" and "Lucille" (as they called each other) met while studying in Tokyo. They were married at the Kanda YWCA in April 1939, honeymooned at Hakone, and settled in Mukden, where Yukiko Lucille gave birth to a daughter.¹⁵³

Officially sponsored colonization of Manchukuo generated hype which found its way into the press on both sides of the Pacific. In 1932, *Nippu Jiji* announced on the front page that the "Intelligentsia Will Migrate to Manchuria."¹⁵⁴ Seattle's *Japanese American Courier* headlined that "50,000 Nipponese Farm Youth Going to Manchukuo in 1938."¹⁵⁵ SMR propagandist Henry Kinney told a Honolulu audience in 1938 that five million Japanese would settle Manchuria by 1958.¹⁵⁶ With tongue firmly in cheek, travel writer Carveth Wells predicted that Manchukuo would someday accommodate so many Japanese that the home islands could be turned into a national park.¹⁵⁷

Issei agriculturists began arriving in Manchuria during the 1920s from California, where a virulent anti-Japanese movement institutionalized by alien land laws and the 1924 Immigration Act dimmed prospects in the United States. Proponents of continental colonization such as Matsuoka Yôsuke and geographer-statesman Shiga Shigetaka called the attention of North American Issei to opportunities for large-scale agriculture in Japan's Kwantung Territory. San Francisco agricultural expert Chiba Toyoji (1881-1944) went to Dairen in 1921 (his family joined him a year later) and until his death worked as an agricultural consultant in the presidential office of the South Manchurian Railway Company.¹⁵⁸ Thirty-five-year-old Fresno farmer Awaya Man'ei also left for Dairen at this time. Settling in the Kwantung Territory, Awaya created a model farm where crops of American cotton and grapes were sown and harvested by sixty Chinese families. Awaya's farm was praised by Kwantung Territory Governor Yamagata Isaburô and in 1925 visited by former SMR president Gotô

Shimpei.¹⁵⁹ A Hawaii Issei, Yoshito Kubota, left Honolulu where he had been a parishoner at Reverend Takie Okumura's Makiki Church to settle in the Kwantung Territory, where during the 1930s he operated a large apple orchard outside of Port Arthur.¹⁶⁰

The matter of colonization by Nisei came up in the press, in the Imperial Diet, and in schools. While revisiting his alma mater Kôryô Middle School in Hiroshima, "honorary Nisei" Frank Takizô Matsumoto exhorted students to develop a "pioneer spirit," a phrase calculated to resonate among Kôryô's sizeable contingent of Nisei, themselves children of pioneers.¹⁶¹ Honolulu Issei attorney Matsumura Tamotsu exhorted Hawaii Nisei to start pineapple plantations on Hainan Island.¹⁶² In February 1940, a member of the Diet asked if Hawaii Nisei could be resettled in Manchukuo and North China.¹⁶³ Against this background, Nisei Manchukuo booster Sute'ichi Wakabayashi joined the National Colonization Research Center in Hsinking, while his Maui friend Hanzô Nishida established an agricultural colony of fifty-six Japanese and ten Korean families near Hunchun.¹⁶⁴

An unknown number of Nisei youth went to Manchukuo in the twilight years of the Japanese Empire among 86,530 boys in the "Manchuria-Mongolia Colonization Youth Volunteer Corps." Organized in 1937, the Corps recruited adolescents through prefectural organizations. Nisei seem to have entered the corps mainly after 1941, when war with the United States placed those who had not renounced their American citizenship in an awkward situation as "enemy nationals."¹⁶⁵ Fujio Shimizu, seventeen, from Lindsay, California entered the Corps in June 1944 was sent to a farm near Hunchun where Korea, Manchukuo, and the USSR converged.¹⁶⁶ Los Angeles-born Leo Hayashi, barred from enrolling in the Utsunomiya Middle School because of his American citizenship, entered the Corps in March 1945 at the age of fourteen and was sent in May with 180 other boys from Miyagi Prefecture to Donkô [Nenchiang], a hamlet 250 miles north of Harbin.¹⁶⁷

In the Kwantung Army

Of the thousands of Japanese Americans who served in the armed forces of Imperial Japan during the Second World War,¹⁶⁸ perhaps a hundred were inducted into the Kwantung Army. One of the earlier conscripts, Los Angeles Nisei Shigeru Matsuura, was decorated for valor during the Manchurian Incident (1931-32).¹⁶⁹ When British author

Peter Fleming visited Manchukuo in 1933, his guide and interpreter on an anti-bandit operation was a Nisei soldier.¹⁷⁰ Maui-born Ted Matsumura, twenty, arrived in Japan 1933, joined the army, and before the year was out was posted to Keikanzan, a strongpoint on the rail line between Mukden and Antung.¹⁷¹ Thirty American Nisei are known to have served in uniform or under military jurisdiction in Manchuria between 1931 and 1945.¹⁷² These individuals were attached to infantry, artillery, cavalry, transport, and intelligence units. Heishikan graduate Sydney Sakamoto was assigned to the Kwantung Army's undercover Special Service Organ in Harbin.¹⁷³ Nisei women as well as men were utilized as radio monitors in headquarters units to catch English-language broadcasts from the USSR.¹⁷⁴ For reasons common to any military bureaucracy, Gordon Togasaki, highly educated scion of a prominent San Francisco family, wound up as a stable hand near Hsinking. Aside from quarantines and odors ("dates would not approach us"), Togasaki recalls being repeatedly told: "It costs ¥ 500 to purchase a horse but takes only one postcard to draft you, fellow!"¹⁷⁵

The Kwantung Army fought several border engagements with the USSR's Special Far Eastern Red Bannered Army during the 1930s. One of these, at Nomonhan on the Manchukuo-Mongolian frontier in the summer of 1939, resulted in 18,000 Japanese casualties, including the annihilation of the Kwantung Army's 23rd Division. Four Nisei are known to have been killed at Nomonhan.¹⁷⁶

While draftable Nikkei served *in* the Kwantung Army, one Hawaii Issei had the rare privilege to be served *by* it. Belying a reputation of stiff-necked arrogance and blinkered zeal, Kwantung Army officers showed themselves capable of social graces when cultivating influential figures such as Honolulu editor-publisher Sôga Yasutarô. During Sôga's 1934 tour, he was provided with free first class rail tickets for unlimited travel in Manchukuo, briefings from courteous staff officers, and a banquet attended by Vice Chief of Staff Major-General Okamura Yasuji, subsequently commander of Japan's Expeditionary Forces in China. Though protocol did not require it, "Hawaii party" members Kawasaki Torao, Mitsushige Matsuzawa, and John Matsumura were invited to make the guest of honor feel at home.¹⁷⁷

Timely Exits

Whether through foresight or luck, some Nisei residents of Manchukuo managed to leave before the deluge. Tetsuo

Scott Miyakawa was transferred from Dairen to the New York SMR office in 1935.¹⁷⁸ George Sakamaki, Harry Shimizu, and Noboru Hidaka resigned from *The Manchuria Daily News* and left Manchuria before the outbreak of the Pacific War. Sakamaki was succeeded as editor by Vancouver-born Noboru Nakano who in 1941 recruited fellow Canadians Kazuma ["Kaz"] Uyeno and Peter Shinobu Higashi.¹⁷⁹ Uyeno soon looked for greener pastures in Shanghai, but Higashi lingered until his conscription in 1941. Tomiko Okura returned to California early in 1938 when her mother fell ill.¹⁸⁰ John Matsumura was sent to Spain in 1939 on a diplomatic assignment.¹⁸¹ In June 1939, John Aiso took three months' leave from the SMR and returned to Los Angeles to recuperate from hepatitis.¹⁸² He never went back.

