Second International Workshop on Japanese Diaspora

HOOVER INSTITUTION LIBRARY & ARCHIVES and JAPANESE ASSOCIATION FOR MIGRATION STUDIES

Herbert Hoover Memorial Building Room 330
HOOVER INSTITUTION, STANFORD UNIVERSITY

Abstracts and Short Biographies of Participants

November 3–4, 2022

PRE-WORKSHOP PUBLIC LECTURE

November 3, 5:00 pm – 6:30 pm PDT: Public Lecture (Hybrid)
Note Location: Annenberg Conference Room, Hoover Institution, Stanford University

Through a Transnational Lens: Embedding Japan in Global History

Sheldon Garon, Princeton University

Abstract: Transnational history (or global history) goes beyond comparative analysis to examine the connections among nations at a given time. Key developments in Japan—e.g., nation-building, war, authoritarianism, and even economic behavior—may be more fully explained not by cultural uniqueness, but by the Japanese emulation and adaptation of ideas and practices circulating around the globe. Sheldon Garon will discuss the benefits of the transnational method, drawing on his global histories of savings-promotion, social policies, and "home fronts" in the world wars.

Sheldon Garon is the Nissan Professor of History and East Asian Studies at Princeton University. A specialist in modern Japanese history, he has explored state-society relations in the areas of labor, women's movements, prostitution, welfare policies, and religion. He also writes transnational/global history that spotlights the flow of ideas and institutions between Asia, Europe, and the United States. His book, *Beyond Our Means: Why America Spends While the World Saves,* received global attention because it suggests what Americans might learn from past and present policies to encourage household saving in Europe and East Asia. Other books include *Molding Japanese Minds: The State in Everyday Life*; and *The State and Labor in Modern Japan*. He is currently writing a transnational history of "home fronts" in Japan, Germany, and Britain in the two world wars, focusing on aerial bombardment, food insecurity, and civilian "morale." He received the Humboldt Research Award and has held fellowships from the Paris Institute for Advanced Study, Harry Frank Guggenheim Foundation, Leverhulme Trust, and Woodrow Wilson International Center.

WORKSHOP PRESENTATIONS

November 4, 10:15 am – 6:00 pm PDT

Presentations 1–7 Format: In Person and Webinar (remote listening only)

Presentation 1: *The Saburō Mashiko Murder Case: The Post-1924 Migration of Japanese Women and Crimes in the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands*
Yu Tokunaga, Kyoto University

In December 1926, Saburō Mashiko, the secretary of a Japanese association in the Mexican border city of Mexicali, Baja California, was found dead and buried under the patio of the association building, which was burned down around the time of his death. Mashiko was a respected immigrant leader in Mexico. His death shocked the ethnic Japanese communities of both Baja California and Southern California, the United States, particularly because those arrested for the murder were three other Japanese immigrants allegedly involved in human trafficking of Japanese women across the Pacific Ocean.

Comprehensive history books edited by first-generation Japanese in Mexico, such as *Nichi-boku kōryūshi* (1990), discuss the Mashiko Murder Case as a major crime in Japanese Mexican history. Little scholarly attention, however, has been paid to this incident. By framing Mashiko's murder through the specific historical context of the 1920s U.S.-Mexico borderlands, this paper examines how the Japanese Legation in Mexico, the Japanese consulate in Los Angeles, and the Mexican government communicated with one another regarding the arrest and imprisonment of the Japanese suspects and how ethnic Japanese communities on both sides of the U.S.-Mexico border reacted to Mashiko's murder. For primary sources, this paper draws on Mexican government documents preserved at the National Archives of Mexico as well as Japanese and English-language newspapers in Southern California available at digital archives such as the Hoji Shinbun Digital Collection.

Mashiko migrated to Mexico in 1907 after studying Spanish in Japan. He first worked as a supervisor of Japanese immigrant workers and later in 1925 arrived at Mexicali to serve as the association secretary. The US Immigration Act of 1924, known as the Japanese Exclusion Act, prohibited Japanese residents in the United States from calling over their relatives from Japan as yobiyose (relatives). On the other hand, there were no legal restrictions against Japanese in Mexico regarding yobiyose, including so-called "picture brides." The three Japanese arrested for the murder of Mashiko were said to be involved in human trafficking of Japanese women across the Pacific Ocean, and then possibly across the U.S.-Mexico border. It was said that they killed Mashiko because he attempted to send these women back to Japan in accordance with the rules of the Japanese consulate in Los Angeles, while there was a rumor that a Los Angeles-based Japanese mafia organization called Tokyo Club was behind the migration of these

women. A further shocking development was that one of the Japanese suspects was murdered by a Mexican inmate in a prison in Mexicali, generating a sense of fear among Mexicali Japanese about Japanese-Mexican relations and making it difficult to reveal the whole truth of the murder. The Mashiko Murder Case shows us the close transborder connection between Japanese communities in Baja California and Southern California that resulted in the seemingly forced migration of Japanese women and the death of an immigrant leader in Mexico.

