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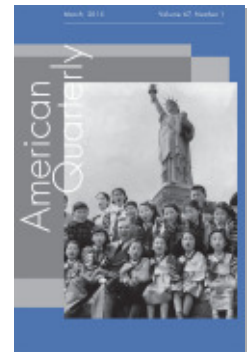
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Illustrating the Postwar Peace: Miné Okubo, the “Citizen-Subject” of Japan, and *Fortune* Magazine

Christine Hong

Democracy in Confinement

In October 5, 1943, Deborah Calkins, an associate art director of *Fortune*, inquired in a telegram to Miné Okubo, then incarcerated at the Topaz War Relocation Center in Utah, if the Japanese American artist could furnish the magazine with two drawings for its end-of-the-year issue: one a portrait “of large group of Japanese b[ow]ing before state Shinto shrine” and the other a scene of combat death featuring “two or three Japanese soldiers in dr[i]fting sand” on an “island beach” in the Pacific.¹ To stoke Okubo’s imagination, the publication was willing to mail her “documentary photographs for detail if desired.” Yet *Fortune* was hoping for more than drawn versions of original photographic images: it urged the Nisei artist to exercise “special for[e]sight” relative to Japan. Slated to accompany a “leading section” of *Fortune* on “the subject of Japan,” these half-page images, Calkins clarified, should convey “futility and ultimate defeat.” Apparently citing a compressed work schedule, Okubo, at the time art editor of *Trek*, the famed Topaz literary quarterly, initially declined, yet Calkins prevailed on her to reconsider, even offering a deadline extension.² This exchange proved fateful. Okubo’s illustrations adorned the pages of the December 1943 issue of *Fortune*, a signature Henry Luce publication known for its “fully developed documentary style” and lavishly formatted during the lean war years “like an oversized art magazine.”³ Identifying the Pacific Theater as the pivotal site where “the war finally has to be won” even as it predicted US victory as “inevitable,” the magazine soon recommissioned the artist for its special April 1944 issue titled *Japan and the Japanese: A Military Power We Must Defeat, a Pacific Problem We Must Solve*.⁴ With evidence of employment in hand, Okubo thereby gained leave clearance from the War Relocation Authority (WRA), the government agency in charge of the camps, and the California-born artist relocated permanently to New York in January 1944.⁵

Rightfully recognized for her intimately detailed portraits of the wartime removal and mass incarceration of approximately 120,000 West Coast ethnic Japanese, two-thirds of whom were US citizens, Okubo ultimately viewed her wartime role to be that of “an observer and reporter” of camp life.⁶ By the time she left Topaz in early 1944, she had generated a prodigious corpus of images, all born of keen firsthand observation, conveying “what happens to people when reduced to one status and condition.”⁷ All told, Okubo produced roughly two thousand portraits of daily camp life within a two-year interval, images rendered in a range of styles and materials, including ink, charcoal, tempera, and gouache.⁸ Only a fraction of this vast wartime oeuvre appears in *Citizen 13660* (1946), Okubo’s celebrated account of life behind barbed wire, yet it is this illustrated memoir, published as the last camps were being closed, that defines her legacy today.⁹ Indeed, in the decades after the war, the overwhelmingly affirmative reception accorded to *Citizen 13660*, a work distinguished as the first published Nisei account of the camps, has confirmed Okubo’s standing as a major visual chronicler of and historic witness to the camp experience. To no small degree, this reputation, which Okubo herself assiduously cultivated, was buttressed by the mobilization of her memoir within the Japanese American redress struggle of the 1970s and 1980s, which treated her work as documentary proof of government injustice and a self-evident argument for reparations.

As a retroactive interpretive lens, however, the recuperation of *Citizen 13660* within the politics of the redress movement arguably obscures more than it illuminates Okubo’s legacy as a wartime artist. Much may have been written of Okubo as a Nisei artist whose sketches of camp life breathed necessary humanity into “Citizen 13660” (with the latter understood as a synecdoche for West Coast Japanese Americans stripped of their rights during the war). Yet, in lauding its subtle exposé of the camps as a massively unjust carceral system, such accounts of *Citizen 13660* typically read the memoir as a reproof of government policy, aligned against rather than with state objectives, an interpretation that neglects the political value of her memoir in its earliest circulation. Seldom, moreover, are Okubo’s camp images situated in a continuum with her early-war, pre-“evacuation” repertoire, a range of public art that included Works Progress Administration (WPA) frescoes and US military-commissioned mosaic murals. What therefore goes unremarked is the significance of Okubo’s cultural work not only with regard to the war effort but also relative to the US-settled postwar peace—a *pax Americana* that would reconfigure the Asia-Pacific region as a US security zone upon Japan’s military defeat. Writing for the December 1945 issue of *NOW*, the journalist Larry Tajiri perceptively

identified the Nisei as central to the securitization of the region, describing them as "an important cog in the machinery of peace in the Pacific and in the future of international security."¹⁰ Construed by US occupation forces as an invaluable "bridge between the American military and the people of Japan," the Nisei had proved their mettle during the war as "a human secret weapon" whose work in intelligence and propaganda, according to Tajiri, had been central to US victory in the Pacific Theater.¹¹ Insofar as Okubo's representations of the camps were likewise mobilized during the transwar years as Nisei cultural contributions to overarching US war aims, their geopolitical framing merits critical retrieval and reevaluation.

As Okubo stated on multiple leave-clearance forms (more infamously known as the "loyalty questionnaire"), her preference for postcamp employment was "defense" propaganda along the lines of "war posters, moral[e] posters, [and] creative painting mural work."¹² That the Nisei had a vital role to play on the wartime cultural front was articulated as early as 1942 in "On the Japanese Question in the United States," a report submitted to the WRA by a US naval officer, K. D. Ringle.¹³ Maintaining that "the nisei could be accorded a place in the national war effort without risk or danger," Ringle urged the agency to promote "a history of the entire evacuation and resettlement program from the point of view of those affected," emphasizing, in particular, the ideological value of an account "with accompanying pictorial illustrations."¹⁴ In Ringle's view, such representations "would go farther than anything else toward committing [Nisei] loyalty to the United States."¹⁵ However implausible this instrumentalizing interpretation of her work may be to us today, Okubo's images of camp life were propagated by the WRA as evidence of the democratic potential of the American concentration camp. Far from a transparent indictment of government wrongdoing in its wartime and immediate postwar circulation, *Citizen 13660* was enthusiastically endorsed by the WRA and "its liberal allies outside the government, as part of a larger program of assimilation and absorption they had designed for the Nisei."¹⁶ Okubo—who signed a collective statement drafted by camp inmates and addressed to WRA head Dillon Myer that declared that "loyalty to our country is something to be expressed without reference to past grievances or wounds"—cooperated with the WRA agenda "not only in her choice of illustrations for the book, and in the brief texts she wrote to accompany them, but in her various public statements characterizing herself as a writer."¹⁷

Not restricted to *Citizen 13660*, this elasticity around the social and political significance of Okubo's wartime oeuvre was nowhere more potently on display than in the drawings she produced for *Fortune* magazine. Asked to visualize

what the editors, in a curious turn-of-phrase, referred to as “the citizen-subject” of Japan for the magazine’s late-war readership, Okubo drew, quite literally, a continuum between Japanese Americans like her who had been mass incarcerated on US soil and Japanese civilians in imperial Japan whom she had no opportunity to encounter firsthand.¹⁸ Neither assuredly “citizens” possessed of political rights nor “subjects” rendered so thoroughly abject before imperial authority as to be beyond salvaging, the citizen-subject of Japan was a hybrid figure in another respect. Cast along prepolitical lines, this figure represented the grounds for competing sovereign claims. Implicitly positioned between the United States exceptionalized as a democratic society (its mass incarceration of West Coast ethnic Japanese notwithstanding) and Japan framed as a moribund imperial project, the compound citizen-subject that Okubo visualized in the pages of *Fortune* signaled a productive indeterminacy—a state of potentiality essential for a US-sponsored project of democratization. At stake in “the reformation of Japan in the postwar period and the resettlement of Japanese Americans after the war” was, moreover, no less than the viability of the global American democratizing project.¹⁹ Yet shadowing *Fortune*’s forecast for the postwar peace—its dual vision of, on the one hand, a defeated Japan incorporated within a US sphere of influence in Asia and the Pacific and, on the other, profoundly alienized Japanese Americans assimilated into American society—was its intimation that lingering concerns about US accountability in the wake of what was often understood as a brutal race war might be displaced to the arena of free enterprise. The “democratic” rehabilitation of the enemy nation and the minority demographic framed as “the enemy alien,” in other words, required for its success entrepreneurial avenues of self-advancement rather than official redressive measures on the part of the United States.

Animating *Fortune*’s vision for Asian postwar recovery was the region’s looming significance and untapped value, limited in scope and scale only by the failure or constraints of US imagination. In “The American Century,” a 1941 essay anticipating US war victory, Henry Luce, the China-born son of American missionaries and the man behind the *Time*, *Life*, and *Fortune* publishing empire, posited the challenge in opportunistic terms. Asia could be “worth to us exactly zero—or else it [could] be worth to us four, five, ten billions of dollars a year,” and the latter, Luce asserted, are “the terms we must think in.”²⁰ What Luce euphorically dubbed “American internationalism,” premised on “the right to go with our ships and our ocean-going airplanes where we wish, when we wish and as we wish,” would, as *Fortune* predicted, facilitate Asia’s economic recovery under US-sponsored democratic auspices.²¹ As historians like Bruce Cumings note, however, US internationalism in Asia

unevenly fostered the recuperation of the region through interventionist wars that served as militarized alternatives to the Marshall Plan.²² Perversely framed as reconstructive occasions, the devastating Korean War was, for example, foundational to postwar Japan's economic recovery and the brutal Vietnam War likewise critical to South Korea's compressed development. In its idealistic framing, Luce's proposal on how to govern the peace-to-come—what he dubbed "America's Vision of Our World"—may have furnished a "historical rationale for an expanded American state-form and understanding of national mission after World War II," yet it thoroughly disavowed the basis of Asian economic recovery, namely, participation, alignment, and complicity with the US military, under the ideological aegis of a transpacific *pax Americana*.²³ "Democratic" rehabilitation for both the enemy abroad and "enemy alien" at home, in other words, was contingent on their compliance within the militarized ambit of US power. Central to this fraught vision of democracy budding, if not flourishing, within the context of unfreedom was, as I contend, the work of Nisei cultural producers whose firsthand experience of "democracy" in confinement was perversely construed as uniquely situating them to make the case for the US democratization project in occupied Japan.

Somber in tone, Okubo's images for the December 1943 issue of *Fortune*, the first of the two issues she illustrated, bookended an article titled "The Japanese Predicament: Too Few Ships, Men, Machines; Too Much Empire." The article described the risks of Japan's territorial ambitions and the dangers of its military overstretch in addition to anticipating the demise of its political system. Featuring five Japanese subjects, differently attired yet bowing in rigid unison before a Shinto shrine (fig. 1), Okubo's opening drawing bore an alarmist caption attesting to the militarized value of conformity: "Submissiveness Is a Japanese Weapon That Our War Engineers Cannot Reproduce." At first glance, the image invites being read as a comment on Japan's fascistic advantage over the United States. What the drawing introduced on a visual register, moreover, the article elaborated on at length: namely, that "the submissive obedience that the [Japanese] government has so carefully encouraged" was a formidable tool specific to Japan's war arsenal and one that the United States did not possess.²⁴ Yet Okubo's second drawing for this issue of *Fortune*, "In Death Two Japanese Find Fulfillment," adhering to the instructions she had received from Calkins, showcased the potential of Japan's antidemocratic weapon to backfire. Its most salient detail a *Hinomaru* clutched in a death grip by one of two corpses foregrounded in a landscape littered with dead bodies, Okubo's closing image for the article evoked the perils of blind devotion. "It is one thing to die for the Emperor," *Fortune* editorialized, yet another "to ac-



Figure 1.