It is not known if any Manchuria-based Nisei returned to the United States after the State Department issued an advisory in October 1940 that American citizens leave the Far East because of the uncertain international situation.

The Deluge

A deceptive calm settled over Manchukuo after the outbreak of the Pacific War in December 1941. American forces were far away; the Red Army was near, but the USSR had signed a Neutrality Pact with Japan in April 1941. Nikkei came and went. Tatsumi Iwahashi, an employee at the U.S. consulate in Dairen, was interned after Pearl Harbor and taken under police escort to Fukuoka where he was handed over to the care of Seattle-born Tamotsu Murayama.¹⁸³ San Francisco-born, Tokyo Imperial University alumnus Ei'ichi Noda arrived in Mukden and began work as army interpreter and paymaster in a POW Camp in November 1942. During 1943 about 1,400 American survivors of Corregidor arrived at the camp. Those judged fit for labor, about 200, were sent to the nearby Manchukuo Machine Tool Works where they were supervised by another San Franciscan, Yoshio Kai.¹⁸⁴ Vancouver-born Ken Kitamura, who had visited Manchukuo in 1938 as a member of a student delegation, returned in 1941 as an employee of a copper mining company in Antung.¹⁸⁵ Californian Emi Yasuda left Japan for Manchuria in 1943 to avoid war work.¹⁸⁶ After an absence of five years, John Matsumura returned to Hsinking with his wife and children from Spain in 1944. Teruyo Yanagi, sister of national JACL president (1940-1946) Saburō Kido, set off for Manchuria with her husband in 1945 for reasons that are still unclear.¹⁸⁷ Among the afore-

mentioned, only Ken Kitamura escaped the deluge. Early in 1945, a well-informed Issei benefactor wrote from Japan advising him to get out of Manchukuo. Kitamura managed to board a southbound train at Antung with his pregnant wife. After a tense crossing of the submarine-infested Tsushima Strait, the couple reached Shimonoseki in the midst of an air raid.¹⁸⁸

The maelstrom burst on August 9, 1945 when over a million Red Army troops and thousands of tanks and planes crashed into Manchukuo from the west, north, and east. Over 80,000 Kwantung Army personnel were killed in desperate but hopeless resistance. Thousands of Japanese men, women and children perished at the hands of "Manchukuoans" settling scores and helping themselves to property. Soviet forces occupied North Korean and Kwantung Territory ports so quickly that only a few thousand of Manchuria's 1,272,000 Japanese civilians managed to escape into Korea south of the 38th parallel or into China south of the Great Wall. Among them was eighteen-year-old colonist Fujio Shimizu. Taking advantage of the proximity of the Korean frontier, Shimizu slipped across and made his way south to the American occupation zone.¹⁸⁹

Most Nisei trapped in Manchuria by the Red Army campaign eventually managed to reach Japan. These included three performers who happened to be in Manchukuo entertaining Imperial Army troops: Canadian contralto Aiko Saita, who six years earlier had thrilled a Los Angeles audience with "Manchurian Tidings;" Sacramento-born singer Betty Inada, famous for her Columbia recording of "When the Moon Comes Over the Mountain;" and San Franciscan Charlie Kikugawa, "Blue Nights" drummer at the Pacific Dance Hall in Yokohama.¹⁹⁰ Fourteen-year-old youth colonist Leo Hayashi was picked up by a Red Army column and sent to Blagoveshchensk, just across the Amur River in the USSR.¹⁹¹ Hayashi survived Soviet internment but suffered appalling hardships in postwar China before being reunited with his parents in California in 1948. Manchukuoan diplomat John Matsumura was allowed by Soviet authorities to return to Japan with his family in 1946.¹⁹² All three Yamada sisters who had worked as army radio monitors got back to Japan; however the eldest, Masako, succumbed shortly thereafter from malnutrition.¹⁹³ Setsu Ishizaki, who had married her brother-in-law Peter Higashi, made her way back to Japan in 1946 but lost her husband's infant son Yoshio en route.¹⁹⁴

Diplomatic connections provided some Nisei with a way out of Manchuria. When Soviet authorities confiscated Shiro Tatsumi's Mukden auto repair shop and bank accounts in 1946, the Sacramento native found work at the U.S. consulate. When Chinese Communists arrested Tatsumi and other consulate staff in 1949, Washington took measures to secure his release. Tatsumi returned to San Francisco in 1950. Asked by a reporter how he felt about having come out of Manchuria with only the clothes on his back, Tatsumi answered: "I went to Mukden empty-handed, and so I came out even."¹⁹⁵ The reply was more philosophical than accurate, for Tatsumi returned with a wife, children, and grandchildren.

Niisato Kan'ichi remarked presciently before World War II that "when you say Manchuria, people think of Siberia."¹⁹⁶ Of three million Japanese in areas occupied by the Red Army and Pacific Fleet in August 1945, over 600,000 were interned in the USSR (not including over 200,000 residents of Karafuto and the Kurile Islands who were detained *in situ* for two years). Japanese POWs were distributed among some 200 camps operated by the Ministry of Internal Affairs between the Black Sea and the Pacific.

It is not known how many Nisei military personnel were captured by the Red Army. The following probably represent a small percentage of the total: Mike Migaku Atsumi, Peter Shinobu Higashi, Sónoshin Inoue, Henry Takeshi Ishii, Mike Kojiro Iwasaki, Thomas Motomi Kaneko, Mike Michio Morikubo, Akira Morimoto, Dennis Gakutomo Murato, Makoto Nakanishi, Ei'ichi Noda, Sydney Sakamoto, Iwao Peter Sano, Kazutaka Tamura, Gordon Shigeru Togasaki, and Masayuki Yoshioka.¹⁹⁷ Of these, Kaneko and Sakamoto were in intelligence units and consequently subjected to special scrutiny by Soviet security organs who prolonged their sojourns in the USSR. Tom Kaneko was originally assigned to a bakery near Komsomolsk but when Soviet authorities learned that he had been born in the United States was removed to the interior and detained until 1950.¹⁹⁸ Sydney Sakamoto languished five years in the Jewish Autonomous Region and Khabarovsk.¹⁹⁹ Although he had been discharged from the army in 1942 and was a civilian journalist at the end of the war, Peter Shinobu Higashi was picked up by Soviet security organs in December 1945 and sent to the USSR. He spent two and a half years in Central Asia and an additional year at Nakhodka near Vladivostok before being repatriated in 1949.²⁰⁰ Togasaki concealed his Ameri-

can birth from Soviet authorities and after an involuntary sojourn in Siberia got back to Japan in 1947.²⁰¹

One Nisei in the Imperial Navy spent time in a GULAG labor camp. Shinya Fukuno of San Diego was serving on Shumshu in the Northern Kurile Islands when captured after fierce fighting with naval infantry of the Soviet Pacific Fleet. Sent to Magadan, gateway to the notorious Kolyma death camps, Fukuno encountered a red-haired American girl named Mary whose Russian husband had vanished in Stalin's Great Terror. Mary was too terrified to tell Fukuno her full name and would only say that she had been born in Seattle and that her parents lived in San Pedro, California. Years later, Fukuno tried to locate them but was unsuccessful.²⁰²

The fates of some Nisei trapped in Manchukuo remain unknown. Colonization activists Sute'ichi Wakabayashi and Hanzô Nishida may have returned to Japan or even their native Hawaii, but the author could not trace them. Hannah Kosaka and her White Russian husband vanished in Soviet-occupied Harbin.²⁰³ There are others, probably many others, whose names have not come to light.