Yu Tokunaga received his Ph.D. in history from the University of Southern California in 2018 and is Associate Professor of History at the Graduate School of Global Environmental Studies with a joint appointment at the Graduate School of Human and Environmental Studies, Kyoto University. His first book *Transborder Los Angeles: An Unknown Transpacific History of Japanese-Mexican Relations* (University of California Press, 2022) weaves together the narratives of Japanese and Mexican immigrants into a single transpacific history. He has also contributed book chapters such as "Making of a Transpacific Americanist via Latin America: Myself Discovered through Immigration History" in *Unpredictable Agents: The Making of Japan's Americanists during the Cold War and Beyond* (University of Hawai'i Press, 2021), "Ibukuro no teijū: Nihonjin imin to Kariforunia mai [Stomaching permanent residence: Japanese immigrants and California rice] in *Imin no ishokujū* [Migration of clothing, food, and housing] (Bunrikaku, 2022), and "From Anti-Japanese to Anti-Mexican: Linkages of Racialization Experiences in 1920s California" in *Race and Migration in the Transpacific* (London: Routledge, forthcoming). Among his journal articles are "Japanese Farmers, Mexican Workers, and the Making of Transpacific Borderlands," *Pacific Historical Review* (Spring 2020); "Japanese Internment as an Agricultural Labor Crisis: Wartime Debates over Food Security versus Military Necessity," *Southern California Quarterly* (Spring 2019).

Presentation 2: *Racial Geopolitics in the Caribbean: Locating the Japanese Migrants in the Dominican Pigmentocracy*
Midori Komatsu Hidaka, Doshisha University

Between 1956 and 1959, the Japanese government-sponsored hundreds of Japanese families to settle in the Caribbean nation of the Dominican Republic (DR). Unbeknownst to the newcomers, they were to become key players in the host country's geopolitical and racial border strategies against neighboring Haiti. The former Spanish colony of the DR not only shares the island of Hispaniola with the former French colony of Haiti but also has a history of animosity tracing back to their independence movements. Haiti gained independence from France through the efforts of former black slaves and revolutionaries who later sought to abolish slavery on the Spanish side of the island as well. However, this led to 22 years of Haitian rule over the entire island which culminated in the Dominican Republic's independence from Haiti. This independence movement from a non-European colonial ruler is a rare case throughout Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC) and has led to the glorification of Spanish heritage along with the portrayal of Haiti, a black republic, as the "invaders." This opposition

between black Africanness in Haiti and white Hispanophile tendencies in the DR has created racist and xenophobic narratives to justify the "whitening" of the Dominican-Haitian border. At the time of the Japanese migration, the DR was under the dictatorship of Rafael Leonidas Trujillo who sought to establish migrant colonies near the border to "whiten" these areas. Since white Europeans refused the migration offer, Trujillo accepted the Japanese settlers as the "next best thing."

This paper seeks to explain how the Japanese migrants navigated the ethno-racial and political landscape of the Dominican Republic, and what the Japanese presence as a "whitening" measure meant for Dominican identity construction. The maneuvering of bi-ethnic identities as Japanese and Dominican is a potential survival tactic for the Japanese diaspora in the DR as they negotiate their "positive" placement as close to whiteness while being unacknowledged into the ethno-racial construction of Dominican belonging. Furthermore, social hierarchies based on ethno-racial physical traits and skin color known as pigmentocracies are widely found in the Dominican Republic, and other parts of Latin America and the Caribbean. The context of pigmentocracies adds another complex dimension to the negotiation of Asian and Japanese identities among this multicultural and racially mixed region.

Midori Komatsu Hidaka is a Japanese Dominican Ph.D. student at Doshisha University's Graduate School of Global Studies in Kyoto, Japan. Her upbringing in the Dominican Republic has inspired her research interest in Asian migrants and their descendants in Latin America and the Caribbean. Her current research topics include Japanese-Dominican family formation, intergenerational dynamics, and gender roles within immigrant families. She earned her M.A. in Global Studies from Doshisha University in 2021, and her B.A. from Soka University of America in Aliso Viejo, CA in 2015.

Presentation 3: *Between Subjection and Citizenship: 1930's Japanese Language Schools and Nikkei citizenry in Hawaii*
Rashaad Eshack, University of Cambridge

On July 21st, 1927, the Hawai'i Kyoikukai was reborn. 1) Representatives from across the Hawaiian Islands gathered at the Fort Street YMBA in Honolulu to design an educational society with the goal of developing and standardizing Japanese language education. Between 1927 and 1941, dozens of new schools were founded, multiple series of new textbooks were published, and education became central to the ethos of the Japanese community, of whom over 90% attended Japanese language schools throughout the 1930's. 2) Despite being a golden age of Hawaiian Japanese language education, this era, along with much of the 1930's Japanese-American story, has fallen through the cracks - sandwiched between the legislative history of the 1920's Japanese Language School Controversy and that of the Japanese incarceration following the US entry into World War II.