Miné Okubo, "Submissiveness Is a Japanese Weapon That Our War Engineers Cannot Reproduce," *Fortune*, December 1943, 124. Reprinted with permission from the Miné Okubo Estate.

cept rationing, to maintain price levels, and to accept harsh criminal laws aimed at forcefully suppressing all criticism of the non-divine government."²⁵ Even within what it dubbed and visualized

as "the Japanese predicament," *Fortune* was quick to alight on rumblings of democratic discontent.

As a visual interpreter of Japan for two late-war issues of *Fortune*, Okubo was thus enlisted to bring "special for[e]sight" to bear on an imagined post-war Pacific Rim and specifically to envision the place of the citizen-subject of a defeated Japan within an emerging world order restructured by a *pax Americana*. The recuperative task was multifold. Commissioned to produce images that did not merely anticipate but performatively made the case for America's war victory and Japan's defeat, Okubo was faced with the challenge of visually rehabilitating both the "enemy alien" on the home front and the enemy in the Pacific as democratically inclined subjects capable of thriving in settings conditioned by the strictures of US militarism. The militarized logic underpinning the successive and entangled policy phases of a US-engineered project of "democratic rehabilitation" relative to both Japanese Americans and Japan should be remarked: the total-war policy of "mass incarceration [of West Coast Japanese Americans] under military auspices"; the late-war leave-clearance policy of selective integration but continued state surveillance of Japanese Americans; the transwar policy in which Nisei functioned within US military intelligence as "a human secret weapon" vis-à-vis Japan and then Korea; and the postwar policy in which Nisei, including artists like Okubo, played a pivotal role in the US military occupation of Japan.²⁶ As Okubo's wartime

cultural work for *Fortune* begins to disclose, these projects were entwined on the level of their logic. To no small degree, the "democratic" rehabilitation of the Japanese "enemy" in the Pacific was perceived as hinging on the successful Americanization of the alienized Japanese American—all within the militarized contours of a US-sponsored "peace."

By examining Okubo's wartime illustrations for *Fortune*, I thus inquire into the continuum that these images assert between Citizen 13660 and the citizen-subject of Japan in order to shed light on the undertheorized role of Nisei cultural producers in imagining a postwar peace contingent on US victory yet inclusive of a democratically rehabilitated Japan. As the historian Takashi Fujitani observes, "In the postwar as in the wartime years, the elite mainstream in academia, government, and the media continued to conflate issues concerning Japanese Americans and Japanese, with the former becoming the domestic 'model minority' and the latter reconstituted into a kind of 'global model minority.'"²⁷ Along these lines, it merits scrutinizing how, as the Cold War dawned, Nisei self-representations of camp life were syllogistically repurposed as exemplary lessons of ethnic Japanese subjects not just adapting to implicitly militarized, US "democratic" structures but more pointedly "thriving under the American system."²⁸ Far from wholesale discarded, the essentializing logic of "ethnic affiliations" so key to the securitized wartime construction of Japanese Americans as the enemy within and Japanese imperial subjects as the enemy without was revised in the postwar period as a salutary pedagogical continuum between two groups of "Pacific citizens" ripe for US democratization: West Coast Japanese Americans perversely construed as democratically inclined subjects within the United States and Japanese nationals identified as democratically inclined subjects housed under an American "defense" umbrella and situated firmly within a US sphere of influence.

The embattled role played by Nisei cultural producers in modeling Pacific citizenship within the confines of unfreedom was perhaps nowhere more poignantly or revealingly manifest than in the wartime quandary of Okubo's fellow artist, Isamu Noguchi. Persuaded, incredibly enough, by Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier to voluntarily enter the Poston War Relocation Center in Arizona, Noguchi soon withered within its claustrophobic confines. Corresponding in September 1942 with the increasingly frantic, miserable Noguchi, Okubo, then at Tanforan Assembly Center in California, drily remarked: "When the rest of the radicals arrive there, you will have friends."²⁹ Though Okubo did not specify which "radicals" she had in mind, her reference was likely to the Nisei Writers and Artists Mobilization for Democracy, a San Francisco-based antifascist organization founded by Noguchi prior to admit-

ting himself to Poston. According to Noguchi, the organization was founded on twinned political and pedagogical principles:

First to present to the public at large a clear and accurate picture of the American citizen of Japanese extraction—his background, his present status, his aspirations. Second, to perform an educational service to the Nisei themselves by dispelling whatever confusions may exist among them as to democratic principles, the issues involved in the war, and their duties as American citizens, thereby promoting their morale and consolidating their trust in American institutions.³⁰

As Robert Maeda explains, “Noguchi and the members of his group . . . were concerned that their fellow Nisei might be swayed by Japan’s militarist view that it was waging a race war and that their internment would be corroboration of America’s racist treatment of Japanese, thus strengthening Japan’s propaganda efforts.”³¹ Swayed by the charismatic Collier’s “visionary” view of the camps as a crucial repository or “Colony” of democracy—“Though democracy perish outside, here would be kept its seeds”—Noguchi resolved to donate his artistic energies to Poston in what he construed to be his service to the cause of US democracy.³² Noguchi “believed wholeheartedly that art should play an active role in society and that in an egalitarian, democratic society, art had a better chance to flourish than in a repressive one.”³³ He anticipated, only to have his hopes bitterly dashed, that the American concentration camp would provide such a laboratory for democratic artistic production.

In “I Become a Nisei,” a 1942 article slated for publication in *Reader’s Digest*, Noguchi thus emerged as an unlikely apologist for the mass removal and incarceration of Japanese Americans—as a democratic experiment: “For many a Nisei, [the camp] is opportunity. The [government’s] plan is to foster democratic participation . . . to teach the Nisei to stand on his own two feet.”³⁴ Identifying the Nisei as tragically constituting “a generation of transition accepted neither by the Japanese nor by America,” Noguchi located their redemption in their propulsion toward participation in and advocacy for US democracy.³⁵ As incipient democratic citizen-subjects in their own right, the Nisei, in Noguchi’s account, signaled a political stage between warring ideological systems in the Pacific: Japanese authoritarianism and imperialism, which he regarded as marked for obsolescence, and US democracy, which he viewed as destined for ascendancy. It is no stretch to extrapolate from this self-consciously “Nisei” account a liberal endorsement and interpretation of the camp, now cast as a model democratic outpost, as an uncanny US blueprint for occupied Japan.³⁶

Documented from Inside

"Cameras and photographs," Okubo recalled in her 1983 introduction to *Citizen 13660*, "were not permitted in the camps, so I recorded everything in sketches, drawings, and paintings."³⁷ Not permitted access to recording technology, precisely those means of mimetic reproduction uniquely endowed with evidentiary weight, Okubo made recourse to the drawn medium to document scenes of camp life. Insofar as the handcrafted image was her sole means of recording life behind barbed wire, Okubo's drawings invite deliberate comparison with the camera image. A first-person chronicle of unspectacular scenes of daily camp life, Okubo's visual memoir everywhere suggests keen observation and faithful, if hasty and unadorned, rendering. As she herself indicated, "*Citizen 13660* began as a special group of drawings made to tell the story of camp life for my many friends who faithfully sent letters and packages to let us know we were not forgotten. The illustrations were intended *for exhibition purposes*."³⁸ Drawn, in other words, for the outside world—indeed explicitly intended for the gaze of friends who, Okubo quips, "told me how lucky I was to be free and safe at home"—these line drawings of camp life function as hand-drawn exposures, which reveal a wide variety of scenes internal to Tanforan and Topaz.³⁹

Yet far from being a stealthily realized project—indeed, other inmates would recall Okubo as never being without a sketchbook in hand—Okubo's preoccupation with documenting the minutiae of camp life, as documents in her "evacuee case file" at the National Archives in Washington, DC, disclose, generated considerable interest from WRA officials. Unlike Dorothea Lange's and Ansel Adams's camp photographs, which were censored and removed from circulation, Okubo's images of camp life, as WRA records reveal, were deemed "definitely loyal" by camp administrators who vetted her drawings and writings for *Trek* prior to publication.⁴⁰ Perhaps more startlingly, the agency approved of Okubo's aim of "writ[ing] a book [based] on her experiences" and singled her out as part of a small cadre of talented young "evacuees" whose "special abilities and talents" might productively align with its agenda.⁴¹ Perhaps unsurprisingly, key figures in the WRA administration served as some of the earliest and most glowing reviewers of her 1946 camp memoir. Insofar as Okubo was viewed in this instrumental light, we might accordingly ask: if the camps, located as they were in remote interior settings, were in effect "designed not to be seen," then how do we account for the exceptionality, in their historical moment, of Okubo's representations of camp life, which were not only designed to be

seen but more pointedly endorsed by the WRA?⁴² How, moreover, might we begin to understand the border-crossing access into the camp that her drawings granted their postwar viewers, not to mention the racial passing that this access performed?

As with Okubo's other camp sketches, her drawing of the Tanforan post office (fig. 2) was explicitly intended for the outside viewer. It is worth considering how this image performatively blurs the boundaries between inside and outside, firsthand historical witness and secondhand viewer, "Japanese" and "American." Recognizable less from its modest sign or perfunctory architectural style—indeed, virtually indistinguishable from the rows of military-style barracks in the distance—the post office, in Okubo's rendering, is distinguished only by the prominent American flag at its anterior. Ideologically irresolvable into this scene of wartime mass detention, the flag gives ironic meaning to a war ostensibly fought for democratic principles, for "free[dom] and safe[ty] at home."⁴³ Depicting wartime America from its intensely militarized interior, this scene discloses less a familiar microcosm of American democracy than what might be construed as a strange US outpost or an as-yet-unincorporated Pacific holding populated solely by ethnic Asian subjects. Produced in the name of national security, the space of the camp, as Okubo's representation suggests, has been thoroughly *securitized*; whatever racialized risks its inmates theoretically pose are contained within its patrolled bounds. The rigid spatial template imposed on this landscape presents a striking contrast to the milling postal patrons who cleave halfheartedly to their positions in line, suggesting that the militarization of lived space in the camp has yet to manifest in any discernibly self-sustaining social order. Signaling the effects of mass removal, images of ever-present crowds, densely packed living quarters, and endless lines function as visual tropes of unsettled, potentially volatile arrangements within camp confines. Whether intimations of democracy in the offing or their dystopian opposite, scenes such as this one beg the question of what civilian life means in the context of mass captivity. In one drawing after another in *Citizen 13660*, the geometry of US military form furnishes an uneasy backdrop for fluid social formations—the shape-shifting crowd, the sudden commotion, the weary queues. In its juxtaposition of imposed form and social chaos, these images suggest less secure design than a deeply uncertain forecast for the future.