One of the last Nisei to leave Manchuria was New York-born Hiroko Ito who showed up in Hong Kong in 1951 after being stranded for five years in Manchuria after the war, three of them spent as a nurse for a "Communist guerrilla unit."²⁰⁴

Outcomes

"Manchurian pioneers" fared variously in the postwar world. John Matsumura settled in Tokyo and found work writing for a shipping newspaper. Before passing away in 1984, he returned to Hawaii in 1967 after an interval of forty years and remarked that he felt like Urashima Tarô.²⁰⁵ George Sakamaki sold insurance in Hawaii until his death in 1967. Singer Aiko Saita launched a North American comeback in 1953 but succumbed from cancer the following year at the age of forty-four. Survivors of Siberian internment tried, usually with the help of their families, to rebuild their lives. Peter Higashi published a fictionalized account of his internment in the USSR under a pseudonym.²⁰⁶ Sônoshin Inoue settled in Osaka and combined poetry with business. Henry Ishii is a successful businessman in Tokyo. Gordon Togasaki graduated from Swarthmore and Harvard Business School, worked for Pan American Airways and Northern Telecom until retirement, and now lives in Tokyo. Sydney Sakamoto returned to Texas,

changed his surname to “Sako” and had a long and successful career in the U.S. Air Force. Tom Kaneko moved back to Salt Lake City in 1952, took a doctorate degree in metallurgy, and worked for Union Carbide until retirement.²⁰⁷ Ei’ichi Noda was arrested in April 1947, tried as a war criminal in Yokohama for mistreatment of Allied prisoners in a Mukden POW Camp, and given a twenty-year sentence.²⁰⁸ His subsequent fate is unknown to this author.

Japanese American pioneers in Manchuria faced challenges no less formidable than those met by Issei pioneers in Hawaii and North America. Their personal lives and professional careers unfolded in one of the most turbulent parts of the world. They made fateful choices in an atmosphere charged with conflicting emotions and clouded by wishful thinking. Whatever their motives, Japanese Americans who served the Empire of Manchukuo supported—and benefitted from—imperialism. Yet this circumstance carries neither an individual nor collective stigma. Buffeted by youthful enthusiasm, parental expectations, and peer pressures, Japanese Americans had to navigate across uncharted moral terrain guided for the most part by good intentions. As the 1930s drew to a close, some sensed the awkwardness if not the precariousness of their positions. Not all of those who got out of Manchukuo before the crash did so from foresight or American patriotism. And not all of those who stayed in Manchukuo to the end did so from shortsightedness or Japanese patriotism.

Harry Honda called the story of Nisei in Japan the “missing chapter” of Japanese American history.²⁰⁹ Within this “missing chapter,” Manchuria claimed more than its share of missing young men and women hijacked in search of a better life.

Notes

1. *Kashû Mainichi*, August 15, 1937.
2. *The Manchoukuo Year Book 1941* (Hsinking, 1941), 120. Pre-1945 Japanese sources avoided the word “Chinese” and gave no separate statistics for Han and Manchus. For an excellent study of Manchuria’s peoples from ancient times to the present, see Juha Janhunen, *Manchuria: An Ethnic History* (Helsinki: Finno-Ugrian Society, 1996).
3. Yamamura Shin’ichi, *Kimera: Manshûkoku no shôzô* (Tokyo: Chûô Kôronsha, 1993).
4. Han, Manchus, Koreans, Mongols, and Japanese.
5. This paper employs the term Nikkei (literally “of Japanese descent”) to denote: 1) individuals of Japanese ancestry

born in the Hawaiian Islands or the Americas, and 2) individuals born elsewhere who spent a major part of their lives in Hawaii and/or the Americas. This definition excludes diplomatic personnel, tourists, and exchange students as well as short-term sojourners among managers of American branches of Japanese companies, priests, missionaries, and language school teachers. Gray areas abound. Available material suggests that of 100,000 Nikkei who spent time in Japan and occupied territories between 1895 and 1945, roughly a third were Issei and two-thirds were Nisei and Sansei. These categories are themselves not immune from ambiguities.

6. For use of the term Nikkei in Manchuria, see Ozawa Chikamitsu, *Hishi Manshûkokugun: Nikkei Gunkan no Yakuwari* (Tokyo: Kashiwa Shobô, 1976).
7. John J. Stephan, *Call of Ancestry: American Nikkei in Imperial Japan, 1895-1945*, under contract with Stanford University Press.
8. See for example entries in Ôkubo Gen'ichi, ed., *Hawai Nihonjin Hatten Meikan: Bôchô-han* (Hilo: Hawaii Shôgyôsha, 1940).
9. Ôkubo Gen'ichi, ed., *Hawaii Plantation Chronicle* (Honolulu: Hawaii Shôgyôsha, 1941), n.p.
10. Watanabe Shichirô, *Hawai Rekishi* (Tokyo: Kôgakukai, 1935), 13.
11. *Biographical Dictionary of Hawaii Hongwanji Ministers* (Honolulu: Honpa Hongwanji Mission of Hawaii, 1991), 15, 24.
12. *Ashiato* (Tokyo: Yamazaki Yasushi-O Denki Hensankai, 1942). Roy Ito, *Stories of My People* (Hamilton, Ontario: Nisei Veterans Association, 1994), 74-79, 89-90, 188.
13. Manchurian theme fiction by Akashi Jitsuzô and Hirayama Rokô was serialized at various times between 1932 and the autumn of 1941. Nagasaki-born Hirayama (1882-1953) dropped out of school to go to Manchuria, where he drifted about, cavorting with bandits, gathering colorful material for stories that eventually won him wide if evanescent popularity.
14. *Hawai Hôchi*, February 11, 1935.
15. Yamashita Sôen, *Nikkei Shimin no Nihon Ryûgaku Jijô* (Tokyo: Kojima Shoten, 1935), 349. Watanabe Shichirô, *Hawai Rekishi*, 44.
16. The contest was held on May 14, 1933 at the Nishi Hongwanji Rafu Betsuin. The essay, "Manchurian Farmer," was composed by Masaru Suriki, grade two of the Walteria School. Enclosure in vol. 1 of "Nikkei Gaijin Kankei Zakken" (K.1.1.0.0.9), Foreign Ministry Archives, Tokyo.
17. Shizuo Numata in "Nisei sakubun no ran," *Rafu Shimpô*, October 8, 1939.
18. *Nihongo Tokuhon*, vol. 12 (Honolulu: Hawai Kyôiku Kai, 1940), 89-90.
19. Suzuki Shichirô, former teacher and principal of the Ocean Falls Japanese Language School, delivered such a lecture to