While uncovering this hidden history, I investigate the question of how the Japanese community used language education to position itself within the triangular relationship of Japan, Hawai'i, and the United States. By examining a variety of education archival sources such as yearbooks, essay compilations, textbooks, and school commemorations, I demonstrate that the primary goal of Japanese language schools was to establish a new generation of "Nikkei citizens" characterized by contributing to society and acting as ambassadors of understanding between Japan and the US. To that end, Japanese language schools developed with close institutional ties to imperial Japan, extending Japanese influence beyond its empire. Teachers, principals, and curriculums often came from Japan with the purpose of properly conveying "the strong points of the Japanese people into the hearts of the American Nikkei.

Rashaad Eshack is a PhD Candidate at the University of Cambridge Faculty of Asian and Middle Eastern Studies. His dissertation, being written under the supervision of Professor Barak Kushner, focuses on the relationship between overseas Japanese language education and late imperial Japan. His research uncovers transpacific education flows that facilitate the formation of Nikkei citizenry in the Pacific world. Rashaad is a Cambridge Trust scholar awarded with the Quick Japan and the World Graduate Scholarship and has been awarded the 2022 Cambridge Aoi Global Research Award with affiliation to Kyoto University. Before his PhD, Rashaad received his MA from the University of Heidelberg, working under the supervision of Professor Harald Fuess. His thesis, "From Japanese Imperial Subjects to American Citizens" examines the Hawaiian 1920's Foreign Language School controversy within the context of Japanese-Hawaiian transnational identity. In Fall 2022, Rashaad will be residing in Tokyo as a visiting scholar at the Sophia University Institute of American and Canadian Studies.

Presentation 4: *Imperial Vocabulary: Public Political Discourse of the Japanese Diaspora, 1895-1935*

Andrew Patrick Nelson, Stanford University

In this project, I deliver a flexible model for querying word frequencies in the Hoji Shinbun collection in order to trace occurrences of political terms over the period from 1895 to 1935. The project leverages a corpus of over 623 million words extracted from over 400,000 individual pages of text from 10 newspapers published in San Francisco, Beijing/Dalian, Honolulu, and São Paolo. I describe my original method for preparing a reliable data set—from optical character recognition (OCR) evaluation to accuracy optimization—and report initial query results.

The first step of preparing the Hoji data involved evaluating existing OCR methods to determine which, if any, were reliable for converting newspaper images into txt files. After evaluating alternatives, I settled on the third-party program used by the Hoover Institution. With the help of a research assistant, I hand-graded a sample of approximately 25,000 OCR output characters to catalog error patterns into 24 categories: insertions and deletions each of

kanji, kana, punctuation, and alphanumeric characters, plus the 16 possible transformation combinations. Raw outputs yielded a kanji accuracy rate of approximately 80%, i.e. four out of five kanji characters in the OCR output were in the original document.

I then sought to improve baseline accuracy by weeding out error-rife OCR outputs through two methods. After tokenizing the OCR output files, I first removed alphanumeric characters and Western punctuation, which were are almost entirely absent from the original newspaper texts. Next, I removed all kana characters that had became isolated when erroneous characters fragmented real words during tokenization. Accurate OCR outputs show little change across clean-up steps; error-rich outputs show marked character reductions. By adjusting desired change thresholds, I can balance accuracy with volume to calibrate the data set for specific projects.

Querying political terms confirms well-known historical narratives and invites investigation into new questions. For example, the frequency of "modern" (現代) in the metropolitan government-supported Manshū Nichinichi increases steadily during the early 1920s, the period when the South Manchuria Railway company was expanding. "Modern" follows a parallel trend in the Burajiru Nippō, which was also closely aligned with the Japanese metropolitan government. Frequencies of "modern" in the San Francisco and Hawai'ian newspapers parallel each other, but neither the Chinese nor Brazilian papers, suggesting that discourses of modernity followed their own contours in American Japanese communities. "Modern" shows trans-regional trends, but other words show localized usage patterns. While "constitution" (憲法) is all but absent from the Chinese, Hawai'ian, and San Francisco papers in the 1930s, the Burajiru Nippō shows not only sustained frequency, but a sharp spike in 1934—the year of the ratification of the Third Constitution of Brazil. Meanwhile, the Chinese newspapers show increased occurrences in the 1910s, following the establishment of the Republic of China. Taken together, the data demonstrate commonalities across diaspora communities, but also illuminate localized concerns.

Andrew Nelson is a PhD Candidate in the Japanese Linguistics track of the Department of East Asian Languages and Cultures at Stanford University, with PhD minors in History and Linguistics. His research is motivated by two primary areas of inquiry: first, to what extent can methods in linguistic science be applied to historical documents to recover a speaker/writer intent and reader/listener interpretation? Second, in what ways are language changes perceived, categorized, and valorized; in what ways do those perceptions, categories, and values shape language ideology; and in what ways does language ideology in turn change language use? His work brings together methods in psycholinguistics, semantics, and pragmatics in analyzing texts on language written in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, with Japanese texts as a primary case study, but also leveraging sources in English, French, and German for a transnational perspective. He was a 2021-22 Digital Humanities Graduate Fellow with the Center for Spatial and Textual Analysis at Stanford University. Prior to his doctoral work, he completed a Master's degree in East Asian Regional Studies at Columbia University. His thesis contextualized

representations foreigners and foreign places in Japanese junior high school textbooks within the broader history of internationalization in the public school system.