Even as Okubo's images of camp life merit careful consideration on the level of what they depict, their historical significance cannot be reduced to their visual content alone. Rather, in their early circulation, their social meaning derived from the transactional function of "Okubo," Okubo's comics-style

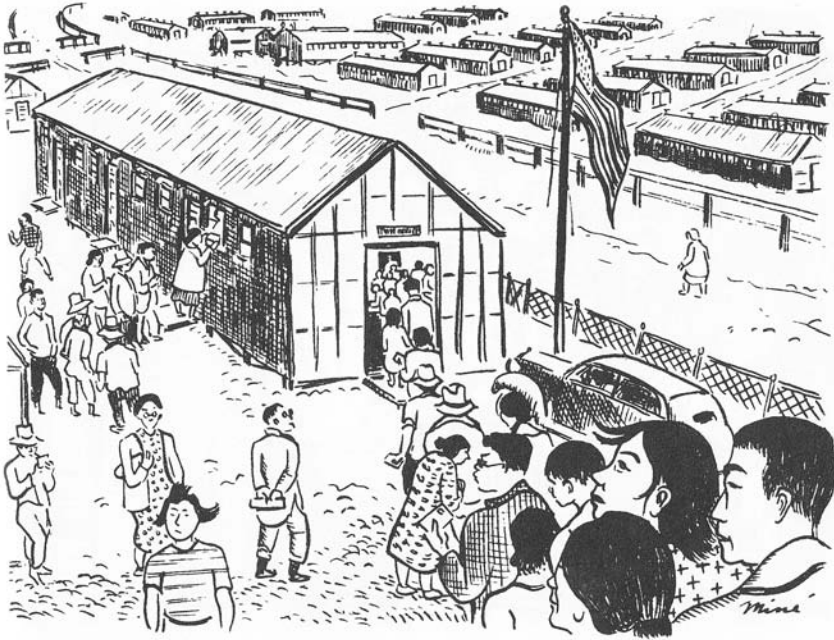


Figure 2.
Miné Okubo, post office at the Tanforan camp,
Citizen 13660 (New York: Columbia University
Press, 1946), 61. Reprinted with permission
from the Miné Okubo Estate.

self-figuration, as both historical witness to and transhistorical mediator of the scene before her. If evocative of the camera image, Okubo's drawings self-consciously insist on the act of media-

tion in a way distinctive to the drawn medium. Far from transparent renderings, much less pro-filmic equivalents, of camp life, these images convey what Okubo could not have witnessed, for bordering nearly all of *Citizen 13660*'s roughly two hundred images is the artist's image of herself.⁴⁴ In the bottom right corner of the post office scene, Okubo represents herself in profile, her flyaway bangs and crosshatched shirt signature markers singling out "Okubo" from anonymous absorption into the unruly queue. A representational quandary specific to visual autobiography, the first-person subject whose viewpoint structures that of the reader must be exteriorized: in essence, a first person made third. Yet, through this formalization of "Okubo" as a figure who, against the laws of perception, has been perceived and represented by Okubo, *Citizen 13660* thereby anticipates and facilitates a visual frame beyond her own: the outside viewer's. I saw it, her images suggest, therefore you, the reader, can see it. In

this way bridging racial worlds cleaved apart in the name of national security, one a site of unfreedom produced by dominant fear and the other a space of “freedom” cushioned by distance, “Okubo,” the first-person witness in *Citizen 13660*, functions as a technological device that serves at once as a border and as a vehicle between those worlds, thus neutralizing the realities of racial risk for the memoir’s readers.

It is, moreover, precisely “Okubo” as that which defies laws of perception but is nonetheless depicted that paradoxically authenticates *Citizen 13660*’s scenes of camp life. Okubo’s stylized self-figuration as a viewer within the frame serves as a testimonial conceit, verifying her presence as a historic witness for the intended outside viewer. Indeed, in its immediate postwar reception, Okubo’s camp memoir elicited an impressive body of critical response from an elite spectrum of liberal American voices who, on the whole, converged in their assessment of what they held to be the authenticity and pedagogical value of Okubo’s tableaux of camp life for a postwar American readership. Key figures involved in camp administration, major critics of government policy toward Japanese Americans, writers for progressive reform-oriented publications, as well as renowned Asia authorities viewed her work as delivering the transparent truth of the camps. Notwithstanding their varying stances, or for that matter liability, relative to the camps, these early reviewers—for example, WRA director Dillon Myer, WRA public relations head M. M. Tozier, Nobel laureate and China “expert” Pearl Buck, *Survey Graphic* literary critic Harry Hansen, the writer Carey McWilliams, and *Common Ground* editor M. Margaret Anderson—were remarkably uniform in their admiration of Okubo’s memoir. Described as an unvarnished historical record—“a revealing pictorial record which should take its place among the documents of World War II” (*Library Journal*); “an honest record” (*Chicago Tribune*); “documentary evidence” and “graphic report” (*St. Louis Post-Dispatch*)—*Citizen 13660*, as McWilliams enthusiastically stated, “convey[ed] to those who knew the centers the exact feeling and impression of the scene and the people.”⁴⁵

Their common praise of *Citizen 13660* thus made postwar bedfellows of liberal administrator and liberal critic of the camps alike.⁴⁶ Tozier, in unison with McWilliams, a prominent critic of the camps, remarked on Okubo’s “vivid talent” for capturing the “truth” of the camp experience and conveying it to a readership who, by dint of distance, time, and race, had no occasion to experience the camps directly. Perhaps most stunningly, Tozier claimed Okubo’s representations of camp life granted him his “first” encounter with the camp experience:

Miné Okubo has succeeded in giving the reader *a strong sense of participation* in the evacuation and relocation center experience. . . . After reading [*Citizen 13660*], I felt that I knew for the first time what camp life looked like, smelled like, and felt like to the evacuated people.⁴⁷

By such accounts enabling anachronistic entry into the realm of the camp, a curiously immediate means for the postwar reader to "know" its realities, Okubo's work, by eliciting the identification of "Caucasian" readers with "Japanese" inmates, facilitated the erasure of structural differences. Yet this postwar leveling of difference, I argue, was central to the "democratic" rehabilitation of a subject who was cast, throughout the war, as an enemy within. If the postwar race novel, as Jodi Melamed argues, served as an affective vehicle for "white Americans . . . to learn the supposedly inside stories of people of color," *Citizen 13660*'s early postwar reception points to the ideological value of cross-racial identification in recuperating the "enemy" along familiar lines.⁴⁸ Premised on an identification with the incarcerated, on a blurring of racial lines, the early postwar reception of *Citizen 13660* pointed to the value of Okubo's work in enabling the domestication and neutralization of what was hitherto held to be foreign and potentially subversive.

In this regard, Okubo's work aligned with the objectives of the WRA, which oversaw not only the removal of West Coast ethnic Japanese and the administration of the camps but also the "resettlement" program as the war came to an end. If the Ringle report highlighted the instrumental value of Nisei self-representation relative to the war effort, the endorsement of Okubo's work by WRA officials must be understood within the context of the agency's goals of managing Japanese American integration into the larger population. At stake in the dispersal of subjects framed during the war as a security threat and their absorption into communities whose racial hostilities could not be determined was less their ability to perform "Americanness" than in "Caucasian" identification with "Citizen 13660" and its real-world equivalents. From Myer, director of the WRA from 1942 to 1946 and the Bureau of Indian Affairs from 1950 to 1953—and therefore, in Richard Drinnon's indictment, "director and commissioner of twin calamities" and emblem of "banality of evil, U.S. style"—we have this remarkable assessment of the pedagogical value of *Citizen 13660*: "The book is a reproof to those who would malign any racial minority, and it should help to forestall any future mass movements of the type [Okubo] portrays."⁴⁹ That the empathetic chorus commending *Citizen 13660* included "former jailer[s] of the Japanese Americans," figures whose bureaucratic function was premised, in theory, on some measure of disidentification with those whom they governed, gestures toward the ideological function of work by formerly

racially proscribed cultural producers like Okubo in shifting the contours of postwar racial terrain in the United States.⁵⁰

If forcibly uprooted from the West Coast and stripped of rights, the Japanese American was thus symbolically renaturalized as a bona fide American subject via this postwar cultural dynamic of readerly identification. Through this conceit of empirical access and firsthand knowledge, *Citizen 13660*'s early postwar readership grappled with the injustice of the camps in troublingly self-referential, vicarious terms. Representing, in the words of one review, an "episode in American history . . . so brilliantly *documented from inside*," in contrast to the extensive research conducted on the camps by social scientists from the outside, Okubo's drawings transported its readers as surrogate witnesses onto the sensory terrain of its textual world. Through a syllogistic series of identifications, "Citizen 13660" was rehabilitated as "Carey McWilliams," "M. M. Tozier," and even "Dillon Myer." If, moreover, Okubo's testimonial lens offered a sobering corrective to wartime constructions of Japanese Americans as saboteurs loyal to Hirohito, the early postwar reviewers of *Citizen 13660* uncovered in her images evidence of another suppressed link: the national identity of Americans outside the camp and Americans incarcerated within barbed wire enclosures. Yet by dematerializing the conditions that gave rise to the mass roundup of West Coast ethnic Japanese in the first place, the empathy of these readers worked in tandem with the WRA's liberal objectives of rehabilitating the "Japanese" along avowedly American lines. In doing so, these readers, including those who had opposed the removal policy in the first place, perversely affirmed the "democratic" value of the camps as an assimilationist experiment.

Little Tokyos

In World War II's long aftermath, *Citizen 13660* traced an itinerary whose defining end points, in particular its reanimation within the Japanese American redress movement of the 1970s and 1980s, have made its obscure starting points difficult to recover. In a 1983 added preface to *Citizen 13660*—text based on her 1981 testimony before the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians (CWRIC), a Congress-appointed committee that would recommend that the US government undertake official redressive measures—Okubo would reflect, in curiously progressive terms, on the camp's scattering effects on her generation: "For the Nisei, evacuation had opened the doors of the world. After the war, they no longer had to return to the little Tokyos of their parents. The evacuation and the war had proved their loyalty

to the United States."⁵¹ We might observe the crisscrossing trajectories of Okubo, or "Citizen 13660," and her book *Citizen 13660*. Whereas government mandate propelled Okubo eastward during the war—from her home state of California to the camp in Topaz, Utah, and from the camp to New York where her assignment with *Fortune* awaited her—her illustrated memoir, *Citizen 13660*, moved in the opposite direction in the postwar years. In 1984, a year after *Citizen 13660*'s republication by the University of Washington Press, a publisher known for its commitment to Asian American letters, the memoir accrued a double accolade, earning a place within a US multicultural literary canon and finding a place, as it were, in Tokyo. Some four decades after its original publication by Columbia University Press, that is to say, *Citizen 13660* traveled with distinction in the world republic of letters, receiving the American Book Award from the Before Columbus Foundation and translated into Japanese by Ochanomizu Shobo, a Tokyo publishing house.⁵² If Okubo had been relieved of having "to return to the little Tokyos of [her] parents," the "Okubo" of *Citizen 13660* went an ocean farther, transplanted to Tokyo, where Okubo's mother had at the turn of the century hailed from.