- a large audience in Vancouver. *The New Canadian*, August 1, 1939.
20. *Kashû Mainichi*, August 21, 1937, 15.
 21. *Kashû Mainichi*, November 12, 1937. For more about Fujii, see Sakata Yasuo, "Kashû Mainichi to Fujii Sei no Shûhen," in *Seigi wa Ware ni ari: Zai-Bei Nikkei Jiyanasuto Gunzô*, ed. Tamura Norio (Tokyo: Shakai Hyôronsha, 1995), 121-43.
 22. *Rafu Shimpô*, 25 February, 1940. See also *Nippu Jiji*, December 2, 1939, July 11, 1941.
 23. See for example "Manchoukuo Impresses Visiting Canucks," *The New Canadian*, September 1, 1939.
 24. Miles W. Vaughn, *Covering the Far East* (New York: Covici, 1936), 293.
 25. James A.B. Scherer, *Manchukuo* (Tokyo: Hokuseidô, 1933). Scherer taught English in Japan from 1892 until 1904. His pro-Japanese feelings changed abruptly after the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War, prompting him in 1938 to return a decoration bestowed on him in happier times by Emperor Hirohito.
 26. *Manchukuo Year Book 1934* (Tokyo: To-A Keizai Chôsakyoku, 1934), 757. *Honolulu Star Bulletin*, May 5, 1934.
 27. George Bronson Rea, *The Case for Manchoukuo* (New York: D. Appleton-Century, 1935).
 28. Born in Hawaii and educated in California, Kinney edited the *Hilo Tribune* and oversaw Territorial Schools as superintendent of public instruction until he left for Japan in 1919 to accept a position with the *Japan Advertiser*. Kinney's journalistic skills attracted the notice of Matsuoka Yôsuke, then a director of the South Manchurian Railway Company (SMR). In 1925 Matsuoka made Kinney his private secretary and official SMR spokesman, a post that he occupied until retirement in 1935. Edward Wayne Tiffany, "Henry W. Kinney: Japan's Barometer in Manchuria, 1925-1935," M.A. thesis, University of Hawaii at Manoa, 1974.
 29. Sasaki Ki'ichi, Obama Futashi, and Okamura Kô'ichi are mentioned by Watanabe, *Hawai Rekishi*, 134, 152.
 30. Sôga Yasutarô [Keiho], *Nira no Nioi: Sen-Man-Shi no Hatsutabi* (Honolulu: Nippu Jiji, 1925).
 31. Karl G. Yoneda, *Ganbatte: Sixty-Year Struggle of a Kibei Worker*. Introduction by Yuji Ichioka (Los Angeles: UCLA Asian American Studies Center, 1983), 9.
 32. "How Much from Hawaii to Manchuria?" *Nippu Jiji*, April 2, 1932, 3.
 33. Niisato Kan'ichi, *Jihenka no Man-Sen o Ayumu* (Tokyo: Shimpôsha, 1938), 56.
 34. Ôkubo Gen'ichi, ed., *Hawaiian Plantation Chronicle* (Honolulu: Hawaii Shôgyôsha, 1941), n.p.
 35. Sôga Yasutarô [Keiho], *Nichi-Man o Nozoku* (Honolulu: Nippu Jiji, 1935).

36. Watanabe, *Hawai Rekishi*, 13.
37. Toda Yasuo, "Shina Manshû Imonryo Nikki," *Hawai Hôchi*, January 24, 1940.
38. Fujii Hidegorô, *Dai Nippon Kaigai Ijûmin shi*, vol. 1 *Hawaii* (Osaka: Kaigai Chôsakai, 1937), 43. *Rafu Shimpô*, October 20, 1939.
39. Participants included Honolulu physician Tôfukuji Kôshirô, Hilo Japanese language school principal Shinoda Yoshio, Honolulu pharmacist Endô Sutematsu, and Okiyama Chiyo, wife of a Seattle hotelier. Yamashita Sôen, *Hôshuku Kigen Nisen Roppyakunen to Kaigai Dôhô* (Honolulu, 1941), 93.
40. Suzuki Yoshiyuki (1882-1956) served on the Kwantung Army staff from 1919 until 1933. From 1929 until 1933 he headed the Army Intelligence office in Mukden. From 1933 until 1937 he served as military attaché in Peiping.
41. For the background of study tours see Yuji Ichioka, "Kengakudan: The Origin of Nisei Study Tours of Japan," *California History* 73:1 (1994): 30-43, 87-88.
42. The Reverend John Makoto Yamazaki, St. Mary's Church, Los Angeles. *Kashû Mainichi*, September 10, 1937. Mikami Hiroyuki, Honpa Hongwanji missionary in Stockton, California, led the North American Buddhist Group to Manchukuo in the autumn of 1938. *Japanese American News [Nichi-Bei Shimbun]*, November 30, 1938.
43. See Koide Yu'ichi's study tour in *Japanese American News [Nichi-Bei Shimbun]*, September 17, 1938.
44. Winners in 1940 were Charles Yoshito Akiyama and Sadao Moriyama, both from the Island of Hawaii. *Hawai Hôchi*, April 1, 1940; *New World Sun [Shin Sekai Asahi]*, July 7, 1940. Sadao Moriyama, telephone interviews, July 29-30, 1994. Sadao Moriyama is the father of the late historian Alan Takeo Moriyama.
45. Buddy Iwate (Stanford), Michiko Yasumura and Mary Date (University of Washington), Hideko Sugihara (UCLA), Mary Eto (Mills College), Kiyoko Tsuboi (University of Oregon), Moto Asakawa (University of California, Berkeley), Martha Toda and Ken Kitamura (University of British Columbia). *American Student Party's Visit to Manchukuo, August 1938* (Dairen: Information and Publicity Department, South Manchuria Railway Company, 1938), 14-15.
46. *New World Sun [Shin Sekai Asahi]*, April 13, 1940.
47. *Rafu Shimpô*, August 8, 1937; *Japanese American News [Nichi-Bei Shimbun]*, July 22, 1938; October 14-17, 1938; *Hawai Hôchi*, July 12, 1938.
48. *Nippu Jiji*, June 17/July 6, 1940.
49. Nobuaki Iwatake, personal communication, December 28, 1994.
50. Japanese Students' Association [of Hawaii], *Japanese Students' Annual*, vol. 12 (1932): 86.