Presentation 5: *From American Orientals to "We, the East Asian Race(s)"?: Japanese Americans, Chinese, and China, 1931-1942*
Shinya Yoshida, University of Minnesota

This presentation explores how Japanese Americans viewed China and interacted with Chinese during the transformative period of U.S.-East Asian relations before the Pacific War. The term "Japanese Americans" here adopts a broader definition: Japanese migrants, their U.S.-born children, and Japanese people that were deeply engaged in Japanese American community activities. "Chinese" here means Chinese people in the Republic of China and overseas Chinese.

China had been the stage of cooperation, competition, and conflict between the two Pacific Empires of America and Japan since the turn of the 20th century. America and Japan's presence became outstanding when America intensified its foray into China under the banner of its open-door policy and when Japan won the First Sino-Japanese War and the Russo-Japanese War. Japanese Americans recognized the geopolitical significance of China, as is evident from many reportages and columns about China and Sino-Japanese relations in their community periodicals. The escalating Japanese invasion of China in the 1930s further increased their concern about China.

When discussing Japanese Americans and China, existing scholarly works analyzed Japanese community's reactions to the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945). Japanese immigrants, especially first-generation immigrants, supported Japan's war through remittances and the "campaign of education" aimed at American audiences. Revealed here is that their motivation to support Japan resulted from not only their emotional attachment to Japan, but also their hope for the advancement of their racial status in America. However, the question of how they viewed China leaves room for further investigation. This is because the mode of analysis is based on social relations in America and the bilateral framework of America-Japan relations.

Full appreciation of Japanese Americans' interest in China requires us t to cover modern Chinese history and Sino-Japanese relations. Drawing on resources in the Hoji Shinbun Digital Collection and Chinese language primary sources, my research delves into Japanese Americans' dialogue with China and Chinese people. In doing so, two kinds of historical actors and their experiences corroborate my argument. First is Japanese Americans on the mainland United States; second is Japanese Americans in China and adjacent Sinophone areas.

My presentation argues that "political rivalry but racially friendly" dictated the Japanese Americans' gaze at China and Chinese people. In the eyes of Japanese Americans, Chiang Kai-

shek's Nationalist government, with the support Euro-American empires, was responsible for Sino-Japanese conflicts and the anti-Japan sentiments rampant in China and overseas Chinese communities. This thought led them to assert that China's true development is possible only by cooperation with Japan, defeat of the Chinese Nationalist government, and exclusion of Euro-American influence from China.

To overcome mutual distrust between Japan and China, Japanese Americans Second International Workshop on Japanese Diaspora (due date, July 15th) increasingly articulated Pan-Asianism discourse in the language of racial solidarity and friendship.

This research that situates Japanese American experiences in the entanglement between U.S.-China-Japan relations will provide a venue for nuanced understanding of Japanese Americans' perceptions and relations with Asia. The findings in my research will demonstrate that Japanese migrants' identity, thinking, and worldview developed beyond binominal interactive processes between the homeland and host countries.

Shinya Yoshida is a Ph.D. candidate in the department of history at the University of Minnesota, Twin Cities. His major areas of research are 20th century American history, US immigration history, Asian American history, U.S.-East Asian relations, race, empire, and nationalism.

Presentation 6: *Two Trajectories of Diasporic Engagement: A Comparative Study of Intra-group Conflicts among Japanese Migrants in Brazil in the Aftermath of WWII*

Hiroyuki Shibata, Independent Researcher

Why do migrants develop cross-border or diasporic engagement with homeland politics? Why and how does such a relationship decline? While it is unsurprising that migrants maintain attachment to significant others back home, their diasporic engagement with homeland politics is uncommon. Increasingly, growing studies have focused on such political aspects of diasporic engagement. Recent studies point out institutional factors such as contexts of incorporation, diaspora policies of sending states, and migrant organizations as key factors that affect the levels of diasporic engagement (Portes and Fernández-Kelly 2016). Why diasporic engagement flourishes is one thing. Why and how it declines is another. In this respect, mechanisms of its decline are yet understudied beyond the general prediction that diasporic engagement is a transient phenomenon and destined to decline over time (Waldinger 2015).

To fill this gap, this study examines how different interactions between diaspora policies of the sending state and economic and organizational bases of migrant communities produce varying patterns in diasporic engagement decline. Specifically, this study explores why and how two Japanese migrant communities in Brazil, Bastos and Registro, differently responded to the intra-group conflicts concerning Japan's defeat in WWII, known as Kachi-Make conflicts. The

comparative case in this study is theoretically strategic because it offers variations in the declining trajectories of diasporic engagement beyond the general prediction of decline.