This repatriation of the earliest Nisei camp memoir on both sides of the Pacific is all the more notable because Okubo mistakenly believed that her illustrations for the April 1944 issue of *Fortune* had been reproduced in a late-war edition of *Fortune* magazine in Japan—some two decades before a Japanese edition of the magazine even existed. Yet Okubo's confusion about the late-war itinerary of the images she produced for *Fortune*—her belief that her images had traveled to Japan decades before they actually did—is symptomatic of the securitized internationalism of the April 1944 issue of *Fortune* she was asked to illustrate. Having worked with Okubo on their December 1943 issue, the editors of *Fortune* selected sketches from Okubo's vast collection of images of camp life and prominently featured these drawings in a special April 1944 issue of the magazine titled "Japan and the Japanese: A Military Power We Must Defeat, a Pacific Problem We Must Solve." Premised on a US victory in the Pacific and a postwar *pax Americana* that would require that Japan be kept "at close range," the issue reinforced, at every turn, the necessity "not only to defeat Japan in war but to keep her in peace."⁵³ To this end, the editors argued the urgency of "understand[ing] the nature of the enemy so that we may destroy, and remake, the nature of his ambition."⁵⁴

Conceived after *Fortune* had received "a flood of requests . . . from government agencies and students in military-intelligence courses on Japan" that it republish its September 1936 issue on Japan, the April 1944 issue represented the editors' decision to offer an altogether new and updated portrait of Japan.⁵⁵

Not credited to individual authors, the issue's articles reflected the collaboration of a range of Asia specialists, including orientalist Herrymon Maurer, Claude Buss, Carl and Shelley Mydans—the latter three recent repatriates to the United States from Japanese internment camps in Asia—in addition to “artists of Japanese extraction,” including Okubo, most recently from Topaz, Utah.⁵⁶ Comprising Americans repatriated from Japanese camps and Japanese Americans, including one incarcerated by the United States, *Fortune's* team of assembled “experts” thus put Asia policy analysts and “native” informants of both Japanese and Japanese American varieties in league with each other.

Although written from a policy perspective by white American “experts” on Asia, the illustrations by Okubo, Yasuo Kuniyoshi, and Taro Yashima reflected the magazine's long-standing investment in the “affirmative myth-making power of the artist [to] provide an image for a new society” and its view of artists as vital “imaginators” of a democratic future under US capitalist auspices.⁵⁷ Unable to send photographers to Japan during wartime, the magazine, famed for its “designed realism” and visual modernism, instead drew on “the services of experts,” Japanese and Japanese American, at home.⁵⁸ In its specific reliance on Okubo, it reinforced what Caroline Chung Simpson has elsewhere referred to as the “American propensity for seeing Japanese Americans as Japanese aliens”—a proclivity that would have Nisei situated “as go-betweens in occupied areas of the Pacific” as the postwar era dawned.⁵⁹ Of the three artists enlisted to illustrate this wartime issue, two-thirds of which was supplemented by hand-drawn images rather than photographs, Okubo's contribution was the largest in volume, and she alone was required to represent both sides of the Pacific: life in Japan and the Japanese American experience. The editors anxiously justified the inclusion of artwork by Kuniyoshi and Yashima, identifying the former as “a vigorous political worker for the democratic cause” and the latter as an “anti-fascist” whose antimilitarist political cartoons led to his imprisonment and torture in Japan.⁶⁰ Unlike these Japan-born artists, however, Okubo, as the catalog to the Oakland Museum exhibit of her work pointed out in 1972, “was born an American in Riverside, California[, had] never been to Japan and [spoke] little Japanese.”⁶¹ Despite this handicap, not only did “Miss Okubo's drawings of camp life,” the editors of *Fortune* breezily declared, “exactly suit . . . our purpose,” but also, in addition to allowing them to hand-select camp drawings from her portfolio for the essay “Issei, Nisei, Kibei,” Okubo created, at their request, detailed images of Japanese “citizen-subjects,” sweeping portraits of the Japanese masses, and intricate renderings of Japanese industry, dwellings, and urban sites for two additional articles, “The Citizen-Subject” and “What to Do with Japan.”⁶² Okubo, the artist whose *Citizen 13660*

would give human face to Japanese Americans mass confined during the war, subjects she observed firsthand, thus assumed a weighty representational role as a visual interpreter of a subject about whom she knew little and had had no opportunity to study, the citizen-subject of Japan.

Proceeding, then, from a deeply fraught epistemological basis, the special issue "Japan and the Japanese" sought to address an audience—US state agencies and students of military intelligence as well as its designated readership, American business—whom it held would be empowered to shape the governance and conditions of a postwar American peace within the Asia-Pacific region. Littered with war industry advertisements forecasting US victory and the need to secure global postwar markets—"Marion's Job after Victory," "Commanding Position," "The World May Be Shrinking," "When It's Over, Over There," "Realistic Crystal Gazing"—*Fortune* aimed to develop an early policy blueprint for a US-engineered peace in the Pacific Theater.⁶³ An issue that thematically exemplified the "American Century" liberalism and global free enterprise ideology of Henry Luce, this special issue labored, moreover, to present itself as a clear alternative to the jingoism and yellow peril legacy of Hearst publications—despite the fact that, on a visual register, it made recourse to the very drawn medium sensationally exploited by rival Hearst and Pulitzer publications from the days of the Spanish American War onward.⁶⁴ In "Issei, Nisei, Kibei," an article supplemented by seventeen of Okubo's camp drawings, nearly all of which later appeared in *Citizen 13660*, *Fortune* condemned Hearst's conflatory Yellow Peril logic, holding the man and his publications accountable for the "110,000 people evicted from the West Coast":

For decades the Hearst press has campaigned against *the Yellow Peril within the state (1 per cent of the population) as well as the Yellow Peril across the seas* that would one day make war. When that war prophecy came true, the newspapers' campaign of hate and fear broke all bounds. And, when Hearst called for the removal of all people of Japanese ancestry, he had as allies many pressure groups who had for years resented the presence of Japanese in this country. . . . War turned the antagonism into fear, and made possible what California had already wanted for decades—to get rid of its minority.⁶⁵

Apparently seeking to present, by contrast, a cool-headed perspective and thereby to infuse reason into a contentious public debate about the future of the ethnic Japanese minority in the United States, *Fortune* sought to dismiss recent fear-mongering "innuendoes" generated by Hearst's yellow press that intimated that "explosions, train wrecks, fires, and serious accidents" had ensued in the wake of the WRA's release of seventeen thousand Japanese Americans from the camps.⁶⁶ As *Fortune* was careful to remind its readership, "not one has been convicted of anti-American activity."⁶⁷

Yet *Fortune's* stance on the camps was comparative and ultimately exceptionalizing. Possibly reflecting the input of its guest editors who had until recently been imprisoned by the Japanese, the lead for "Issei, Nisei, Kibei," the issue's first article, advanced an ideologically laden thesis—an iteration of American exceptionalism with regard to the prosecution of war in the Pacific Theater:

When the facts about Japanese brutality to the soldier prisoners from Bataan were made known, Americans were more outraged than they had been since December 7, 1941. Instinctively they contrasted that frightfulness with our treatment of Japanese held in this country; and, without being told, Americans knew that prisoners in the U.S. were fed three meals a day and had not been clubbed or kicked or otherwise brutalized.⁶⁸

Construing US detention of Japanese Americans and Japan's internment of American POWs in the Pacific as a study in contrasts, this lead sought to distinguish American treatment of "Japanese held in this country" as reflective of a democratic tradition so entrenched as to be "instinctive."⁶⁹ Aimed at clearing widespread public misconceptions about American concentration camps, a matter about which "Americans themselves are . . . confused," "Issei, Nisei, Kibei" offered incoherent positions on the matter: simultaneously adopting an apologist stance toward the camps, revealing select abuses, debunking homogenizing theories of disloyalty, advocating for the necessity of "resettlement" and assimilation rather than de facto "Indian reservation[s]," and appealing for the public's cooperation as released Japanese Americans were dispersed, mostly eastward, across the United States.⁷⁰

Yet, if the intention of *Fortune's* "Issei, Kibei, Nisei" was to perform simultaneously late-war and anticipatory postwar clearing of the dense thicket of wartime rumors and obscurantism propagated by Hearst publications, *Fortune* contributed to an obfuscation of the American concentration camp at nearly every turn.⁷¹ Central to its analysis was an insistence on the overdetermined expression "little Tokyos." Far from consistent in their mobilization of the term, the *Fortune* editors introduced the expression as a description of actual prewar ethnic enclaves located in urban areas along the Pacific coast. Like McWilliams, whose *Prejudice: Japanese Americans, Symbol of Racial Intolerance* was published later that same year, *Fortune* viewed the "character of the Little Tokyo community itself" as a "principal influence . . . [in] retarding acceptance" of Japanese Americans:

Back in December, 1941, there was understandable nervousness over the tight little Japanese communities scattered along the West Coast. The long coast line seemed naked and undefended. There were *colonies of Japanese fishermen* in the port areas, farmlands operated

by Japanese close to war plants, and *little Tokyos* in the heart of big coastal cities. There were suspected spies among the *Japanese concentrations* and there was fear of sabotage.⁷²

Rather than read these "little Tokyos"—in their initial definition, "Japanese concentrations" located "in the heart of big coastal cities"—as a foreseeable outcome of restrictive covenants, the editors of *Fortune* took an effect of racial exclusion and construed it as an "understandable" reason for racist fear. Signaling more than the dismantled ethnic enclaves along the West Coast, little Tokyos, cast in the plural throughout "Issei, Kibei, Nisei," emblemized the lurking dystopianism of intensely racialized space, at once "tight[,] little," "concentrat[ed]," and with a dreaded capacity for proliferation. For these editors intent on asserting *Fortune's* sober difference from a Hearst-brand of "Yellow Peril" hysteria, the "resettlement" and geographic diffusion of Japanese Americans were critical to the progressive value and recuperation of an otherwise disastrous policy. "Almost every day," they noted in "Issei, Nisei, Kibei," "the Hearst papers fling the word 'coddling,' with the clear implication that all persons of Japanese descent, citizen or no, women and infants, should be treated strictly as prisoners of war, which of course they are not."⁷³ Central, then, to *Fortune's* analysis of the camps was a searching inquiry into how the United States might democratically rehabilitate the little Tokyos that had sprung up on federal lands as a result of the policy of mass removal.

Against public criticisms hurled against the WRA, accusing the latter of "turning loose, for resettlement, 'dangerous Japs,'" the editors of *Fortune* advised their readers to realize that "from the very beginning WRA's prescribed purpose was to help the évacuées to find some place to live outside the prohibited [Western Defense] zone."⁷⁴ In a 1945 *Survey Graphic* essay, "Japanese American Relocation: Final Chapter," WRA director Dillon Myer described the camps as "tightly ingrown, racially segregated communities, where it [was] easier and easier to think and talk 'Japanese' and to forget the normal life outside."⁷⁵ Portraying and advocating for relocation as "an exciting adventure in the democratic method," Myer called for "groups and individuals who had been supporting the resettlement program all along" to support "speedy liquidation" of the camps, so as to avoid "the only alternative—the permanent maintenance of centers for people of Japanese descent as 'rejects' which our democracy has failed to absorb."⁷⁶ Championing WRA "resettlement" goals, the editors of *Fortune* likewise sought to parry arguments by those in favor of the permanence of the camps. Endeavoring to illustrate the danger at hand, they purposed one of Okubo's drawings (fig. 3) to demonstrate how those potentially seditious little Tokyos, which were terminated as a consequence of

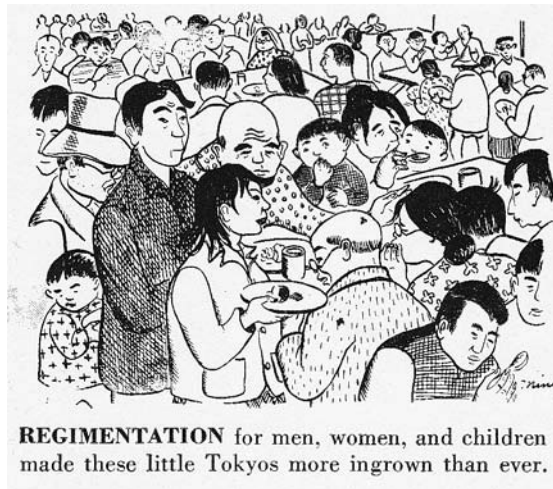


Figure 3.