51. Omoto died in Mukden shortly after his arrival in late 1937. *Japanese American News [Nichi-Bei Shimbun]*, December 16, 1937. *New World Sun [Shin Sekai Asahi]*, December 16, 1937. George Yoshida, personal communication, October 19, 1995.
52. Aiko Tashiro in *Japanese American News [NichiBei]*, July 12, October 6, 1937, May 26, 1939, January 5, 1940; *Japan Times and Mail*, June 21, 1938, March 30, 1939; Hans Erik Pringsheim in *Japan Times and Mail*, November 13, 1939; "Nisei News" *Osaka Mainichi and Tokyo Nichi Nichi*, May 4, 1941.
53. Kamisaka Fuyuko, *Mitsu no Sokoku* (Tokyo: Chûô Kôronsha, 1996), 51.
54. Kay Miyakawa, "Hsinking Speaking," *NYK Travel Bulletin*, January 1938, 5.
55. *Hawai Hôchi*, August 13, 1938.
56. Isamu Makio in *Hawai Hôchi*, August 6, 1938.
57. *Japanese American News [Nichi-Bei Shimbun]*, January 23, 1938.
58. S.K. in *New World Sun [Shin Sekai Asahi]*, March 23, 1940.
59. Bill [William Kunpei] Hosokawa, recalling a visit to Harbin in 1940. *Pacific Citizen*, August 25, 1945.
60. Naoshi Ishio, "Nisei no Me ni Eijita Chôsen to Manshû no Inshô," *Japanese American News [Nichi-Bei Shimbun]*, October 15, 1938.
61. Professor Natori Jun'ichi quoted in *Japanese American News [Nichi-Bei Shimbun]*, October 9, 1938.
62. Genzô Mizumoto in *Hawai Hôchi*, August 6, 1938.
63. Shizuo Numata, "Nanka Nihongo Gakuen Kyôkai Man-Sen-Shi Kengakudan Nisshi," *Rafu Shimpô*, October 22, 1939.
64. The former police officer who following the Great Kantô Earthquake of 1923 strangled anarchist Ôsugi Sakae together with his mistress and her infant son while they were in police custody.
65. *Rafu Shimpô*, August 31-September 29, 1940.
66. Shigemasa Ozaki, Tamotsu Kawasaki, and Hideo Yamamoto, notebook entry of July 11, 1940, published in *Rafu Shimpô*, September 22, 1940.
67. A study by Yuji Ichioka promises to be the definitive work on Uno.
68. Kazumaro B. Uno, "Manchukuo: A Dream Come True," *Rafu Shimpô*, 29 January, 1939.
69. Watanabe, *Hawai Rekishi*, 210.
70. In Dairen, for example, the *Hawai-tô* included: Concordia Association branch chief Matsukawa Heihachi, South Manchurian Railway Vice President Sugimoto Shigemichi, SMR Research Department member Itô Tarô, Yamato Hotel manager Kogure Tora, Dairen Steamship Company executive Masuda Yoshio, real estate magnate Furusawa Chokusaku, *Manshû Nippô* writer Kanasaki Ken, and staffmembers of *The Manchuria Daily News*: former *Nippu Jiji* linotype operator Harold

Takehara, former *Honolulu Advertiser* employee Sônoshin Inoue, former *Honolulu Star Bulletin* reporter George Sakamaki, and University of Hawaii alumnus Norikazu Muramaru. Sôga, *Nichi-Man o Nozoku*, 252-53.

71. John J. Stephan, "American Nikkei in Imperial Japan, 1895-1945: A Biographical Roster." Unpublished manuscript. (1996), 12 [hereafter "Biographical Roster"]
72. Irie Toraji, *Hôjin Kaigai Hattenshi* (Tokyo, Ida Shoten, 1942), II:464. *Hiroshima-ken Manshû Kaitakushi*, 2 vols. (Hiroshima: Hiroshima Kenmin no Chûkoku Tôhoku Chiku Kaitakushi Hensan Iinkai, 1989).
73. Yamamura, *Kimera: Manshûkoku no shôzô*, 91.
74. Niisato, *Jihenka no Man-Sen o Ayumu*, 123, 163.
75. Consul-general in Harbin (1930-32), head of the General Affairs Section of Manchukuo Foreign Office (1932-36), Councillor [Ambassador] to Manchukuo (1936-38).
76. *Japanese American News* [*Nichi-Bei Shimbun*], July 11, 1937.
77. *Nihon Gaikôshi Jiten*, comp. Gaimushô Gaikô Shiryôkan (Tokyo: Ôkurashô, 1979), 940.
78. Kawasaki Torao, "Rirekisho." Courtesy of Wada Seiji, Secretary, The America-Japan Society, Inc., Tokyo. October 25, 1993; Stephan, "Biographical Roster," 251.
79. Susumu Igauye, "Nisei's Future in Nippon," *Kashû Mainichi*, November 21, 1937.
80. *The Nisei: A Study of Their Life in Japan*, compiled by Margaret Haruko Ishikawa et. al. (Tokyo: Keisen Girls' School, 1939), 25.
81. *Hawai Hôchi*, January 4, 1940. See also, S.K. "Nisei in Japan," *New World Sun* [*Shin Sekai Asahi*], March 20, 1940.
82. Niisato, *Jihenka no Man-Sen o Ayumu*, 225-26, 385.
83. The Reverend Lester E. Suzuki, personal communication, December 14, 1993.
84. Satoru Tôfukuji quoted in *Nippu Jiji*, January 5, 1940.
85. *Rafu Shimpô*, January 12, 1940. See also *Nippu Jiji*, December 22, 1939.
86. *Nippu Jiji*, April 8, 1932; *Japanese American News* [*Nichi-Bei Shimbun*], July 31, 1937, February 28, 1939. For an SMR official talking to Southern California Nisei at USC, see Brian Masaru Hayashi, 'For the Sake of Our Japanese Brethren': *Assimilation, Nationalism, and Protestantism Among the Japanese of Los Angeles, 1895-1942* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995), 121.
87. *Japanese American News* [*Nichi-Bei Shimbun*], February 28, 1939
88. In a speech in California, Matsuoka held 3,000 Japanese Americans "spellbound." *Pacific Citizen*, April 1933, 1. Thirty Japanese fishing boats came out with Japanese and American flags to greet Matsuoka when he approached Honolulu. *Honolulu Star Bulletin*, April 18, 1933.

89. *Hawai Hôchi*, February 28, 1940
90. *Hawai Hôchi*, April 1, 1938.
91. *Rafu Shimpô*, July 22, 1940.
92. *Hawai Hôchi*, June 19, 1940.
93. Niisato, *Jihenka no Man-Sen o Ayumu*, 142.
94. *Hawai Hôchi*, May 7, 1941.
95. Civil Case #32359, Box 146, RG 21 [U.S. District Court of California, District of San Francisco], National Archives, Pacific Sierra Region, San Bruno, California.
96. Jiro Nakano, *Kona Echo* (Kona: Kona Historical Society, 1990), 91-92.
97. *Japanese-American News [Nichi-Bei Shimbun]*, December 4, 1938.
98. Yoshio Kai, personal communication, May 9, 1996.
99. *Japanese-American News [Nichi-Bei Shimbun]*, September 1, 1939.
100. *Pacific Citizen*, January 7, 1950.
101. *Nippu Jiji*, December 22, 1939. *Hawai Hôchi*, January 18, 1940.
102. Sawada Toshio, ed., *Sawada Setsuzô Kaisôroku: Ichi Gaikôkan no Shôgai*. (Tokyo: Yûhikaku, 1985), 90.
103. Sakai Yoneo, "Man-Shi tokoro dokoro," *Rafu Shimpô*, December 9, 1938. Tad Ichinokuchi, assisted by Daniel Aiso, *John Aiso and the M.I.S* (Los Angeles, Military Intelligence Service Club of Southern California, 1988), 12-14.
104. Tetsuo Scott Miyakawa (1906-1981) was born in Los Angeles and graduated from Cornell University (class of 1931) with a degree in industrial engineering. T. Scott Miyakawa Papers, Japanese American Research Project Collection, UCLA Research Library. *Pacific Citizen*, October 6, 1961.
105. *Kashû Mainichi*, December 6, 1937. *Rafu Shimpô*, December 11, 1937, February 6, 1938.
106. *Hawai Hôchi*, March 23, 1938.
107. *Sôga, Nichi-Man o Nozoku*, 352. *Nippu Jiji*, June 18, 1935.
108. *Japanese-American News [Nichi-Bei Shimbun]*, July 4, 1937.
109. *Nippu Jiji*, July 5, 1941.
110. *Hawai Hôchi*, June 19, 1940.
111. *Hawai Hôchi*, September 12, 1938.
112. Niisato, *Jihenka no Man-Sen o Ayumu*, 94; Shishimoto Hachirô, *Nikkei Shimin o Kataru*, (Tokyo: Shôkasha, 1934), 177; Tamotsu Murayama in *Pacific Citizen*, January 4, 1957; *Sôga, Nichi-Man o Nozoku*, 354.
113. From 1930 to 1934 by Major General Takayanagi Yasutarô; from 1934 to 1938 by Lieutenant General Furujo Tanehide. General Furujo committed suicide on November 11, 1938.
114. Harry Shigeru Shiramizu was born in Hanamaulu, Kauai and educated at Kauai High School, Iolani School, McKinley