In the pre-WWII period, both Bastos and Registro were organized as a diaspora exclave, defined as a migrant community with a high degree of institutional completeness supported by diaspora policies of the sending state. However, after the diaspora policies of Japan retreated from Brazil in the advent of WWII, Bastos and Registro underwent divergent trajectories of exclave dissolution and consequently showed the contrasting development of Kachi-Make conflicts: Bastos saw violent conflicts among the residents while Registro avoided such conflicts. I find that when the diaspora policies of Japan retreated, the disjuncture between local organizational and economic bases weakened the legitimacy of the leadership in the community, which resulted in the violent conflicts. Findings suggest that while diaspora policies are an important anchor of diaspora engagement, the impact of its retreat varies depending on the relationship between the socioeconomic and organizational contexts in which migrants are embedded, and thus shapes divergent declining patterns of diaspora engagement.

This study employs archival sources and secondary literature as data. Archives include: Arquivo Público do Estado de São Paulo; Centro de Estudos Nipo-Brasileiros; Museu Histórico da Imigração Japonesa do Brasil; Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan; Materials on Japanese Emigration, National Diet Library; National Archives of Japan; and Hoji Shinbun Digital Collection at Hoover Institution.

Hiroyuki Shibata, Ph.D., is an independent researcher in sociology. His research interests focus on migrant transnationalism of Brazilian Nikkeis in historical and contemporary contexts. His works include “Diaspora Nationalism Revisited: Intra-group Conflicts among Japanese Migrants in Bastos and Registro in the Aftermath of the Pacific War” *Journal of the Japanese Overseas Migration Museum* (Japanese); and “Incorporação Contestada: Um estudo comparativo sobre as conexões transnationais entre os imigrantes italianos e japoneses no Estado de São Paulo no início de século XX” *Jinmonken* (Portuguese). His research has been supported by Social Science Research Council, USA; Centro de Estudos Nipo-Brasileiros, Brazil; and Seseragi Foundation, Japan.

Presentation 7: *How the War Ended: Japanese Returnees in Hawai‘i in 1945*
Saki Miyazaki, Hitotsubashi University

During WWII, groups of Japanese and Japanese Americans from Hawai‘i were incarcerated in camps in the continental US. This paper is focused on the early post-WWII Japanese American communities in Hawai‘i, in particular on the lives of Japanese internees as they returned their homes in the fall of 1945 and early 1946.

In 1940, the US Territory of Hawai‘i had more people of Japanese descent than the entire US continent. Hawai‘i was the home of 157,905 Japanese and Japanese Americans,

comprising 37.9 percent of the total population. Mainly because of this, there was no mass incarceration of Japanese in Hawai‘i. Although some were forcibly evicted and some were arrested and detained in Hawai‘i camps, less than two percent of the Japanese population of Hawai‘i, but including Japanese American community leaders and business owners, were sent off to the camps in the continental US. Most Japanese in Hawai‘i, unless they enrolled in the US military, stayed in their homes with their family. Devastating, destructive, and traumatic as it was, the wartime experience of Japanese Americans in Hawai‘i was unique from person to person.

The local Japanese language newspapers in Hawai‘i are a rich resource for understanding the early postwar experience of the Japanese Americans of Hawai‘i. In November 1945, lists of the names of those who would return to Hawai‘i from the camps in continental US were published in the local newspapers to let people know who would be returning when. Furthermore, some of the returnees were journalists, and soon after the summer of 1945, Issei returnees started to publish their memoirs of the days behind the barbed wires. The returnees also put greeting ads in the newspapers. These lists, memoirs, and ads often appeared in the same issues as lists of the names of Nisei soldiers killed in the battle or returning from the war. The newspapers pictured lei greetings of returnees from both the US camps and the war.

Not all returnees went home to their families and friends peacefully. As community leaders of the Nikkei community, some of them were suspected to be disloyal to the US and were isolated from the community in Hawai‘i. One former internee, for instance, shared a story about how he had to spend time in hiding even after returning home. Clearly, the postwar experience of the Japanese in Hawai‘i was significantly different from that of Japanese on the West Coast of the continental US, who had to rebuild their lives from scratch after leaving the internment camps.

Local Japanese language newspapers published in the postwar period in Hawai‘i are the main source of information for this presentation. They are central for understanding the postwar experience of the Japanese Americans in Hawai‘i - which also helps explain the dynamics of the Japanese American community in Hawai‘i today.

Saki “Kiki” Miyazaki is a Ph.D. candidate in the Graduate School of Social Sciences at the Hitotsubashi University in Tokyo, Japan. Her research interests are in settler colonialism, public history, and ethnic memory. Her dissertation studies post World War II history and wartime memories of Japanese Americans in Hawai‘i. It is supported by the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (JSPS) Grant-in-Aid for Young Scientists. She holds a master’s degree in Social Sciences from Hitotsubashi University and a bachelor’s degree in Ethnic Studies from the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa. She has been working as an Adjunct Researcher at the National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics since 2018. She has also been teaching as a part-time lecturer at several universities and has presented her academic works at multiple

conferences and workshops, including the Young Researchers' Meeting held by the Institute for the Study of Nationalism and Ethnicity at Waseda University, the annual conference of the Japanese Association for American History, and the annual conference of the Japanese Association for Migration Studies. Her academic papers have been published in the *Hitotsubashi Bulletin of Social Sciences* and the *Journal of Regional Science for Islands.*