Miné Okubo, mess hall at the Tanforan camp, "Issei, Nisei, Kibei," *Japan and the Japanese*, special issue, *Fortune*, April 1944, 22. Reprinted with permission from the Miné Okubo Estate.

removal policy, might prove an unwitting outcome of the latter.

Whereas this crowded scene, in its appearance in *Citizen 13660*, depicts the Tanforan mess hall after multiple busloads of Bay Area Japanese Americans have arrived (Okubo and her tall brother among them), this same image, as presented in *Fortune*, makes no mention of the poorly conceived logistics behind the packed circumstances. Rather, in *Fortune*, this image is marshaled as evidence of how the very WRA policy intended to dismantle little Tokyos on the West Coast had nightmarishly reproduced their possibility within the camps. Lest this image with its pessimistic suggestion that "regimentation . . . made these little Tokyos more ingrown than ever" and its possible visual kinship with the Hearst trope of teeming Asiatic hordes prompt renewed backlash against recently released Japanese Americans, the editors took pains to point out:

Although the *évacuées*' resentment at regimentation within WRA's little Tokyos is deep, it is seldom expressed violently. Considering the emotional strains, the uprooting, and the crowding, no one can deny that the record of restraint has been remarkable.⁷⁷

Even as camp conditions spelled doom, the exemplary self-control exercised by the inmates, *Fortune* intimated, augured the possibility of their recuperation within American postwar society. Albeit not a part of the camp lexicon,

which included the term "Caucasian" for camp administrator, the epithet "little Tokyos" had broad social currency within the camp and the larger cultural landscape during the transwar years.⁷⁸ Raised as an alarmist foil against which assimilation as a liberal method of racial rehabilitation could then be vigorously advocated, little Tokyos represented an overdetermined biopolitical concept with regard to a minority demographic framed as a security threat: at once the prewar ethnic enclaves along the Pacific coast *and* the camps, described, in *Fortune*, as "crowded barracks villages of between 7,000 and 18,000 people."⁷⁹ In other words, even as the editors of *Fortune* sought to challenge and to discredit the racist assumptions behind the framing of prewar ethnic Japanese enclaves as little Tokyos that led to the policy of removal in the first place, they had no qualms about deploying the same term as an argument for the closure of the camps and the dispersal of their inmates throughout the eastern part of the United States.

Insofar as the detainees, in *Fortune's* polemical assertion, hailed from "an isolated, discarded, and therefore ingrown people," their removal exacerbated these features by reconcentrating them "together in a compact racial island of their own frustrated people . . . almost completely detached from American life."⁸⁰ Not just individual little Tokyos, it would thus appear, but more ominously, a miniature version of the Japanese archipelago, "the nine remote inland sites . . . on federally owned land" *could* be integrated into the "American" way of life, but only through the committed execution of policies of "resettlement," educational guidance, and assimilation.⁸¹ Of the "small children [who] speak more Japanese than they would if they competed daily with other American school children" and the "teen-age boys and girls [who] are ostentatiously American in clothes, slang, and behavior," this article, while seeing trouble, detected cause for hope.⁸² In the teenagers "trying too hard to convince themselves that they *are* American," the magazine alighted on a glimmer of "America" even in little Tokyos—the promise, that is, of a democratic subject at the core of what it deemed an ersatz performance.⁸³ Advocating "maximum permissible 'intercourse with "white" Americans,'" the controversial Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) leader Mike Masaoka, in step with *Fortune's* assimilationist prescriptions, likewise raised the specter of little Tokyos:

We do not relish the thought of "Little Tokyos" springing up in these resettlement projects, for by doing so we are only perpetuating the very things which we hope to eliminate: those mannerisms and thoughts which mark us apart, aside from our physical characteristics. We hope for a one hundred per cent American community.⁸⁴

Hoping as well for “a one hundred per cent American community,” *Fortune* was not above exploiting generational differences among the “Issei, Nisei, [and] Kibei.” Heralding the Nisei as subjects most likely to succeed on the postwar terrain of US society, the editors sought to isolate the “American” possibility among those incarcerated in the “WRA’s little Tokyos”—to sort, as it were, the salvage from the spoilage, and in doing so to identify the pedagogical model within the larger minority.

The viability, moreover, of the postwar rehabilitation of the ethnic Japanese minority hinged, in *Fortune*’s account, on the capacity of this demographic to propel itself forward without state aid. In “What They Left behind Them,” an article paired with “Issei, Nisei, Kibei,” the editors offered a good faith account of the US government’s expropriation of “the enemy’s property.”⁸⁵ Justified, in the magazine’s view, in claiming the assets of “little Issei (first-generation Japanese who were banned from being naturalized) grocers in Los Angeles, Portland, Seattle, or Hilo,” the US Treasury had mistakenly “sealed the property of some Nisei (American citizens of Japanese descent)”; recognizing its error, it released “most of this,” or so the article claimed.⁸⁶ While identifying Nisei as subjects with legal rights, *Fortune* maintained that rights violations, such as the Treasury’s “sealing of [Nisei] property,” were neither malicious nor deliberate and were furthermore self-correcting, thus implying that collective redress measures by Japanese Americans would be excessive. *Fortune*, moreover, took pains to characterize this demographic on the whole as subjects with a historic loathing to turn to the state, stressing to its readers that Japanese Americans had weathered the Depression with no assistance. In “Issei, Nisei, Kibei,” *Fortune* reminded its readership that “the record of Japanese-Americans during the depression indicated that they did not take to public relief” and “almost never appeared on WPA or home-relief lists.”⁸⁷ Given their historic aversion to state aid, “it is now galling [for them] to be distrusted wards of the nation,” *Fortune* contended.⁸⁸ Therefore not likely to be a postwar liability, released Japanese Americans were extolled as a productive labor force worthy of integration into American society.

Here, Okubo’s camp sketches were presented as proof of the innate resilience and forward momentum of Japanese Americans. The first strip of images of camp life in “Issei, Nisei, and Kibei” situates the initial phase of mass removal as part of a valiant narrative of overcoming and flourishing. Arranged in sequential order, these images imply the rhythmic procession of a goal-oriented journey, a genre of visual narration that the comics theorist Scott McCloud calls “getting there.”⁸⁹ In the first frame, “Okubo,” her brother, and a few others are depicted alongside their boxed belongings in a truck headed for Tanforan;

in the second, a vista of Tanforan captures "Okubo" as she arrives at a camp bustling with the activity of other inmates who have settled into the everyday routines of gardening, laundry, and gossiping; in the third, an interior shot shows "Okubo" preparing her new home, sweeping dung from the stall floor. Okubo included nearly all these sketches in her memoir, but the progressive teleology to which these scenes were subjected in "Issei, Nisei, Kibei" in *Fortune* magazine is markedly absent in *Citizen 13660*.

In an early scene in *Citizen 13660*, Okubo remarks that the government instructed Japanese Americans to "be prepared for the Relocation Centers. Bring work clothes suited to pioneer life," yet *Citizen 13660*, with its leitmotifs of uncertainty and impermanence, largely refuses a romanticized reading of the camps as an internal frontier, even as it highlights the inmates' productivity.⁹⁰ In *Fortune*, Okubo's camp drawings are used to dilate the pioneering theme, with select line drawings arranged and captioned to convey a flourishing "can do" attitude within the context of mass captivity. Presenting camp inmates as overlooked participants in home front patriotism, Okubo's images in *Fortune*, while acknowledging that they were forced to live in makeshift, uninhabitable conditions, emphasize their hardscrabble ingenuity, triumphant in the face of incarceration (fig. 4).

Intimating that WRA's little Tokyos might be viewed as a valiant microcosm of the resilience of American spirit on the home front, this triptych's emphasis on "making do" and maintaining morale more generally reflected the total-war securitization of US civil society. Even as Okubo's camp drawings often feature inmates in the midst of ordinary activities, "be it digging ditches, packing, crating produce or fighting dust storms in the desert," these images serve as a thematization of patriotism.⁹¹ Doing their part in little Tokyos for US victory, incarcerated Japanese Americans, the captions state, "improvise" and "persist." In "Victory Gardens," the second image in the sequence, recycled box-sides at once read as product advertisements for "Wonder Bread" and "Kotex," attest to the bolstering of the wartime US economy through consumption of domestic products, and bespeak frugality. The reuse of discarded materials, moreover, performatively designates the figures in this triptych as "the salvage." Conscientiously balancing rationing with consumption during wartime, "the salvage," as profiled in sociological studies of the camps, referred to those inmates whose postwar recuperability within larger American society was foretold by their belief, and evidenced by their actions, that "a 'good life' could be built up in these isolated, war-duration communities."⁹² The predictive dimension of Okubo's images in this late-war policy issue of *Fortune* should be remarked. As this triptych suggests, the hybrid formula for exemplarity—American "can-do"



Figure 4. Miné Okubo, trio of images of camp life, “Issei, Nisei, Kibei,” *Japan and the Japanese*, special issue, *Fortune*, April 1944, 147. Reprinted with permission from the Miné Okubo Estate.

spirit bolstered by “Japanese” rectitude, all in the face of adversity—would determine who among this population could thrive within the contours of the American system.⁹³

Like the teenagers “trying too hard to convince themselves that they *are* American,” the camp inmates in this sequence have moved beyond typical expressions of patriotism. Speaking to the agricultural background of Japanese Americans prior to the war, the quasi-collectivist concept of the victory garden depicted in this triptych may have recalled for *Fortune’s* liberal readers a 1943 *Survey Graphic* article, “Japanese Colony: Success Story.”⁹⁴ Focusing on the “Food for Victory” campaign of Fred Wada, a Nisei “citizen and produce merchant” and a “voluntary evacuee” from Oakland, California, the *Survey Graphic* article described his hyperpatriotic response—his outsized version of a victory garden—to President Franklin D. Roosevelt’s appeal for “increased output of both food and munitions” as contributions to the total-war effort:

[Wada] reasoned thus: . . . Japanese Americans are not allowed to make munitions, but they can raise food. He decided to set out, as a patriotic task, to find unused land, form a corps of Americans of Japanese ancestry, and *try to break all records* at raising crops. The band would not wait to be rounded up by the army [for removal], becoming *expensive wards of the government*. They would go eastward [to Utah] of their own free will and break land *like the early pioneers*.⁹⁵