- High School and the University of Hawaii (class of 1927). He worked for *Nippu Jiji* as a reporter in Honolulu and (from 1932) in Tokyo. He joined *The Manchuria Daily News* in 1935.
115. Sônoshin Inoue was born in Yamaguchi at the turn of the century, was brought to the United States as a child, and grew up in Bloomington, Illinois. Literary interests drew young Inoue to Chicago where he found work on a newspaper. Inoue left Chicago for Hawaii around 1922 and wrote poetry while earning his living on a Big Island coffee farm. In 1924 he was hired as the Kona correspondent of the *Honolulu Advertiser*, continued to write poetry, and was dubbed the "sage of Kona." He set off for Japan around 1931 and joined *The Manchuria Daily News* in 1932. He remained in Dairen when the paper's main office moved to Hsinking in December 1939.
 116. Norikazu Muramaru was born in Hawaii in 1906 and graduated from the University of Hawaii in 1928. He came to Japan in 1928 and taught English at the Miyazaki Middle School and Meiji Gakuin. He joined *The Manchuria Daily News* staff in 1932.
 117. Hidaka was born in Hiroshima and came to Hawaii as a child. He graduated from the University of Hawaii in 1933 and returned to Japan in 1935. He joined *The Manchuria Daily News* in 1936 or 1937.
 118. Masaharu Masuda was born in Honolulu in 1914, the eldest son of the principal of the Kakaako Japanese Language School. He graduated from the University of Hawaii in 1936 and was admitted that year to Tokyo Imperial University. He joined the staff of *Contemporary Manchuria* in 1938. *Nippu Jiji*, December 8, 1939. Richard Susumu Fujii, telephone interview, August 16, 1995.
 119. Peter Shinobu Higashi (1915-1992). Japan-born Higashi came to Canada at the age of two, attended schools in Vancouver and graduated from the University of British Columbia in 1937. In November 1938, he and Edward T. Ouchi founded *The New Canadian* to counter anti-Japanese views that intensified in the Canadian English-language press in the wake of the Manchurian Incident (1931-32) and China Incident (1937). Higashi's editorials attracted the attention of Japanese authorities, and early in 1939 he was invited to join *The Manchuria Daily News*. He departed Vancouver on 25 April 1939 and after a highly publicized visit to Tokyo proceeded to Dairen. *The New Canadian*, April 15-June 15, 1939; *Chûgai Shôgyô Shimbun*, May 14, 1939; Roy Ito, *We Went to War* (Stittsville, Ontario: Canada's Wings, 1984), 100-104; Ito, *Stories of My People*, 184-91.
 120. Kawakami, Kiyoshi Karl (1873-1949). Born in Yonezawa, Kawakami came to the U.S. in 1901 and from 1914 to 1920 managed the Pacific Press Bureau in San Francisco. During the 1920s and 1930s Kawakami wrote prolifically about Far Eastern affairs, defending Japan's continental policies in En-

- glish, French, German media. He was disillusioned when Japan advanced into Indochina in 1940-41 but was detained by the FBI on December 14, 1941 and interned until February 16, 1942. He died in Washington D.C. His son by Mildred Clarke, Clarke Hiroshi Kawakami (1909-1985), was Yôsuke Matsuoka's secretary in 1933, joined Dômei in 1936, and served in the U.S. Army in India, China, and Japan from 1943 until approximately 1949. He subsequently worked for USIS. For further details, see Komori Yoshihisa, *Arashi ni Kaku: Nichi-Bei no Hanseiki o Ikita Jiyanarisuto* (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1990).
121. *Hawaii Alumnus* 7:4 (May 1933): 5. *Honolulu Star Bulletin*, January 13-March 30, 1933, May 5, 1934.
 122. Sôga, *Nichi-Man o Nozoku*, 350.
 123. Hiroshi Matsumura, personal communications, October 24, November 4, November 21, 1993. *Ka Palapala*, 1921-23 (Honolulu: 1921-23). *Hawaii Alumnus*, 8:6 (February, 1934): 4. *Nippu Jiji*, September 18, 1941.
 124. Sôga, *Nichi-Man o Nozoku*, 318-19.
 125. *Rafu Shimpô*, December 7, 1938.
 126. Shishimoto Hachirô, *Nikkei Shimin o Kataru*, 177.
 127. *Shin Sekai Asahi* [*New World Sun*], September 11, 1936
 128. Vancouver Consul Hirokichi Nemichi to Foreign Minister Hachirô Arita, August 22, 1939, in "Honshô Shokuin Yôsei Kankei Zakken," M.2.4.2.3, vol. 2. Japan Foreign Ministry Archives, Gaimushô Gaikô Shiryôkan, Tokyo; *Heishikan Nyuusu*, 5 (June 15, 1942): 19. Kazuma Uyeno, personal communication, April 30, 1996.
 129. Watanabe Junko, personal communication, November 30, 1993; Lester E. Suzuki, personal communication, December 14, 1993; Yamashita, *Nikkei Shimin no Nihon Ryûgaku Jijô*, 352; Sôga, *Nichi-Man o Nozoku*, 290.
 130. Sôga, *Nichi-Man o Nozoku*, 290.
 131. Mitsushige Matsuzawa. Born in Hawaii, Matsuzawa assisted Kawasaki Torao at the Nuuanu YMCA during 1917-19. He worked for *Nippu Jiji* and around 1931 went to Manchuria, where he assisted Lieut. Col. Miyawaki Jôji in the Information Section. Sôga, *Nichi-Man o Nozoku*, 229,290, 315. Sôga Yasutarô, *Gojû Nenkan no Hawai Kaiko* (Honolulu: Gojû Nenkan Hawaii Kaiko Kankôkai, 1953), 539.
 132. Shôtarô Hikida was from Stockton, California. Sôga, *Nichi-Man o Nozoku*, 290-91. *Nichi-Bei Jûsho Roku* (San Francisco: The Japanese American News, Inc., 1941).
 133. Sôen Yamashita, *Nikkei Shimin no Nihon Ryûgaku Jijô* (Tokyo: Kojima Shoten, 1935), 350.
 134. *Hawaii Alumnus* 7:4 (May 1933): 5.
 135. Noboru Hidaka, *Manchoukuo-Soviet Border Issues*. Preface by Kan Matsumura (Dairen: Manchuria Daily News, 1938). In official documents, Matsumura used the Chinese reading [on] of his given name "Yutaka."