Presentations 8–10 and Discussion Format: In-person and webinar (remote participation)

Presentation 8: *Planting Knowledge: Modernizing Agriculture in Japanese Brazil*
Andre Kobayashi Deckrow, University of Minnesota

For most pre-World War II Japanese immigrants to Brazil, economic and social success depended on one's ability to farm. What began as a migration of coffee plantation laborers developed into the settlement of Japanese farmers in the Brazilian countryside, primarily in farming colonies in the state of São Paulo, by the 1920s. Early promoters of Brazilian migration wrote at length about the economic opportunities provided by São Paulo's agriculture, and this agricultural optimism was reflected in migration company recruiting materials that introduced Brazil to a primarily rural Japanese audience. Migration company guidebooks and factsheets emphasized the country's favorable climate and explained the many crops that Japanese could grow in Brazil, including coffee, cotton, and bananas, with which Japanese were unfamiliar. Yet, these elite writings and promotional materials assumed that Japanese farmers would be successful agriculturalists with little explanation of the support and knowledge available on the ground in Brazil that would be necessary to make such dreams a reality.

Historians of Brazil have observed that the development of scientific knowledge about Brazilian, and specifically Paulista agriculture was the product of a number of global and transnational processes in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Roberto Saba's recent research has shown how Brazilian modernizers worked with various communities of American settlers to transform São Paulo's coffee plantation labor system from one dependent on slave labor into a wage labor system following the end of slavery in Brazil in 1888. As earlier historians like Thomas Holloway have also noted, immigrant coffee labor played an important role in São Paulo's economic and political development, but less has been written about the modernization of non-coffee agricultural in Brazil, of which Japanese settler communities played a major role. Once in Brazil, Japanese immigrants depended on a complex network of experts and institutions, both Brazilian and Japanese, to ensure their economic success as agriculturalists.

My paper examines agricultural writings in the Japanese language press to explore how Japanese agricultural experts and Brazilian state government officials communicated agricultural knowledge to Japanese settlers during the 1920s and 30s. Japanese Brazilian newspapers –including the Hoji Shinbun Digital Collection's Burajiru jihō, Nippaku shinbun, and Seishū shinpō – spread news and culture across the Japanese community. But these

newspapers and the monthly Japanese language agricultural magazine, Nogyō no burajiru, were also vital to transmitting the scientific and technical knowledge of farming. In addition to economic data about crop yields and prices, these newspapers provided practical information, like information about new crop varieties and how to manage local pests. An analysis of these writings reveals that Japanese agricultural leaders worked closely with Brazilian government officials to implement modern farming techniques that would diversify rural lands and provide the economic security to the Japanese Brazilian community. This transnational and translingual collaboration demonstrates the symbiotic relationship between Brazilian agricultural modernizers and the Japanese leaders, and highlights the important contribution of the Japanese community in shifting Brazil away from an agricultural economy dominated by coffee in the early 20th century.

Andre Kobayashi Deckrow is currently a Post-Doctoral Associate in the Heritage Studies and Public History program and the Department of History at the University of Minnesota. He received his Ph.D. from the History-East Asia program at Columbia University in 2019 and was previously a Visiting Scholar at the Center for Japanese Studies at the University of Michigan. His current book project, based off of his doctoral dissertation, examines pre-World War II Japanese migration to Brazil in global context. His research explores how the interests of Japanese imperial policymakers and Brazilian regional politicians aligned to promote Japanese agricultural settlement in the state of São Paulo in the 1920s and 30s. Andre's research examines the ways that Japanese state institutions helped manage Japanese Brazilian agricultural colonies as settlers transitioned from coffee labor to other types of commercial farming. He is also interested in questions of colonialism, citizenship, and immigration law. Andre is also an active public historian, having contributed to public history projects on Japanese American history in Southern California and immigration history in the Twin Cities. At the University of Minnesota, he teaches courses on global migration, youth and public history, and oversees the Department of History's National History Day undergraduate mentor program. In addition to his book project, he has recently begun work on a public history project examining overseas Japanese gardens as markers of place and community.

Presentation 9*: The Japanese Diaspora as transnational history: migration, development, and nation-building in the Brazilian Amazon*
Facundo Julian Garasino, JICA Ogata Sadako Research Institute for Peace and Development

This paper explores the history of the Japanese diaspora in the Brazilian Amazon as a central piece of the region's transnational history. Conceiving the Amazon Basin as a contested space for consolidating state power and accessing global commodity markets, this paper analyzes the negotiations, conflicts, and cooperation between Japanese, Brazilian and American actors for development and nation-building in the twentieth century. It focuses on the agency of Japanese immigrants and entrepreneurs for agricultural production in the Brazilian Amazon, their role in imperial Japan's expansionism and postwar diplomacy, and their relationship with

the Brazilian developmental state and American geopolitical interests in the region. In doing so, this paper argues that Japanese immigrants became agents for the development and nation-building of both their sending and host states by navigating through intricate networks of capital, commodities, knowledge, and the economic and migratory policies of multiple and conflictive national projects.