Like those “Japanese-Americans [who] did not take to public relief” during the Depression and who “almost never appeared on WPA or home-relief lists” in *Fortune’s* “Issei, Nisei, Kibei,” Wada, in refusing to “becom[e an] expensive ward” of the state, was framed by *Survey Graphic* as a “Success Story” from whose productive example the larger nation might learn a thing or two. Patriotically “American” in character, his “Japanese Colony” in Keetley, Utah, demonstrated how arid fields previously covered with “a mass of sagebrush”

could flourish as "acres of vegetables."⁹⁶ Against those who might dispute Wada's right to US citizenship, *Survey Graphic* instead held up the Nisei "pioneer," going for broke in "Japanese colonies" on the war's home front as a pedagogical model of the "salvage" among detained Japanese Americans as well as an exemplary subject whose record-breaking "story of patriotism," despite the suspension of his rights, might more broadly prove instructive and inspirational "to other loyal Americans."⁹⁷

This suggestion of a salutary identification between "other loyal [white] Americans" and Wada as a pioneering "American" within a "Japanese colon[y]" in Utah was, as I have contended, a defining feature of late-war, liberal arguments for the postwar rehabilitation of Japanese Americans. Framed as figures whose exemplarity derived from their ability to thrive without state subsidies and, more pointedly, in the face of state-sponsored adversity, Japanese Americans emblemized, in these highly wrought ideological accounts, democratic possibility in the confines of unfreedom. Held up as the model minority in the turbulent 1960s, the Nisei, as William Petersen infamously insisted in his article "Success Story, Japanese-American Style," had "established [a] remarkable record [of success] . . . by their almost totally unaided effort."⁹⁸ Yet the origin of the ideological construction of Nisei as the model minority, I argue, must be traced back to the militarized, wartime milieu of the American concentration camp. As the Cold War dawned, the template of resilient racialized subjects able to flourish in militarized contexts would have broad applicability to US "democratization" projects abroad. What Okubo's late-war conflationary depictions of incarcerated Japanese Americans and Japanese subjects under imperial rule thus point to is the significance of "American" identification with racialized populations construed as incipient democratic subjects.

Empathy, that is, was essential to the expansion, under the rubric of democratization, of US military empire, and Okubo's wartime camp images were purposed, in this late-war juncture, to justify US democracy-to-come within the postwar Asia-Pacific region. Along these lines, the first panel in the above triptych (fig. 4), an illustration of a family's "Christmas celebration" inside the camp, recalls the poignant, profoundly humanizing first cover of *Trek* (fig. 5), the Topaz literary magazine for which Okubo served as art editor. In Okubo's account, it was this artwork for *Trek* that so moved the editors of *Fortune* that they extended an invitation to her to move east.

As with the sketch version reproduced in *Fortune*, this December 1942 *Trek* cover features three children and their parents, and a humble array of gifts in the foreground, as well as a potbellied stove, a teakettle, and stockings in the background. We might surmise that *Fortune's* editors were drawn to the study

of contrasts on this cover and the earnestness of the holiday effort of a family making the most of adverse circumstances: on the one hand, the father's lavish display of Christmas spirit; on the other, five modest parcels and stockings, three candy canes, a Depression-era stove, a thin, attentive mother, and sheets and towels hung up to contrive a semblance of privacy. In *Fortune* the caption identifies this holiday scene as an illustration of the theme of making do: "Crowded into a single room, this family managed to improvise a Christmas celebration."⁹⁹ Albeit formally closer to comics, or "funnies" as Okubo called them, the first line drawing in the triptych (fig. 3) published by *Fortune*, moreover, might have evoked for the magazine's 1944 readership the entwined themes of sheer grit, grinding poverty, and Americanness, associated with the black-and-white documentary aesthetic of the Farm Security Administration photography of Dorothea Lange, whose WRA-commissioned photographs of camp life, too palpably critical and sympathetic, were impounded by the US government and neglected for several decades.

By playing on the documentary aesthetic of Depression-era photography and presenting its depicted subjects within a distinctively "American" visual mode, Okubo's images would have elicited identification with incarcerated Japanese Americans on the part of *Fortune's* readership. Although not a makeshift "Christmas celebration," another of Okubo's drawings within the same April 1944 issue of *Fortune* visualized a family gathering—in this case, however, in neither Tanforan nor Topaz but rather Japan (fig. 6). Recalling the finished style and deliberate arrangement of her *Trek* covers rather than the hastily executed line drawings of *Citizen 13660*, the below scene signaled Okubo's attempt, at *Fortune's* request, to "document" intimate details of war-era Japanese domestic space for the magazine's readership. Appearing as a half-page illustration for an article on civil society in wartime Japan titled "The Citizen-Subject . . . Tightens His Belt and Wipes Off His Smile," Okubo's drawing was intended as a visual approximation of the average "two-room wood and paper house" in Japan, with the main living space doubling as dining room and bedroom and the charcoal brazier functioning as "cookstove and furnace."¹⁰⁰ In this interior tableau, a worker and his family, partaking silently and uncomplainingly of an austere meal, just "A Bowl of Rice and a Pickled Plum" per person, ostensibly represented the average Japanese family.¹⁰¹ Meant, much like the household items, to perform double duty, the scene's spare aesthetic might have communicated for *Fortune's* subscribers a distinctive "Japaneseness," yet it conveyed something all too familiar, namely,

Figure 5.

Miné Okubo, cover of *Trek*, December 1942.



the wartime necessity of rationing that American households knew all too well. Crucially, Okubo's drawing ascribed to the Japanese family a humanity that, for US wartime readers, would have contrasted with "the most common caricature of the Japanese by Westerners, writers and cartoons alike": "the monkey or ape."¹⁰² Listing the strict rationing rules imposed on Japanese civilians, the text of the article "The Citizen-Subject" distilled a principle that would have hit home for *Fortune's* war-weary readers: in times of war, "civilians do without."¹⁰³

Significantly, the compositional elements of the image in figure 6 also correspond to Okubo's images of camp life and may very well have resonated as kindred transpacific images for *Fortune's* readers. Although Okubo's distinctive aesthetic could be detected in telltale stylistic features—the careful geometry of forms, the intense and precise crosshatching, and the fullness of human shape residually attesting to her brief WPA apprenticeship under Diego Rivera—the embedded social architecture of this interior scene aligned it with her camp drawings. Albeit, with its restrained lines and harmonious forms, a far cry from the claustrophobic Tanforan mess hall (fig. 3) and the latter's insurgent hint of disaffected little Tokyos, this supposedly typical portrait of a Japanese family meal shared with the depiction of a "Christmas celebration" in the camp context a recognizable pattern: a family of five attempting to carry on normally despite the war. Featuring a teapot identical to that depicted on the December 1942 *Trek* cover, this scene corresponded to its American counterpart on a deeper level. Profoundly normalizing, the image of the Japanese family disclosed nothing about the militaristic fanaticism associated with Japan in US media. Less a portrait of oriental exoticism or a visual assertion of essential difference, this image reflected the theme of "belt-tightening" suggested in the title—a scene whose ethos, for *Fortune's* readership, would have required little translation. More importantly, the fungibility between this tableau and the "making do" Japanese American households depicted in "Issei, Nisei, Kibei" would have suggested the recuperability of the Japanese themselves. In an issue devoted to Japan and the Japanese as "a military power we must defeat" and "a Pacific problem we must solve," the continuity performed by Okubo's images enabled a syllogistic conclusion: just as "Citizen 13660" could be repatriated as a loyal American subject, so too could the citizen-subject of Japan be rehabilitated under US postwar occupation.

To this end, this issue of *Fortune* erected yet another pedagogical parallel between the Nisei at Tule Lake, a high-security "segregation center" for dissidents who refused to pledge their "loyalty" to the United States and "whose loyalties were thought to lie with Japan," on the one hand, and Japanese



Figure 6. Miné Okubo, Japanese worker and family, "The Citizen-Subject . . . Tightens His Belt and Wipes off His Smile," *Fortune*, April 1944, 149. Reprinted with permission from the Miné Okubo Estate.

"citizen-subjects," on the other.¹⁰⁴ In "Issei, Nisei, Kibei" the magazine's editors asserted: "It is ironic and revealing that at high school at Tule Lake, civics and American history are popular elected courses."¹⁰⁵ Though the editors did not further substantiate this claim, it likely would have come as some surprise to *Fortune's* readers that,

having indicated their desire to follow the Japanese way of life, [Tule Lake] evacuees would not be required to send their children to the American schools in the center, and they were to be permitted to establish at their own expense Japanese language schools. In other spheres, too, bans on "Japanese" activities were to be removed or restrictions moderated.¹⁰⁶

In a curious parallel to the predilection of Nisei teenagers at Tule Lake for "civics and American history," *Fortune*, in "The Citizen-Subject," observed similar curricular inclinations on the part of Japanese university students, without directly remarking the comparison:

In [Japanese] universities all classes of arts and law were dissolved last January, although English is still taught. A recent report from Tsuda College says that the 300 girl students who are training to become teachers and government employees are studying English for

fourteen hours a week: seniors read Shakespeare, Chaucer, Milton, Galsworthy, and Barry; freshmen read such stories as *Little Women* and *What Katy Did*; and weekly topics of discussion have included the Atlantic Charter, the fourth term, and U.S. airplane production.¹⁰⁷

The disaffected detainees at Tule Lake may have furnished the Berkeley sociologist Dorothy Swaine Thomas with material for her influential theorization of “the spoilage,” yet the pedagogical leanings of Tule Lake secondary school students toward “civics and American history” boded optimistically for the possibility that even “the spoilage” might be rehabilitated and integrated into US democracy. By extension, it augured the flexibility of the Japanese under US postwar governance. Little Tokyo, as an overdetermined reference for pre-war Japanese American urban enclaves along the Pacific coast and the WRA wartime camps, thus took on the resonance of a third, postwar meaning in the April 1944 issue of *Fortune*: namely, “Tokyo” as a metonym for US-occupied Japan itself. In *War without Mercy*, Dower observes that “after the war years themselves changed over into an era of peace between Japan and the Allied powers, the shrill racial rhetoric of the early 1940s revealed itself to be surprisingly adaptable.”¹⁰⁸ “Idioms,” and here we might include “little Tokyos,” “that formerly had denoted the unbridgeable gap between oneself and the enemy proved capable of serving the goals of accommodation as well.”¹⁰⁹

In an issue devoted to Japan and the Japanese, *Fortune* thus alighted on the transpacific dimensions and implications of the little Tokyos created as a consequence of US government policy and discerned in the latter a democratizing opportunity. In its hands, the question of national policy with regard to a racially proscribed minority, what the editors described as “our treatment of Japanese [*sic*] held in this country,” thus took on the proleptic tone of postwar foreign policy, and Okubo’s images were central to this slippage.¹¹⁰ Anticipating and contributing to the postwar casting of Japanese Americans as model minorities and construing “Japan and the Japanese” as a postwar “problem we must solve,” this late-war issue of *Fortune* positioned Okubo’s work as an exemplary model of democratic recovery, implying that Japanese Americans schooled in the undemocratic crucible at the heart of US democracy had a crucial pedagogical role to play relative to US plans for Japan, a Japan that would be “destroy[ed], and rema[d]e,” as forecast by the editors, within the context of a US Pacific Theater victory and a US-engineered postwar peace to come. If, as Carey McWilliams put it, a “few observers have long recognized the importance of the Nisei in America in terms of the future of Japan,” *Fortune*’s Asia “experts” capitalized on precisely this fraught insight, adapting cultural representations of the camp to illustrate their prescriptions for a postwar US occupation of

Japan.¹¹¹ Seeing fit to introduce an issue intended to illuminate "Japan and the Japanese" as "a military power we must defeat" and "a Pacific problem we must solve" with a detailed—one could argue exemplary—sociological portrait of Japanese American mass removal, incarceration, and rehabilitation, *Fortune* detected within the artwork of Okubo, an artist who emerged as a foremost visual chronicler of the camp experience, a potent capacity to appeal to its "American" readership and to elicit the latter's identification on the terrain of culture. This domestication of the foreign, so central to the rehabilitation of the ethnic Japanese minority in the United States as "American," proved valuable to the US democratization project in Japan.