136. Sôga, *Nichi-Man o Nozoku*, 229, 290, 315; *Manshûkoku Kan-shiroku* (Shinkyô [Hsinking], 1942); *Nippu Jiji*, September 18, 1941; Hiroshi Matsumura, personal communication, November 21, 1993. I am grateful to Harbin-born Miyako Matsumura (no relation to John) for putting me in contact with John's son Hiroshi Matsumura through an announcement in *Asahi Shimbun* (evening edition), October 21, 1993.
137. Toneko Hirai, interview in Honolulu, June 9, 1993.
138. *Hawai Hôchi*, September 12, 1938.
139. A delegation of "Manchukuo Nikkei" that visited Germany in 1941 consisted entirely of Japanese born in the home islands. *Nippu Jiji*, June 11, 1941.
140. A 1942 Home Ministry report indicates that suspected Japanese communists used *Nisei* pseudonyms. Naimushô, Keihôkyoku, "Beikoku Kyôsantôin no Kenkyo Jôkyô," in "Shôwa 17 nenchû ni okeru Shakai Undô no Jôkyô" (Tokyo: 1942), 115. East Asia Microfilm Collection, University of Hawaii Library.
141. Tokyo Metropolitan Police report to Kwantung Territory Chief of Police dated October 9, 1933, enclosure no. 14 in volume 1 of "Nikkei Gaijin Kankei Zakken," K.1.1.0.0.9, Foreign Ministry Archives, Tokyo.
142. Sôga, *Nichi-Man o Nozoku*, 323-24. Sôga added with satisfaction that copies circulated privately among Japanese officials.
143. Niisato, *Jihenka no Man-Sen o Ayumu*, 63, 116, 226, 328. Koga Sumio, personal communication, December 5, 1995.
144. *Nippu Jiji*, June 18, 1935.
145. For background, see Sandra Wilson, "The 'New Paradise': Japanese Emigration to Manchuria in the 1930s and 1940s," *The International History Review* 17:2 (May 1995): 221-86.
146. *Rafu Shimpô*, July 15, 1939, April 5, 1940.
147. Nisei in Hiroshima encountered difficulties finding marriage partners. Japanese-Nisei marriages were said to be unworkable, because the Japanese spouse was barred from living in the United States. This obstacle would not pertain to such couples emigrating to Manchukuo. Toshio Morishige, *Hiroshima-ken Taizai Bei-Fu Shushshinsha Meibo* (Hiroshima: Hiroshima Kaigai Kyôkai, 1932). This volume is in the Japanese American Research Project Collection at UCLA.
148. *Hawaii Alumnumus* 8:6 (February 1934): 5, 10. Leigh Sakamaki, telephone interview, August 20, 1994.
149. *Honolulu Star Bulletin*, May 14, 1967. Joyce S. Tsunoda, interview in Honolulu, May 23, 1986.
150. Ito, *Stories of My People*, 187.
151. In 1938, Terashima was visited in Mukden by *Rafu Shimpô* roving correspondent Yoneo Sakai. *Rafu Shimpô*, December 9, 1938.
152. Sen Nishiyama, personal communication, December 6, 1993; Tamotsu Murayama in *Pacific Citizen*, April 5, 1957.

153. Yukiko Tajima came to Japan in 1933 after her father's suicide and was enrolled by her mother in Oyû Gakuen. Cheng Tzu-kuan graduated from St. John's University in Shanghai and from 1936 took courses at Waseda Kokusai Gakuin. *Hawai Hôchi*, April 6, 1939; *Rafu Shimpô*, April 30, 1939. For a popularized biography of Yukiko Tajima, see Kamisaka Fuyuko, *Mitsu no Sokoku* (Tokyo: Chûô Kôronsha, 1996).
154. *Nippu Jiji*, April 1, 1932, 1.
155. *Japanese American Courier*, December 11, 1937.
156. *Hawai Hôchi*, September 14, 1938.
157. Carveth Wells, *North of Singapore* (New York: Robert M. McBride, 1940), 78. Perhaps thanks to statements such as this, Wells acquired the reputation of being able "to make the truth sound like a lie." *New York Times*, February 17, 1957.
158. "Chiba Toyoji Ikô," vol. 2 (March 9, 1944), 591-93. Manuscript deposited in Japanese American Research Project Collection, UCLA. Itô Takuji, *Tenkai no Kisoku: Chiba Toyoji Monogatari* (Furukawa-shi, Miyagi-ken: Ozaki Taimusu sha, 1987). Professor Yuji Ichioka brought both of these sources to the author's attention and generously made available copies of them from his personal collection.
159. *Manshû Shotô Gakkô Shûshin Kunwa Shiryô*, vol. 1 (Dairen: Mantetsu, 1927): 196-214. I am indebted to Professor Yuji Ichioka for this source.
160. Recollections of the Reverend Takie Okumura in *Hawaii Plantation Chronicle*, ed. Gen'ichi Okubo (Honolulu: Hawaii Shôgyôsha, 1941), n.p.
161. *Kôryô Gakuen Hachijûnen-shikô* (Hiroshima: Kôryô Gakuen Kankôkai, 1976), 218. For "pioneer" as applied to *Issei* in Manchuria, see Niisato Kan'ichi, *Jihenka no Man-Sen o Ayumu*, 62.
162. Hainan Island was occupied by the Imperial Army in February 1939. Naoji Yoshizu in *Hawai Hôchi*, June 19, 1940; Tamotsu Matsumura, *Chi no Ato o Tazunete* (Nagasaki: n.p.: 1940). Richard Tsutomu Matsumura and Francis Hideyasu Matsumura, telephone interviews, June 30, 1995. Rose Yasuko Matsumura Fletcher, telephone interview, July 5, 1995.
163. *Japanese-American News [Nichi-Bei Shimbun]*, February 16, 1940.
164. *Nippu Jiji*, June 27, 1941.
165. *Nikkeijin* born after 1924 were not considered Japanese citizens unless their parents registered them at a Japanese consulate within two months of birth.
166. Keiko Shimizu, "History of My Father," 3. Undated manuscript. Courtesy of Machi Teruya. Author's collection.
167. Leo Hayashi, "Waga Giyûgun ni Shigan shita Riyû to sono Zengo no Koto," in Ôikawa Kei, ed., *Harukanari Manshû* (Sendai: Hideharu Chiba, 1994), 26-28. Hayashi estimated that as many as 200 *Nisei* joined or were inducted into the Corps. Leo Hayashi, personal communication, November 5, 1995. For additional material, see *Man-Mô Kaitaku Seishônen Giyûgun*, ed. Zenkoku Takuyû Kyôgikai (Tokyo: Ie no Hikari Kyôkai, 1975).