Since the late nineteenth century, successive commodity booms turned the Amazon Basin into a hub for the circulation of goods, capital, and knowledge in which native, creole, and migrant peoples were involved. Simultaneously, young Latin American states and European colonial empires competed over the control of territories, waterways, resources, and populations. From the late 1930s, the Brazilian State under the Vargas regime took a renewed interest in asserting its sovereignty in the Amazon, while the United States increased its presence to secure rubber for their military efforts after the Japanese Invasion of the Malayan peninsula in early 1942.

This paper sees organized Japanese emigration into the Amazon as an attempt by the Japanese Empire to enter in this contested space. Since the 1920s, Japanese entrepreneurs attempted transplanting Japanese capital and emigrants' workforce to the Amazon Basin, hoping to transform the rainforest into a hub for producing global agricultural commodities and thus expand Japan’s economy into the Americas. Importantly, regional Brazilian governments promoted Japanese immigration in an attempt to rebuild the local economy following the collapse of the natural rubber boom. This collaboration between the Brazilian developmental state and the Japanese immigrants resulted in important global commodities such as jute and black pepper becoming prominent industries in the Brazilian Amazon. After World War II, the Japanese government directed emigration programs to the Amazon, aiming at domestic economic recovery and reinserting the nation into the postwar international regime. This was in close connection with Brazil’s economic policies, and heavily influenced by global discourses of development and labor.

By the above discussion, this paper will provide insights to inscribe the history of the Japanese diaspora within research on the circulation of global commodities, the transnational politics of migration and nation-building, and the transpacific history of development. In doing so, it will explore overseas Japanese newspapers alongside sources in Japanese and Brazilian archives to suggest new methodologies and materials for diversifying the epistemologies of the research on the history of Japanese diasporas.

Facundo Garasino is a research fellow at the JICA Ogata Sadako Research Institute for Peace and Development. His research focuses on the transnational history of the intellectual, migratory, and literary connections between modern Japan and Latin America. He is currently working on a transnational history of migration, nation-building, and development in Japan and South America. In addition, he collaborated with the partial renewal of the permanent exhibition at the Japanese Overseas Migration Museum in Yokohama. His publications include "Japan’s Last Colonial Frontier: Settler Migration, Development, and Expansionism in the

Brazilian Amazon", in *Transpacific Visions: Connected Histories of the Pacific across North and South* (2021), and "Immigrant Propaganda: Translating Japanese Imperial Ideology into Argentinian Nationalism," *The Japanese Empire and Latin America*, University of Hawai'i Press (forthcoming).

Presentation 10: *Documenting Loss through the Enemy's Books*
Naoko Kato, St. Mark's College

The incarceration of nikkei in North America using English-language government records is relatively well-documented, particularly in terms of the material loss incurred. What is severely lacking is the less tangible consequences of uprooting; the loss of Japanese language and culture, and the Japanese-language records and histories that disappeared along with it. This is in part due to racially-motivated governmental policies based on fear, but it is also a result of the predominant narrative that emphasizes the loyal Japanese-Canadian/American, hence downplaying pre-war and war-time associations with the enemy language.

My aim is to recover the undocumented loss of the pre-war Japanese-language reading and writing culture across North America. I use the Uchida Bookstore in Vancouver as a focal point, as the forced sale and discarding of the books encapsulates the erasure of the community's intellectual life and history that I wish to revive. The Uchida Bookstore was the sole pre-war Japanese-language bookstore that was vital to the cultural livelihood of Vancouver's nikkei community. The bookstore was the foundation of Japanese-language reading and writing culture as well as its networks, including the Japanese-language school and labor organizations. Not only did it carry newly published works (including Marxist books), popular novels, magazines, and textbooks, but it also sold diaries, New Year's greeting cards, and dictionaries. However, from the point of view of the Office of the Custodian of Enemy Property, one of their major headaches was the question of what to do with Japanese-language material during the war. I use the Custodian's case file to document the process of deliberate destruction of Japanese-language books.

I will contextualize Vancouver's Uchida Bookstore using the Hōji Shinbun Digital Collection's advertisements which provide information on the types of books that were acquired by bookstores across various cities in North America; the establishment of Japanese-language library collections; and the closing and re-opening of the bookstores. This allows for a comparison between Canada for example, which forcibly sold properties and incarcerated Japanese-Canadians until 1949, versus Hawaii where measures were more lenient. I will also touch upon the establishment of Hawaii and Vancouver's Japanese language library collection, using the Hōji Shinbun Digital Collection, in order to juxtapose the process of destruction against efforts to build and preserve the enemy language's book collection.