In her 1981 statement before the CWRIC, Okubo testified, mistakenly, to the *Fortune* editors' decision to "write this article ['Issei, Nisei, and Kibei'] and put it in the same issue of *Fortune* in Japan."¹¹² Although *Fortune* had no Japanese version in 1944, and would not until *Fortune Japan* was established in 1963, Okubo's mix-up is revealing. That Okubo was enlisted to serve as a native informant for an issue of *Fortune* aimed at disseminating knowledge about Japan and the Japanese for US state agencies, military intelligence, and American business reveals the logic of ethnic affiliation that the magazine sought to harness in articulating its vision of US victory and Japan's defeat in the Asia-Pacific region. Whereas *Fortune* decried the racist logic of the Hearst press in "campaign[ing] against the Yellow Peril within the state . . . as well as the Yellow Peril across the seas," its own conflation of Japanese Americans and Japan and the Japanese, condensed in the overdetermined construction of Little Tokyos, arguably contributed to the obfuscation of where and why the camps occurred. In her testimony before the CWRIC, Okubo lamented this confusion: "Many [American] generations do not know that this ever happened in the United States. Whenever I speak about evacuation, they think it happened in Japan. I wish to present a copy of *Citizen 13660* to the Commission for their record."¹¹³ Had Okubo submitted the April 1944 issue of *Fortune* instead, the confusion, we might be tempted to imagine, would surely have been compounded.

Notes

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ary Jenks of Riverside City College, who facilitated my access, on multiple occasions, to the Okubo archives. Finally, last but not least, I wish to thank Seiko Buckingham, who granted me permission to reproduce images from the Miné Okubo Estate.

1. Deborah Calkins to Miné Okubo, October 5, 1943, telegram, Miné Okubo Papers, Center for Social Justice and Civil Liberties, Riverside Community College District, Riverside, CA.
2. In an interview with Deborah Gesensway and Mindy Roseman, Okubo described her time at Topaz as “always busy.” As she put it, “In the daytime I went around sketching. There wasn’t any photographing allowed so I decided to record everything. Observing. I went around doing all these minute sketches of people and events. I didn’t sleep much. I worked all night at the newspaper. It was lunacy to work all night, going twenty-four hours a day. I was art editor for the daily newspaper and art editor for *Trek* literary magazine” (*Beyond Words: Images from America’s Concentration Camps* [Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1987], 69).
3. Robert Vanderlan, *Intellectuals Incorporated: Politics, Art, and Ideas inside Henry Luce’s Media Empire* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 82; Michael Augspurger, *An Economy of Abundant Beauty: Fortune Magazine and Depression America* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004), 137.
4. *Fortune*, December 1943, 121.
5. According to Okubo, the editors of *Fortune* helped her get resettled. See Gesensway and Roseman, *Beyond Words*, 74. On the inaccuracy of the term *internment* to describe the mass incarceration of Japanese Americans, despite its wide usage in the redress struggle, the historian Roger Daniels clarifies “that ‘internment’ was an ordinary aspect of declared wars and referred to a legal process, described in United States statutes, to be applied to nationals of a country with which the United States was at war.” Given that the majority of people incarcerated as a result of Executive Order 9066 were US citizens who were not nationals of Japan, “what happened to most of the West Coast Japanese Americans in 1942 . . . should not be described with a word describing a legal process” (“Words Do Matter: A Note on Inappropriate Terminology and the Incarceration of Japanese Americans,” in *Nikkei in the Pacific Northwest: Japanese Americans and Japanese Canadians in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Louis Fiset and Gail M. Nomura [Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005], 190).
6. Gesensway and Roseman, *Beyond Words*, 73.
7. Okubo, “Preface to the 1983 Edition,” *Citizen 13660* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1983), ix.
8. In “Portrait of an Artist,” a December 1942 profile of Okubo published in the Topaz arts and literary magazine, *Trek*, Jim Yamada describes Okubo’s furious productivity: “Since evacuation, Mine [*sic*] has made from 1500 to 2000 rough sketches. Later she intends to develop some of them into finished paintings. Her last extended creative effort was at Tanforan when she completed approximately 50 paintings in a month” (“Portrait of an Artist,” *Trek* 1.1 [1942]: 22).
9. Moreover, with the bulk of her post-1945 artwork uncataloged throughout her lifetime, a diachronic account of the significance of Okubo’s career, including what Elena Tajima Creff describes as “the breadth and immensity of the paintings she produced in the last fifty years of her life,” has yet to emerge (“Following Her Own Road: The Achievement of Miné Okubo,” in *Miné Okubo: Following Her Own Road*, ed. Greg Robinson and Elena Tajima Creff [Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008], 5).
10. Larry Tajiri, “Secret Role of the Nisei,” *NOW*, Second Half December 1945, reproduced in *Pacific Citizens: Larry and Guyo Tajiri and Japanese American Journalism in the World War II Era*, ed. Greg Robinson (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2010), 107.
11. *Ibid.*, 107, 105. Cf. John Curtis Perry on the role of the Nisei in the occupation: “Another racial group among Americans in Japan was the *nisei* [*sic*], second-generation Americans of Japanese descent. Without their language skills the occupiers would have been severely handicapped, as few other Americans had any facility in Japanese. *Nisei* usually spoke Japanese because they had been taught it in order to communicate with their elders; grandparents seldom knew any English at all. Often the young did not read Japanese. Yet their ability to speak it, so unusual among Americans and so useful in Japan, catapulted *Nisei* into the role of ‘experts’ on Japanese culture” (*Beneath the Eagle’s Wings: Americans in Occupied Japan* [New York: Dodd, Mead, 1980], 173).
12. “War Relocation Authority Application for Leave Clearance,” January 4, 1943, Miné Okubo evacuee case file, record group 210, stack area 18W3, row 8, compartment 27, shelf 5, National Archives Building, Washington, DC. Hereafter cited as National Archives.

13. The Ringle report was also published anonymously in abridged form in the October 1942 issue of *Harper's Magazine*.
14. K. D. Ringle, "On the Japanese Question in the United States," Miscellaneous WRA Publications, Office File of Commissioner John Collier, 1933–1945, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, record group 75, stack area 11E-Z, row 30, compartment 9, shelf 5, National Archives.
15. Ibid.
16. Robinson, *Pacific Citizens*, 160.
17. Quoted in Takashi Fujitani, *Race for Empire: Koreans as Japanese and Japanese as Americans during World War II* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 180; Robinson, *Pacific Citizens*, 160.
18. "The Citizen-Subject . . . Tightens His Belt and Wipes Off His Smile," "Japan and the Japanese: A Military Power We Must Defeat, a Pacific Problem We Must Solve," special issue, *Fortune* 29.4 (1944): 147. Hereafter cited as "Japan and the Japanese."
19. Caroline Chung Simpson, *An Absent Presence: Japanese Americans in Postwar American Culture, 1945–1960* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001), 44.
20. Henry Luce, "The American Century," *Life*, February 17, 1941, www.informationclearinghouse.info/article6139.htm.
21. Ibid.
22. See Bruce Cumings, *The Korean War: A History* (New York: Modern Library-Random House, 2010), 243.
23. Nikhil Pal Singh, "Culture/Wars: Recoding Empire in an Age of Democracy," *American Quarterly* 50.3 (1998): 478.
24. *Fortune* 28.6 (1943): 125.
25. Ibid.
26. Larry Tajiri, "The Loaded Weapon," *Pacific Citizen*, February 25, 1950, reproduced in Robinson, *Pacific Citizens*, 210; Tajiri, "Secret Role of the Nisei," 105.
27. Takashi Fujitani, "The Reischauer Memo: Mr. Moto, Hirohito, and Japanese American Soldiers," *Critical Asian Studies* 33.3 (2001): 393.
28. See Brian Hayashi, *Democratizing the Enemy: The Japanese American Internment* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004), 204.
29. Okubo to Isamu Noguchi, September 1942, reprinted in *Amerasia Journal* 30.2 (2004): 20.
30. Quoted in Robert J. Maeda, "Isamu Noguchi: 5-7-A, Poston, Arizona," in *Last Witnesses: Reflections on the Wartime Internment of Japanese Americans*, ed. Erica Harth (New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2001), 156. Maeda notes that before entering the camp, "Noguchi was provided with an official WRA letter precisely spelling out his status as a volunteer, 'not an evacuee,' who would not require a permit to travel outside of the restricted military zone," yet as Maeda points out, "the freedom granted by this letter would prove illusory" (158). Having entered Poston on May 8, 1942, Noguchi wrote a series of increasingly pleading letters to Collier, appealing for release, yet it was only "on November 12, 1942, some seven months after he arrived in Poston, [that] Noguchi was finally released from camp, but only on a 'temporary basis'" (162).
31. Ibid., 156.
32. Ibid., 159, 157.
33. Ibid., 158.
34. Quoted in Robinson, "What I Did in Camp: Interpreting Japanese American Internment Narratives of Isamu Noguchi, Miné Okubo, Jeanne Wakatsuki Houston, and John Tateishi," *Amerasia Journal* 30.2 (2004): 52.
35. Maeda, "Isamu Noguchi," 162.
36. Noguchi drafted blueprints for a columbarium, accompanying chapel, and gravesites for Poston, "which in terms of their restrained artistic simplicity would have provided a semblance of dignity to those who died in the desert" (Maeda, "Isamu Noguchi," 161). Although these designs never came to fruition, with "the WRA . . . refus[ing] to allocate labor and money for its construction and equipment, . . . Noguchi propos[ed] that the project be built, owned, and operated entirely by the evacuees" (161). This unrealized wartime blueprint for a commemorative space for those who died in the camp uncannily anticipates Noguchi's rejected postwar blueprint for a memorial to the dead in Hiroshima's Peace Park. See Katherine Kuh, "An Interview with Isamu Noguchi," in *Isamu Noguchi: Essays and Conversations*, ed. Diane Apostolos-Cappadona and Bruce Altshuler (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1994), 134.