168. On the basis of available evidence, the number of Japanese Americans serving in the Imperial Army and Imperial Navy before or during the Second World War can only be estimated, because service records identify all personnel except for Koreans by family registers (*koseki*). Estimates range as high as 7,000 (Charles Frankel review of *The Two Worlds of Jim Yoshida* in the *Honolulu Star Bulletin*, September 4, 1972). Katsugo Miho, a Honolulu attorney who assisted stranded Nisei after the war, opined that the figure of 7,000 was "not surprising" (telephone interview, November 13, 1994). Tamotsu Murayama put the figure at 5,000 ("Tokyo Topics," *Pacific Citizen*, April 13, 1956). The Japanese government notified American authorities shortly after the war that 1,648 Nisei had served during 1941-45. According to a State Department official who studied the issue, this figure understated what he estimated as "well over 2,000." Richard B. Finn to Secretary of State, September 10, 1950, enclosure in Civil Case #5731, Judgment Roll #27457, Box 1047, RG 21, National Archives, Pacific Northwest Region, Seattle.
169. *New World Sun* [*Shin Sekai Asahi*], October 30, 1937.
170. Peter Fleming, *One's Company* (New York: Scribners, 1934), 135-36.
171. Ted Matsumura was the son of Matsumura Masaho, priest of Maui Jinja. He served in the army from 1933 to 1945 in Manchurian anti-bandit operations, the China Incident, and the 1944 Imphal campaign in Burma. In the latter, he was one of five survivors in a company of 250. Repatriated to Japan in 1945, he worked for an Australian firm until a few months before his death in 1984. Robert Masaharu Matsumura, personal communication, December 30, 1996.
172. Mike Migaku Atsumi, Minoru Chiba, Kichiji Hanada, Shinobu Hayashi, Peter Shinobu Higashi, Henry Takeshi Ishii, Thomas Motomi Kaneko, Shunsuke Kusaba, Theodore Tadashi Matsumura, Shigeru Matsuura, Fred Noboru Miike, Mike Michio Morikubo, Akira Morimoto, Richard Hisao Murata, Dennis Gakutomo Murato, Makoto Nakanishi, Ei'ichi Noda, Masashi Ouchi, Shigeru Saito, Sydney Sei'ichi Sakamoto, Iwao Peter Sano, Isamu Shimomura, Kazutaka Tamura, Gordon Shigeru Togasaki, Frank Wada, Masako Yamada, Michiko Yamada, Yukie Yamada, Roy Shigeru Yamaguchi, Masayuki Yoshioka.
173. *Heishikan Nyuusu*, November 24, 1944. The Special Service Organ collected intelligence and conducted covert operations within the USSR with White Russian or Korean agents. For details, see John J. Stephan, *The Russian Fascists* (New York: Harper & Row, 1978) and "Russian Soldiers in Japanese Service: The Asano Brigade," *Shikan* [Historical review], vol. 95 (Tokyo: Waseda Daigaku Shigakkai, 1977): 55-67.
174. For the experiences of Idaho-born Yamada sisters, see Tachibana Yuzuru, *Teikoku Kaigun Shikan ni natta Nikkei Nisei* (Tokyo: Chikuchi Shokan, 1994), 153, 200.
175. Gordon Shigeru Togasaki, personal communication, August 2, 1996.

176. Hajime Hamazaki of Honolulu, Kaku Kawano [Kôno] of Montebello, Sômitsu Miura of Los Angeles, Yoshio Shômura of San Gabriel.
177. The occasion, proudly described in Sôga's 1935 travel diary, found no place in his postwar memoirs. Sôga, *Nichi-Man o Nozoku*, 289, 315. Sôga, *Gojû Nenkan no Hawaii Kaiko* (Honolulu, 1953).
178. T. Scott Miyakawa Papers, Japanese American Research Project Collection, UCLA Research Library. *Pacific Citizen*, October 6, 1961.
179. Kazuma Uyeno, conversation in Tokyo, December 26, 1995.
180. *Rafu Shimpô*, February 6, 1938.
181. Sôga, *Nichi-Man o Nozoku*, 229, 290, 315; *Manshûkoku Kan-shiroku* (Shinkyô [Hsinking], 1942); *Nippu Jiji*, September 18, 1941; Hiroshi Matsumura, personal communication, November 21, 1993.
182. *Rafu Shimpô*, July 5, 1939. Tad Ichinokuchi, assisted by Daniel Aiso, *John Aiso and the M.I.S* (Los Angeles, Military Intelligence Service Club of Southern California, 1988), 12-14.
183. Tamotsu Murayama deposition to Richard Finn, Tokyo, July 24, 1950. Civil Case #1031, Box 181, Series 11, RG 21 (U.S. District Court, San Francisco), National Archives, Pacific Sierra Region, San Bruno, California.
184. Yoshio Kai, personal communication, May 9, 1996. U.S. vs. Eiichi Noda, War Crimes Case 64-92-vol. 1, RG 153 (Records of the Judge Advocate General, U.S. Army), National Archives, Suitland, Maryland.
185. Ito, *Stories of My People*, 369-71.
186. *Pacific Citizen*, June 25, 1949.
187. Tamotsu Murayama in *Pacific Citizen*, November 18, 1955.
188. The epistolary warning came from former Vancouver businessman and Stanford alumnus Harold Shôtârô Toda (1888-1974). Ken Kitamura always remained grateful to his benefactor for this piece of timely advice. Amy Toda Meeker, telephone interview, November 5, 1995. See also Ito, *Stories of My People*, 370.
189. Keiko Shimizu manuscript, 3. Courtesy of Machi Teruya. Author's collection.
190. George Yoshida, "Nisei Music Makers in Prewar Japan," Part Two, *Rafu Shimpô*, March 25, 1995. Tamotsu Murayama, "Aiko Saita Returns," *Pacific Citizen*, September 11, 1953.
191. *Harukanari Manshû*, 27-28.
192. Hiroshi Matsumura, personal communication, November 21, 1993.
193. Tachibana, *Teikoku Kaigun Shikan ni natta Nikkei Nisei*, 179.
194. Ito, *Stories of My People*, 190. Tomomi Yamamoto [Peter Shinobu Higashi]. *Four Years in Hell: I was a Prisoner Behind the Iron Curtain* (Tokyo: Asian Publications, 1952), 48-50. Higashi Michio, interview in Tokyo, March 30, 1996.

195. *Pacific Citizen*, November 19, 26, December 3, 10, 1949; January 7, 1950.
196. Niisato, *Jihenka no Man-Sen o Ayumu*, 57-58.
197. Names compiled from correspondence, interviews, and U.S. District Court records deposited in regional repositories of the National Archives in Laguna Niguel, California, San Bruno, California, and Seattle, Washington. Imperial Army personnel records are in prefectural repositories; Imperial Navy records are at the Public Welfare Ministry in Tokyo. Neither are accessible to the public. It is difficult to single out Nisei in these records, because individuals are identified by family registration [*koseki*] rather than by place of birth. See Iwao Peter Sano, *One Thousand Days in Siberia: The Odyssey of a Japanese-American POW* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997).
198. Thomas Motomi Kaneko, personal communication, November 6, 1995.
199. Sydney Sako [Sakamoto], personal communication, November 16, 1995.
200. Yamamoto, *Four Years in Hell*, 293ff., Ito, *Stories of My People*, 341-43.
201. Gordon Shigeru Togasaki, personal communications, February 19, 1995, August 2, 1996.
202. *Pacific Citizen*, December 10, 1949.
203. Tamotsu Murayama in *Pacific Citizen*, April 5, 1957.
204. *Pacific Citizen*, November 10, 1951.
205. *Hawaii Times*, October 26, 1967.
206. Tomomi Yamamoto [Peter Shinobu Higashi], *Four Years in Hell: I was a Prisoner Behind the Iron Curtain*. Tokyo: Asian Publications, 1952.
207. *Pacific Citizen*, April 5, 1957.
208. U.S. vs. Eiichi Noda, War Crimes Case 64-92-vol. 1, RG 153 (Records of the Judge Advocate General, U.S. Army), National Archives, Suitland, Maryland.
209. Harry Honda, personal communication, February 14, 1995.

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