Naoko Kato is an instructor at St. Mark's College and an information resources specialist at the North American Coordinating Council on Japanese Library Resources. While at the University of

British Columbia as the Japanese language librarian, she co-curated and edited the Meiji at 150 Digital Teaching Resource, which was published as Digital Meijis: Revisualizing Modern Japanese History at 150 (2018). Her dissertation, titled Through the Kaleidoscope: Uchiyama Bookstore and Sino-Japanese Visionaries in War and Peace, is a transnational history that focuses on Sino-Japanese networks surrounding a bookstore in Shanghai during the first half of the twentieth century. A book on Uchiyama Bookstore is forthcoming with Earnshaw Books. Her current research interests are on the history of Japanese-language book collections during the Second World War, where Japanese was considered the enemy language.

WORKSHOP and SESSION CHAIRS

Eiichiro Azuma is Professor of History and Asian American Studies at the University of Pennsylvania. He specializes in Japanese American history; trans-Pacific migration, diaspora, and settler colonialism; and inter-imperial relations between the United States and Japan. He is author of award-winning *Between Two Empires: Race, History, and Transnationalism in Japanese America* (Oxford, 2005), and coeditor of two anthologies, including the *Oxford Handbook of Asian American History* (2016). His latest research monograph, *In Search of Our Frontier: Japanese America and Settler Colonialism in the Construction of Japan's Borderless Empire* (California, 2019), received the 2020 John K. Fairbank Prize in East Asian History from the American Historical Association. Both of his monographs have been translated into Japanese. Azuma is currently completing his third monograph that probes the complex roles and experiences of second-generation Japanese Americans in occupied Japan between 1945 and 1952. In the past, he served as a Harrington Visiting Faculty Fellow at the University of Texas, Austin, and a Ministry of Science and Technology Visiting Professor at National Chengchi University in Taiwan. Since 2020, Azuma has been Visiting Fellow at the Hoover Institution.

Yuma Totani is a historian of modern Japan and a researcher of war crimes trials that the Allied Powers held against the Japanese following the end of World War II. She is a co-founder of the War Crimes Documentation Initiative (WCDI) at her home institution at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. WCDI is a digital humanities laboratory that experiments, develops, and makes available to a broad audience various digital tools that shed light on aspects of war crimes committed by the Japanese during World War II in Asia and the Pacific (https://manoa.hawaii.edu/wcdi/). Her representative publications include *The Tokyo War Crimes Trial: The Pursuit of Justice in the Wake of World War II* (Harvard University Asia Center, 2008), *Justice in Asia and the Pacific Region, 1945-1952: Allied War Crimes Prosecutions* (Cambridge University Press, 2015), and *The Tokyo War Crimes Tribunal: Law, History, and Jurisprudence* (Cambridge University Press, 2018; co-authored with David Cohen). She offers courses on the history of war, mass atrocities, and international criminal justice at her home institution.

Yoko Tsukuda is Associate Professor of American Studies at the Faculty of Law (General Education), Seijo University, Tokyo, Japan. She received M.A. in Ethnic Studies from San Francisco State University in 2004 and Ph.D. in American Studies from the University of Tokyo in 2011. Her research interests include race, ethnicity, and migration, especially focusing on trans-Pacific migration of Japanese and Japanese American communities. Her publications include "Facts, Fakes, and Propaganda around Toyoko Yamasaki's Novel *Two Homelands*," *Liberal Arts Review* 30, 2022, (in Japanese), and "The 'Jap Road' Controversy and Multiculturalism in the United States," *Liberal Arts Review* 28, 2018, (in Japanese), and "Location, Positionality, and Community: Studying and Teaching Japanese America in the U.S. and Japan," in Yasuko

Takezawa and Gary Okihiro, eds., *Transpacific Japanese American Studies: Conversations on Race and Racializations* (University of Hawaii Press, 2016), and "Place, Community, and Identity: The Preservation Movement of San Francisco's Japantown," *Pacific and American Studies* 9 (2009).

Jun Uchida is Associate Professor and Vice-Chair of the Department of History at Stanford University. She is the author of *Brokers of Empire: Japanese Settler Colonialism in Korea, 1876-1945* (Harvard University Press, 2011) and many articles that explore the history of overseas Japanese communities in the empire. In her new book, *Provincializing Empire: Ōmi Merchants in the Japanese Transpacific Diaspora* (forthcoming from University of California Press in 2023), she traces the diasporic lives and activities of the so-called Ōmi merchants, from their Tokugawa heyday as entrepreneurial peddlers into the global age of empire, migration, and capitalism.

Kaoru (Kay) Ueda is the curator for Hoover Institution Library & Archives' Japanese Diaspora Collection at Stanford University and manages the endowed Japanese Diaspora Initiative. She acquires archival materials on Japan and overseas Japanese and promotes their use for educational and scholarly purposes. She also curates and develops the Hoji Shinbun Digital Collection, the world's most extensive online full-image open-access digital collection of prewar overseas Japanese newspapers. She edited *On a Collision Course: The Dawn of Japanese Migration in the Nineteenth Century* (authored by Yasuo Sakata in Japanese, Hoover Press, 2020) and *Fanning the Flames: Propaganda in Modern Japan* (Hoover Press, 2021).