37. Okubo, *Citizen 13660*, ix.
38. *Ibid.*; emphasis added.
39. *Ibid.*, 61.
40. See Ansel Adams, *Born Free and Equal: Photographs of the Loyal Japanese-Americans at Manzanar Relocation Center, Inyo County, California* (New York: U.S. Camera, 1944); *Executive Order 9066: The Internment of 110,000 Japanese Americans*, ed. Maisie and Richard Conrat (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1972); and Dorothea Lange, *Impounded: Dorothea Lange and the Censored Images of Japanese American Internment*, ed. Linda Gordon and Gary Y. Okihiro (New York: Norton, 2006).
41. "Loyalty and Character Report on Mine [*sic*] Okubo," September 23, 1943, Miné Okubo evacuee case file. See also Evelyn K. Johnson, assessment of Miné Okubo, January 30, 1943, Miné Okubo evacuee case file; and Miles E. Cary memorandum to E. R. Fryer, August 25, 1942, Miné Okubo evacuee case file, record group 210, stack area 18W3, row 8, compartment 27, shelf 5, National Archives.
42. Marita Sturken, "Absent Images of Memory: Remembering and Reenacting the Japanese Internment," in *Perilous Memories: The Asia-Pacific War(s)*, ed. Takashi Fujitani et al. (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001), 46.
43. Norman Thomas, *Democracy and Japanese Americans* (New York: Astoria, 1942), 24.
44. Robinson also observes this feature of *Citizen 13660* ("What I Did in Camp," 53).
45. All these reviews are collated in what appears to have been a Columbia University Press press-packet archived in the Miné Okubo Materials at the Rivera Library at the University of California. See "Excerpts from Comments on 'Citizen 13660' by Miné Okubo," Miné Okubo Materials, History of California Collections, UC Riverside Library. Hereafter cited as "Excerpts."
46. For a sustained consideration of the internment as a "New Deal for Asians," see Colleen Lye, "A New Deal for Asians: John Steinbeck, Carey McWilliams, and the Liberalism of Japanese-American Internment," in *America's Asia: Racial Form and Asian American Literature, 1893–1945* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005), 141–203.
47. "Excerpts"; emphasis added.
48. Jodi Melamed, *Represent and Destroy: Rationalizing Violence in the New Racial Capitalism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011), xvi.
49. *Ibid.*, xxvi, xxviii; "Excerpts."
50. Richard Drinnon, *Keeper of Concentration Camps: Dillon S. Myer and American Racism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 225.
51. Okubo, *Citizen 13660*, x.
52. I borrow the phrase "the world republic of letters" from Pascale Casanova, *The World Republic of Letters*, trans. M. B. DeBevoise (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007); "The American Book Awards / Before Columbus Foundation," *American Booksellers Association*, June 4, 2007, www.bookweb.org/btw/awards/The-American-Book-Awards---Before-Columbus-Foundation.html; see also Yamada, "Portrait of an Artist," 21.
53. "The Job before Us," "Japan and the Japanese," 121.
54. Table of Contents, "Japan and the Japanese," 1.
55. "Fortune's Wheel," 2.
56. *Ibid.*, 4.
57. Augspurger, *Economy of Abundant Beauty*, 193, 210.
58. *Ibid.*, 76; "Fortune's Wheel," 4.
59. Simpson, *Absent Presence*, 44, 49.
60. "Fortune's Wheel," 4. The editors of *Fortune* offer judiciously selective profiles of Kuniyoshi and Yashima, mentioning neither that Kuniyoshi was a WPA artist who had been active in the antifascist, Popular Front American Artists' Congress during the thirties nor that Taro Yashima (pseudonym for Jun Atsushi Iwamatsu) was a member of the US Army during the war and an artist for the OSS.
61. Shirley Sun, *Miné Okubo: An American Experience* (San Francisco: East Wind Printers, 1972), 11.
62. "Fortune's Wheel," 4. The article "Issei, Nisei, Kibei" was reprinted, along with nine of Okubo's line drawings, as an American Council on Public Affairs pamphlet called *The Displaced Japanese-Americans* (Washington, DC: American Council on Public Affairs, 1944).
63. "Japan and the Japanese," 16, 62, 66–67, 70, 95.
64. Cf. John Dower on this point: "Some, like the Hearst newspapers, warned of a 'Yellow Peril' led by Japan as early as the 1890s, and maintained an unwavering editorial policy of anti-Oriental polemics

- over the next half century" (*War without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War* [New York: Pantheon-Random House, 1986], 7, 157).
65. "Issei, Nisei, Kibei," 8, 22; emphasis added.
66. Hedda Hopper, quoted in "Issei, Nisei, Kibei," 32.
67. *Ibid.*
68. *Ibid.*, 8.
69. Cf. Hayashi on this point: "And finally, while not comparatively harsh, [my] study does not find that the United States government treated enemy aliens relatively well because of a 'liberal' tradition. Rather, the American concentration camps did not become oppressive because of the need to ensure humane treatment of over twenty-one thousand American servicemen and fourteen thousand civilians in Japanese hands by 1942" (*Democratizing the Enemy*, 11).
70. "Issei, Nisei, Kibei," 8, 106.
71. Cf. Okubo on the intentions of the *Fortune* editors in writing "Issei, Nisei, Kibei": "When the *Fortune* magazine people saw the vast collection of drawings that I had on the evacuation, they were surprised and excited, and when they learned that American citizens were evacuated, they were ashamed, and they decided to look into the matter more, and they wrote an article called 'Issei, Nisei, Kibei.' It's one of the first illustrated articles that came out in one of the largest periodicals of the time, because anything Japanese [*sic*] was not quite known in the East yet." See Okubo, "Statement of Miné Okubo before the Congressional Committee on Wartime Relocation and Internment (1981)," in "A Tribute to Miné Okubo," special issue, *Amerasia Journal* 30.2 (2004): 16; hereafter cited as "Statement."
72. Carey McWilliams, *Prejudice: Japanese Americans, Symbol of Intolerance* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1944), 102; "Issei, Nisei, Kibei," 22, emphasis added.
73. "Issei, Nisei, Kibei," 74. Consider how *Fortune* dovetails, on this point, with Justice Murphy's "concurrency" (originally a dissent) in the Supreme Court's 1943 Hirabayashi decision: "To say that any group cannot be assimilated is to admit that the great American experiment has failed, that our way of life has failed when confronted with the normal attachment of certain groups to the lands of their forefathers" (320 U.S. 81).
74. "Issei, Nisei, Kibei," 74. In his 1944 study of prejudice against Japanese Americans, McWilliams observes: "If the race bigots have their way, all the [recently released] evacuees will be rounded up, before the war is terminated, relogged in concentration camps (not relocation centers), and deported to Japan at the end of the war"; perhaps alluding to interned Japanese Latin Americans, he adds, "This possibility is closely related to a possible fate which may be in store for Japanese people throughout the world" (*Prejudice*, 324).
75. Dillon S. Myer, "Japanese American Relocation: Final Chapter," *Survey Graphic: Magazine of Social Interpretation* 6.1 (1945): 61–62.
76. *Ibid.*, 66, 62.
77. Issei, Nisei, Kibei," 32.
78. As explained in the April 1944 issue of *Fortune*: "WRA has a lexicon of its own: Caucasian is the term for appointed administrative personnel, to distinguish them from the 'évacuées,' sometimes called 'colonists'; beyond the gate is 'the outside'" ("Issei, Nisei, Kibei," 74).
79. *Ibid.*, 32.
80. *Ibid.*, 78.
81. *Ibid.*, 32.
82. *Ibid.*, 78.
83. *Ibid.*
84. Quoted in Deborah K. Lim, *Research Report Prepared for Presidential Select Committee on JACL Resolution No. 7, 1990, Conscience and the Constitution*, June 5, 2007, www.resisters.com/study/LimTOC.htm. Lim gleans this excerpt from an April 2, 1942, letter, housed in the JACL archives, written by Mike Masaoka to then WRA director Milton Eisenhower.
85. "What They Left behind Them," "Japan and the Japanese," 218.
86. *Ibid.*, 218, 221.
87. "Issei, Nisei, Kibei," 74, 78.
88. *Ibid.*, 78.
89. See Scott McCloud, *Understanding Comics* (New York: HarperCollins, 1993), 81.
90. Okubo, *Citizen 13660*, 15.

91. Sun, *Miné Okubo*, 26.
92. Dorothy Swaine Thomas, *The Salvage: Japanese-American Evacuation and Resettlement* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1952), 89.
93. "Briefly associated with the analysis of Japanese behavior being conducted [during the war] under the Foreign Morale Analysis Division of the Office of War Information," the English social anthropologist Geoffrey Gorer promulgated theories that "were quickly picked up in the popular press," including an August 7, 1944, essay "Why Are Japs Japs?" in *Time* magazine. Pathologizing a "Japanese" "concern with ritual and tidiness," Gorer argued against Shinto as the cultural source for "the focus on cleanliness and ritual purity" and instead located the latter's origin in "drastic toilet training." For an overview of Gorer's theories, see Dower, *War without Mercy*, 124–28.
94. See Galen M. Fisher, "Japanese Colony: Success Story," *Survey Graphic: Magazine of Social Interpretation* (February 1943): 41–43.
95. *Ibid.*, 41, emphasis added; Sandra C. Taylor, "Japanese Americans and Keeley Farms: Utah's Relocation Colony," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 54 (1986): 334.
96. *Ibid.*
97. *Ibid.*
98. William Petersen, "Success Story, Japanese-American Style," *New York Times Magazine*, January 9, 1966, 21.
99. "Issei, Nisei, Kibei," 32.
100. "Citizen-Subject," 148.
101. *Ibid.*
102. Dower, *War without Mercy*, 84. Dower writes: "One of the better-known American cartoons of the war years was published in April 1943, after the news of the execution of some of the Doolittle pilots was released. It depicted the Japanese as a slaving gorilla labeled 'Murderers of American Flyers'—with the huge pistol of 'Civilization' aimed at its head" (86).
103. "Citizen-Subject," 147.
104. Thomas, *Salvage*, 94.
105. "Issei, Nisei, Kibei," 84.
106. Thomas, *Salvage*, 94–95.
107. "Citizen-Subject," 247.
108. Dower, *War without Mercy*, 13.
109. *Ibid.*
110. "Issei, Nisei, Kibei," 8.
111. McWilliams, *Prejudice*, 313.
112. Okubo, "Statement," 17. Okubo's statement about the simultaneous publication of the article "Issei, Nisei, and Kibei" in a Japanese edition of *Fortune* is uncorroborated by the publication record of *Fortune* in Japan. According to "History of Magazines in Japan: 1867–1988," *Fortune Japan*, the forerunner to what later became *President*, was established in 1963, long after Okubo's illustrations were published in the April 1944 issue of *Fortune* in the United States. *Fortune Japan* "started with the translation of *Fortune* [*sic*] magazine of U.S. as its core. It changed the name and concept in 1972, putting the articles on Japanese management and study of Japanese historical heroes its main content, which made it one of the top business magazines in Japan" ("History of Magazines in Japan: 1867–1988," July 7, 1996, *The Web Kanzaki: Japan, Internet, Music, and Computer*, February 27, 2007, www.kanzaki.com/jpress/mag-history.html). In an e-mail from Cullen Wheeler of *Fortune's* Letters Department, Okubo's statement likely reflects "confusion on her part." According to Wheeler, although "there were some TIMELIFE publications that were reproduced in 'Armed Forces Editions [AFEs]," which circulated in Japan, the chief archivist for TIMELIFE is "not aware of FORTUNE [*sic*] being reproduced in such a manner." Yet Wheeler notes the possibility that Okubo's work "could've been published in one of the AFEs . . . [which] later grew into International [*sic*] editions of TIME and LIFE" (Wheeler, e-mail to author, March 9, 2007).
113. Okubo, "Statement," 17.